
**Dames in New Zealand: Gender, Representation and
the Royal Honours System, 1917-2000**

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Abstract

The New Zealand royal honours system, as a colonial reproduction of an elite British system with a white male norm, has been largely overlooked in all fields of scholarship. Yet, as a state expression of what is valued in society, honours provide a window into shifts in society. This study of dames and knights is undertaken in the context of the changes in the lives of New Zealand women in the twentieth century. Situated in a changing and shifting environment, the honours system has itself changed, influenced by the ebb and flow of the feminist movement, the decline of imperial and aristocratic forces, and New Zealand's evolving independence and identity. At the same time, the system has been in some respects static, slow to respond to charges of being an imperial anachronism, and, despite some change in what areas of service titles were granted for, remaining a gendered space focused on the traditionally male-dominated fields of politics, law and commerce. Studied from a feminist perspective, honours also reveal much about gender identities and roles in twentieth-century New Zealand, both the feminine and, because of the historically constructed dualism, the masculine. Both the patterns evident in the honouring of women at the highest level and the representations of those women found in popular culture display a constant disjunction between discourses of exceptionalism and of conformity to traditional images of the feminine. Women's personal experiences of being honoured with a title for their achievements add a further dimension of complexity to understandings of the significant changes and underlying continuities in the honours system as a gendered space.

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Abbreviations

AC	Companion of the Order of Australia
AM	Member of the Order of Australia
AO	Officer of the Order of Australia
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
BEM	British Empire Medal
CB	Companion of the Order of the Bath
CBE	Commander of the Order of the British Empire
CMG	Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George
CNZM	Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit
CVO	Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
DBE	Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire
DCMG	Dame Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George
DCNZM	Distinguished Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit
DCVO	Dame Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
DPMC	Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet
DNZM	Dame Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit
FFNZ	Federated Farmers of New Zealand
FOL	Federation of Labour
GBE	Knight or Dame Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire
GCB	Knight or Dame Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath
GCMG	Knight or Dame Grand Cross of the Order of St Michael and St George
GCVO	Knight or Dame Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order
GNZM	Knight or Dame Grand Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit
ICW	International Council of Women
IFUW	International Federation of University Women
ISO	Imperial Service Order
KBE	Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire
KCB	Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath
KCMG	Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George
KCVO	Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order
KG	Knight of the Garter
KNZM	Knight Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit
Kt	Knight Bachelor
LVO	Lieutenant of the Royal Victorian Order
MBE	Member of the Order of the British Empire
MNZM	Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit
MVO (4 th)	Member of the Royal Victorian Order (4 th class)
MVO (5 th)	Member of the Royal Victorian Order (5 th class)
MWWL	Maori Women's Welfare League
NCW	National Council of Women
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
NZEAS	New Zealand Educational Administration Society
NZFU	New Zealand Farmers' Union

NZFUW	New Zealand Federation of University Women
NZRSA	New Zealand Returned Services Association
OAM	Medal of the Order of Australia
OBE	Officer of the Order of the British Empire
ONZ	Order of New Zealand
ONZM	Officer of the New Zealand Order of Merit
PCNZM	Principal Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit
QSO	Companion of the Queen's Service Order
QSM	Queen's Service Medal
RRC	Royal Red Cross
RVM	Royal Victorian Medal
UK	United Kingdom
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union

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Introduction

Knights and dames, the titled men and women ‘trailing clouds of aristocratic glory’ of one writer’s imagination, are no longer created in New Zealand.¹ In New Zealand, titular honours, those bestowing a title from the monarch on the recipient, ceased in 2000 to be a constituent element of the royal honours system. That system, as in the United Kingdom (UK), has encompassed a range of levels, from hereditary peerages and non-hereditary titles to non-titular awards and decorations for gallantry. The many varieties of honour, some now obsolete and some still in use, and the rituals and regulations surrounding these honours, were woven together to form a complex and shifting honours system, as different strands were discarded or created over time. In turn, the honours system itself has historically formed part of an elaborate web of social precedence. In New Zealand, like its parent system in the UK, the honours system has been the target of some criticism and controversy. There have been accusations of racial and gender inequality, of political patronage and party connections determining appointments, of class bias, and even of a bias in favour of the North Island over the South.² Yet, according to a 1995 investigation into the system that culminated in recommendations for considerable change, including the removal of titles, there remained ‘overwhelming support’ for the existence of an honours system as a means of recognising those who have served the world, New Zealand, and their communities.³

¹ R. Dawe, ‘Helen’s birthday to become a national holiday’, *National Business Review*, 17 March 2000, accessed from Factiva.

² The suggestion that a larger number of honours went to the North Island than to the South was made in a 1959 article examining the honours system. Investigator, ‘Whom the Queen delighteth to honour: Awards for services in New Zealand’, *The Weekly News*, 11 November 1959, p. 3. For a further example of such criticisms, including that titles were given to ‘famous men’ for ‘services to the conservative ethic’, and not to Maori or women, see John Robson, ed., *Craccum*, vol. 50, No. 14, June 21, 1976, p. 5, quoted in C. H. Townsend, ‘Political Patronage in New Zealand: An Exploratory Study’ (MA, University of Canterbury, 1977), p. 55.

³ Prime Minister’s Honours Advisory Committee, *The New Zealand Royal Honours System/Te Punaha Tuku Honore A Te Kuini Mo Aotearoa* (Wellington, 1995), p. 4.

Knighthood and honours: an introduction

This thesis considers the creation of dames in New Zealand, examining the changes and continuities in women's position in relation to honours at this high level, and exploring the connections between honours and gender identities and roles in twentieth-century New Zealand. Through a consideration of the types of service for which honours were awarded, patterns in the experiences of dames and the ways in which dames were represented in the popular media, I argue that the honours system in New Zealand between 1917 and 2000 was a gendered space. However, because 'Dame' is the title given to a woman when she is granted an award that would cause a man to become a knight, it is necessary to outline the place of knighthood within the royal honours system before examining these issues in more depth. The creation of knights and dames in New Zealand, as a way to honour those who achieved highly, advanced their nation or served humanity, had its roots, through the British honours system, in medieval systems of knighthood. As in the UK, the sovereign is theoretically the 'fount of all honour', a principle that developed through the gradual shift, particularly under Henry VIII, to reserving the creation of a knight to the sovereign's prerogative, and knighthood almost always being 'personally' bestowed by the sovereign.⁴ Throughout New Zealand's association with royal honours, the sovereign has been the source of all honours, and this remains the case despite New Zealand having replaced the British honours system with its own. It is still a royal honours system.⁵ Similarly, the ritual of 'dubbing' a knight, and the traditional use of 'the accolade' (a touch on the shoulder with a sword) to create a knight, can be traced to medieval rituals.⁶ The medieval system of knighthood was a

⁴ L. G. Pine, *The Story of Titles* (Newton Abbot, Devon, 1969), p. 118; A. M. Pamm, *Honours and Rewards in the British Empire and Commonwealth: The Empire and Commonwealth*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Aldershot, 1995), p. 1568; *The Queen's Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Knighthood* (The Royal Household), available from <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page489.asp>, accessed 26 October 2004.

⁵ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 4, 30.

⁶ Pine, pp. 117-118; A. M. Pamm, *Honours and Rewards in the British Empire and Commonwealth: The United Kingdom and Eire*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Aldershot, 1995), p. 167.

masculine one, linked to war and dominated by men. The Old English *cnicht*, variously said to mean ‘boy’, ‘attendant’ or ‘military follower’, is believed to be the source of the title of knight in England.⁷ The title also has links with the Roman knight, *eques*, a term that referred to a mounted man; corresponding European terms, such as the French *chevalier* or the Spanish *caballero*, also indicated that the holder of the title was a military horseman.⁸

The title of knight is the oldest title of honour in England, older than titles in the peerage, with the modern honour of Knight Bachelor having arisen out of these medieval antecedents.⁹ Knights were also created within the orders of chivalry which then developed, and which continued into the honours system of the twentieth century. However, the medieval concept of knighthood was more than simply a mounted soldier. It became imbued with chivalric notions as the Christian Church adopted and altered pagan customs. Knights were to have the attributes of ‘courtesy, gentleness towards the weak, piety and charity towards all’.¹⁰ Exclusivity was an important aspect of knighthood as well, just as a guild was exclusive, and this element was the crucial difference between the existence of mounted soldiers and the existence of a concept of knighthood.¹¹

During their long existence, honours in the UK, particularly knighthood, changed significantly, and the honours used in nineteenth- and twentieth-century New Zealand were significantly different from medieval systems of knighthood. Colonial honours were a ‘modification of a more generalised English nineteenth-century practice’, a practice that was the result of an ‘eighteenth-century “revival” and transformation of selected rituals of chivalry ... loosely drawn from the late medieval and early modern

⁷ Pine, p. 117; *The Queen’s Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Knighthood*, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page489.asp>.

⁸ S. Duke, ed., *Debrett’s Handbook of Australia and New Zealand* (Sydney, 1982), p.151; Pine, p.117.

⁹ Duke, ed., pp. 151, 166.

¹⁰ Pine, p. 117.

¹¹ R. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, revised ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1995), p. 23.

period.’¹² In this transformation, titles such as Knights of the Bath were revived and reordered to provide for the imperial state’s need to reward state service. By World War One, it was recognised that honours were largely given for public service, and no longer merely to the aristocracy. As well, with new awards being created, titles were bestowed in much greater numbers by 1914.¹³ Particular orders of chivalry applicable in New Zealand, and their development, are treated in more detail in Chapter One. In these very different later incarnations, however, knighthood as an honour retained exclusivity as a vital element, and the elitism suggested by the position of cavalry as a military elite also had modern echoes, if in a very different setting. The British honours system also continued to be a male-dominated institution, and the sex inequalities produced in it were reproduced in the New Zealand honours system.

From the nineteenth century, some orders of chivalry also provided for membership at a non-titular level by including different classes of award, further increasing the number and range of recipients of honours. These lower classes of the orders of chivalry, as with knighthood and damehood, are only one constituent part of the royal honours system. In the UK, the higher honour of elevation to the peerage was also awarded, and this practice continues to exist in the award of life peerages. The peerage has several levels: duke, marquess, earl, viscount and baron, which rank in that order. As well, the hereditary ‘Order of Baronets in England’ was begun by James I in 1611, ranking between the peerage above and knighthood below.¹⁴ The title of baronet suggests a lesser baron, and baronets are not peers, but ‘commoners’.¹⁵ Honours within the peerage and baronetage have occasionally, but rarely, been bestowed in New Zealand. Ranking below knighthood and lower awards in the orders of chivalry in the order in

¹² J. Peacocke, ‘Victoria’s Gentlemen of Honour: symbols, rituals, and conventions’ (MA, Victoria University, 1997), p. 376.

¹³ D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, revised ed. (London, 1996), pp. 299-301.

¹⁴ Duke, ed., p. 151. The title had, however, been bestowed in earlier years and originally referred to those who ‘had lost the right of individual summons to Parliament’. Ibid.

¹⁵ *Honours and Titles in Britain* (London, 1975), p. 10.

which awards are to be worn, honours are also given at the level of decorations. These are given, for example, to reward gallantry, bravery or devotion to duty, and were an important part of the honours system of the twentieth century.

All honours are ranked in terms of precedence, or the order of wearing, from highest to lowest, and there are regulations for the wearing of insignia and medals. This order of wear has changed over time as the honours available have altered.¹⁶ As well, some honours bestow social precedence, which is 'officially accorded priority of place or superiority of rank'.¹⁷ This type of precedence is different to that relating to the order in which honours are to be worn. Knights and dames receive social precedence in accordance with which particular honour they have received, and members of the lower classes of orders of chivalry also receive social precedence further down the scale; social precedence is not bestowed on the recipients of other honours outside of orders, or of decorations.¹⁸ Although New Zealand has its own order of precedence and order of wear, it was largely the same as that of England in respect of orders of chivalry, at least until 1996.¹⁹

As well as knighthood, damehood and awards within the lower classes of the orders of chivalry, some non-titular honours also fit between the peerage and decorations. Most important of these are the Order of Merit and the Order of the Companions of Honour, and the distinctive New Zealand honour, the Order of New Zealand. The Order of Merit, begun in 1902 by Edward VII, was intended to recognise members of the Empire 'who had rendered distinguished military service or who had made outstanding contributions to the fields of science, literature and the arts'.²⁰ Excluding honorary members, ordinary membership was limited to twenty-four, making the honour highly

¹⁶ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 218.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 219; Duke, ed., p. 115; A. Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour: New Zealanders who have served their country in peace and war, 150 years: 1845-1945* (Auckland, 1998), pp. 25-28; Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, pp. 1579-1580.

²⁰ B. Delahunt, 'The Order of Merit', *The New Zealand Numismatic Journal* 13(2), May 1972, p. 63.

exclusive.²¹ The order ranks highly in the order of wear, but bestows no title and carries no social precedence. By 1972, it had been granted to a mere three women Commonwealth-wide, and by 1996, to three New Zealanders.²² The Order of the Companions of Honour, begun in 1917 as a 'lower form of the Order of Merit', allows the recipient to use the post-nominal CH.²³ It is restricted to the Sovereign and sixty-five members and given to those for whom it is 'deemed the most appropriate form of recognition' since it is non-titular and has no social precedence.²⁴ The Order of New Zealand is a similar non-titular award, unique to New Zealand, and restricted to twenty living persons as well as the Sovereign, although additional and honorary members may be created to mark special occasions and to recognise citizens of countries in which the Queen is not head of state.²⁵

Titular honours: parameters of the thesis

Non-titular awards, and the peerage and the decorations that are included in the honours system, are not included in this study, which focuses on the award of titular honours in New Zealand. Similarly, this thesis does not discuss honours that have had no application in New Zealand, such as the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India or the Imperial Order of the Crown of India, although they are part of the UK honours system. Recipients of the Orders of the Thistle and of St Patrick, for instance, are generally Scottish and Irish peers respectively, and there have been no New Zealanders appointed to either of these.²⁶ Awards of the semi-independent Order of St John of Jerusalem are likewise not included in this thesis. It is the group of people in New Zealand who have

²¹ Ibid., p. 63.

²² Ibid., p. 64; Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 20. The women were nurse Florence Nightingale in 1907, chemist Dorothy Hodgkin in 1965 and historian Dame Veronica Wedgwood in 1969. Delahunt, pp. 65-66. The New Zealanders were Lord Rutherford of Nelson in 1925, Professor John Cawte Beaglehole in 1970, and Sir Ronald Syme, in 1976. Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 20.

²³ Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 21.

²⁴ Duke, ed., p. 166; Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 21.

²⁵ Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, pp. 22, 28.

²⁶ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 190; 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', spreadsheet of statistics created from data in the *New Zealand Gazette*, see Appendix One.

been honoured with awards falling between the hereditary and the non-titular that are the focus of this study, the dames and the knights, and in particular, the dames. Some knights did, of course, later also receive hereditary honours, and many recipients of titular honours also held non-titular awards. Similarly, titles conferred outside the British honours system, in other states' systems or by the papacy, are not included in this study.

Although knighthood came to be used in New Zealand when the country was a British colony in the nineteenth century, this study commences in the twentieth century, in 1917. 1917 is an important date in the history of honours in New Zealand, as it was in that year that the Order of the British Empire was established. This order was the first to include titular honours open to women in their own right.²⁷ As well, before the institution of the Order of the British Empire, the UK, and thus New Zealand, had no general honour with which to reward contributions to art, literature or science. Honours were limited to a small number of people, largely associated with 'public services to the State'.²⁸ Many New Zealanders received honours in this order over the years that followed, as awards in the order formed the vast majority of all royal honours given in New Zealand before 1996. Although there were changes to the honours system in New Zealand in 1996, the major change occurred in 2000, with the cessation of titular honours; this study therefore ends in 2000, as dames and knights, with a few exceptions, can no longer be created in this country. Publicly, there has been a rather mixed reaction to the cessation of titular honours, ranging from warm approbation to great disappointment. Some among the public have welcomed the change, glad to see the removal of an institution they considered anachronistic and overly preoccupied with

²⁷ Other honours open to women before 1917 had been non-titular, as with the Order of Merit and the exclusively female Imperial Order of the Crown of India and Royal Order of Victoria and Albert. Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, pp. 173, 190-191; Duke, ed., p. 161. Women had also received limited admission into the Order of the Garter prior to the sixteenth century. However, dames wear a smaller star, collar and sash than knights, and women wear the insignia of the lower classes suspended from a bow rather than a ribbon, unless they are in uniform. E. C. Joslin, *Spink's Catalogue of British and Associated Orders, Decorations and Medals, with valuations* (Exeter, 1983), p. 50.

²⁸ P. Galloway, *The Order of the British Empire* (London, 1996), p. 2.

class. Others have regretted the loss of links to New Zealand's British heritage and the visible recognition of services performed that is given by a title. Whatever one's view of the removal of titles in New Zealand, it is now timely to examine the grant of titular honours in New Zealand, its operation and implications.

Although this thesis covers a relatively long period of time, many of the patterns apparent in the granting of titles remained evident over most of the period, at least in the case of male recipients, the majority of dames not being created until after 1970. While the focus of this thesis is on New Zealand, there is evidence to suggest that these patterns and trends occurred in the UK as well; indeed, such patterns and trends were likely reproduced in New Zealand along with the honours system itself. Some comparisons with Australia and Canada, also former colonies of the UK, have also been made where possible. In a similarly colonial way, the honours system has also functioned in states constitutionally linked to New Zealand, such as the Cook Islands and Niue. Recipients from those states whose awards were announced on separate lists in the *New Zealand Gazette* have not been included in the statistics for this study. Recipients of additional and honorary titular awards have also not been included in the statistics. Honorary awards are those given to people in countries where the Queen is not the head of state, and additional awards are those created at 'special events' like coronations, or in 'times of war' when a larger number of awards than normal is temporarily necessary.²⁹ All other dames and knights whose award was published in the *New Zealand Gazette* between 1917 and 2000 have been included in the statistics for this study.³⁰ Conviction of a criminal offence may lead to the forfeiture of a titular honour. Of all titular honours announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* between 1917 and 2000, only one has been

²⁹ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 179. Although they have at times been included in New Zealand honours lists published in the *New Zealand Gazette*, one reason for not including honorary awards in the statistics, besides their extraordinary nature, is that honorary awards are generally 'not gazetted'. Ibid., p. 1568.

³⁰ The population of this study is defined as those gazetted because '[u]ntil 1931 the simultaneous gazetting of awards in the *New Zealand Gazette* did not always take place'. Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 1568.

forfeited, that awarded to Albert Royle Henry in 1974. Henry's KBE was forfeited and his name removed from the register after his conviction for conspiring to defraud the Crown.³¹ Finally, it is important to note that this thesis is a study of those who have accepted titles in the New Zealand honours system, rather than of those who have refused. Most nominees accept honours, and reasons are not required from those who decline.³² Reasons for declining that have been mentioned in the UK, however, range from a simple desire not to receive a title if offered an award of that level, to a dislike of the perceived imperial implications of an honour such as an award within the Order of the British Empire.³³ It is possible, therefore, that those who appear to have been overlooked for honours have in fact declined an honour.

Methodology

The methodology used in this thesis encompasses statistical analysis, biographical research, discourse analysis of articles in the popular media and oral history. A list of men and women announced to have received titles was compiled from the honours lists published in the *New Zealand Gazette* between 1917 and 2000. As well, the numbers of men and women to have received lower awards in those lists were collated. Tables were created to allow analysis of the award of honours at various levels to men and women, in numerical terms, over the years since 1917. Further research was then undertaken into the achievements or service of those who had been made dames and knights in New Zealand. In order to examine the work most often done by those who were honoured, recipients of titular honours between 1917 and 2000 were categorised according to the services they were honoured for. From 1975, this categorisation was easily achieved, as citations were published with names. Prior to that, it was possible to assign categories through citations where they did occur, government records and biographical

³¹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; 'Will Maori leader lose knighthood?' *National Business Review*, 10 March 1995, accessed from Factiva.

³² Baguley, David, interview with the author, 11 May 2004, Wellington.

³³ Public Administration Select Committee, *Fifth Report: A Matter of Honour: Reforming the Honours System* (2004), paragraphs 64-70, 89-93.

information. Where appropriate, recipients' services were classified as fitting into more than one category, a practice followed in the published citations themselves. The categories themselves emerged from the citations given after 1975 (see Figure One below, for notes on the categories).

**Figure One:
Categories of Service:**

Category	Description
Public*	Includes international, national and local services to the state and government, or related bodies.
Community	Includes voluntary work (defined as unpaid), work with charities and community organisations, or generous donations to various causes.
Legal	Includes services to the judiciary, or to the legal profession and related bodies.
Business	Includes commercial and industrial services (perhaps including technological development).
Academic	Includes services to tertiary education and research, or to an academic field, and other services to education.
Agriculture	Includes services to farming, agricultural research, and industries related to farming.
Medical	Includes services to health, medical research and education, to particular fields of medicine, or medical organisations.
Maori	Includes services to Maori-oriented organisations, or to the Maori people in any field.
Arts	Includes services to, or success in, any branch of the arts, from literature and painting to music and drama.
Sport	Includes services to, or success in, any sport, such as rugby, cricket, yachting and squash.
War/patriotic work	Includes services to patriotic organisations, to soldiers' welfare, or to the NZRSA.
Military	Includes all awards in the military divisions of any order.
Women	Includes services to women's affairs in any field.
Personal to Sovereign	Includes any award in the Royal Victorian Order, as these are given for personal service to the Sovereign.
Professions	Includes services to any profession other than those covered in other categories (such as medicine or law).
Religion	Includes services to the church, of any denomination, or in a particular religious office, such as Archbishop.
Trade union	Includes services to the trade union movement, and particular unions.

* The term 'public service' has been preferred over 'state service' in this thesis, following the citations for awards published in the *New Zealand Gazette*.

As exceptions, dames were then studied in terms of portrayals of them in the popular media. Articles from magazines and newspapers were gathered for each dame, with at least one article per year being collected for each year following their receipt of a

title, where such articles were available. Data on knights was used for statistical comparison only, and although outside the scope of this thesis, further research into the representation of knights in the popular media would be a valuable contribution to understandings of male gender roles and masculinity in New Zealand. Finally, oral histories provided further depth to the understanding of women's position in, and experience of, titles in New Zealand, by revealing personal experiences of being honoured, and of living as a titled woman in one's own right. Interviews were sought with dames resident in Christchurch, whose awards represented a variety of those services for which dames were created in New Zealand. This view of the lived experience of dames added depth to the understanding of the complexity of the grant of titles in New Zealand.

Awarding honours: an introduction to the process

Before considering the grant of titles to women and men in New Zealand further, an introduction to the process by which honours were distributed in New Zealand, and the issues surrounding that process, is necessary. When New Zealand first received British royal honours in the nineteenth century, the dispensation of honours operated in a much more personal fashion than it currently does. While there was increasingly a requirement that appointments be able to be defended through reference to precedent, honours were often sought through patronage, usually personally but sometimes in writing, and usually through an intermediary.³⁴ Patronage is a term often used as equivalent to the term clientelism, referring to a system where a patron, who has higher status in society, acts as a broker between the central power and the client, so that the client receives certain benefits and the patron receives the client's services.³⁵ Well chosen and tended personal relationships, through patronage, could lead to one receiving

³⁴ Peacocke, pp. 151, 248, 271-272.

³⁵ V. Bogdanor, ed., *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Institutions*, Blackwell Reference (Oxford and New York, 1987), pp. 108, 423; C. Clapham, "Clientelism and the State", in C. Clapham, ed., *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State* (London, 1982), p. 4.

the honour one desired.³⁶ For example, Alfred Domett, who was a civil servant and parliamentarian in nineteenth-century New Zealand, wrote to George Grey, former Governor and then current New Zealand premier, and previously Domett's patron, asking for verification of the services he had given New Zealand. He went so far as to discuss which particular honour and level he considered himself eligible for, comparing his services to the colony to those of others who had been honoured.³⁷

Even in 1929, two telegrams sent by the High Commissioner in London, James Parr, to Joseph Ward, indicated Parr's desire for a higher honour than the KCMG he already held. In the first, on 18 November, Parr sent: 'I shall be greatly obliged if you will recommend me for G.C.M.G New Year's Honours List'.³⁸ On the 21st, he sent:

I hope you agree I am entitled to G.C.M.G by virtue of my services to both Governments. Leaving excellent record here. Respectfully I suggest if Allen and Mackenzie received Honour as recognition their work here I should be entitled at least to same privilege coming New Year [*sic*].³⁹

In reply to the second telegram, Ward sent that, in respect of the GCMG, '[I] regret cannot submit New Years [*sic*] Honours but will discuss matter with you on your return'.⁴⁰ Eventually, in 1935, Parr received the GCMG, as he neared the end of his second stint as High Commissioner for New Zealand in London.⁴¹ Whether or not the award was connected to the earlier solicitation, these telegrams indicate continuing attempts to secure honours through personal communication in the early twentieth century.

³⁶ Peacocke, pp. 335-336.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-257. In the event, instead of the KCMG he desired, he was given the CMG, which it appears he was not unequivocally pleased with. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-257, 265-268.

³⁸ Archives New Zealand, PM9/85, cablegram, Sir James Parr to Sir Joseph Ward, 18 November 1929.

³⁹ Archives New Zealand, PM9/85, cablegram, Sir James Parr to Sir Joseph Ward, 21 November 1929.

⁴⁰ Archives New Zealand, PM9/85, telegraph, Sir Joseph Ward to Sir James Parr, 29 November 1929.

⁴¹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; G. W. A. Bush, 'Parr, Christopher James, 1869-1941', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004.

Significant change in the process by which honours are awarded has occurred since, and as in the UK, Canada and Australia, New Zealand now accepts nominations from any member of the community. Nominations are acknowledged in a brief letter to the sender, and a short précis of the nominated person's work and achievements prepared by the Honours Secretariat, who based on past experience also suggest the level of award the nomination might be suitable for. All nominations are discussed by a Cabinet Committee of Ministers, chaired by the Prime Minister, and the original 600-700 nominations whittled down to 200-250. Before the decisions are made, additional information can be gathered. At the final meeting, the list is reduced to within the statutory quotas for each honour, and is sent for the Governor-General's informal approval, after which nominees are given the choice of accepting or declining an honour. The list is then prepared for formal approval, is signed by the Prime Minister, and sent to the Queen through the Governor-General.⁴²

In a successful nomination, the form and level of honour is chosen according to the kind of services the nominee has given, the period of time in which these have occurred, whether the service was performed locally, nationally or internationally, and the impact on New Zealand society overall.⁴³ Jean Herbison, for instance, was made a dame for her services to education in 1985, having contributed locally, nationally and internationally. Among other roles, she was a member and chairperson of the Canterbury branch of the New Zealand Educational Administration Society (NZEAS) from 1976 to 1989, national president of the society between 1978 and 1984, and vice president of the Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration from 1982 until 1986.⁴⁴ Nominations remain 'alive' for more than one list, and thus may be reconsidered. David

⁴² Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004; Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 75-76; *New Zealand Honours: Nominations* (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet), available from <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/nominations/faq.html>, accessed 24 September 2003.

⁴³ *New Zealand Honours: Nominations*, <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/nominations/faq.html>; Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

⁴⁴ Herbison, Dame Jean, interview with the author, 18 November 2004, Christchurch. Note that for ease of reading, the titles of recipients of titular honours have generally not been used in this thesis.

Baguley, the Director of the Honours Secretariat in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC) in 2004, claimed that a nomination has a greater chance of success in New Zealand than in Britain.⁴⁵ It should be noted that any system of nominations contains an element of inequality, simply because it relies on a person being nominated, and therefore, some people deemed deserving may remain without an honour.⁴⁶ Once this process has been followed, the resulting awards are announced, and published in the *New Zealand Gazette* twice a year, at the New Year and at Queen's Birthday, as well as occasionally at special occasions. Those honoured receive their award at an investiture, usually from the Governor-General, by which time the process has already begun again for the next list.

Controversy and the process of distributing honours

A major issue surrounding the honours system is that of control of this process of the distribution of awards, and the attendant potential for corruption. Corruption has certainly been a feature of the distribution of honours in the UK at various times, and was viewed as bringing honours into dishonour. Awards were at times sold, given to those who had made significant donations to the funding of a political party, or granted in exchange for political party services or support.⁴⁷ Scandal relating to the granting of honours peaked in the time of Lloyd George, when 'touts sold baronetcies and knighthoods in London clubs', gathering considerable sums of money for Lloyd George's 'private political fund'.⁴⁸ Maundy Gregory, an notorious honours tout, was the first and only person convicted under the Honours (Prevention of Abuses) Act of 1925 that was

⁴⁵ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

⁴⁶ O. Riddell, 'A friend and a nomination might equal an M.B.E.' *The Press*, 3 January 1977, p. 9.

⁴⁷ T. A. Jenkins, 'The Funding of the Liberal Unionist Party and the Honours System', *The English Historical Review* 105(417), October 1990, pp. 920-928; H. J. Hanham, 'The Sale of Honours in Late Victorian England', *Victorian Studies* 3(3), March 1960, pp. 277, 281-282, 288-289. The sale of honours was not always considered immoral or corrupt: honours had been 'sold quite openly in the seventeenth century' as a way to raise revenue. Hanham, p. 277.

⁴⁸ Hanham, p. 289.

passed in the UK in response to the abuses of the system under Lloyd George.⁴⁹ As well as legislation, the Political Honours Scrutiny Committee was set up in the UK in 1924.⁵⁰ Yet even in the 1980s, John Walker suggested that honours were being given in the UK in exchange for contributions to party funds, largely by industrialists, or were given for long political service and to reward long-serving backbenchers.⁵¹

The current UK system for the distribution of honours is a complicated one, where nominations come both directly from the public and from government departments, which may have received them from ‘public or private sources’. Nominations are considered then by one of a number of sub-committees connected to the Ceremonial Secretariat, these committees having responsibility for particular areas of service, before going to an overall committee, and then to the Queen, via the Cabinet Secretary and the Prime Minister.⁵² Moreover, there are three distinct honours lists created independently: the Prime Minister’s list, the Diplomatic Service and Overseas List and the Defence Services List.⁵³ The Political Honours Scrutiny Committee still operates, but merely searches for ‘any evidence of unsuitability’ regarding those recipients receiving their award for ‘political services’, who ‘may have made political donations’ or who are added to the list by the Prime Minister, rather than having any ‘active role in assessing suitable people’.⁵⁴ In its 2004 report on the honours system, the Public Administration Select Committee claimed not to have discovered ‘pervasive’ corruption in the UK honours system at that time, as there had been in the 1920s, but acknowledged that habitually granting knighthoods to MPs is seen by some ‘as a mere

⁴⁹ K. Rose, *King George V* (London, 1983), p 253.

⁵⁰ Hanham, p. 289.

⁵¹ J. Walker, *The Queen has been pleased: the British honours system at work* (London, 1986), pp. 4, 164-167, 194-195.

⁵² *Honours: The Process* (Ceremonial Secretariat), available from <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/ceremonial/honours/process.asp>, accessed 1 November 2004.

⁵³ H. Phillips, *Review of the Honours System* (London, 2004), p. 13.

⁵⁴ D. Hurd, ‘Awarding honours must be more than a game’, *Financial Times*, 30 December 2003, p. 15; *Honours: The Process*, <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/ceremonial/honours/process.asp>; *Honours: Honours Scrutiny Committee: Publication Scheme* (Ceremonial Secretariat), available from <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/ceremonial/honours/scrutiny.asp>, accessed 1 November 2004.

tool of political party management'.⁵⁵ However, public nominations, which were only begun in 1993, still play a minority role in the selection of honours recipients in the UK: only 45% of honours 'over recent lists' have been recommended after being nominated by a member of the public.⁵⁶

In both Australia and Canada, changes have been made to the process of awarding honours in an effort to remove the institution from the control of politicians, and ensure honours are dispensed on the basis of merit alone. In Canada, awards are made by the Governor-General, on the recommendation of an Advisory Council that includes people connected with the arts, the universities, the state, and members of the order itself.⁵⁷ Since the very first appointments to the Order of Canada in 1967, politicians and judges, both federal and provincial, cannot be 'considered' for an honour during their period of office.⁵⁸ The website of the Governor-General of Canada also states that politicians are not on the Advisory Council.⁵⁹ Similarly, Alister Taylor noted that Australian honours are no longer distributed by politicians, 'but through public participation and a filtering process supervised by the Honours Secretariat attached to the Governor-General's office'.⁶⁰ Nominations in Australia are subject to research by the Honours Secretariat, which then passes them on to the Council for the Order of Australia, up to two years after they have been received. The Council considers the nominations, and then advises which should receive honours and at what level. The council has nineteen members, including eight who are 'appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Prime Minister'. The government website claims that the consideration by the Council is

⁵⁵ Public Administration Select Committee, paragraphs 127-128.

⁵⁶ Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, p. 6.

⁵⁷ *Canadian Honours - Honour our Best: Frequently Asked Questions: Order of Canada* (Office of the Secretary to the Governor-General), available from http://www.gg.ca/honours/faqoc_e.asp, accessed 20 June 2004.

⁵⁸ A. E. Prowse, 'The Canadian Honours System', *The New Zealand Numismatic Journal* 12(4), June 1969, p. 160; *Canadian Honours - Honour our Best: Frequently Asked Questions: Order of Canada*, http://www.gg.ca/honours/faqoc_e.asp.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ A. Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour: National Honours and Awards 1975-1996* (Sydney, 1997), p. 9.

‘removed from political patronage’, as the council simply decides ‘whether the service of the person put forward is over and above what would reasonably be expected’.⁶¹

In contrast, Taylor criticised the process of distributing honours in New Zealand as recently as 1998. He argued that politicians retained control, and that honours were often still given to politicians ‘almost automatically’ after ‘a few years’ of service in Parliament.⁶² Connal Townsend, on the other hand, concluded in his 1977 thesis on political patronage that New Zealand did not use the honours system as in the UK to reward MPs’ loyalty, though possibly as a reward for timely retirements.⁶³ Charges of corruption in the honours system are less evident in New Zealand than in the UK, although former Prime Minister David Lange was reported in one newspaper as claiming that one could gain an honour by donating large sums of money if not by buying one directly.⁶⁴

However, a Prime Minister’s Advisory Committee reporting on honours in New Zealand in 1995, while agreeing that the process of awarding honours should be ‘as fair and free of prejudice or patronage as humanly possible’, was sceptical of changing the process at that time. The committee felt that the honours system should be viewed in the light of the many ‘deserving’ New Zealanders who had been honoured, rather than the few cases where patronage had been influential.⁶⁵ Rather than change the process, the committee advised increased publicity for the honours system, as well as providing a nomination form and attempting to raise awareness of the system among ‘all language and ethnic groups’.⁶⁶ Baguley acknowledged in 2004 a need for the public to better understand the honours system, including the structure of the New Zealand Order of

⁶¹ *It's an Honour: How to Nominate* (Awards and National Symbols branch of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet), available from http://www.itsanhonour.gov.au/about/how_to_nominate.html, accessed 20 June 2004.

⁶² Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 10.

⁶³ Townsend, p. 51.

⁶⁴ S. Raca, ‘Going ... going ... gong’, *The New Zealand Herald*, 4 November 1995, section 8, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 76-77.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

Merit. At the same time, he stressed that the vast majority of nominations in New Zealand are now made by the public, and that the few nominations from politicians are not viewed with particular favour.⁶⁷ This is different to the situation when Townsend wrote his thesis in the late 1970s, when he wrote that ‘most’ nominations were from politicians, local bodies and ‘other official organisations’.⁶⁸

Knights and dames: the historiography

The royal honours system has been neglected in academic study to a surprising degree. Very little has been written concerning honours in New Zealand, Australia or Canada, and even in the UK there has been little academic study of honours. Most of what has been written on the honours system, either academic or popular, has focused on patronage and politics, or has simply been reference material on the development and functioning of the constituent elements of the system. In terms of academic study, some work has been concerned with honours in the UK. In one article, H. J. Hanham dealt with honours in Victorian England, and in particular, with the sale of honours for political purposes; T. A. Jenkins similarly focused on the connections between honours and the financial support of the Liberal Unionist Party.⁶⁹ Some work has been done examining the prestigious Order of the Garter in medieval and Tudor times, including a chapter on the Order’s early history in D’Arcy Boulton’s *The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520*.⁷⁰ Official or semi-official histories have also been written for particular orders of chivalry, covering the historical development and changing nature of the composition, functioning and

⁶⁷ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

⁶⁸ Townsend, p. 31.

⁶⁹ Hanham, op cit.; Jenkins, op cit.

⁷⁰ D. A. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (New York, 1987), pp. 96-166. Also, for instance: R. B. Waddington, ‘Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24(1), Spring 1993; H. E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000); J. L. Gillespie, ‘Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George and of the Society of the Garter’, *Albion* 17(3), Fall 1985.

dispensation of these orders, and touching on controversies surrounding them.⁷¹ Brigadier Sir Ivan De la Bere, the Secretary of the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood for fifteen years, also authored a book on the orders of chivalry.⁷² It was carefully researched, and has value as an introduction to the history of the orders and their use. As well, Anthony M. Pamm produced a two volume reference work covering honours and decorations in the UK and the Commonwealth nations, and the rules and conventions associated with them.⁷³ Pamm's work provides a useful introduction and reference to the complexities of the system and the way it has been adapted by different Commonwealth nations, but little analysis. A number of catalogues of decorations have also been published, detailing the insignia for the various honours in both the British honours system and in other states' systems, of particular relevance to collectors.⁷⁴

Popular works have also appeared on the royal honours system in the UK, with a highly critical tone.⁷⁵ These works have focused on the scandals in the honours system, devoting a chapter or two to the notorious honours tout Maundy Gregory, or providing statistics to show that honours are given to certain sectors of the population disproportionately. By far the most polemical is the work of John Walker, who adopted in his book an unreservedly critical and cynical approach. He saw his treatment of the honours system in the UK as 'a story of patronage, privilege and politics, with a common thread: power'.⁷⁶ He appears to have set himself the task of exposing the system as riddled with hypocrisy, corruption, snobbery and a complete lack of honour. As the book is substantially without reference to his sources, it is of limited value, except as an example of the negative views that are sometimes taken of honours.

⁷¹ For example, J. C. Risk, *The History of the Order of the Bath and its insignia* (London, 1972); F. Hood, *The Chapel of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire* (Oxford, 1979); Galloway, op cit.

⁷² I. De la Bere, *The Queen's Orders of Chivalry* (London, 1961).

⁷³ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, op cit., vols. 1 and 2.

⁷⁴ For instance, Joslin, op cit.; R. Werlich, *Orders and Decorations of All Nations: Ancient and Modern, Civil and Military* (Washington DC, 1965).

⁷⁵ Walker, op cit.; M. De-la-Noy, *The Honours System* (London, 1985); J. McMillan, *The Honours Game* (London, 1969).

⁷⁶ Walker, p. 1.

In New Zealand, work on the honours system is in even shorter supply. Besides the short chapter in Pamm's *Honours and Rewards in the British Commonwealth*, basic introductions to the honours system and the awards given in New Zealand before 1996 are provided in a handful of biographical reference dictionaries on the recipients of honours.⁷⁷ Information on the history and current functioning of the honours system is also given in brief form officially, on the website for the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.⁷⁸ Academic study related to the honours system in New Zealand has largely focused on the colonial period, and publications can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Bruce Knox has written an article covering colonial honours in Australia and New Zealand, examining the intersections of democracy and aristocracy through the lens provided by existing and proposed honours.⁷⁹ Jon Peacocke wrote a thesis on honours in the colonial period, focused on issues of patronage, gentility, and social rituals and conventions.⁸⁰ As mentioned, one thesis has also been produced in political science, by Connal Townsend in 1977, examining political patronage in New Zealand, with one chapter using awards made within the honours system since 1960 as a case study.⁸¹ Popular comment on the honours system in New Zealand has been restricted to articles, editorials and letters published in magazines and newspapers, particularly on the changes to the system in 1996 and 2000.⁸²

⁷⁷ Duke, ed., op cit.; A. Taylor, ed., *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa* (Auckland, 1998); Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, op cit.; Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 1567-1594. A similar work was published in Australia. Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour*, op. cit.

⁷⁸ *New Zealand Honours* (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet), available from <http://www.dPMC.govt.nz/honours>, accessed 16 February 2004. Similar websites are also available for other states. For example: *It's an Honour* (Awards and National Symbols branch of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet), available from <http://www.itsanhonour.gov.au/>, accessed 20 June 2004; *Canadian Honours - Honour our Best* (Office of the Secretary to the Governor-General), available from http://www.gg.ca/honours/index_e.asp, accessed 20 June 2004.

⁷⁹ B. Knox, 'Democracy, Aristocracy and Empire: the Provision of Colonial Honours, 1818-1870', *Australian Historical Studies* 25(99), October 1992, pp. 244-264.

⁸⁰ Peacocke, op cit.

⁸¹ Townsend, op cit.

⁸² For example, Raea, p. 1; R. Laugesen, 'Knights and Dames face the knife', *Sunday Star Times*, 13 February 2000, accessed from Factiva; S. Upton, 'Titles are irrational but at least they honour top performers', *National Business Review*, 7 April 2000, accessed from Factiva; D. Fleming, 'Doing the Honours', *New Zealand Women's Weekly*, 10 April 2000, pp. 22-23; 'Discarding Titles', *The Christchurch*

Consideration of women's involvement in royal honours, in New Zealand or the UK, has been almost totally neglected. A number of the works on honours, academic or otherwise, mention women's participation, but cover this complex topic in a few sentences.⁸³ Peter Galloway's official history of the Order of the British Empire is an exception, having given the issue of female participation in the Order rather more space, and included a discussion of proposals to provide women with an equivalent decoration to the relatively common Knight Bachelor.⁸⁴ As well, popular articles in the media have occasionally touched upon women's participation in honours.⁸⁵ However, there has been no detailed study of women's participation in honours, and no collective study of the recipients of titles in New Zealand, although individual dames and knights or the organisations they were connected with have sometimes been written on.⁸⁶ This lack of consideration of women and honours may at first seem surprising, given the celebratory trend in early women's history, a trend which has continued to exist alongside later developments in New Zealand historiography. The field of women's history, which

Press, 15 February 2000, accessed from Factiva; 'Modern honours', *Otago Daily Times*, 2 January 2004, accessed from Factiva; J. Register, 'There ain't nothing like being a Dame ... or a knight ...' *The Evening Post*, 29 October 1994, p. 15; K. Purdy, 'Heroes to miss out on titles', *Sunday Star Times*, 19 March 2000, accessed from Factiva.

⁸³ For example: Risk, pp. 108-109; Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 167; *New Zealand Honours: History* (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet), available from <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/overview/history.html>, accessed 16 February 2004.

⁸⁴ Galloway, pp. 3, 6, 15-17, 53-58, for example.

⁸⁵ R. Bungay, 'Great Dames', *Grace: New Zealand*, June 1999, pp. 60-65; Fleming, op cit.

⁸⁶ D. Page, *The National Council of Women: A Centennial History* (Auckland, 1996); A. Else, ed., *Women Together: a history of women's organisations in New Zealand/Nga Ropu Wahine o te Motu* (Wellington, 1993). Chapters on particular dames, and knights, are found, for example, in: A. Simpson and P. Downes, *Southern Voices: International Opera Singers of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1992); A. Duff, *Alan Duff's Maori Heroes* (Auckland, 2000); E. C. Grayland, *More Famous New Zealanders* (Christchurch, 1972); E. C. Grayland, *Famous New Zealanders* (Christchurch, 1967); C. Macdonald, M. Penfold and B. Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women/Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* (Wellington, 1991); J. Wordsworth, *Leading Ladies: Twenty-three outstanding women* (Wellington, 1979). Some biographies have been written on dames, as on knights, including: J. Tonks, *Viva Malvina! The Lives of Dame Malvina Major* (Auckland, 2003); M. Anderson, *Nothing Like a Dame: A Biography of Dame Daphne Purves* (Christchurch, 1998); M. Lovell-Smith, *The Enigma of Sister Mary Leo: the story behind New Zealand's most famous singing teacher* (Auckland, 1998); D. Fingleton, *Kiri Te Kanawa: A Biography* (London and Auckland, 1982); G. Jenkins and S. d'Antal, *Kiri: her unsung story* (London, 1998); N. Harris, *Kiri: Music and a Maori Girl* (Wellington, 1966); M. King, *Whina: A Biography of Whina Cooper* (Auckland, 1991); D. Jillett, *Malvina: A Biography of Dame Malvina Major* (Auckland, 1995). As well, Ngaio Marsh wrote an autobiography: N. Marsh, *Black Beech and Honeydew: An Autobiography* (London, 1966).

developed in the 1970s, had as a central aim the recovery of women's experiences in the past. Work at that time was often celebratory, linked to second wave feminism. Frequently, studies were grounded in women's biology and emphasised women's values and culture. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's 'The Female World of Love and Ritual', focusing on the intense love and friendship between middle class women in nineteenth-century America, epitomises this approach.⁸⁷ The framework of public and private spheres ran through much of the early work, often re-valuing the separate female world of nurturing as positive and strengthening for women. Work in New Zealand that has recovered the history of women and their place in New Zealand society provides the context for this thesis.⁸⁸

The absence of honoured women in women's history is not so difficult to understand, however. Women who received royal honours at the titular level were honoured by the establishment and became part of a masculine system. These women are traditional heroines, and, through their entry into a system that presumed a male norm, 'honorary knights'. This thesis thus moves away from the celebration of feminist heroines to reveal gendering of honours, considering a minority of women who succeeded in a male-dominated structure, only some of whom considered themselves feminist, as well as the men who were the majority of those honoured. Many of these women have not been considered in counter-culture work that aimed to make previously neglected female subjects visible, or have reached the peak of their achievements and been honoured only in recent years. I have drawn from Katie Pickles' work on the first women to enter the traditionally male areas of academia and politics, for the honours

⁸⁷ C. Smith-Rosenberg, 'The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1(1), Fall 1975, p. 1-29.

⁸⁸ S. Coney, ed., *Standing in the Sunshine: a history of New Zealand women since they won the vote* (Auckland, 1993); Else, op cit.; A. Rogers and M. Simpson, eds., *Early Stories from Founding Members of the Maori Women's Welfare League/Te Timatanga Tatau Tatau, Te Ropu Wahine Maori Toku i te Ora, as told to Dame Mira Szaszy* (Wellington, 1993).

system is also a long-standing one, and only opened to women in the twentieth century.⁸⁹ Like female political leaders, dames were 'exceptions to the rule'.⁹⁰ In examining women in the honours system and depictions of dames in the media, this study also builds on work by Antonia Fraser that has addressed the mythology surrounding women in traditionally male spaces of power, and work by Pickles that examines the construction of New Zealand's national icons.⁹¹ Fraser has argued that the 'warrior queen', a female leader in wartime, is a 'singular exception' who stands out in the male-dominated public spaces of power.⁹² The 'aura' of exceptionalism that clings to the female leader also lingered in some sense around women who were honoured by being created dames.⁹³ Many women granted the title of dame have been referred to as a 'grand dame' or a 'great dame', and while some have been relatively unknown, others have been celebrity figures to whom the title has added a further lustre.⁹⁴ This aura is intensified by the 'aura of mystery and romance' that has been perceived as clinging to the honours system and the lists that appear twice yearly.⁹⁵ The crucial difference is that, although some dames were successful in traditionally masculine activities, other dames, far from being leaders in wartime as the 'warrior queen' was, served their communities in ways that recall traditional ideas of naturally 'feminine' activity. Women who have been visible in

⁸⁹ K. Pickles, 'Colonial Counterparts: the first academic women in Anglo-Canada, New Zealand and Australia', *Women's History Review* 10(2), 2001, pp. 273-297; K. Pickles, 'Exceptions to the Rule: Explaining the World's First Women Presidents and Prime Ministers', *History Now* 7(2), 2001, pp. 13-18. As well, Marian Sawyer has written on women's 'firsts' in politics and government, including the first women parliamentarians, prime ministers, premiers and Governors-General. For example, M. Sawyer, 'Suffrage Centenaries in Comparative Perspective', *Australian Canadian Studies* 22(1), 2004; M. Sawyer and M. Simms, *A Woman's Place: Women and Politics in Australia*, 2nd ed. (Sydney, 1993), particularly pp. 75-110, 137-139, 144-145.

⁹⁰ The phrase is from Pickles, 'Exceptions to the Rule', op cit.

⁹¹ A. Fraser, *The Warrior Queens: Boadicea's Chariot* (London, 1988); K. Pickles, 'Kiwi Icons and the Re-Settlement of New Zealand as Colonial Space', *New Zealand Geographer* 58(2), 2002, pp. 5-16.

⁹² Fraser, pp. 9-10.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁹⁴ For instance, Patricia Evison was termed a 'Grand Dame' in an article on her in 1998, while Barbara Goodman was called a 'Great Dame'. S. Pepperell, 'Leading Lady', *Waikato Times*, 29 April 1998, accessed from Factiva; C. Du Chateau, 'Great Dame: Barbara Goodman and the Politics of Niceness', *Metro*, August 1998, pp. 110-118. One of England's dames, Maggie Smith, was also labelled a 'great dame' in a New Zealand newspaper. T. Cardy, 'A great dame', *The Press*, 19 May 2004, section C, p. 3.

⁹⁵ Riddell, p. 9.

traditional history, or who have been female 'kiwi icons', were either 'super-womanly' or 'honorary men'.⁹⁶ In a similar way, the threads of exceptionalism in the lives and portrayals of dames can be contrasted with threads of continuing conformity to traditional images of the feminine.

This thesis also contributes to an understanding of female and male gender roles in twentieth-century New Zealand by examining the patterns in the granting of titular honours in New Zealand, and the representations of dames in popular culture. Gender history developed from challenges that arose to the framework of public and private, and to the celebration of women's culture, based on a recognition of the inherent risk of reasserting a biological determinism.⁹⁷ Gender history aimed to understand gender roles and relations, and the ways in which gender has been socially constructed and has operated in society. From within the field of feminist history, work on masculinity developed through the 1990s, moving on from the gender identity history that had continued to be concerned only with women, to consider the gender identity of men.⁹⁸ In New Zealand, however, the celebratory trend was reinforced by the celebration of the centenary of women's suffrage in 1993, when a number of books were published on women in the history of New Zealand, and this trend continues today.⁹⁹ Caroline Daley's study on the local community in Taradale remains one of few works in New Zealand using a gender history framework.¹⁰⁰ Feminist scholarship has also developed in the

⁹⁶ Pickles, 'Kiwi Icons', p. 13.

⁹⁷ L. K. Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *Journal of American History* 75, June 1988, pp. 9-39.

⁹⁸ For example: J. Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History*, revised ed. (Auckland, 1996); M. Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle Class Masculinity, 1870-1920* (Carlton South, Victoria, 2001); J. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago, 1996). The influence of women's and feminist history on this field is evident in Bourke's discussion of the historiography, and in her comments that the recent work on masculinity had meant that 'the words 'gender history'' ceased to be 'interchangeable with 'women's history''. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 18; J. Bourke, 'Masculinity, Men's Bodies and the Great War', *History Today* 46(2), February 1996, p. 8.

⁹⁹ For example, Coney, op cit.; Else, op cit.; Rogers and Simpson, eds., op cit.; S. Kedgley, *Mum's the Word: the Untold Story of Motherhood in New Zealand* (Auckland, 1996).

¹⁰⁰ C. Daley, *Girls and Women, Men and Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886-1930* (Auckland, 1999). There is also, for instance, C. Daley and D. Montgomerie, eds., *The Gendered Kiwi* (Auckland, 1999).

direction of recognising women's difference, in particular in terms of race and class, and these differences are acknowledged in this thesis.¹⁰¹

As Jock Phillips has shown in *A Man's Country?*, gender identity can be crucially linked to the issue of national identity, what it is perceived to be and how it is represented.¹⁰² Indeed, national identity has been an important aspect of popular discussion on honours in New Zealand. The honours system has been a space where issues of nationalism and independence have been raised, in the context of colonial ties to Britain, and it has not been uncommon for commentators to see the honours system as inappropriately imperial, particularly at the times when it has been reviewed. Moreover, the honours system has been discussed within a discourse of independence relating to New Zealand's constitutional arrangements, and it is therefore necessary to view it in the light of the continuing academic debate as to the level of independence evident in New Zealand's stance in the world and in its foreign policy.¹⁰³ As well, this thesis intersects with literature considering the elite and the wealthy in New Zealand, shedding light on the myth of egalitarianism as an element of national identity in New Zealand history.¹⁰⁴ Yet although the honours system has been a space in which these issues of national identity could be considered, and although issues of gender identity have been implicated in the royal honours system, questions of gender identity in relation to honours have not

¹⁰¹ See N. Armstrong and R. Du Plessis, 'Shifting Certainties, Complex Practices: Reflections on Feminist Research', in R. Du Plessis and L. Alice, eds., *Feminist Thought in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Differences and Connections* (Auckland, 1998), pp. 106-107.

¹⁰² Phillips, *A Man's Country?* The chapter on the 'pioneer man' is an example. Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp. 2-42.

¹⁰³ For example: J. Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland, 2001); W. D. McIntyre, 'Imperialism and Nationalism', in G. W. Rice, ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Auckland, 1992), pp. 337-347; W. D. McIntyre, 'From Dual Dependency to Nuclear Free', in G. W. Rice, ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Auckland, 1992), pp. 520-538; M. Templeton, *Ties of Blood and Empire: New Zealand's Involvement in Middle East Defence and the Suez Crisis 1947-57* (Auckland, 1994); M. Norrish, 'Introduction', in B. Brown, ed., *New Zealand in World Affairs III: 1972-1990* (Wellington, 1999), pp. 9-19.

¹⁰⁴ See, for instance: G. Hunt, *The Rich List: Wealth and Enterprise in New Zealand 1820-2000* (Auckland, 2000); S. Eldred-Grigg, *The Rich: A New Zealand History* (Auckland, 1996); J. McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840-1914* (Dunedin, 2002); S. Eldred-Grigg, *A Southern Gentry: New Zealanders who inherited the earth* (Wellington, 1980).

been discussed. Given the role of honours in acknowledging the value of people's contributions to society, such discussion is long overdue.

The structure of the thesis

In this thesis, examination of the connections between royal honours and gender identities and roles in twentieth-century New Zealand is begun. Approaching the honours system from a feminist perspective has allowed much about both feminine gender identity and, through the historically constructed dualism, masculine gender identity, to be visited. In the first chapter, the system itself is introduced, as a reproduction of a British institution in the setting of a settler society. Excepting the process of distributing honours, which has already been covered, the changes honours have undergone since 1917 are considered, and it is suggested that the class exclusivity and male norm existent in the British system continued to be present, to differing degrees, in the honours system in New Zealand over the twentieth century. The second chapter is focused more specifically on women's association with royal honours, particularly at the level of titles, and in New Zealand. The changes in women's relationship with honours are considered in the context of the shifts in women's circumstances and status over the period, and the ebb and flow of the feminist movement. These strands of change are contrasted with underlying continuities in women's relationship with honours and in perceived female gender roles.

Chapter Three centres around an examination of the services performed by dames, and knights, in New Zealand. The focus is on the ways in which honoured women, though exceptional, have remained linked to the traditionally feminine, in their work and in portrayals of them in the popular media. Continuing this focus on the services given by those honoured with a title in New Zealand, Chapter Four covers the other side of the paradox, the doubly exceptional women whose work has been non-traditional, yet who have been represented in the media in contradictory ways and who were honoured for work that was traditionally honoured work. That is, they worked in areas that were

common in the careers of honoured men, and which in that sense did not contradict the system's male norm. Throughout the thesis, the tensions between these contradictory themes are further deconstructed through an examination of the ways in which they have applied in the lived experiences of women granted a title in New Zealand, drawing particularly from interviews with such women. The paradoxes, ironies and tensions that have inhabited the honours system in relation to gender roles and identities are re-visited in the conclusion, and the importance of revealing these tensions in the ways we value the work of women and men is explicated. If the honours system is to continue to provide recognition for those who strove and succeeded in various areas in New Zealand, with or without titles, dualisms of masculine and feminine must be surpassed.

Chapter One

An elite male institution: reproducing British honours in New Zealand

Like a number of states that were historically part of the British Empire, New Zealand has had, for much of its history, an honours system closely linked to that of Britain. In an attempt to move from the British model of honours that was reproduced in the colony to a national system with a more distinctly New Zealand flavour, significant changes have been made to the New Zealand honours system. These changes have occurred relatively recently, making New Zealand considerably slower to abandon its ties to the British honours system than many other former colonies. Charges that the honours system was anachronistic can be seen as part of a wider debate about New Zealand's place in the world relative to that of other Commonwealth countries, and should be viewed in the light of discussion regarding New Zealand's shift to independence. As the current New Zealand honours system developed from the British model, the elite and exclusive nature of the British system interacted with a national identity that placed importance on the supposed egalitarianism of settler societies, opening possibilities for an honours system that was not dominated by an elite, or a male norm.

Knighthood and damehood in New Zealand: the British awards

British royal honours were distributed throughout the British Empire during the nineteenth century, a practice that began New Zealand's association with royal honours. From 1858, the honours system operating in New Zealand was essentially the British honours system, supplemented by a small number of uniquely New Zealand awards.¹⁰⁵ The New Zealand system at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is true, bears little resemblance to that operating in the nineteenth century, having undergone a number of important revisions in the intervening years. However, until 1975, New Zealanders were mostly simply eligible for British honours. Until 1996, New Zealand continued to

¹⁰⁵ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 1568.

use British honours to reward its citizens, alongside the new indigenous awards created after 1975, while all titular honours available in New Zealand continued to come from the British honours system.

Of those titular honours, Knight Bachelor is the oldest, dating to the reign of Henry III (1216-1252). Unlike the other titles bestowing knighthood that were dispensed in New Zealand prior to 1996, Knights Bachelor do not belong to a Royal Order. Rather, the title is directly linked to the 'fighting knights of the middle ages' from which the orders of chivalry have come.¹⁰⁶ In the nineteenth century, the Colonial Office bestowed the honour of Knight Bachelor in New Zealand, as it did throughout the British Empire.¹⁰⁷ By 1996, the honour was an important element in the New Zealand royal honours system, with Knights Bachelor forming by far the largest group of knights created in New Zealand, totalling 250 between 1917 and 1996.¹⁰⁸ In Australia too, awards of Knight Bachelor formed the majority of knighthoods given during the period when British honours were used, 936 being created since 1901.¹⁰⁹ New Zealand's first Knight Bachelor was Charles Clifford, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in 1858. The first Knight Bachelor to have been born in New Zealand was James Mills, who was knighted in 1907 and who then received the KCMG in 1909, while Clifford had been made a Baronet in 1887. The first Maori knight was also a Knight Bachelor, James Carroll, in 1911, fifty-three years after Clifford received his honour.¹¹⁰ No women have yet been given this honour, either in New Zealand or in the UK, as the very title by definition excludes women.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Taylor, ed., *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa*, 1998, p. 37; Pine, p. 116.

¹⁰⁷ Peacocke, p. 77.

¹⁰⁸ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

¹⁰⁹ *It's an Honour: The Medals - Imperial Honours* (Awards and National Symbols branch of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet), available from <http://www.itsanhonour.gov.au/about/imperial.html>, accessed 20 June 2004.

¹¹⁰ *New Zealand Honours: History*, <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/overview/history.html>. Captain George Grey was the 'first person resident in New Zealand' to be made a knight, receiving a knighthood in the Order of the Bath (a KCB) in 1848. Ibid.

¹¹¹ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

Much rarer in New Zealand have been awards to the Most Noble Order of the Garter. A mere two New Zealand recipients of this award appear in the *New Zealand Gazette* since 1917, Keith Holyoake in 1980 and Edmund Hillary in 1995.¹¹² A single class order limited to twenty-four Knights Companion since 1831, the Garter has usually been given to 'British and foreign royalty', 'English peers' and, after 1918, 'distinguished commoners' such as Prime Ministers.¹¹³ The Order is officially recognised as having been founded in 1348 by Edward III, and has been considered one of the most valued orders in Europe, and in the world.¹¹⁴ An oft-quoted tradition holds that the order was created after the King picked up a garter dropped by a lady at his court, and in response to criticism proclaimed that he would make the garter much honoured; hence the motto of the order is '*Honi soyt qui mal y pense*' (Shame on him who thinks evil of it).¹¹⁵ However, although it has been suggested that the story could contain some truth, because fourteenth-century knights did wear pieces of a lady's clothing to show 'devotion', the origin of the symbol of the garter is in much doubt.¹¹⁶

Medieval echoes are also clearly evident in the Most Honourable Order of the Bath. This order was constituted in 1725, but the creation of Knights of the Bath can be traced as far back as the fourteenth century. The custom from which the order takes its name, a ritual whereby new knights had to bathe before being dubbed, symbolically 'washing away any impurities', can be traced further still, to at least the twelfth century.¹¹⁷ This honour was available throughout the British Empire, having been

¹¹² 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

¹¹³ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 192.

¹¹⁴ De la Bere, pp. 49, 52-55; Taylor, ed., *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa*, 1998, p. 21; *Orders* (Ceremonial Secretariat), available from <http://www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/ceremonial/index/orders.htm>, accessed 20 June 2004.

¹¹⁵ For instance: Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour*, p. 14; De la Bere, pp. 55-58; Boulton, pp. 155-157; *The Queen's Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Orders of Chivalry: Order of the Garter* (The Royal Household), available from <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page490.asp>, accessed 26 October 2004.

¹¹⁶ Boulton, pp. 155-157; De la Bere, pp. 55-58.

¹¹⁷ Risk, pp. 1-10; De la Bere, p. 100; Joslin, p. 30; *The Queen's Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Orders of Chivalry: Order of the Bath* (The Royal Household), available from <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page495.asp>, accessed 26 October 2004.

gradually expanded from a single class honour to have, by 1847, a civil and a military division, both with three classes: Knights and Dames Grand Cross (GCB), Knights and Dames Commander (KCB/DCB) and Companions (CB).¹¹⁸ One appointment as a GCB appears in the *New Zealand Gazette* between 1917 and 1996, that of Sidney Holland in 1957, upon leaving the office of Prime Minister of New Zealand.¹¹⁹ There are also four appointments as KCB recorded in that period, two in the military division, and two in the civil division. Appointments to the third class have been more numerous, with sixty-four CBs announced, fifty-seven of those in the military division. None of the appointments to the Bath have been of women, just as there have been no female appointments to the Order of the Garter in New Zealand.¹²⁰

Another order of chivalry became available to New Zealanders in 1868, the Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George. Those involved in administering honours had found it difficult to accommodate the ‘numerous claimants’ of honours in the colonies, given the statutory limits on already available honours. Earlier proposals for a solely colonial order of chivalry had been discarded, and the idea of hereditary colonial honours was also rejected.¹²¹ The Order of St Michael and St George had originally been a reward for services relating to the Ionian Islands and Malta, but it was ‘re-invented’ in 1868 to cover colonial service throughout the empire, and placed below the Bath in the official order of wear.¹²² The order was in particular to be a reward for ‘extraordinary and important civil service’, and for ‘high and confidential office’.¹²³ The statutes also allowed the honour to be given to those who had ‘become eminently Distinguished [in the colonies] by their Talents, Merits, Virtues, Loyalty, or Services’.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Peacocke, p. 80; De la Bere, pp. 102-120.

¹¹⁹ ‘Database of titular honours, 1917-2000’, see Appendix Two.

¹²⁰ ‘Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000’, see Appendix One.

¹²¹ Peacocke, pp. 81-82.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 125; Knox, p. 246; Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 219.

¹²³ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 191.

¹²⁴ Draft statutes approved by the Queen, 30 November 1868, CO. 447/9, fos 151-65, quoted in Knox, p. 247.

As with the Order of the Bath, there are three classes: Knights and Dames Grand Cross (GCMG), Knights and Dames Commander (KCMG/DCMG) and Companions (CMG). All classes were awarded in New Zealand between 1917 and 1996, particularly the CMG, of which there were 266 male recipients and seven female recipients. In the same period there were eleven Knights Grand Cross created, one Dame Grand Cross, thirty-three Knights Commander and two Dames Commander. Catherine Tizard received the GCMG, while Lady Norma Holyoake and Ann Hercus both received DCMGs. Before Lady Holyoake received the DCMG in 1980, no dames had been created within this order in New Zealand. As these statistics show, female participation in the order was low throughout its use in New Zealand, at just over 3% across all levels of the honour.¹²⁵

Another order of chivalry that has been occasionally awarded in New Zealand is the Royal Victorian Order, established in 1896 by Queen Victoria. In the personal gift of the sovereign, this order was intended to escape the mounting 'influence' of prime ministers and governments over the awarding of honours.¹²⁶ It is given to those who have given 'extraordinary, or important, or personal service to the Sovereign' or 'merit Royal favour'.¹²⁷ Five classes are included in the order: Knights and Dames Grand Cross (GCVO), Knights and Dames Commander (KCVO/DCVO), Commanders (CVO), Lieutenants (LVO) and Members (MVO). The fourth class was originally known as 'Members of the fourth class'. A medal is associated with the order, the Royal Victorian Medal (RVM). Most awards of the Royal Victorian Order in New Zealand have been made on the occasion of a royal tour, with a total of seven New Zealanders awarded the GCVO, nine the KCVO, and none the DCVO. Despite the different character of this honour, only one award of the GCVO was to a woman, to Catherine Tizard in 1995, and,

¹²⁵ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

¹²⁶ Joslin, p. 44.

¹²⁷ Duke, ed., p. 163.

of the 112 awards made in the lower classes, a mere ten have been female (a little under 9%).¹²⁸

Finally, the British order of chivalry that has been most commonly awarded in New Zealand is the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. This order provided the major instrument for honouring New Zealanders between 1917 and 1975, and remained a central part of the honours system until 1996. It was instituted in 1917 on a significantly larger scale than the previously existing orders, for the purpose of providing a sufficient instrument to honour the large numbers of people, including women, who had been mobilised for war between 1914 and 1918, particularly in non-combatant work.¹²⁹ Despite some suggestions that the order cease to be awarded after World War One, it was reorganised for peacetime, and from December 1918 had both a military and a civil division, governed by its statutes.¹³⁰ The statutes reissued in 1970 required the recipient to give 'important services' to the United Kingdom, Commonwealth states where Elizabeth II was Queen, or other territories administered by the Crown.¹³¹ There are five classes in the order, as well as an associated British Empire Medal (BEM): Knights and Dames Grand Cross (GBE), Knights and Dames Commander (KBE/DBE), Commanders (CBE), Officers (OBE) and Members (MBE).

The inclusion of women among the recipients of the Order of the British Empire since its inception in 1917 is considered in one official history to be the 'greatest innovation of all' in the new honour.¹³² Prior to the creation of the Order of the British Empire, other than a handful of awards exclusively for women and the honouring of Royal women, Indian princesses and those given private Royal honours, only one woman had been appointed to an official order: Florence Nightingale, given the non-titular Order

¹²⁸ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

¹²⁹ Galloway, pp. 1-2, 19-20; A. W. Thorpe, ed., *Burke's Handbook to the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, containing biographies, a full list of persons appointed to the order, showing their relative precedence, and coloured plates of the insignia* (London, 1921), pp. 9-10.

¹³⁰ Galloway, pp. 45-52.

¹³¹ 'Statutes of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire' (1970), ATL, p. 3.

¹³² Hood, p. 1.

of Merit in 1907.¹³³ Yet between 1917 and 1996, women made up only 20.5% of appointments across all levels of honours bestowed in this order, excluding the BEM, published in the *New Zealand Gazette* between 1917 and 1996. Of these appointments, the majority given at the level of OBE or higher were bestowed after 1970.¹³⁴ Interestingly, at the time of the creation of the Order of the British Empire, the concern was also expressed that there was no decoration for men that was equivalent to the Royal Red Cross (RRC), which was for women only, and that male doctors, surgeons, volunteer ambulance drivers, stretcher bearers, orderlies and other men in similar positions would be unrewarded after the war.¹³⁵

Honours lists published in the *New Zealand Gazette* show a very clear pattern in relation to which types of titular honour were most often granted. These lists name 163 men and women appointed to the first and second classes of the Order of the British Empire, making this order the only one to give titular honours in numbers that came anywhere close to those of Knights Bachelor. Nearly 80% of the knights in New Zealand were granted either a KBE or the honour of Knight Bachelor, and a similar majority of dames in New Zealand (just over 70%) were granted the DBE. Among the lower three classes of the Order of the British Empire, the lists between 1917 and 1996 show 734 CBEs of both divisions awarded, 1826 OBEs and 3150 MBEs, as well as many recipients of the associated BEM.¹³⁶

Reviewing honours: the changing New Zealand honours system from 1975

After a review of the system, major changes to New Zealand's royal honours system were introduced in 1975. At this time, the Queen's Service Order (QSO) was

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 1-2. Nightingale came to be identified as the 'founder of modern secular nursing'. B. M. Dossey, *Florence Nightingale: Mystic, Visionary, Healer* (Springhouse, Pennsylvania, 2000), p. 224.

¹³⁴ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One. Awards of the MBE to women do not show a clear trend of increasing or decreasing numbers of award over the period. In fact, such awards steadily decreased as a percentage of the total number of MBEs awarded between 1950 and 1990. Ibid.

¹³⁵ Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood, OBE Institution Letters Box, Memorandum by Sir Frederick Ponsonby, November 1915, quoted in Galloway, p. 3.

¹³⁶ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

created, and incorporated into the honours system as a ‘distinctive New Zealand honour’.¹³⁷ The QSO is divided into community service and public service awards, as is the medal associated with it, the Queen’s Service Medal (QSM). Officially, it is to recognise ‘Valuable Voluntary Service and Meritorious and Faithful Services to the Crown or similar services within the public sector in elected or appointed office’.¹³⁸ Quickly assimilated into the honours system, the award has been used extensively in New Zealand honours lists since 1975, and continues to be used so today. From the first awards made in 1975 until the New Year’s list in 2000 (inclusive), 726 QSOs and 2821 QSMs were distributed, with approximately 45% of those going to women, a far larger proportion than in any order created earlier.¹³⁹ Further specifically New Zealand elements were introduced into the honours system in 1987, with the creation of the single class, non-titular Order of New Zealand (ONZ). That honour, despite being non-titular, was placed above most titular honours in the order of wear.

1995 saw the next significant review of the system. The Prime Minister’s Advisory Committee set up in January 1995 was instructed to consider various aspects of the honours system in New Zealand, including the ‘purpose and coverage’ of the system, the ‘appropriateness’ of the mix of British and New Zealand honours, and the possibility of establishing new honours or altering the indigenous ones.¹⁴⁰ Modification of the British honours then in use was not a possibility, as they were ‘not ours to change’.¹⁴¹ Following a process of investigation and gathering submissions, the Committee produced a report, the major recommendations of which were a move to an honours system composed entirely of ‘distinctive New Zealand-based honours’, the cessation of recommendations for British imperial honours, the establishment of a New Zealand Order

¹³⁷ *New Zealand Honours: History*, <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/overview/history.html>.

¹³⁸ ‘Queen’s Service Order’, *The New Zealand Numismatic Journal* 14(2), June 1976, p. 13.

¹³⁹ ‘Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000’, see Appendix One. In the Queen’s Birthday list for 2004, fifteen QSOs and seventy-one QSMs were announced, along with one additional and one honorary QSM. ‘Queen’s Birthday Honours’, *The Press*, 7 June 2004, section A, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ Prime Minister’s Honours Advisory Committee, p.1.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

of Merit to replace the British orders of chivalry, and the discontinuation of titular honours.¹⁴²

The report stressed the desirability of giving the system a greater New Zealand flavour, incorporating Maori culture into the system, increasing the participation of women, and raising the importance of merit rather than rank or office in making awards.¹⁴³ Although the recommendation to dispense with titular honours was not immediately taken up, the report did signal a major change in the honours system. Recommendations for appointments to the British orders of chivalry ceased, being replaced in 1996 by appointment to the New Zealand Order of Merit. The new order was constituted by five levels, with the first two classes being titular. The levels were familiar, based on the pattern of the British orders: Knights and Dames Grand Companion (GNZM), Knights and Dames Companion (KNZM), Companions (CNZM), Officers (ONZM) and Members (MNZM). Appointments to the New Zealand Order of Merit require 'meritorious service to the Crown and the nation' in any area of activity, or that the nominee is 'distinguished by their eminence, talents, contributions or other merits'.¹⁴⁴ As had been urged in the 1995 report, the design of the new insignia incorporated more New Zealand elements, including Maori designs.¹⁴⁵

The New Zealand Order of Merit currently remains the chief order to which those honoured in New Zealand are appointed, although the order itself has undergone one particularly significant change in the cessation of titular awards in May 2000. Those appointed to the first and second levels of the order, previously GNZM and KNZM or DNZM, are now known as Principal Companions (PCNZM) and Distinguished Companions (DCNZM). The Prime Minister's Advisory Committee had argued that

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 4, 6-8, 30-32, 45, 50-57.

¹⁴⁴ 'Nomination for a New Zealand Royal Honour', nomination form, from *New Zealand Honours: Nominations*, available from <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/nominations/>, accessed 9 February 2005.

¹⁴⁵ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 7, 51-52; 'NZ Herald of Arms celebrates 25 years in the job', New Zealand Press Association, 5 February 2003, accessed from Factiva.

titles had ‘a lustre that dims’ other honours, including the higher ONZ, and Prime Minister Helen Clark was quoted as arguing that titles were eclipsing and ‘devaluing our top honour’.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, some have argued that titles bestow more recognition on worthy recipients. As recently as January 2004, Richard Prebble, then leader of the centre-right ACT party, called for the return of titular honours, on the grounds that titles gave greater world recognition to the recipient. He reportedly complained that with letters after people’s names but no titles, ‘I don’t know whether they’ve received an order from the Queen or whether they’re a member of the New Zealand society of optometrists’.¹⁴⁷ The higher visibility of awards with titles was also seen as a positive in a letter written to *The Press*, in which the writer claimed that titles before names were easily remembered, and that without them, such awards would ‘be seldom referred to’.¹⁴⁸ As a woman who has received a title, Malvina Major also regards the cessation of the award of titles as ‘a shame’, because a title is a more visible recognition of someone’s work than letters behind their name, which people may not know are there. Major suggested in an interview that New Zealand should rather have created its own ‘method of saying someone has an honour’ if not referring to recipients as ‘Sir’.¹⁴⁹

Neither the 1996 reforms nor the removal of titular honours affected New Zealanders’ availability for honours bestowed personally by the sovereign.¹⁵⁰ The committee concluded that as they were rare, part of New Zealand’s heritage and ‘of so distinct a character’, they should remain available.¹⁵¹ These honours are termed ‘dynastic honours’, and those of relevance in the New Zealand context are the Order of the Garter,

¹⁴⁶ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 72; M. Brockett, 'Dames and Knights could go if review implemented', *The Dominion*, 14 February 2000, accessed from Factiva.

¹⁴⁷ M. Quirke, 'Bring back knights to remember, says Prebble', *Dominion Post*, 1 January 2004, accessed from Factiva.

¹⁴⁸ W. J. Gaudin, *The Press*, 23 March 2000, accessed from Factiva.

¹⁴⁹ Major, Dame Malvina, interview with the author, 4 November 2004, Christchurch.

¹⁵⁰ *New Zealand Honours: History*, <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/overview/history.html>.

¹⁵¹ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 46.

the Royal Victorian Order, and the non-titular Order of Merit.¹⁵² As well, appointments to the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem continue, as it is a ‘semi-independent’ order, not granted on the recommendation of Cabinet ministers.¹⁵³ It consists of six classes, none of which give the holder the right to use the title of ‘Sir’ or ‘Dame’.¹⁵⁴ In this limited way, imperial ties to Britain have been preserved in honours in New Zealand. The changing availability of honours in New Zealand is summarised in the table in Figure Two below.

Figure Two:
Royal honours applicable in New Zealand between 1917 and 2000

Dynastic Honours	British State Honours	New Zealand Royal Honours
The Order of the Garter • KG 1348-	The Order of the Bath • GCB, KCB/DCB, CB 1725-1996	<i>The Order of New Zealand</i> • ONZ 1987-
The Royal Victorian Order • GCVO, KCVO/DCVO, CVO, LVO, MVO, RVM 1896-	The Order of St Michael and St George • GCMG, KCMG/DCMG, CMG 1818-1996	The New Zealand Order of Merit • GNZM, KNZM/DNZM, CNZM, ONZM, MNZM 1996- (titles removed 2000, replaced with PCNZM, DCNZM)
<i>The Order of Merit</i> • OM 1902-	The Order of the British Empire • GBE, KBE/DBE, CBE, OBE, MBE, BEM 1917-1996	<i>Queen’s Service Order</i> • QSO, QSM 1975-
	Knight Bachelor (not an order) c. ninth century-1996	
	<i>The Order of the Companions of Honour</i> • CH 1917-1996	

Notes:

Table excludes the semi-independent Order of St John, and honours at the level of decorations.

Honours in italics are non-titular.

Dates given show the years during which the honour has existed as an order. Note that the Order of St Michael and St George was re-ordered as a general colonial honour in 1868.

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 39-40.

¹⁵³ *New Zealand Honours: History*, <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/overview/history.html>.

¹⁵⁴ Prime Minister’s Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 41-42.

Exclusivity and elitism in British honours

Central to the issue of whether or not to continue awarding titles in New Zealand was a perceived conflict between the traditionally exclusive, elite nature of the British honours system and the myth of egalitarianism in settler societies. In one sense, exclusivity has always been crucial to honours, at all levels. A recurring concern of those involved in instituting and administering royal honours has been that the awards be sufficiently exclusive as to be valued in the eyes of the public and of the recipients; as marks of royal favour, honours are intended to be select. Sir Ivan De La Bere, the Secretary of the Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood between 1945 and 1960, wrote that if honours were given ‘too lavishly’, there would be ‘little pleasure in gaining them and little pride in holding them’.¹⁵⁵ The statutory limitations on membership that exist in most orders, usually in the titled first and second, and sometimes the third, classes of award, are a means of ensuring this exclusivity. Limits have been altered over time to accommodate the increasing numbers of people ‘eligible’ for awards.¹⁵⁶

The history of the Order of the British Empire clearly displays the interplay between concerns to retain the exclusivity, and hence the value, of honours, and to have sufficient awards available to reward the deserving. Sir Frederick Ponsonby, who was the Keeper of the Privy Purse and the person who led and organised the discussions leading to the creation of the Order, raised the concern in 1917 that if it were awarded too generously, it would ‘be considered of no value at all, and nobody will take it’.¹⁵⁷ As it was, with the new order being dispensed in much greater numbers than any earlier British order of chivalry, some of those offered honours in it declined them, or expressed displeasure at not receiving a higher award or an award in a more prestigious order.¹⁵⁸ Jokes were made about the new honour, including references to it as a ‘mushroom order’,

¹⁵⁵ De la Bere, p. 21.

¹⁵⁶ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 179.

¹⁵⁷ Galloway, pp. 1-2, 18-19.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-45; De la Bere, p. 146.

as the 'Order of the Bad Egg' and as the 'Order for Britain's Everybody'.¹⁵⁹ After initial generous use of the Order of the British Empire to reward services in World War One, awards in the order were restricted in 1922, with, for example, a total of thirty GBEs in the civil division to be created in the UK, and thirty in the Dominions.¹⁶⁰ When the statutes were re-issued in 1970, a limit was set of forty GBEs in the civil division for the UK, and thirty-nine for the Commonwealth or in relation to foreign affairs.¹⁶¹

However, the exclusive nature of the British honours system was not merely based on a concern that numbers of honours given not be so high as to lower the value of the awards. The system was also an elite institution in relation to class. Until the early nineteenth century in the UK, the award of honours within the orders of chivalry was confined to those of noble birth or with high military rank.¹⁶² As the range of honours was gradually expanded, with the extension of the Order of the Bath and the creation of the Orders of St Michael and St George and the British Empire, honours did become available to a wider range of people. The Order of the British Empire has been described, on the official website of the British monarchy, as 'the order of chivalry of the British democracy', as it is awarded for a extensive variety of services and '[v]aluable service is the only criterion'.¹⁶³

There remained a degree of bias on the grounds of class, however, especially in the UK. During the discussion of how many levels to include in the proposed Order of the British Empire (as it would become), and how to organise it, a remark by Ponsonby displayed the impact of class on royal honours in the early twentieth century:

¹⁵⁹ Galloway, pp. 42-43; De la Bere, p. 146.

¹⁶⁰ Galloway, pp. 50-52.

¹⁶¹ 'Statutes of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire' (1970), p. 5.

¹⁶² De la Bere, pp. 14-15; *The Queen's Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Orders of Chivalry* (The Royal Household), available from <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page347.asp>, accessed 26 October 2004.

¹⁶³ *The Queen's Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Orders of Chivalry: Order of the British Empire* (The Royal Household), available from <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page498.asp>, accessed 26 October 2004.

If an Admiral of the Fleet jumps overboard and saves the King's life, he gets the Grand Cross; if a Midshipman rescues the Monarch from the deep, he receives the lowest class.¹⁶⁴

Clearly, the issue of who received which decoration and for what, was not simply a matter of the value of the services to the country or to humanity. Anthony M. Pamm, in his 1995 reference work on honours and awards, acknowledged that class and position affected the level of honour one might receive in the UK, and even provided a table giving the usual military ranks or civil positions to whom different honours were awarded.¹⁶⁵ Honours in the UK continue to be perceived in 2004 as 'part of a class system, where the MBEs go to the common people and the KBEs to civil servants'.¹⁶⁶ David Baguley agreed that class and rank had been relevant in the past to which honour or level of honour one might receive, as with gallantry decorations that had been reserved for officers. For instance, he suggested that under the British system, if a man had deserved a knighthood, class status could determine what type of knighthood was awarded, with members of distinguished families receiving more prestigious awards like the KCMG and working class men receiving the lower award of Knight Bachelor. However, he also noted that a man was often not working as a diplomat or holding high office unless he was from a particular background in any case; one's situation in society affected one's opportunities.¹⁶⁷

The elite flavour of the royal honours system in the UK was also evident in the criticism that was made of the first grants of honours to those involved in industry and commerce. From the late nineteenth century, related to the 'social changes' that saw the influence of the landed aristocracy decline in relation to the influence of the '*nouveaux riches*', those made wealthy through commerce and industry, honours were increasingly

¹⁶⁴ Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood, OBE Letters, Box 1, Sir Frederick Ponsonby to Sir Edward Troup, 20 May 1916, quoted in Galloway, p. 5.

¹⁶⁵ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, pp. 188-195.

¹⁶⁶ Dr Martin Farr, quoted in N. Morrison, 'A dishonourable practice?' *Northern Echo*, 14 July 2004, p. 14.

¹⁶⁷ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

awarded to successful commercial figures in the UK.¹⁶⁸ The rise of self-made men in society through commerce and industry appears to have been thus paralleled by their entering the honours system and receiving titular honours. Some disapproval of these honours was expressed in the UK, focused on an elite dislike of granting royal honours, particularly at the level of the peerage, to those earning money from trade and speculation on the stock exchange, rather than to those involved in politics.¹⁶⁹

Exclusivity and elitism in New Zealand?

When the British model of honours was reproduced in the settler society of New Zealand, it might be expected that its elite nature was also reproduced. Baguley draws a distinction between practices in the UK, where he feels that an ‘unwritten’ class structure exists even now in the honours system, and in New Zealand.¹⁷⁰ Yet, while a thorough class analysis of the New Zealand honours system’s functioning and recipients is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is suggested that there were still ways in which the honours system remained an elite institution in twentieth-century New Zealand, and this deserves further study. A number of knights engaged in commercial activity, for instance, were wealthy.¹⁷¹ As well, distinctions were made on the grounds of occupational status, for instance, if not by birth. A former Prime Minister did not receive the lower award of Knight Bachelor if the quotas of GCMGs and GBEs were full.¹⁷² While it was possible to come from a poor background to reach an important position, the elite nature of the honours system still existed in the predominance of awards given for medical, academic, legal, political and diplomatic services. Similarly, community service work, an important area of work for many dames, has traditionally been the preserve of elite women, who were able to give their time to it. A 1959 piece in *The Weekly News* also suggested an

¹⁶⁸ Hanham, pp. 278-279.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 285-286.

¹⁷⁰ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

¹⁷¹ For example, knights appear throughout Graeme Hunt’s *The Rich List*, including Michael Fay, Patrick Goodman, Ronald Brierley, Jack Butland, Henry Kelliher, William Goodfellow, William Stevenson and many more. Hunt, pp. 194, 242, 266.

¹⁷² Townsend, p. 29.

elite strand to titular honours in New Zealand, in terms of occupation, the writer noting that in the ten years of honours lists he or she had studied, twenty-two of fifty-six knights carried a title of a sort already, such as ‘Mr Justice, or Q.C., doctor (both medical and scientific) [*sic*] professor or honourable’.¹⁷³ The importance of the legal, academic and medical professions, and of public service, in the careers of those given titular honours in twentieth-century New Zealand, which is further discussed in Chapters Three and Four, reflects the rise of professional society since the nineteenth century. Society remained hierarchical, albeit in a somewhat altered form, and the increased prestige attaching to the professions may thus be seen as reflected in honours granted to those involved in the professions.¹⁷⁴

Further, an elite aspect to the award of titular honours in New Zealand is suggested by an analysis of the education that knights and dames had received. Over a third of those made knights, 39.8% or 175, had obtained a university degree, or in some cases, more than one, as had at least twenty-seven (48.2%) of those made dames.¹⁷⁵ As well, many knights and dames attended older or prestigious secondary schools. Among knights, thirty-seven, or 8.4%, attended the Auckland Grammar School and College; twenty-seven, or 6.1%, the Wellington College and Grammar School; twenty-three, or 5.2%, the Wanganui Collegiate School; and twenty each, or 4.5%, went to Christ’s College and Otago Boys’ High School.¹⁷⁶ In comparison, schools such as New Plymouth

¹⁷³ Investigator, p. 3. Similarly, in his study in 1977, Townsend argued that the honours system was ‘the preserve of the status conscious upper middle class’, with a majority of recipients involved in government, public service work, business and community service. Townsend, p. 94.

¹⁷⁴ For an analysis of the rise of the professional ideal in England, see H. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880*, revised ed. (London and New York, 2002), particularly pp. 9, 17-26, 456-457.

¹⁷⁵ All editions of *Who’s Who in New Zealand* and *New Zealand Who’s Who Aotearoa; Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*; Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, op cit. These are conservative figures because education data was not easily available on a number of knights and dames, and because these figures do not include those who attended university but for whom no information was readily available as to whether, or with what degree, they graduated. Further research would therefore be valuable into this area, able to contribute to greater understanding of the interaction of myth and reality in terms of New Zealand’s supposedly classless identity.

¹⁷⁶ These schools, excepting Wellington College and Grammar, were all singled out by Stevan Eldred-Grigg as prestigious schools attended by the sons of the elite and the wealthy, particularly in the nineteenth century. He also viewed King’s College, Nelson College and Waitaki Boys’ High as having a similar

Boys' High, Timaru Boys' High and Napier Boys' High all produced ten or fewer knights over the years since 1917. Among dames, patterns are much less evident, possibly due to the much smaller total number. However, a hint of a similar pattern is clear: four, or 7.1% of dames, attended Epsom Girls' Grammar School; three, or 5.4%, attended Auckland Girls' Grammar School and Otago Girls' High; and two each, or 3.6%, attended Diocesan High School for Girls in Auckland, St Mary's College in Auckland, Wellington Girls' High School or Girls' College, Solway College in Masterton and Wanganui Girls' College (see Figure Three below). Although much change did occur between 1917 and 2000, the predominance of tertiary education and of secondary education at older, prestigious schools does suggest that an elite aspect continued to exist in the award of titles in New Zealand, with old boys' and girls' networks in operation. Since those receiving this education may have more easily reached positions where honours were traditionally awarded, such as in government or the judiciary, the weighting of the honours system towards these people may be considered indirect rather than direct.

Figure Three:
Schooling of knights and dames

Secondary schools attended by men who were knighted between 1917 and 2000

School	Number	Percent
Auckland Grammar and College	37	8.4
Wellington College and Grammar	27	6.1
Wanganui Collegiate	23	5.2
Christ's College	20	4.5
Otago Boys' High School	20	4.5
Christchurch Boys' High School	15	3.4
Waitaki Boys' High School	11	2.5
Nelson College	11	2.5
Napier Boys' High School	10	2.3
St Patrick's College	9	2.0
King's College, Auckland	9	2.0
Te Aute College	9	2.0
Timaru Boys' High School	8	1.8
Mt Albert Grammar	8	1.8
Southland Boys' High School	7	1.6

heritage. Eldred-Grigg, *A Southern Gentry*, pp. 84, 157-159; Eldred-Grigg, *The Rich*, pp. 153-158, 229-230. These schools also feature as having significant numbers of future knights among their pupils.

Christchurch West District High School	7	1.6
New Plymouth Boys' High School	6	1.4
Eton	5	1.1
Palmerston North Boys' High School	5	1.1
Scots College	4	0.9
Marlborough High School/College	4	0.9
Sacred Heart College	3	0.7
Thames High School	3	0.7
St Bede's College	3	0.7
Hastings High School	3	0.7
Hutt Valley High School	3	0.7
Rotorua District High School	3	0.7
Otahuhu College	2	0.5
St Andrew's College, Christchurch	2	0.5
Harrow	2	0.5
Balclutha High School/District High School	2	0.5
Te Kuiti District High School	2	0.5
Waimate High School/District High School	2	0.5
Gore High School/District High School	2	0.5
King Edward Grammar, Birmingham	2	0.5
Whangarei High School	2	0.5
Wellington Technical College	2	0.5
King Edward Technical College	2	0.5
Greymouth District High School	2	0.5
Ashburton High School	2	0.5
Wairarapa College	2	0.5
Other	140	31.8
Uncertain	35	8.0

Secondary schools attended by women made dames between 1917 and 2000

School	Number	Percent
Epsom Girls Grammar	4	7.1
Auckland Girls Grammar	3	5.4
Otago Girls' High School	3	5.4
Diocesan High School for Girls, Auckland	2	3.6
St Mary's College, Auckland	2	3.6
Wellington Girls' High School/Girls College	2	3.6
Wanganui Girls College	2	3.6
Solway College	2	3.6
Other	30	53.6
Uncertain	15	26.8

Notes

Percentages are rounded to one decimal place. The total of the numbers in the second column does not add to 440 or 56, as some knights and dames attended more than one school. The category of 'other' includes those who may not have attended high school at all and many of those who attended schools overseas, as well as those who attended other schools in New Zealand.

Sources

All editions of *Who's Who in New Zealand* and *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa; Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*;

A. Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour: New Zealanders who have served their country in peace and war, 150 years: 1845-1945* (Auckland, 1998).

Egalitarianism, national identity and independence

Despite this strain of elitism in royal honours in New Zealand, the country's history as a settler society without an hereditary aristocracy has led to its society being perceived as egalitarian. The recurring discourse of egalitarianism that made perceived classlessness a central aspect of national identity was crucial in the cessation of awards of titles. As early as the nineteenth century, there were some voices claiming that royal honours, particularly titles, were not appropriate to New Zealand as a 'liberal' and 'democratic' new colony that did not have the class structure of England.¹⁷⁷ Jon Peacocke argued that the negative responses of British officials to suggestions for 'a more formalised system of colonial honours' before 1868 was linked to their perceiving 'distinction and crown patronage to be almost incompatible with a manifestly egalitarian ideology in the colonies'.¹⁷⁸ It was even suggested that titles were an 'anachronism' in 1881, though ironically by Robert Stout, who was later knighted himself.¹⁷⁹

The major reason given for the cessation of titular honours in New Zealand was intimately connected to the theme of the egalitarian settler society. In the 1995 report on the honours system, the Prime Minister's Advisory Committee reasoned that titles should be removed because they were unsuited to the 'distinctive New Zealand character' and did not match New Zealand's 'values and culture' as they once might have.¹⁸⁰ The Committee claimed in its report that it had recommended a system that 'would be consistent with the egalitarian character of New Zealand society' as well as providing recognition, while in 2004, David Baguley cited the New Zealand belief in an egalitarian society as an important reason in the removal of titles.¹⁸¹ Helen Clark's comments at the time of the removal of titular honours, as presented in the media, both echoed New

¹⁷⁷ *Hawkes Bay Times*, 1 Sep 1874 and 'Titles for Colonists', *Melbourne Review*, no. 23 (1881), pp. 221-232, quoted in Peacocke, pp. 217, 277.

¹⁷⁸ Peacocke, pp. 120-121, 372.

¹⁷⁹ 'Titles for Colonists', quoted in Peacocke, p. 277; Peacocke, p. 279.

¹⁸⁰ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 72-73.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3; Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

Zealand's settler past and referred to the present time. She argued that New Zealand was not 'a country of inherited aristocracy', that titles were 'anachronistic', and that the issue was a 'question of where New Zealand is today'.¹⁸² Clark was quoted in media reports as saying, shortly before the changes in 2000, that 'we are not the class society of Britain', and that awarding titles did not assist the development of a uniquely New Zealand identity and national customs.¹⁸³ The focus on egalitarianism in society was part of this concern that the honours system reflect national identity. Baguley considered that, particularly since the changes in 2000, the honours system does reflect New Zealand identity.¹⁸⁴

On the other hand, the focus on egalitarianism was criticised in one newspaper article as an imposed equality that cut all 'down to the same size': 'you can almost hear the soft swish-swish of tall poppies being scythed'.¹⁸⁵ This comment reflected a concern with national identity, in that New Zealand is often said to treat harshly those who stand out above the majority, the so-called 'tall poppy syndrome'. Simon Upton, an MP at the time, considered that the removal of titles was an example of this syndrome in operation.¹⁸⁶ One writer connected the removal of titles to an imagined socialist tendency on the part of the Labour Party that encouraged 'enforced egalitarianism'.¹⁸⁷ In another article, the author commented that Clark had 'decided the honours system is to be nationalised, standardised and proletarianised in the drive to strengthen national identity and re-establish equality'.¹⁸⁸ Other aspects of New Zealand's perceived national identity were also evoked to oppose the cessation of titular honours. New Zealand, it was claimed, benefited from the tradition attached to British honours. In 1995, Doug Graham, then Justice Minister, was quoted in the media arguing that British honours were

¹⁸² Laugesen, 'Knights and Dames face the knife', accessed from Factiva.

¹⁸³ Brockett, 'Dames and Knights could go if review implemented', accessed from Factiva.

¹⁸⁴ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

¹⁸⁵ 'A Labour legacy that belongs in the past', *The Evening Post*, 21 February 2000, accessed from Factiva.

¹⁸⁶ Upton, accessed from Factiva.

¹⁸⁷ 'A Labour legacy', accessed from Factiva.

¹⁸⁸ Dawe, accessed from Factiva.

‘a form of tradition in a young country rather light on tradition’, and that indigenous honours would not have the same ‘impact’.¹⁸⁹

Not only have the changes made to New Zealand’s honours system been viewed in terms of class aspects of a perceived national character, but they have been discussed within a discourse of developing independence and nationhood. The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, on their website, contend that New Zealand’s honours system has ‘evolved along with’ the constitutional changes ‘from Crown Colony to Dominion, and from Dominion to a fully independent monarchy or realm’.¹⁹⁰ Changes to the honours system were sometimes seen as steps in a process towards developing a fully New Zealand honours system that was itself a step in New Zealand’s developing nationhood. The Order of the British Empire was viewed as particularly anachronistic by the time of the 1995 review, and ‘its colonial echoes inappropriate’, with the Advisory Committee urging the completion of a shift, essentially begun with the QSO in 1975, to a national system where the Queen of New Zealand honoured the work and merit of New Zealanders.¹⁹¹ When Sir Michael Hardie Boys was the first to be invested with a GNZM under the New Zealand Order of Merit in 1997, then Prime Minister Jim Bolger claimed that the event was significant as ‘in a sense another sign of our nationhood’.¹⁹² Sir David Beattie, former Governor-General of New Zealand, saw the removal of titles as part of New Zealand’s heading for complete independence, and another commentator saw the step as furthering New Zealand’s ‘emotional’ independence.¹⁹³

New Zealand’s development as an independent state on the international stage has been much debated in academic work, particularly in relation to its foreign policy, and it has been disputed at which moment or event New Zealand reached an independent

¹⁸⁹ Raea, p. 1.

¹⁹⁰ *New Zealand Honours: History*, <http://www.dpmc.govt.nz/honours/overview/history.html>.

¹⁹¹ Prime Minister’s Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 30, 46.

¹⁹² ‘New Zealand’s own honour unveiled’, *The Dominion*, 7 May 1997, accessed from Factiva.

¹⁹³ H. Schouten, ‘Royal honours must go, knights agree’, *The Evening Post*, 5 June 2000, accessed from Factiva; ‘Just one other thing ...’ *The Evening Post*, 5 June 2000, accessed from Factiva.

stance, if at all. However, in some studies, episodes in the 1970s and 1980s have been viewed as significant points in relation to New Zealand's independence in world affairs. Such episodes include Britain's entry into the European Economic Community and New Zealand's consequent diversification of markets, New Zealand's changing relationships with Australia and Asia, the oil shocks in the Middle East, the anti-nuclear movement and the crisis over ANZUS, and the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*.¹⁹⁴ These decades, of course, were the decades in which New Zealand instituted the QSO and the ONZ, the first important moves towards a distinct New Zealand honours system. As Gavin McLean has noted, these changes in the honours system were also occurring in the context of the shift to appointing New Zealanders as Governor-General, Arthur Porritt (appointed in 1967) having been born in New Zealand, and Edward Blundell (appointed in 1972) being resident in New Zealand.¹⁹⁵ By the time of the move to the New Zealand Order of Merit in 1996, G. A. Macaulay had written an article questioning whether or not certain official procedures were compatible with New Zealand's constitutional status as a 'fully independent realm'.¹⁹⁶ In the case of the honours system, Macaulay argued that

¹⁹⁴ For instance, Belich, pp. 391-393, 424-440; Norrish, pp. 9-19. The view of these events as turning points has been discussed by Malcolm McKinnon, who, however, argued that independence is a 'process' not a 'goal'; he identified different types of independence, some of which he considered to have been 'embedded in the New Zealand political culture' throughout the country's history. He also noted that other, earlier, events have been identified by other writers as being important in the development of New Zealand's independence, including the election of the first Labour government in 1935, the passing of the Statute of Westminster in New Zealand in 1947, or the signing of the ANZUS treaty in 1951 as New Zealand's 'first treaty with a foreign power'. M. McKinnon, *Independence and Foreign Policy: New Zealand in the World since 1935* (Auckland, 1993), pp. 1-10, 219-222, 278, 298-301. W. David McIntyre also noted the changes in New Zealand's diplomatic and trade relationships during the 1970s and 1980s, but wrote as well of earlier changes in New Zealand's place in the world and developing independence since 1840, and suggested that New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s was 'a country still uncertain of its place in the world'. McIntyre, 'From Dual Dependency to Nuclear Free', pp. 520-538, particularly p. 537; McIntyre, 'Imperialism and Nationalism', pp. 337-347. Changes in honours over the twentieth century could also be considered in the context of the tension between identity as national or imperial, and movements such as 'cultural nationalism' in the arts. On 'cultural nationalism', see P. Simpson, 'The Recognition of Difference', in G. W. Rice, ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Auckland, 1992), pp. 571-573.

¹⁹⁵ G. McLean, 'From Cocked Hats to Designer Frocks: The 'Queen in Drag' in Twentieth-Century New Zealand', in K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw, K. Lindsay and S. Macintyre, eds., *Exploring the British World* (Melbourne, 2004), pp. 984-986.

¹⁹⁶ G. A. Macaulay, 'Honours and Arms: Legal and Constitutional Aspects of Practice Concerning Heraldry and Royal Honours in New Zealand', *The Canterbury Law Review* 5(3), 1994, p. 381.

there was ‘no evidence’ that the statutes for the British orders of chivalry were part of New Zealand law. When New Zealanders were awarded honours in those orders, the warrants of appointment gave the titles of the Queen of New Zealand, a ‘different legal *persona*’ to the Sovereign of the orders, the Queen of the United Kingdom. Macaulay’s conclusion was that the New Zealand honours system was ‘based on seriously defective constitutional and legal foundations’ and was ‘inconsistent with New Zealand’s national sovereignty’.¹⁹⁷ Shortly after that article, of course, the New Zealand Order of Merit was established and appointments to most British honours ceased.

Further, some commentators drew links between the cessation of titular honours and a perceived movement toward New Zealand’s becoming a republic. One Member of Parliament, Graham Lee, reportedly claimed that the changes to the honours system bore the hallmarks of ‘republicanism’, and some were unhappy with the appointment of Philip Burdon, an MP perceived to be sympathetic to republican ideas, as the chair of the committee reviewing the honours system.¹⁹⁸ More than one popular article seemed to link the abolition of titles in 2000 to an apparent republicanism among government members, and implied that the change could be another move towards becoming a republic.¹⁹⁹ Similar connections between honours and independence were made with regard to Australia. Alister Taylor, who has produced biographical dictionaries of those granted royal honours during particular periods for both Australia and New Zealand, wrote of his expectation of further change in the Australian system as the country undergoes ‘the inevitable move to republican status’.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 388-389. The author recommended, among other things, the establishment of solely New Zealand honours and the end of appointments of New Zealanders to British honours. Macaulay, p. 390.

¹⁹⁸ Raea, p. 1; P. Luke, ‘Words that stir deep emotions’, *The Press*, 28 January 1995, p. 23.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Discarding Titles’, accessed from Factiva; Brockett, ‘Dames and Knights could go if review implemented’, accessed from Factiva; M. Brockett, ‘PM wants to end days of knights’, *The Press*, 14 February 2000, accessed from Factiva; L. Clark, ‘God save the Queen’, *Grace: New Zealand*, July 2000, pp. 58-63; G. Hunt, ‘Kiwis back new honours system but want knighthoods to stay’, *National Business Review*, 16 February 1996, accessed from Factiva; ‘Knights and Dames’, *The Southland Times*, 15 February 2000, accessed from Factiva; Laugesen, ‘Knights and Dames face the knife’, accessed from Factiva.

²⁰⁰ Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour*, p. 12.

A familiar pattern: honours in former British colonies and the UK

Alteration of the royal honours system to better reflect national identity and independence is a theme apparent in many former colonies. By 1996, New Zealand was one of only a few small Commonwealth nations still using British Royal honours. Of those few, some, such as Papua New Guinea, had created distinctive national honours to be used alongside British ones.²⁰¹ Recommendations for British honours had stopped coming from South Africa by 1952, after the Nationalist Party had come to power in 1948. India and Pakistan both ended participation in British honours upon their independence in 1947.²⁰² As well as the changes made to the process of awarding honours that were discussed in the Introduction, both Canada and Australia have altered the awards available to citizens. Canada abandoned the British royal honours system considerably before New Zealand, ending recommendations in 1919. Recommendations were begun once more in 1933, but stopped again after a mere three lists, although non-titular British awards were used during World War Two.²⁰³ The country was without an official system of honours for a number of years, until in 1967, the year of the Centennial of Confederation, an indigenous Canadian system was established. The Order of Canada, as it is known, has three levels (Companion, Officer and Member), and is designed to recognise 'lifetime achievement'.²⁰⁴ Awards within the order are made according to merit, 'especially service to Canada or humanity at large', and there are no titles within it.²⁰⁵ Canada's various provinces also give honours in separate provincial orders.²⁰⁶

Australia has also changed its honours system, moving away from a system in which British honours were distributed as in New Zealand, to a system where a national

²⁰¹ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 83.

²⁰² Galloway, pp. 72-73.

²⁰³ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 84.

²⁰⁴ *Canadian Honours - Honour our Best*, http://www.gg.ca/honours/index_e.asp. It once had only one class (Companions), as well as two medals (the Medal of Courage and the Medal of Service). Prowse, p.157.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158.

²⁰⁶ *Canadian Honours - Honour our Best: Frequently Asked Questions: Order of Canada*, http://www.gg.ca/honours/faqoc_e.asp.

honour, the Order of Australia, is the chief award available. The Order of Australia was created in 1975, with three non-titular levels, to which an upper level of knights and dames was added in 1976, after a new Government was installed.²⁰⁷ In 1986, the titles of Knight and Dame were removed from the order, although those who were honoured between 1976 and 1986 could continue to hold their titles and rank.²⁰⁸ The Order of Australia now has three levels and an associated medal: Companions (AC), Officers (AO) and Members (AM), and the Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM). Over 14,000 people have received honours in the Order of Australia since its creation in 1975.²⁰⁹ Like the Canadian system, the Order of Australia is given for services 'to Australia or to humanity'.²¹⁰ Unlike the changes made to the Canadian system however, Australia has retained some links to the British system. The new honours in Australia were incorporated into the previous order of precedence, whereas 'all Canadian awards rank ahead of any Imperial awards'.²¹¹ Australian connection to the British system is further maintained by the continuation of the practice of announcing honours on the Queen's official birthday, while a national flavour appears in the practice of announcing a list on Australia Day.

These changes towards more indigenous systems of honour have been understood within a discourse of national identity and pride. The Canadian honours system was compared with a national flag and a national anthem, in that it was to become a way 'of fostering national unity and pride of country'.²¹² Taylor stressed that, after the changes made to it, the Australian 'national honours system' had 'developed a real Australian

²⁰⁷ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 84.

²⁰⁸ Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour*, p. 12.

²⁰⁹ *It's an Honour: How to Nominate*, http://www.itsanhonour.gov.au/about/how_to_nominate.html.

²¹⁰ *It's an Honour: Order of Australia* (Awards and National Symbols branch of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet), available from http://www.itsanhonour.gov.au/about/medal_descriptions/order_of_australia.html, accessed 20 June 2004.

²¹¹ Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour*, p. 9.

²¹² Prowse, p. 157.

identity'.²¹³ Among former colonies, national identity has often been discussed in terms of egalitarianism. As in New Zealand, the issue of titular honours was mentioned in Canada in relation to this perceived national characteristic. A. E. Prowse, in discussing the new Order of Canada in 1969, wrote that the absence of titles within the order and the lack of special privileges for recipients were '[i]n conformity with its distinctly Canadian character'.²¹⁴

Issues of colonialism and imperialism have not been ignored in the UK in relation to honours either. In the 1960s, the possibility of a change of name for the Order of the British Empire was raised in the United Kingdom, both at the popular level of letters to the editor published in newspapers and at the level of government. A variety of reasons were put forward for not changing it, such as lack of a demand from Commonwealth nations, the precedent of other orders existing with 'obsolete' names, and that a whiff of the past was no bad thing for an order of chivalry.²¹⁵ Honours in the UK are currently being reviewed, and the New Zealand DPMC has corresponded with the UK on this.²¹⁶ A report produced by the House of Commons Public Administration Select Committee contained a recommendation that, among other measures, the Order of the British Empire become the Order of British Excellence, as its name was 'anachronistic and insensitive' because of the echoes of imperialism.²¹⁷ The report also recommended that knighthoods and damehoods, as awards carrying class and rank connotations, be removed within five years, and that the number of available honours be reduced, meaning that, for instance, the Orders of the Garter and the Bath cease to be used.²¹⁸ Moreover, Baguley noted that

²¹³ Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour*, pp. 9, 11-12.

²¹⁴ Prowse, p. 157. A similar point was made by Kenneth Munro in 2001. K. Munro, 'Canada as Reflected in her Participation in the Coronation of her Monarchs in the Twentieth Century', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 14(1), March 2001, p. 34.

²¹⁵ Galloway, pp. 76-81.

²¹⁶ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

²¹⁷ Public Administration Select Committee, paragraph 140; A. Cowell, 'Is Knighthood Ready for the Ax? How Unchivalrous!' *New York Times*, 21 July 2004, p. 4; B. Hall, 'Phase out knight and dame awards, say MPs', *Financial Times*, 14 July 2004, p. 4.

²¹⁸ Public Administration Select Committee, paragraphs 155-160; Cowell, p. 4; Morrison, p. 14.

Australia had once been told the ‘Palace’ would not be amenable to the renewal of titles. He considered that New Zealand ‘would be politely told it’s too late’ if a future government attempted to reverse the changes.²¹⁹

What about the women? Women and honours

For the most part, women’s association with royal honours has been ignored in public discussion on the New Zealand honours system, the focus having been on the myth of egalitarianism, on class as it related to New Zealand’s national identity as a supposedly classless society. There has been a brief mention of the numerical inequality women experienced in the honours system, connected to the concern to alter New Zealand’s system to make it more relevant today; this concern, in the context of an increasingly multicultural society, has also encompassed race.²²⁰ Under the current system, an attempt is made to include numbers of female recipients of honours that reflect their numbers in society, as far as is possible according to the nominations. There are no quotas, however, either for women or for Maori, since such a system would be ‘impossible to police’ and would in any case ‘distort’ the system, presumably in the sense that it is a system based on nominations.²²¹

Efforts to increase the numerical participation of women in the honours system reflect the limited nature of female participation in honours during the twentieth century. Women have not been honoured as regularly, or in the same numbers, as men, as is evident from even a cursory survey of the statistics. The first dame to appear in the *New Zealand Gazette* was the Countess of Liverpool, granted a GBE in 1918, nearly three-quarters of a century after New Zealand’s first knight, George Grey, was granted a KCB in 1848. The first woman born in New Zealand to be made a dame was Elizabeth Gilmer, who received the DBE in 1951, over a century after Grey’s honour. Still later, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu, the Maori Queen, became in 1970 the first Maori woman

²¹⁹ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

²²⁰ For example, Prime Minister’s Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 50-57.

²²¹ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

made a dame, also given a DBE.²²² Women received 25% of the honours awarded at all levels in 1950, a figure higher than might be expected given women's place in society. Yet even between 1991 and 1995, on average, only 40% of the honours granted went to women, excepting in 1993, the centenary of women's suffrage in New Zealand, when they received 51%.²²³

Moreover, most of the honours granted to women in New Zealand have been awards of a lower level, where the percentage representation of women was significantly higher than at the higher levels. Of all awards of the OBE and the MBE gazetted between 1917 and 2000, of all divisions, 22.2% went to women. Women have received 32.1% of all QSOs gazetted since 1975, and 48.0% of all awards of the lower QSM. Only 11.2% of the titular honours, of all types, that were gazetted between 1917 and 2000 went to women.²²⁴ A mere fifty-eight awards bestowing the title of 'Dame' have been granted since 1917, thirty-one of those between 1985 and 1995, compared with seventy-nine knighthoods in those same ten years.²²⁵ These fifty-eight honours have created fifty-six dames in New Zealand, as Catherine Tizard has received three honours at the titular level. In contrast, a total of 458 knighthoods have been announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* since 1917. Of those, eighteen men have been granted an honour bestowing a title more than once, with one of those, Paul Reeves, having received three honours at the titular level, meaning a total of 440 knights have been created and announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* honours lists since 1917. As well as these knights, one additional knight was created, that is, extra to the statutory numerical limit on awards, and two knights were created on the separate Cook Islands list published in the *New Zealand Gazette*.²²⁶ Even after the institution of the New Zealand Order of Merit, only ten dames were

²²² *New Zealand Honours: History*, <http://www.dPMC.govt.nz/honours/overview/history.html>.

²²³ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 57.

²²⁴ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

²²⁵ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 57; 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

²²⁶ These knights were Bernard Freyberg in 1944, Albert Henry in 1974 and Geoffrey Henry in 1992. 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

created in that order, including one GNZM, compared to 24 knights, including 2 GNZMs.²²⁷

Although the figures show far fewer women have received titular honours in New Zealand than men, New Zealand has been said to have a high percentage of recipients of the DBE when compared with the number of awards as a percent of the population in the UK.²²⁸ When Walker published in 1986, he recorded ‘approximately 3,500’ knights and ‘over 200’ dames, making female recipients approximately 6% of the total recipients of titular honours. He wrote that ‘the seventeen to one ratio is a sign of quite how equal women are seen to be by the British establishment’, though he noted that the ratio was better than that of women in the House of Lords (fifty-nine of 1202 or 20:1) or the House of Commons (twenty-three of 650 or 27:1) at that time.²²⁹ Nearly twenty years later, Baguley stated that honours at all levels in the UK are still ‘heavily weighted’ towards men, more so than in New Zealand.²³⁰ In a 2004 review, Sir Hayden Phillips reported that honours to women had increased in the UK in the past decade, from 27% to 37%, with 21% of awards at the level of CBE or above being granted to women.²³¹ The aims of that review included that the ‘full and diverse range of society’ be ‘increasingly reflected’ in awards, as well as that the ‘transparency’ of the process be increased and that there be more ‘independence’ from government and civil service in the recommendations for honours.²³² In Australia too, of the awards at all levels made within the Order of Australia by 2004, 29.5% had been given to women, a figure less than New Zealand’s average of 40% of all honours between 1991 and 1995.²³³

²²⁷ ‘Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000’, see Appendix One.

²²⁸ Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 34.

²²⁹ Walker, p. 8. Walker, however, was not clear whether his figure referred to only those created as knights and dames in the UK lists, or whether it included knights and dames created elsewhere, such as New Zealand.

²³⁰ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

²³¹ Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, p. 42.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²³³ This figure was derived from the statistic that 5467 awards out of 18551 had been to women, given in Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, p. 48 (annex 2).

Conclusion

The potential for an honours system not dominated by an elite remained at least partially unrealised in twentieth-century New Zealand. At various times, royal honours were discussed in relation to New Zealand's supposed classlessness and the myth of egalitarianism, which were central to a perceived national identity, yet the institution of honours was grounded in the elite nature of the British system. While honours must retain a level of exclusivity and confer prestige if they are to be valued and accepted by potential recipients, honours in New Zealand between 1917 and 2000, reproducing the British pattern, were also exclusive in less positive ways, if to a lesser degree than in the UK. Recent alterations to the New Zealand honours system have attempted to reflect concepts of New Zealand identity, particularly egalitarianism, without removing the royal element of the honours system. While these heavy modifications to the institution have allowed links to New Zealand's heritage to be maintained within a national honours system, the numerical inequality of women within the honours system has not been similarly recognised and addressed. In simply numerical terms, the honours system in New Zealand reproduced the male norm of the British institution in the colonial setting, and that male norm was perpetuated throughout the period between 1917 and 2000. More significantly, the persistence of this numerical imbalance between men and women in relation to honours, particularly titles, suggests that traditional gender roles and identities have been implicated in the honours system throughout its history.

Chapter Two

In her own right: feminism, ideas of femininity and titles for women

Women's association with royal honours in New Zealand has not merely been a matter of numbers. For most of its history, the British honours system excluded women, apart from as the wives of men who were knighted. The male norm of the system was effectively transferred to New Zealand, and continued to affect women's participation in honours long after women were given entry to them. That male dominance was particularly evident in the awards that conferred a title, those at the upper echelon of the system. Changing circumstances and experiences in women's lives during the twentieth century, and the shifting waves of the feminist movement, influenced the institution of honours, embedded as it was in society. Yet despite the change in women's lives, and in their relationship with royal honours, the contradictions evident in the female experience of titular honours awarded between 1917 and 2000 suggested underlying continuities in women's association with royal honours and in women's expected roles in society. Throughout the period, women who were made dames remained 'exceptions to the rule' simply because they were present in the ranks of the titled as women who were honoured in their own right rather than as the wives of honoured men.

Receiving a title: the accolade and a woman's title

Titled women were present in society long before the creation of the Order of the British Empire with its provision for the creation of dames. Wives of knights were styled 'Lady', followed by their (husband's) surname, and this tradition continued throughout the twentieth century as well. According to *Debrett's Handbook of Australia and New Zealand*, the title of 'Dame' was in the past also used for the wife of a knight, being followed by the wife's Christian name; this style is now found only in legal

documents.²³⁴ The word 'dame' is derived from the Latin, *domina*, meaning 'lady'.²³⁵ These women were honoured as the wives of men who had been rewarded with titles. The crucial difference when women were admitted to the Order of the British Empire as dames was that they were honoured in their own right, for their own efforts, rather than as the helpmate of a successful man. The title 'Dame' then signalled that the holder had been honoured in her own right. Like Antonia Fraser's 'warrior queens', these women were exceptional, females present in their own right in an institution traditionally gendered masculine, not as the consort of a man.

However, in at least one way the honours system continued to assume a male norm in relation to titular honours, even after the title of 'Dame' became available to women to signify achievement in their own right. Women did not receive the accolade, the traditional touch on the shoulder with a sword, and were therefore not knighted when they were granted awards in the first or second classes of an order of chivalry, although such honours would usually confer knighthood. Members of the clergy, at least in the Anglican church, and those not subjects of the Crown were also refused the accolade, and thus not knighted when given these awards.²³⁶ The refusal to give the accolade to women, and clergy, as to men may appear a fine distinction, merely semantic, particularly when women still receive a title and many members of the public would be unaware of the difference. In an interview, Malvina Major stressed that the granting of the title of 'Dame' to a woman was an equivalent to the title of 'Sir' for men, and that although the accolade was not used, 'it is considered the same ceremony'.²³⁷ However, the implications of who has been granted participation in this custom of the accolade, and who has not, are highly suggestive.

²³⁴ Duke, ed., p. 152.

²³⁵ *Honours and Titles in Britain*, p. 11.

²³⁶ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 167; Galloway, p. 17; *Honours and Titles in Britain*, p. 11; De la Bere, p. 32.

²³⁷ Major, interview with the author, 4 November 2004.

Since members of the clergy in the Church of England are not given the accolade, they do not use the title 'Sir', although they may use the appropriate post-nominal letters, and their wives remain 'Mrs', rather than becoming 'Lady'.²³⁸ While women do receive the title of 'Dame' when given a titular honour, or 'Lady' in a few cases, they do not do so on the same basis as men who receive the title 'Sir', because they are denied the accolade. Members of the clergy are believed to have been refused the accolade and knighthood because, as 'Men of God' who ought not to be 'attacked with the sword', they should not use weapons of war in combat, and thus should not be made knights, since a knight was intended to fight.²³⁹ Presumably, the explanation for the exclusion of women from knighthood, the denial of the accolade, is similar. Women have traditionally been seen as life-givers who were naturally peaceful. Having less physical strength than men, and fulfilling the role of the mothers of the race, women have been viewed as in need of protection, and war as a male occupation.²⁴⁰ Knights were supposed to 'protect the weak, including women, widows and orphans'.²⁴¹ When it was suggested in 1968 that the Order of the Bath be opened to women, one concern that was raised was that knights promised to 'Defend Maidens, Widows and Orphans'.²⁴² Some feminists also accepted the idea of a link between women and peace, arguing that war stemmed from 'aggressive *masculine* values', and might cease if women held the positions of leadership in the world.²⁴³ In a sense, members of the clergy were emasculated, or perhaps, following chivalric tradition, women were sacralised, the two groups of recipients metaphorically placed together through being refused the accolade as they became members of the first or second class of an order without being truly knighted.

²³⁸ Duke, ed., p. 200; *Honours and Titles in Britain*, p. 11

²³⁹ De la Bere, p. 32; *Honours and Titles in Britain*, p. 11, fn 1.

²⁴⁰ Fraser, pp. 326-330.

²⁴¹ Boulton, p. 10.

²⁴² Risk, pp. 108-109.

²⁴³ Fraser, pp. 328-330, original emphasis.

Recipients of honorary titular awards, that is, those not subjects of the Crown, also do not use the title before their name, though they can use the appropriate letters after it.²⁴⁴ However, honorary awards are separated from ordinary membership in the orders of chivalry in other ways as well. Statutory limits on membership numbers do not apply to honorary awards, such awards are generally not gazetted, and they are usually not announced with the New Year and Queen's Birthday lists.²⁴⁵ Because honorary awards are given to people in countries where Queen Elizabeth II is not the head of state, these differences in award are an issue of citizenship, and of the prior allegiance of the recipient to a foreign state. Yet in a sense, women who have received titular honours are 'honorary knights', given an award but not receiving the accolade in a similar way to that in which foreigners have been honoured, and having entered a system that assumed a male norm. Women may be considered as having been symbolically placed as foreigners in that they entered a male-dominated system with military antecedents. Further, the limited nature of titular awards given to women and to clergy as people who do not bear arms is suggestive of their also having limited citizenship, as in earlier warrior democracies. It has been argued, for instance, that early class democracy in Switzerland was linked to wide participation in the military among the male population, and the basis of democracy found in the ideal of the citizen-soldier. Women were unable to share in this ideal because they did not participate in the military, and this provides at least partial explanation for their remarkably late enfranchisement in that state.²⁴⁶ Viewed through

²⁴⁴ Duke, ed., p. 200; P. P. O'Shea, *Honours, Titles, Styles and Precedence in New Zealand*, Supplement to 1977 edition ed. (Wellington, 1980), p. 52; De la Bere, p. 37.

²⁴⁵ O'Shea, p. 52.

²⁴⁶ B. Barber and P. Watson, *The Struggle for Democracy* (Boston, 1988), pp. 151-157. Women in Switzerland received the vote federally in 1972. *Ibid.*, p. 151. The process of explaining the extension of the suffrage to women requires note to be taken of different contexts, and early enfranchisement in other states, such as New Zealand, requires alternate explanation. Others have, however, noted the conceptual links between war and citizenship in terms of masculinity. For example, G. Lloyd, 'Selfhood, war and masculinity', in C. Pateman and E. Gross, eds., *Feminist Challenges: Social and Political Theory* (Boston, 1987), pp. 64, 76. Conversely, as Marian Sawer has pointed out, social liberal understandings of 'service', the efforts of citizens that allowed 'claims [to] be made upon the state', was 'gender-neutral', and thus could encompass women's unpaid work. M. Sawer, *The Ethical State? Social Liberalism in Australia* (Carlton, 2003), p. 89.

this perspective, women granted titles can be seen as ‘honorary knights’ in that, like those from other states who were granted honorary knighthood, they lacked citizenship, or at least had only limited citizenship.

One of the ironies of female participation in the titular levels of royal honours is that women have at rare times in history bestowed the accolade upon men, an act that seems as much associated with war and weapons as receiving the accolade. Indeed, the active creation of a knight through performing the accolade might be seen as more powerful than passively receiving it to be created as a knight. The women who have given the accolade to men in the UK were those ‘singular exceptions’, women who ruled, Fraser’s ‘warrior queens’.²⁴⁷ However, in at least one account of such an incident, the masculine essence of the action was preserved. Queen Victoria found the Sword of State too weighty for her to lift when she was to bestow the GCB on the Earl of Durham, and ‘the ensuing awkwardness was overcome when Lord Melbourne supported it’, and Victoria “‘only inclined it’”.²⁴⁸

Women’s titles, moreover, have been the subject of considerable confusion. According to Phyllis Guthardt, ‘people never know what to call it’, some referring to it as a ‘knighthood’, while she herself has often termed it ‘my damenation’.²⁴⁹ In one magazine article, after noting that Marie Clay had been made a dame, reference was made to her ‘knighthood’.²⁵⁰ Ngaio Marsh, a well-known writer of crime fiction and a prominent figure in New Zealand theatrical production, was known to call her honour ‘me damery’.²⁵¹ Guthardt also noted confusion over the proper use of the title ‘Lady’ in relation to that of ‘Dame’. A Lady should be referred to by her title and her husband’s last name, whereas a Dame, honoured in her own right, should be referred to by her title

²⁴⁷ Indeed, Raymond Waddington has pointed out that ‘surprisingly little attention’ has been given to Elizabeth’s being ‘the head of a male chivalric order’. Waddington, p. 103.

²⁴⁸ Risk, p. 55.

²⁴⁹ Guthardt, Dame Phyllis, interview with the author, 29 September 2004, Christchurch.

²⁵⁰ S. Ewart, ‘Tackling reading problems’, *New Zealand Woman’s Weekly*, 22 June 1987, p. 27.

²⁵¹ M. Shadbolt, *Love and Legend: Some 20th century New Zealanders* (Auckland, 1976), p. 60.

and her first name.²⁵² Similarly, in an interview, Malvina Major stated that sometimes she was referred to as ‘Dame Major’ and sometimes just as ‘Dame’, rather than as Dame Malvina, while on other occasions, ‘people don’t know quite what ... to do, so they avoid it altogether’, or write ‘Ms’ in correspondence.²⁵³ Catherine Tizard too, was quoted in one article as saying that ‘[n]obody knows how to handle a woman’s title’, and that she had once been called ‘Mr Dame Tizard’.²⁵⁴ For some years after the decision to use the title of ‘Dame’ for women who received first and second class honours in the Order of the British Empire, there were suggestions that it was not as appropriate a title as ‘Lady’ would have been. When a new honour was suggested for women, to be equivalent to the honour of Knight Bachelor for men, one civil servant wrote that ‘Lady’ would be ‘a more pleasant and popular title than that of Dame’, as the latter title would ‘remain in the public mind for years to come as a description of a woman of great age, a widow, or a mistress of a school for young children’. In the same commentary, it was suggested that women granted the GBE or the DBE should be able to use either the prefix of ‘Dame’ or of ‘Lady’.²⁵⁵ These proposals were not accepted, and it was recognised that to do so would have raised the danger of women granted titles in their own right in the Order of the British Empire sliding into ‘the miscellany’ of the variety of positions that a holder of the title of ‘Lady’ may have.²⁵⁶ Confusion over a woman’s title suggests again the male norm of the honours system, and the situation of women having no such title in their own right for many centuries.

Opening the honours system to female participation

Although honours have been awarded for hundreds of years, all of the orders of chivalry applicable in New Zealand have only been opened to women in the twentieth

²⁵² Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

²⁵³ Major, interview with the author, 4 November 2004.

²⁵⁴ Fleming, p. 23.

²⁵⁵ Cabinet Office, Ceremonial Branch, H 13, Memorandum from Sir Warren Fisher to the Prime Minister, 21 March 1933, quoted in Galloway, pp. 54-55.

²⁵⁶ Cabinet Office, Ceremonial Branch, H 13, Note on the title ‘Dame’ by Sir Christopher Bullock, Permanent Secretary, Air Ministry, 18 July 1933, quoted in Galloway, p. 55.

century. Outside those orders, the non-titular RRC was the first important award available in New Zealand to women. Established in 1883, it was in fact a solely female honour until 1976.²⁵⁷ It took longer for titular honours to be opened to women. Before the establishment of the Order of the British Empire in 1917, the few women to have received a title through admission to an order of chivalry rather than as the wife of a knight were found among royal women, though not always ruling queens. Although Edward III, the founder of the Order of the Garter, did create Ladies of the Garter, this practice does not suggest any real equality for women in terms of the awarding of titular honours. Edward's wife and two daughters were made Ladies of the Garter, and there were fifty-nine women so honoured between 1348 and 1461.²⁵⁸ This was not 'full membership', however; it has been described as 'a sort of quasi-admission to the order', and it appears that those ladies who were granted the insignia and allowed to join in the order's ceremonial proceedings were not seen as 'regular members' of the order.²⁵⁹ Moreover, the custom soon fell into disuse, as later monarchs were hostile to female participation in the order, and while it was renewed in 1902 with Edward VII's appointment of Queen Alexandra by special statute, only royal women were appointed between then and 1987, when the order was opened to women.²⁶⁰ As well, 'queens regnant' such as Queen Elizabeth II, that is, those ruling in their own right rather than as a consort, were Sovereign of the Order.²⁶¹ Excepting these few royal women, therefore, titles in one's own right were not available to women within the British royal honours system until 1917.

²⁵⁷ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 56.

²⁵⁸ Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour*, p. 14; Collins, pp. 301-303.

²⁵⁹ Boulton, p. 142; De la Bere, p. 76; *The Queen's Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Orders of Chivalry: Order of the Garter*, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page490.asp>; Collins, p. 28.

²⁶⁰ De la Bere, pp. 77-78; Taylor, *The Australian Roll of Honour*, p. 14. In effect, the order 'remained exclusively male' from 1509, when Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, died, until 1901, when Queen Alexandra was appointed. *The Queen's Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Orders of Chivalry: Order of the Garter*, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page490.asp>.

²⁶¹ De la Bere, pp. 77-78; *The Queen's Role in the Modern State: Sovereign as Fountain of Honour: Orders of Chivalry: Order of the Garter*, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/textonly/Page490.asp>.

By the time of the change to the New Zealand Order of Merit in 1996, women were eligible for all honours given in New Zealand, except that of Knight Bachelor. These honours had only been opened to women slowly, and that slow process reveals a telling correlation. Last to be opened to women were the oldest and most prestigious orders. The most recently created order, the Order of the British Empire, was available to women essentially from its inception. The Royal Victorian Order, founded in 1896, was opened to women in 1936; the Order of St Michael and St George, reordered in 1868, in 1965; and the Order of the Bath, constituted as an order in 1725, in 1971. The Order of the Garter, the highest order of chivalry in terms of social precedence, was instituted in 1348 and opened to female membership in 1987.²⁶² The other orders of chivalry that were available in New Zealand follow the Garter in order of precedence, in the opposite order to that by which they were opened to women (see Figure Four below). The sole exception to this pattern is the honour of Knight Bachelor, which has never been opened to women and comes after the titular classes of the orders of chivalry in terms of precedence.²⁶³ However, it does fit the pattern in that it is also the oldest of the honours bestowing knighthood.

Figure Four
Honours bestowing knighthood in New Zealand, 1917-2000, by precedence

Precedence (high to low)	Date established	Date opened to women
Order of the Garter	1348	1987
Order of the Bath	1725*	1971
Order of St Michael and St George	1868**	1965
Royal Victorian Order	1896	1936
Order of the British Empire	1917	1917/1918
Knight Bachelor	Thirteenth century, at least	Never

* date when constituted as order

** date when re-ordered as general colonial honour

The exclusion of women from honours for so long, particularly old and prestigious honours, contributed to the numerical inequality of women in the honours

²⁶² 'Honours and Women', provided by the Honours Secretariat, DPMC, 2003.

²⁶³ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, pp. 212, 219-220.

system, most of all at the level of titular honours. The exclusion of women from the relatively common title of Knight Bachelor, or from access to an equivalent title, which continued in New Zealand until 1996 and still continues in the UK, was a particularly significant cause of inequality in relation to titular awards. Various proposals were made throughout the twentieth century to remedy this situation, but none were implemented. As early as 1932, it was suggested by Sir Herbert Samuel, Home Secretary and leader of the Liberal Party in England, that a title of 'Dame' be created to be given outside an order.²⁶⁴ There appears to have been an intention to begin awarding an honour termed 'Lady of Grace' that was dropped in 1933.²⁶⁵ The issue arose again in the UK in 1965, when Elizabeth Lane became the first female Judge in the High Court, as High Court Judges customarily received the honour of Knight Bachelor. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Gardiner, wanted her to receive a knighthood and the title of 'Lady', but was advised that 'there is no precedent' and that giving her a knighthood 'may arouse ill-feeling among a number of distinguished ladies who have been created Dames of the Victorian and British Empire Orders'.²⁶⁶ Instead, Lane received a DBE, as did other women appointed as High Court Judges in later years.²⁶⁷ In 1975, the need for a title equivalent to Knight Bachelor for women was again noted in the UK, when it was recognised that the lack of such a title limited the honours available to women.²⁶⁸ However, there was again no success, it being said that there could be nothing 'less attractive than... a Dame Spinster' for women.²⁶⁹ The suggestion of a title of 'Dame Bachelor' appears to have been neither made nor received with any enthusiasm.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁴ Galloway, p. 54.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²⁶⁶ Cabinet Office, Ceremonial Branch, H 13A, Sir George Coldstream to Derek Mitchell, 15 September 1965, quoted in Galloway, p. 55.

²⁶⁷ Galloway, p. 55.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁶⁹ Cabinet Office, Ceremonial Branch, H 13, Kenneth Stowe to Norman Warner, 24 June 1975, quoted in Galloway, p. 56.

²⁷⁰ Galloway, pp. 56-57.

The honour of DBE thus became ‘generally accepted’ as the equivalent to a Knight Bachelor, and it was suggested in 1975 that the quota of DBEs and KBEs should simply be increased when necessary.²⁷¹ It has been recently claimed that, although ‘discriminatory in form’, the exclusion of women from the honour of Knight Bachelor is not ‘discriminatory in impact’ since ‘there is no evidence that women who merit an honour at that level do not receive one because of the existence of this distinction’.²⁷² However, this solution must be unsatisfactory, as the quota placed on the award of the DBE cannot possibly allow for as many women to be honoured as men, who have available both the KBE and the honour of Knight Bachelor. Moreover, to simply increase the quota of DBEs and KBEs when necessary cannot be thought to solve this imbalance, as it would also allow for more KBEs to be created.²⁷³ Clearly, since Knights Bachelor are by far the largest group of knights in New Zealand, and KBEs the second largest, there is an inherent gender inequality created in the honours system when women have available the DBE but no equivalent to the Knight Bachelor.

A century of change: feminism and the honours system

Extending membership of orders of chivalry to women is one of a number of rights women have gained in the UK, in New Zealand and elsewhere during the last century or so. The opening of honours to women during the twentieth century has occurred in the context of changes in the position and experiences of women, and the shifting waves of the feminist movement. First wave feminism was largely a liberal feminism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that focused on natural equality and individual civil liberties. This first wave of the feminist movement was

²⁷¹ Cabinet Office, Ceremonial Branch, H 13, P. S. Milner-Barry to Kenneth Stowe, 10 July 1975, quoted in Galloway, p. 57.

²⁷² Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, p. 5.

²⁷³ It appears that numerical quotas of recipients are not divided according to whether the award creates a dame or a knight. To increase the quota of DBEs, then, would simply require an increase in the total number of awards of the second class of the Order of the British Empire that could be made (both KBE and DBE). Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, pp. 179, 182-187; Galloway, pp. 50-51, 57; ‘Statutes of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire’ (1970), pp. 5-6.

centred on the women's suffrage movement.²⁷⁴ In New Zealand, suffrage for women was achieved in 1893, well before the title of 'Dame' was made available to women in the Order of the British Empire. However, in the UK, where the Order was created, winning the vote took much longer, and it was not until 1918 that women were partially enfranchised, just after the establishment of the Order. In *Burke's Handbook to the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire*, published in 1921, it was noted that women's being given entry to the order 'coincided' with the granting of female suffrage in the UK, and this statement was followed with considerable praise of their contributions to the war effort.²⁷⁵

Indeed, it has been argued that women's contribution to the war effort had an impact on the timing of their winning the vote in the UK. During the war, militant suffragette action by the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) had ceased, and the non-militant National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), despite internal division, supported war work rather than taking a pacifist stance.²⁷⁶ Some former opponents of female suffrage, such as Asquith, alluded to the importance of women's war work, as well as to a desire to avoid renewed militancy, in changing their stance to one of acceptance of at least limited enfranchisement.²⁷⁷ While historians continue to debate the extent of the impact of the female contribution to the war effort on their gaining the suffrage, it seems that the mobilisation of women in World War One did intersect with other factors in the enfranchisement of women.²⁷⁸ In the case of honours, women's war

²⁷⁴ C. Dann, *Up From Under: women and liberation in New Zealand, 1970-1985* (Wellington, 1985), p. 4.

²⁷⁵ Thorpe, ed., p. 11.

²⁷⁶ H. L. Smith, *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign, 1866-1928* (London and New York, 1998), pp. 55-60; D. Morgan, *Suffragists and Liberals: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in England* (Oxford, 1975), p. 161.

²⁷⁷ A. Rosen, *Rise Up, Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903-1914* (London and Boston, 1974), pp. 256-265. However, Harold Smith has argued that a number of those who voted for extending the franchise to women had not in fact altered their beliefs on the issue, but merely 'changed sides' for practical reasons, such as to avoid renewed militancy, or because they considered 'that reform was inevitable'. Smith, pp. 67-68.

²⁷⁸ Rosen, pp. 255-266; Smith, pp. 55, 60; C. Rover, *Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain, 1866-1914* (London, 1967), pp. 205-206. Sandra Stanley Holton, on the other hand, argued that women's own work in the suffrage movement had put their 'cause' in a 'strong position' by 1914, and even suggested that

work does appear to have been important in their being included in the Order of the British Empire when it was established to reward the population's war effort. As it was explained in *Burke's Handbook*:

The womanhood of the country was marshalled and mobilised as never before, and showed an equal courage and an equal endurance with the men, and that great outstanding fact was not forgotten by those who framed the Statutes of the Order of the British Empire.²⁷⁹

Although it is not inconceivable that women's contribution to the war effort would have been thus recognised without the context of the first wave feminist movement, the demand for equality may have helped to produce an environment in which such recognition was more likely. The first wave feminist movement had created a climate in which women's concerns, particularly the liberal feminist claim for equality of opportunity, were more visible. Within that climate, during the early twentieth century, women had received entry to the Order of Merit as well, in 1902, with, as already mentioned, Florence Nightingale receiving this honour in 1907.²⁸⁰

An awareness of women's interests is evident in comments made by Ponsonby, at the time when proposals for the Order were being made and women's participation discussed:

...opinion is divided as to whether women would prefer a separate Decoration of their own. In recent years the Suffragette movement has rendered it difficult to create such an Order, or even discuss its creation in a calm atmosphere, but now the difficulty does not arise.²⁸¹

war may actually have 'postponed' the winning of the vote. S. S. Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900-1918* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 130. Richard Evans, too, had argued that it is a 'myth' that women's war work contributed to their being enfranchised, and that the 'changed circumstances' after the war were due to a variety of other reasons. He argues that women in the UK were enfranchised to 'maintain stability in the face of increased threats of disorder and revolution'. R. J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America and Australasia 1840-1920* (London, 1977), pp. 222-223.

²⁷⁹ Thorpe, ed., p. 9.

²⁸⁰ Delahunt, p. 66; 'Honours and Women', Honours Secretariat. Indeed, it may be that the disputed links between the granting of the suffrage and the impact of the war could be further tested by comparisons with the opening of honours to women, as well as with colonial experiences of the granting of the suffrage.

²⁸¹ Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood, OBE Institution Letters Box, Memorandum by Sir Frederick Ponsonby, November 1915, quoted in Galloway, p. 3.

Yet these statements suggest that the admittance of women to the new Order on equal terms with men was not simply a straightforward consequence of the first wave feminist movement. Ponsonby's words also hint that, as with the suffrage, women's turn to patriotic efforts during the war, and the concurrent cessation of militant feminist action, may have made it more possible to solve the question of women's inclusion in honours. In the institution of the first order of chivalry where women were able to receive titular honours in their own right, the feminist movement's pressure for equal opportunity appears to have interacted with entrenched conservatism.

Over the period of almost a century between the title of 'Dame' becoming available to women in the Order of the British Empire and the cessation of awards of titular honours in New Zealand, the lists published in the *New Zealand Gazette* display a clear, if rather unsteady, increase in the volume of all honours given to both men and women. This trend is also visible in the UK, and the increase in New Zealand was likely concurrent with that in the UK, as the limitations on membership were increased in British orders. Awards of the civil division of the MBE in New Zealand, for instance, totalled forty-four in the 1930s, and had reached 492 in the decade between 1990 and 1999. The population of course increased as well, but while there was a slight increase in the percentage of the population to have received honours each census year from 1971 to 1991, that percentage never rose above 0.1% in any census year during the whole period from 1917 to 1996.²⁸² Numbers of titular honours granted also increased over time, although the pattern is more uneven, particularly between men and women. Twenty-five grants of the title of Knight Bachelor were made between 1950 and 1959, rising to fifty-nine between 1980 and 1989, while KBEs of both divisions rose from eight in the 1930s

²⁸² This figure was calculated including all honours granted in orders of chivalry or their associated medals, and honours in non-titular awards of a similar level, such as the CH. The calculation was made using: 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One; *1996 Census of Population and Dwellings: Population and Dwellings Statistics* (Wellington, 1997), p. 19. In 1959, one criticism made of honours in New Zealand was that the 'number of honours awarded in 1959 does not appear to have increased in relation to the growth of New Zealand's population', particularly regarding titles. Investigator, p. 3.

to a high of twenty-eight in the 1970s. An increase also occurred in the award of the title of 'Dame' in New Zealand, the chief difference being that the vast majority of dames were created after 1970. Before 1970, there had been only a handful of titular honours given to women in New Zealand: three GBEs and three DBEs. Indeed, a mere eleven women were made dames in New Zealand before 1980.²⁸³ One dame was created in the 1960s, and five in the 1970s; the more significant increase occurred then, with the number of dames created in a decade more than doubling, to fifteen in the 1980s (see Tables One to Five, Appendix One).²⁸⁴

The majority of dames in New Zealand have, then, been created since 1980, following the second wave of feminism connected with the counter-culture climate of the 1960s and 1970s. The counter-culture climate encompassed movements connected to three major cleavages in society, all questioning the hegemonic: race (the anti-racist and civil rights movement), class (the socialist movement) and gender (the second wave feminist movement). The second wave of the feminist movement saw an increase in 'organisation and militancy among women'.²⁸⁵ Second wave feminism incorporated a variety of different incarnations of feminism, from radical to socialist to liberal, and the first women's liberation groups in New Zealand were formed at this time, espousing a more radical form of feminism. These groups addressed a wide variety of issues, including equal pay, abortion rights, availability of child-care centres and, more widely, women's role in society.²⁸⁶ As well as protest aimed at achieving particular aims, consciousness-raising groups and events such as the International Women's Year and the United Nations Decade for Women emphasised the value of women's contributions and abilities both within and apart from a domestic setting.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Dann, p. 4.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., preface, pp. 1-10.

²⁸⁷ Else, ed., pp. 64-66.

The immense increase, proportionally, in the number of titular honours given to women in New Zealand after 1980 suggests that the second wave of feminism had an important impact on the royal honours system, perhaps more so than the first wave. Rather than merely having the right to be given titles for their own achievements but rarely receiving them, women in New Zealand from 1970 more often actually received those titles. Ann Hercus, who was granted a DCMG in 1988, linked the changing statistics of female participation in honours to the influence of feminism, as well as to efforts by Labour Governments 'since the 1970s ... to redress the very obvious imbalance'.²⁸⁸ Since the 1970s, there have been important changes in New Zealand society, including a shift away from the traditional nuclear family, a trend toward women having children later and an increase in the numbers of women employed, including employed mothers.²⁸⁹ By 1993, it was written in a history of women in New Zealand that they had a 'wide choice of occupations' and were not 'faced with the stark choice of marriage or a career'.²⁹⁰ The strength of the women's movement in the 1970s and early 1980s did not immediately translate into greatly increased awards of titular honours, and there was no hegemonic feminism with one programme, but rather different strands of feminism with different focuses. However, the visibility of the second wave feminist movement, and the changes in women's status in society, may have created a climate in which due to the efforts of many feminists, there was an increased awareness of women's contributions to society.

The intersection of the second wave feminist movement with the royal honours system in New Zealand was also apparent among the female recipients of titles

²⁸⁸ Hercus, Dame Ann, personal communication with the author, October 2004. It should be noted that detailed study of the distribution of honours during periods of Labour government compared with those of National government could provide further insight into the links between the honours system and the political and social climate. Townsend considered this issue in relation to honours awarded between 1969 and 1976, finding, however, 'a remarkable degree of similarity' in honours awarded under Labour and National, at least in relation to titles. Townsend, pp. 46-51.

²⁸⁹ Coney, ed., pp. 55, 81, 177, 211.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

themselves. Although honoured for work in a variety of areas, a number of women who received titular honours in New Zealand identified themselves as feminist, or displayed an awareness of feminist concerns. Fiona Kidman, in an interview some time before she was made a dame, was quoted as saying that New Zealand literature had not been 'about women's lives', but had been 'dominated by the man-alone theme', and that her writing fiction centring women had been 'something fairly deliberate'.²⁹¹ When interviewed by reporters at the time of her award, Georgina Kirby, made a dame for services to the Maori people, was self-consciously feminist.²⁹² She was president of the Maori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) between 1983 and 1987, and worked in issues of Maori women's health and in promoting women's representation in political issues.²⁹³ The same year that she was made a dame, Ann Hercus was written of as a 'declared feminist', while Sylvia Cartwright was termed a 'champion of women's rights'.²⁹⁴ Jean Herbison has said that she is 'a feminist', although 'by example' rather than being a 'radical'.²⁹⁵ As well, several dames were active in work related to women's issues and concerns, although their award did not necessarily cite services to women in particular. A surprisingly large number of dames were involved in the National Council of Women, including Barbara Freyberg, Dorothy Winstone, Stella Casey, Dorothea Horsman, Miriam Dell, Vivienne Boyd, Laurie Salas and Elizabeth Harper.²⁹⁶ All of these women were honoured with a title after 1975, and if they were not part of more radical women's organisations, they were part of a feminist organisation that shared a number of the same

²⁹¹ J. Nicholas, 'Fiona to tackle US market', *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 30 April 1984, p. 29.

²⁹² A. Young, 'Georgy' lives for people and art', *New Zealand Herald*, 11 June 1994, p. 9; 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

²⁹³ Young, 'Georgy' lives for people and art', p. 9; *New Zealand Official Yearbook/Te Pukapuka Houanga Whaimana o Aotearoa*, 96th ed. (Wellington, 1993), p. 95.

²⁹⁴ J. Alison, 'Behind the News: Ann Hercus', *Broadsheet*, June/July 1987, p. 4; V. Aldridge, 'One tough Dame', *The Christchurch Press*, 31 March 2001, accessed from Factiva.

²⁹⁵ Herbison, interview with the author, 18 November 2004.

²⁹⁶ Page, pp. 138, 146, 158, 192-193; 'Car drive began charity career', *The New Zealand Herald*, 31 December 1994, p. 9; 'Honours List for New Year 1953', citation from Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet records, provided by David Baguley, 2004.

aims.²⁹⁷ The Crown approbation signified by the honouring of these feminist women suggests that second wave feminism, as a social movement, had influenced women's position relative to the royal honours system.

Another point at which feminist concerns can clearly be seen to have intersected with the royal honours system in New Zealand was at the 1993 centenary of women's suffrage in New Zealand, when women outnumbered men in receiving honours, the first and only time they have done so. The celebration of the centenary had an important impact on women's history in New Zealand. A number of books on women in New Zealand society appeared at this time, including a special issue of the *New Zealand Journal of History* focusing on women and politics, a history of women's organisations in New Zealand, and a history of women in New Zealand since 1893.²⁹⁸ A number of other publications, such as *New Zealand Historic Places* and the *IRMT Journal*, published special suffrage centenary editions that focused on women in relation to their subject matter.²⁹⁹ The celebration of the suffrage centenary solidified the trends towards recovery and celebration in women's history in New Zealand, which retained the women's subject, while elsewhere there had been a turn to gender history. The celebratory trend extended to the honours system as well, with seven damehoods bestowed in 1993 as a recognition of the centenary, over twice the number bestowed in any other single year except 1995, when four dames were created. Indeed, in the Queen's Birthday honours, in June 1993, there were no new knights created. As well, a New Zealand commemoration medal was produced for 1993, and given largely to women.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Page, pp. 131-132. In its early years, the NCW of New Zealand was known as the 'Women's Parliament', an interesting observation given the significant numbers of knights created for political or public services, discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. R. Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of Women of New Zealand 1896-1920* (Wellington, 1996), pp. 9-10, 34-37.

²⁹⁸ *New Zealand Journal of History* 27(2), 1993; Coney, ed., op cit.; Else, ed., op cit.

²⁹⁹ *IRMT Journal* 36, September 1993; *New Zealand Historic Places*, March 1993. The March 1993 *New Zealand Historic Places* contained articles focused on women – Jane Deans, Elizabeth McCombs, Margaret Munro, Kate Sheppard and Ngaio Marsh.

³⁰⁰ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 57.

The commemoration of the suffrage centenary celebrated the achievement of one of the goals of first wave feminism, and, more broadly, the contributions of women to society. Connections between honours and feminist concerns in relation to the suffrage centenary were noted in the media. The announcement of the Queen's Birthday honours list in *The Press* opened by noting that there had been no men given titles in that list, a decision labelled 'an unusual move'.³⁰¹ One cartoon published in the newspapers at the time commented on the predominance of women in the list, showing a smiling Queen Elizabeth II stamping the list 'sisterhood special' (see Illustration One below).

**Illustration One:
'93 Sisterhood Special'**



Source: '93 Sisterhood Special', Ashley W. Smith, *Mercantile Gazette*, 18 June 1993, ATL A-299-085, reprinted in *Harpies and Heroines: a cartoon history of women's changing roles*, New Zealand Cartoon Archive, Wellington, 2003, p. 73.

These media comments suggest that women receiving honours in larger numbers than men was seen as uncommon, but also that it was perceived as stemming from feminist concerns. However, there is a caveat to this honours list as a celebration of female endeavour and feminist goals, which lies in its very uncommonness. Making women the majority of recipients in one year does not negate or remove previous or later years' numerically unequal treatment in the honours system. Ironically, attempts to specially honour women could even reinforce the unusualness of awarding honours to

³⁰¹ 'Birthday honours led by women', *New Zealand Herald*, 12 June 1993, p. 1.

women by giving them many awards in a year seen as special, and then reverting to the traditional pattern in which men gain the majority of honours. The 'aura' of exceptionalism that clings to the dame, as to the 'warrior queen', was potentially strengthened by these special honours to women, particularly when these special honours were a one-off occurrence.

There were even signs of opposition to the 1993 Queen's Birthday honours list. It was reported following the publication of the list that the leader of the Christian Heritage Party, Graham Capill, had criticised the awarding of titles to women only as being a 'political and sexist' choice, and quoted him as saying that 'putting sex before true achievement' was discriminatory as well as 'degrading and patronising'.³⁰² Phyllis Guthardt, one of the recipients of honours in that list, was contacted by *The Press* to respond to Capill's comments that she had not deserved the honour, since she had simply been doing her job. Guthardt's response was that he was 'exactly right', because she had been 'doing what I felt was ... my work' without thinking of honours.³⁰³ On the other hand, the national president of the NCW, Alison Roxburgh, reportedly argued that the list acknowledged the value of women. She was quoted as suggesting that 'maybe we need a little affirmative action every now and then to redress past imbalances', and if so, 'why not in the centennial year of women's suffrage?'³⁰⁴ According to one media report, she had criticised the balance of awards the year before, claiming that the work of many women was not being valued.³⁰⁵

Between the two waves of the feminist movement, although activity in the women's movement did not cease, there was a turn toward emphasising and glorifying the conservative female roles of housewife and mother, particularly in the years after the

³⁰² B. Rapson, 'Honours challenged', *The New Zealand Herald*, 14 June 1993, p. 1; P. Mathias, 'Gender, race split in list under fire', *The Press*, 14 June 1993, p. 3. In the same articles, Selwyn Katene, chair of the Partnership Committee, was reported as disappointed at the lack of Maori recipients of high honours in the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples. Rapson, p. 1; Mathias, p. 3.

³⁰³ Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

³⁰⁴ Rapson, p. 1; Mathias, p. 3.

³⁰⁵ 'Honours for the occasion', *The Evening Post*, 14 June 1993, p. 4.

Second World War. Women were expected to return to the home, and the value and pleasure of being a 'homemaker' was stressed in media such as women's magazines and radio serials.³⁰⁶ At the same time, the proportion of women engaged in paid work, particularly married women, 'was steadily increasing', and the view of women's place as being in the home as a housewife was not universally accepted.³⁰⁷ Within the NCW itself, 'a firm line on the duty of mothers to make the home their primary responsibility' co-existed with efforts to secure equal pay and equal opportunity for unmarried women or married women with dependents.³⁰⁸ While the correlation between the changes in the circumstances of women's lives and the changes in their participation in the royal honours system was not so strong in this instance, there being three dames created in the 1950s, the turn toward the home was at least partially reflected in honours. From the 1920s to the 1960s, men were awarded knighthoods in steadily increasing numbers, while a mere five dames were created in those entire five decades (see Tables One and Two, Appendix One).³⁰⁹ Awards of the civil CBE to men increased from eleven in the 1920s to seventy-five in the 1950s, without a corresponding increase in the number of women receiving them. One woman received the civil CBE in the 1920s (8.3% of the total awards of that honour), and three women (3.8%) received it in the 1950s, the decade when the 'back-to-the-home' movement was strongest.³¹⁰ Similarly, awards of the civil OBE to women dropped from 15.8% in the 1940s to 11.2% in the 1950s, and 8.5% in the 1960s; numerical increases in the number of these awards to women did not keep pace with increases in the number of awards to men.³¹¹ It is suggestive, in terms of the interaction between feminism and the royal honours system, that this trough between the peaks of the feminist movement, although feminist efforts did not entirely cease, appears

³⁰⁶ Coney, ed., p. 80; K. Pickles, 'Introduction', in K. Pickles, ed., *Hall of Fame: Life Stories of New Zealand Women* (Christchurch, 1998), p. xvi.

³⁰⁷ Pickles, 'Introduction', p. xvi; Coney, ed., p. 80.

³⁰⁸ Page, pp. 102, 108.

³⁰⁹ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Coney, ed., p. 80.

³¹¹ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

to have been echoed in royal honours granted to women. Like any institution, the honours system does not operate in a vacuum, but is shaped by trends and movements in society, which it in turn may shape.

Threads of continuity: the ‘helpmeet’ model of femininity

The history of women’s relationship with royal honours has been a complex blend of change and continuity, as is evident from the contrast of the feminist movement and changes to women’s status in society with the continued uncommonness of honoured women, particularly at the titular level. Another aspect of female association with royal honours that displays this contrast is the issue of honoured women’s links to men. The establishment of the title of ‘Dame’, of course, signified that women could receive a title in their own right, to recognise their own achievements, rather than simply as a consort and helpmate of a man who had achieved. Yet the reality of the earliest awards of titular honours to women was rather more blurred. Of the eleven women made dames before 1980, four (36.4%) were the wives of either a Prime Minister or a Governor-General of New Zealand, and two were directly linked to their fathers and one to her husband in the area in which they gained their honour.³¹² The pattern diminished considerably after the increase in the number of dames and the influence of second wave feminism in the 1980s, but did not altogether disappear.

Wives of Prime Ministers and Governors-General often became New Zealand’s very first dames. The first two women to be made dames who are recorded in the honours lists in the *New Zealand Gazette* are examples of this pattern, and they were the only women to receive titular honours in those lists in the first thirty-three years in which titular honours were open to women. Annette Countess of Liverpool was the wife of the Governor-General, the Earl of Liverpool, who had himself received more than one titular honour. She led the ‘Pakeha women’s effort’ in World War One, and shared with Miria (later Lady) Pomare the leadership of the Lady Liverpool and Mrs Pomare’s Maori

³¹² 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

Soldiers' Fund.³¹³ Christina Massey, who received a GBE in 1926, was the widow of William Massey, Prime Minister from 1912 to 1925. With him, she was involved in community affairs, becoming known nationally after he became Prime Minister. As well as acting as his hostess, she fundraised and performed social services in World War One, was president of the Plunket Society, and was involved with the Red Cross, the Lady Liverpool Fund and the Victoria League. Massey received a CBE in 1918 for her war services. In 1926, being 'self-effacing', she accepted the GBE 'on behalf of her late husband for services they had both given to their country'.³¹⁴ A short article in *The New Zealand Times* praised her:

Everyone in the Dominion knows her as the great helpmate for thirty years of a great citizen, who for nearly half that period worthily held the position of Prime Minister, guided the Dominion wisely through the Great War, and gained high recognition during the peace negotiations, as well as a solid reputation as a consulting statesman in the region of Imperial Conference. In addition, Dame Christina was foremost for many years in the humanitarian work which strongly appealed to her sense of duty as the Prime Minister's wife.³¹⁵

Most of this lists her husband's work, her own contribution summed up in the telling word, 'helpmate', her own work thus de-emphasised in favour of her husband's. Christina Massey was admired for having fulfilled that traditional feminine role of helpmate, and as linked to her husband's work and successes.

In the short biographies of honours recipients provided in another newspaper, her connection to her husband was similarly emphasised. She was referred to as the 'relict of the late Right Hon. W. F. Massey, P.C., LL.D.' and described as 'a loyal and devoted helpmate of her illustrious husband', before her involvement in humanitarian work was

³¹³ Coney, ed., pp. 312-313.

³¹⁴ T. B. Graham, 'Massey, Christina Allan 1863-1932', in C. Orange, ed., *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Auckland and Wellington, 1996), p. 336.

³¹⁵ 'The Birthday Honours of 1926', *The New Zealand Times*, 5 July 1926, copy provided by David Baguley, 2004.

mentioned.³¹⁶ Further, the emphasis on her husband's work was strengthened by reporting that he had declined honours:

Her husband refused all offers of decoration. The conferring on her of the Grand Cross of the Empire is a graceful, thoughtful act, for which the Dominion will ever be grateful to King George V.³¹⁷

It appears then, that the granting of the GBE to Bill Massey's widow was a method of recognising his work, after he had turned down honours. Had he accepted, one must wonder if Christina Massey would have been offered the choice. Yet, in another article on the Birthday Honours list for that year, in the *Feilding Star*, the writer commented that Christina Massey was 'more deserving' than opera singer Dame Nellie Melba. The reasoning in that judgement was that as a Prime Minister's wife:

... [Massey] has had the stress and strain of public life, whereas Melba earned great fees and was well rewarded already in the exercise of what was literally a golden voice.³¹⁸

Besides displaying the early existence of criticism of giving honours to people already recompensed for their work with money, this judgement criticised the grant of high royal honours to a woman whose success had been in her own right, in favour of a woman who had been a self-sacrificing helpmate to a man in high office.

Barbara, Lady Freyberg, who received the GBE in 1953, was also the wife of a Governor-General. In the *Dominion* in January 1953, recipients of titular awards and third class awards all had brief biographies inserted, except Lady Freyberg, whose award was listed with merely a sentence identifying her as the wife of Lord Freyberg.³¹⁹ Her award was given in recognition of her work 'in connection with the welfare of New Zealand forces' in the Second World War and of her time 'as wife of the Governor-General', when she was involved in many organisations concerned with women, children

³¹⁶ 'Birthday Honours', copy provided by David Baguley, 2004.

³¹⁷ 'The Birthday Honours of 1926', copy provided by Baguley.

³¹⁸ 'Birthday Honours', *The Feilding Star*, 5 July 1926, copy provided by David Baguley, 2004.

³¹⁹ 'Distinction in New Year Honours List for Lady Freyberg', *The Dominion*, 2 January 1953, p. 8, copy provided by David Baguley.

and health.³²⁰ Ruth Kirk, Lady Thea Muldoon and Lady Norma Holyoake were all wives of past Prime Ministers of New Zealand. Kirk and Muldoon, like Christina Massey, were granted their honours after the death of their husbands, while Lady Holyoake received hers in the same year as her husband was knighted.³²¹ Both Kirk and Holyoake were created as dames before the end of 1980, while Muldoon received her DBE in 1993. Townsend considered that Kirk's award had had more to do with her husband's work than her own:

...despite the official citation, the award was little more than a mark of respect for her late husband. It is fair to say that she received her husband's knighthood.³²²

In an interview, Kirk was quoted explaining that she had seen being made as a Dame in 1975 as 'a marvellous honour – *a tribute for the way Mr Kirk struggled for New Zealand, particularly in the past two years*'.³²³ She reportedly said that she decided to accept 'for Norm's sake. He had done so much for the nation'.³²⁴ Lady Muldoon, who received her honour for 'services to the community', was married to Sir Robert Muldoon, himself knighted prior to her being created as a dame. She argued in an interview in the *New Zealand Herald* that the honour was recognition of her own hard work 'behind-the-scenes', which was often unnoticed by the public, as well as of women's equality. She recalled Sir Robert's pleasure when she received the Queen's Service Order (QSO) in 1985: 'He thought it was so wonderful that somebody had noticed I had done something'. The article closed with the reflection: 'Dame Thea is content with what she has achieved in her life, satisfied that she managed to find *her own niche in her husband's career*'.³²⁵

³²⁰ 'Honours List for New Year 1953', copy of citation provided by David Baguley, 2004.

³²¹ List of Dames in New Zealand provided by the Honours Secretariat, DPMC, 2003; G. A. Wood, 'Holyoake, Keith Jacka 1904-1983', in C. Orange, ed., *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Auckland and Wellington, 2000), p. 235; L. Taylor, 'Years of hard work finally earn reward', *New Zealand Herald*, 31 December 1992, p. 9.

³²² Townsend, p. 34.

³²³ T. Potter, 'First lady from the old school', *Sunday Star Times*, 26 March 2000, accessed from Factiva; my emphasis.

³²⁴ Bungay, p. 64.

³²⁵ Taylor, 'Years of hard work finally earn reward', p. 9; my emphasis.

As well as the women who were so directly linked to their husband in the honour that they received, another of the first New Zealand dames, Cecily Pickerill, was honoured for work that she did in the same area as her husband. She received the DBE for her services to medicine, and particularly to plastic surgery.³²⁶ Her husband's 'pupil and associate' before their marriage, she worked in that field with him, and continued her work after his death in 1956, receiving the OBE in 1958 and her DBE in 1977.³²⁷

Relationships to fathers have also been significant for some women made dames in New Zealand. Whina Cooper was 'following in her father's footsteps' when she became a prominent Maori leader, and Augusta Wallace was 'part of a legal "dynasty"', with a father and husband working in the law, and her daughter as well.³²⁸ Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, the Maori Queen, is directly descended from the first Maori king, Potatau Te Wherowhero, and has succeeded her father, Koroki Te Wherowhero.³²⁹ In the case of Elizabeth Gilmer, made a DBE in 1951, she herself continually emphasised her relationship to her father, Richard Seddon. In her unsuccessful attempts to gain election to Parliament, she stressed that relationship, and her intentions to follow in his footsteps. In one campaign poster, the picture of her was smaller than a central picture of Seddon, and the phrase 'Like Father, Like Daughter' was prominent.³³⁰ One dame whose experience was in contrast to this trend of being linked to men was Rangimarie Hetet, who learnt Maori weaving from her mother and aunts.³³¹ Not given to her until she was 100, Hetet's honour acknowledged her efforts at preserving a traditional female skill, and

³²⁶ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

³²⁷ R. H. Brown, 'Pickerill, Cecily Mary Wise 1903-1988', in C. Orange, ed., *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Auckland and Wellington, 1998), pp. 406-407.

³²⁸ *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, p. 305; K. Findlay, 'On Her Honour: Women on the Bench', *More*, October 1987, p. 173. Wallace, however, says she entered law because she 'just liked it'. Findlay, p. 173.

³²⁹ *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, p. 109.

³³⁰ S. Wallace, 'Elizabeth Gilmer, Parliamentary Candidate', *Historical News* (67), October 1993, pp. 4-5. At the same time, she held different views, desiring more women in Parliament, while he had opposed women's suffrage. Wallace, p. 5.

³³¹ *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, insert between pp. 248-249.

was made in a late twentieth century climate of increased appreciation for diversity, of both race and gender, as well as of an increased recognition of the arts.

Links to men were clearly important among the dames created in New Zealand after 1917. This pattern supports an argument that women entering traditionally male-dominated spaces did so, at least to begin with, through their connections to men, as husbands, fathers, or perhaps simply mentors. Antonia Fraser has shown the importance of links to men in the lives of ‘warrior queens’, who not only came into power through their connections to male rulers, but who emphasised their connections to ‘strong masculine figure[s]’ to strengthen their position.³³² The importance of male mentors has been explained by Katie Pickles in relation to the first academic women in Anglo-Canada, Australia and New Zealand.³³³ According to Pickles’ study of the first female political leaders throughout the world, many of the very first had important ‘dynastic’ links to previous male politicians and leaders.³³⁴ As with the female leaders discussed by Pickles, many of the dames who most clearly were linked to men were among the very first women to receive titular honours in New Zealand. Whilst dames were neither ruling nor honoured directly through their fathers, their awards reflect the traditional importance of links to men in gaining entry to a male-dominated system.

Admittedly, a dynastic pattern was sometimes evident in the creation of knights as well as dames in New Zealand. More than once a father and son were both knighted, and in one family, titular honours seem almost to have been part of the family name. Of the knights and dames listed in the honours lists in the *New Zealand Gazette* between 1917 and 2000, at least twenty-one were the son or daughter of a knight. As well, four sets of

³³² Fraser, pp. 9, 12, 21, 212-213, 332, particularly p. 12.

³³³ Pickles, ‘Colonial Counterparts’, pp. 275-278, 286.

³³⁴ Pickles, ‘Exceptions to the Rule’, pp. 13-14. As well, Sawyer has noted links to fathers and husbands among the first women, including Indigenous women, in parliament in New Zealand, Australia and Canada. Sawyer, ‘Suffrage Centenaries in Comparative Perspective’, p. 121; Sawyer and Simms, *A Woman’s Place: Women and Politics in Australia*, pp. 75-81.

siblings were granted titles, one uncle and nephew and one uncle and niece.³³⁵ In one family, the father was knighted, while two of his sons and one of his daughters were also granted titular honours. When David Hay was knighted in 1991, he said in a newspaper article briefly profiling him that he had ‘joined his family’s “knights bachelor club”’, with his father and twin brother and sister. His sister Laurie Salas’ honour ranks more highly, being a DBE, since women cannot be made Knight Bachelor. Despite that, she is not mentioned in the article’s headline: ‘Sir David joins twin, father in “knight club”’.³³⁶ In another family, three generations were both knighted and Governor-General of New Zealand during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (James, Charles and Bernard Fergusson, in that order).³³⁷ Some links are also evident among both knights and dames by marriage. Knighted in 1972, Harcourt Caughey, who was the managing director and chairperson of Smith and Caughey, and the chairperson of the Auckland Hospital Board between 1959 and 1974, married the daughter of Sir George Finlay, a judge of the Supreme Court and president of the Land Sales Court, knighted in 1955.³³⁸ Another judge, Maurice Casey, who was knighted in 1991, was married to Stella Casey, who was made a dame in 1991.³³⁹

However, an important distinction is evident between the latter links among the recipients of titular honours, and those women who were linked to husbands or fathers in relation to their award. When women such as Christina Massey and Barbara Freyberg were made dames, they were honoured for work directly connected with their husband’s work and position, their work as wives of prominent government figures. The husband or father with whom dames were linked in these instances, although usually a prominent

³³⁵ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two. These figures include those whose relative, such as their father, was made a knight on a list earlier than 1917.

³³⁶ 'Sir David joins twin, father in "knight club"', *The Evening Post*, 31 December 1990, p. 8.

³³⁷ 'Sir Charles Fergusson's Voyage round the Horn in 1874', *Journal of the Auckland-Waikato Historical Societies* (25), October 1974, p. 38.

³³⁸ M. Lambert, ed., *Who's Who in New Zealand*, 12 ed. (Wellington, 1991), p. 111; 'New Year Honours List', *The Press*, 3 January 1955, p. 8.

³³⁹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

figure, had sometimes not been knighted himself. He may even, like Bill Massey, have turned the honour down. These women's links to husbands were sometimes emphasised rather more than the recipient's own work. In these cases, usually to be found among the awards of titles to women before 1980, the title of 'Dame' almost acted as the equivalent of the title of 'Lady'; that is, it signified recognition of the helpmate of a successful male. Among sons of knights, some daughters and other relations, on the other hand, this was not the case. Stella Casey, wife of a titled man, Laurie Salas, the daughter of a knight, and Barbara Goodman, the niece of one, do not appear to have been consistently portrayed as linked with those men, and they did not receive their awards for work connected with those men. Salas was heavily involved in peace and disarmament work, as well as being part of many committees and community organisations.³⁴⁰ Although Goodman was Mayoress of Auckland between 1968 and 1980 for her uncle Sir Dove-Myer Robinson during his time as Mayor, this was only one, early, aspect of her work, and not the most important to her award.³⁴¹ These three women were all honoured after 1985.

Although direct links to men in the work for which dames were recognised were more a feature of the early awards of titular honours to women, male support was often important in other dames' achievements. A number of dames, when interviewed by the media, pointed to their husband's support as an important influence in their success. In one interview, Miriam Dell spoke of her husband Richard as having always given her much support in her efforts, as well as sharing domestic work.³⁴² When Augusta Wallace was made a dame in 1993, the brief article about her award in the *New Zealand Herald* reported her awareness that her husband Neville had 'supported and encouraged her'.³⁴³ Louise Henderson's husband was also supportive. She had been unable to paint before

³⁴⁰ Lambert, ed., pp. 553-554.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 238.

³⁴² Y. Dasler, 'Woman at the top', *New Zealand Listener*, 16 October 1982, p. 46.

³⁴³ A. Young, 'This dame a true 'gentleman'', *New Zealand Herald*, 12 June 1993, p. 1.

her marriage, as it was not seen as appropriate for a female, but her husband Hubert was reported to have told her that 'I want you to grow well, like a plant'.³⁴⁴ When Ann Hercus became New Zealand's ambassador to the United Nations, her husband, John, who was the director of Christchurch Polytechnic, took two years' leave and went to New York with her.³⁴⁵ John also, Ann reportedly said, took on household responsibilities while she was commuting between Tuesdays and Thursdays each week to Wellington from Christchurch as a member of the Price Tribunal.³⁴⁶ In a slightly different way, male support was important in Barbara Goodman's community work, which was what she was honoured for. After her husband's death, she said in an interview that she could not afford to continue doing so much unpaid work in the community.³⁴⁷ On the other hand, some dames were divorced or single at the time of their greatest success. Ngaio Marsh never married, and Sister Mary Leo, the famous singing teacher whose pupils included Kiri Te Kanawa and Malvina Major, spent most of her life in the female environment of a convent.³⁴⁸ Both Cheryll Sotheran and Catherine Tizard were divorced when they reached the peak of their achievements.³⁴⁹

Several dames criticised the honours system in media interviews for not recognising the importance of husbands' support to dames, expressing dissatisfaction with the practice of awarding a title to the wives of knights but not to the husbands of dames, a sort of reverse discrimination. In an interview reported in *North and South* in 1999, Susan Devoy was quoted as saying, in relation to becoming a dame, that she was 'a

³⁴⁴ Quoted in L. Taylor, 'Broad canvas of a life lived to the full', *New Zealand Herald*, 12 June 1993, p. 1.

³⁴⁵ G. Bowman, 'Dame Ann... Behind the Public Face', *New Zealand Women's Weekly*, 29 August 1988, p. 21.

³⁴⁶ 'Ann Hercus', in *Celebrating Women: New Zealand Women and their Stories* (Whatamongo Bay, New Zealand, 1984), p. 34

³⁴⁷ Du Chateau, 'Great Dame', p. 118.

³⁴⁸ M. Lovell-Smith, 'Niccol, Mary Leo 1895-1989', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 4 April 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed July 2003; M. Airey, 'Ngaio Marsh: famed yet private author', *The Press*, 29 June 1991, p. 26.

³⁴⁹ J. Wheeler, 'For Cath, goodbye to the smell of dogfish', *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 31 October 1983, pp. 4, 6; N. Legat, 'Cheryll Sotheran: New Zealander of the Year', *North and South*, January 1999, pp. 51-52.

little bit disappointed' that her husband John Oakley did not 'get anything' because her award was 'a product of what we have done together'.³⁵⁰ As well as their personal relationship, John had been Susan's personal manager, and was once quoted as saying, 'I don't mind living in Susan's shadow' as he thought he could 'take a lot of responsibility off her shoulders'.³⁵¹ Similarly, Augusta Wallace was reported to have said that husbands of dames should be recognised as the wives of knights were.³⁵² In Malvina Major's opinion, the practice of granting a title to a knight's wife but not to a dame's husband was 'a bit chauvinistic', and added to the 'confusion' about titles, particularly with respect to understanding who was a titled woman in her own right.³⁵³ In its 1995 report, the committee reviewing honours in New Zealand acknowledged that the title of 'Dame' was not 'universally welcomed by women, some of whom also regret the lack of recognition afforded their husbands'.³⁵⁴ Yet the support of a husband was sometimes an important factor in a woman's opportunity to succeed in a male-dominated occupation. Even in the traditionally female-dominated area of voluntary community work, women were often able to achieve because their husband fulfilled the role of breadwinner.

Conclusion

As a system with medieval antecedents rooted in war, and which had shifted to one providing recognition for those in the male-dominated field of public service in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the honours system remained a male-dominated institution in the twentieth century. Titular awards were not available to women on the same terms as men. In the next chapters, as the services for which men and women were honoured are considered, this gendering of the honours system is further explained by the patterns evident in which areas of service were most clearly valued between 1917 and 2000. Feminism, as a social movement, did intersect with the institution of royal

³⁵⁰ N. Legat, 'Face to Face: Susan Devoy', *North and South*, March 1999, p. 76.

³⁵¹ S. O'Meagher, 'Susan Devoy: A Sporting Life', *North and South*, November 1986, p. 40.

³⁵² Young, 'This dame a true 'gentleman'', p. 1.

³⁵³ Major, interview with the author, 4 November 2004.

³⁵⁴ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 73.

honours, and women's association with honours shifted as their circumstances and lives changed. Yet change was slow, and not always straightforward, particularly in the upper levels of honours. Despite the opening of royal honours to women in the twentieth century, allowing women to receive titles in their own right, early awards to women continued to display important links to men in the work being recognised. Even later, although not acknowledged in honours, the support of a husband could be important to a dame's success. Although women who were made dames were 'singular exceptions' in that they were part of a small group of women who were honoured with a title in their own right, they were not always as far from conventional images of femininity as might be expected.

Chapter Three

The work of dames and knights: exceptional women and traditional images of the feminine

If dames, as a minority of women in a male-dominated honours system, were 'singular exceptions', what of the services to the country that their awards recognised? What of the ways in which they were portrayed in popular magazines and newspapers? A gendered analysis of the patterns evident in the services for which titular honours have been granted to men and women between 1917 and 2000 can reveal much about gender identities and roles in twentieth-century New Zealand, both the feminine and the masculine. Such an analysis casts light not merely on the inner working of the honours system as an institution, but also upon the society it operated within. Although the circumstances and experiences in women's lives have changed greatly since 1917, these patterns display an underlying continuity in expected gender roles in society, roles that were potentially reinforced by the honours system itself. This continuity often extended to the representation of dames in popular culture, where traditional images of the feminine were frequently evoked in relation to these exceptional women.

Volunteer work and philanthropy: dames, knights and community service

Marked patterns were evident in the services for which men and women in New Zealand received titular honours between 1917 and 2000, many persisting over time. One such significant pattern was that substantially more dames were created to recognise their community service efforts than for any other type of service. Almost a third (32.8%) of the women created as dames were honoured for their community service, either by itself or along with other services.³⁵⁵ No other category of service was so often rewarded with the title of Dame; most other categories appeared relatively infrequently by comparison. Since most dames received their title after 1980, no clear trend over time

³⁵⁵ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

toward or away from rewarding women for community service was evident, although in the five years from 1995 to 1999, more dames were created for services to various branches of the arts than for any other service.³⁵⁶ When women were honoured with a title in their own right, it was a strong possibility that they had been involved in community service (see Figure Five below).

Figure Five:
Services in the citations or careers of those awarded damehoods, 1917-2000

Category	Number	Percent of damehoods*
Community	19	32.8
Arts	12	20.7
Public	12	20.7
Academic	9	15.5
Maori	5	8.6
Women	4	6.9
War/patriotic work	3	5.2
Legal	2	3.4
Medical	2	3.4
Sport	1	1.7
Business	1	1.7
Religion	1	1.7
Personal to Sovereign	1	1.7
Agriculture	0	0.0
Professions	0	0.0
Military	0	0.0
Trade union	0	0.0

* Percentages are out of the 58 damehoods awarded, and are rounded to one decimal place.

Barbara Goodman, for example, was involved in various organisations concerned with drug addicts, women's refuges and the disabled, as well as being Mayoress of Auckland for her uncle.³⁵⁷ Ann Ballin was the Chairperson of the Victims' Task Force and of the National Organisation for the International Year of Disabled Persons, and was a member of various public commissions and councils, such as the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1987 and 1988.³⁵⁸ Both of these women received the DBE 'for services

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Lambert, ed., p. 238; 'New Year Honours List', *The Press*, 31 December 1988, p. 4.

³⁵⁸ Lambert, ed., p. 27.

to the community'.³⁵⁹ Much earlier, Barbara Freyberg's work in the community in New Zealand was in women's, children's and charitable organisations; as *The Dominion* put it, she was involved in 'many welfare and cultural organisations in the women's sphere in New Zealand'.³⁶⁰ These included the Girl Guides' Association, the New Zealand Red Cross Society, the NCW, the New Zealand Crippled Children's Society and the League of Mothers.³⁶¹ Other women were made dames for community service as well as other services, with both being included in the citation for their award. Recognition of Malvina Major's contribution to opera was combined with recognition of her work in the community: 'for services to opera and the community'.³⁶² Her charity concerts became something she was known for, and she was reported as earning more money for charity than for herself during some years of her career.³⁶³ Susan Devoy was given the honour both for her achievement as a highly successful international squash player, a non-traditional career for a woman, and for her community work.³⁶⁴

While there were also seventy-seven men granted a knighthood whose work included community work or philanthropy, the proportion (16.8%) is considerably smaller than the proportion of women so honoured. Other types of work, particularly political, legal and commercial, were more common among knights. Numbers of men being knighted for work that included community service increased from the mid-1970s, at much the same time as the number of dames being created increased. However, over half (forty) of those knights who were honoured for their community service were also honoured for their work in industry, business and commerce.³⁶⁵ Robertson Stewart, for instance, was knighted for 'services to manufacturing and the community', having donated to many causes, including making large contributions to the Antarctic Wing at

³⁵⁹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

³⁶⁰ 'The New Year Honours', *The Dominion*, 2 January 1953, p. 6.

³⁶¹ 'Honours List for New Year 1953', copy provided by Baguley, 2004.

³⁶² 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

³⁶³ D. Coddington, 'The Prime of Dame Malvina Major', *North and South*, November 1999, p. 78.

³⁶⁴ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

the Christchurch Museum and to Ferrymead Historical Park, and giving to the Stewart Foundation and the Christchurch Cathedral Restoration Appeal.³⁶⁶ Men such as Leonard Southward and Lewis Harris, knighted solely for community or philanthropic work, were much rarer, numbering just nine (11.7% of the knights whose honour included community service), compared to ten women (52.6% of the dames whose honour included community service). The patterns in the services for which men received a title, and the changes over time in services given by both knights and dames, are summarised in Figures Six, Seven and Eight below.

**Figure Six:
Services in the citations or careers of those awarded knighthoods, 1917-2000***

Category	Number	Percent of knighthoods**
Public	172	37.6
Business	106	23.1
Legal	85	18.6
Community	77	16.8
Academic	52	11.4
Agriculture	31	6.8
Medical	29	6.3
Military	23	5.0
Maori	17	3.7
Personal to Sovereign	15	3.3
Sport	15	3.3
War/patriotic work	10	2.2
Arts	10	2.2
Professions	7	1.5
Religion	3	0.7
Trade union	2	0.4
Women	0	0.0

* Excluding those awarded additional or honorary knighthoods, or those awarded knighthood in the separate Cook Islands list published in the *New Zealand Gazette* from 1983; the total excluding these being 458.

** Percentages are out of the 458 knighthoods awarded, and are rounded to one decimal place.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.; Lambert, ed., p. 605.

**Figure Seven:
Services given by those awarded knighthoods, 1920-1999***

		Period															
		1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	1940-1944	1945-1949	1950-1954	1955-1959	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999
	Public	15	9	7	13	0	5	13	10	7	9	13	16	19	12	10	6
	Legal	4	4	3	4	0	7	5	8	4	3	7	7	4	11	5	5
	Business	7	5	6	6	0	4	7	3	9	6	10	8	12	5	7	8
	Personal to Sovereign	3	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	3	0	1	1	0	0
	Military	2	0	1	1	1	4	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	0
Category	Medical	2	2	1	1	0	5	1	3	2	1	3	1	2	2	3	0
of	War/patriotic	2	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
service	Maori	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	3	2	1
	Academic	1	2	0	6	0	7	2	4	4	1	6	5	2	7	2	2
	Agriculture	0	1	2	1	0	0	4	3	4	1	1	3	6	1	3	1
	Professions	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2
	Community	2	0	1	4	0	0	5	0	3	7	4	12	14	10	5	8
	Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	2	7
	Arts	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	2	3
	Trade union	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Religion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
	Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Excluding those awarded additional or honorary knighthoods, or those awarded knighthood in the separate Cook Islands list published in the *New Zealand Gazette* from 1983.

Figure Eight:
Services given by those awarded damehoods, 1920-1999

		Period															
		1920-1924	1925-1929	1930-1934	1935-1939	1940-1944	1945-1949	1950-1954	1955-1959	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999
	Community	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	7	3
	Arts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	5	4
	Public	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	4	1	2
	Academic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	3
	Maori	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
Category	Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
of	War/patriotic	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
service	Legal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Medical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
	Sport	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Business	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Religion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Personal to Sovereign	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Professions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Military	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Trade union	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Moreover, dames whose honour included services to the community had often been involved in volunteer work, and seem rarely to have made notable donations to community organisations.³⁶⁷ Laurie Salas, for instance, was much involved in voluntary work in the community, including in the NCW, the Parliamentary Watch Committee, the Alcohol Liquor Advisory Council and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and she became the president of the United Nations Association of New Zealand in 1988, the same year she received her DBE.³⁶⁸ Elizabeth Harper was involved in the Save the Children fund from 1969, when she drove a car for the annual collection, and held the position of national president between 1989 and 1993. When she received her honour, the organisation was voluntary, excepting six staff in Wellington.³⁶⁹

Dames and community service: women's caring mission

The strength of the theme of caring for and serving the community among dames reflected the glorification of the roles of wife and mother in the years after the Second World War, but also had earlier antecedents in the nineteenth-century ideology of the cult of domesticity. The theme echoed images of women as nurturers and life-givers stemming from that ideology, which placed women in the home as 'wives, mothers, homemakers and housekeepers': the 'angel in the house'.³⁷⁰ Women's caring virtues were emphasised, opening a way for women to work in public spaces in charitable organisations and clubs. Linked to contemporary Christian ideas, women were imagined as 'moral, modest, ... gentle, ... compassionate [and] self-sacrificing'.³⁷¹ Philanthropy, therefore, was 'the leisured woman's most obvious outlet for self-expression' in the

³⁶⁷ Entries in the *Who's Who* and *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* record lists of organisations belonged to by dames, but rarely, if ever, state that a dame had been a large donor to anything, whereas entries for knights do sometimes mention such donations.

³⁶⁸ Lambert, ed., pp. 553-554.

³⁶⁹ 'Car drive began charity career', p. 9; 'Two dames, three knights head list', *The New Zealand Herald*, 31 December 1994, p. 1.

³⁷⁰ R. Dalziel, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History* 11(2), 1977, pp. 112-113, 120; J. Rendall, *Women in an Industrialising Society: England 1750-1880* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 1-3; Coney, ed., p. 14.

³⁷¹ F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1980), p. 3.

nineteenth century, and an avenue through which to escape boredom and inconsequential pursuits.³⁷²

There was, of course, a split between the 'prescriptive' ideology and rhetoric of the cult of domesticity and the reality of life for many women even in the nineteenth century in England, as many were not wealthy enough to live in this way, and were often not 'as separate from the public world as is implied by the ideal suggested'.³⁷³ It is, however, the existence of the ideal that is of importance in relation to ideas about suitable female activities, and to the representation of women in the popular media. At the same time, Phyllis Guthardt has suggested that the smaller number of women who have been honoured in comparison to men is linked to the way in which volunteer work in the community was 'expected' of women. Community service, she noted, is 'not the sort of job that gets very much applause or recognition'.³⁷⁴ Similarly, Malvina Major suggested that women's tendency to 'just do', to get involved in an organisation and do what is necessary, is linked to the numerical inequality in awards of honours to men and to women. Their work, she considered, was often unknown outside of the organisation, and the organisation may never consider nominating people.³⁷⁵ A tension therefore existed between the rhetoric placing importance on women's caring work and the high number of dames who have been involved in this work, and the invisibility of women's community service work, particularly voluntary work.

The pattern of voluntary community service among dames had further significance besides that it was in charitable work that opportunities for middle class women to work in public spaces were most available in the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the division between voluntary and paid

³⁷² Ibid., pp. 5-6.

³⁷³ Rendall, p. 3. Similarly, Robert Shoemaker identified the complex realities surrounding the ideology of separate spheres in England, examining ideas of public and private both in the nineteenth century and earlier. R. B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The emergence of separate spheres?* (London, 1998), pp. 305-318.

³⁷⁴ Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

³⁷⁵ Major, interview with the author, 4 November 2004.

work was often viewed as the crucial difference between “ladies” fulfilling their “womanly mission” and women stepping into the realm of masculine work and authority’.³⁷⁶ Moreover, the gendered pattern whereby dames involved in community service often did volunteer work while knights whose work included community service were often wealthy men who made donations to various causes suggests that women were more able to contribute their time than monetary resources, and implies the traditional model of gender roles where the male was the breadwinner.³⁷⁷ In turn, this reinforces the suggestion that a class element continued to operate in the honours system in New Zealand throughout the twentieth century. Middle and upper class women who did not need to undertake paid work were more able to give time to charitable work, and the prevalence of community service in the work of dames thus suggests also a prevalence of elite women among dames. Even in the late twentieth century, the creation of dames displays a continuation of traditional ideas that placed middle and upper class women in community service, as volunteers rather than as paid workers.

Further, the strength of the gendered pattern in which women were honoured for community work more often than men is reinforced when the type of work done by those women granted a title for public service is taken into account. Margaret Bazley, for instance, was formerly the Chief Executive of the Department of Social Welfare, and Vivienne Boyd sat on the Equal Opportunities Tribunal and was the President of the NCW between 1978 and 1982.³⁷⁸ Although Lady Norma Holyoake received the DCMG for ‘public services’, a rare award to women because of its nature as an award for diplomatic and political service, she also received a QSO for community service, as the

³⁷⁶ A. Woollacott, ‘From Moral to Professional Authority: Secularism, Social Work, and Middle-Class Women’s Self-Construction in World War I Britain’, *Journal of Women’s History* 10(2), Summer 1998, p. 100; Prochaska, p. 6.

³⁷⁷ See, for example, the concept of the ‘male breadwinner wage’, a concept that was based on the assumption that a man was supporting his wife and children, and which in New Zealand ‘existed in practice’ in the early twentieth century, although it did not apply unproblematically. M. Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand women and the state* (Christchurch, 2000), p. 22.

³⁷⁸ ‘Database of titular honours, 1917-2000’, see Appendix Two; Lambert, ed., p. 71.

wife of a Governor-General.³⁷⁹ The importance of community service in the work of honoured women is noticeable at the lower levels of the honours system as well, particularly with the QSO and QSM. While women and men received an equal number of QSOs for community service over the quarter of a century between 1975 and 2000, awards of the QSO for public services to men far outstripped those to women. Of the total number of QSOs granted for public services in that period, men received 349, or 79.7% of them. Awards of the lower QSM also show the pattern clearly, with women having received 58.7% of the QSMs for community service that were given between 1975 and 2000, and only 36.3% of those given for public services (see Table Six, Appendix One).³⁸⁰ Twice, a Governor-General has received the QSO for public services, and his wife for community services, in the same list. David Beattie, Governor-General from 1980 to 1985, was given the QSO for public services in 1985, and the same year his wife Norma was given the QSO for community services.³⁸¹ Earlier, in 1980, the year in which Norma Holyoake received the QSO for community services, Keith Holyoake received it for public services.³⁸²

Doing their bit: dames, knights and patriotic work

Three dames who were involved in community service also gave their time and efforts to patriotic and war-related organisations. As already mentioned, Lady Annette Liverpool led the female war effort between 1914 and 1918. She was the patroness of the Federated Women's Patriotic Societies of New Zealand, for instance, and produced a book of knitting patterns for women to use.³⁸³ Lady Barbara Freyberg had run the New

³⁷⁹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; 'Honours and Awards', *New Zealand Gazette* (126), 24 October 1980, p. 3189.

³⁸⁰ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

³⁸¹ 'Honours and Awards', *New Zealand Gazette* (206), 8 November 1985, p. 4893.

³⁸² 'Honours and Awards', *New Zealand Gazette*, 24 October 1980, p. 3189.

³⁸³ M. Woods, 'Re/producing the Nation: Women Making Identity in New Zealand, 1906-1925' (MA, University of Canterbury, 1997), pp. 82-100; Coney, ed., pp. 312-313.

Zealand Forces Club in London in World War Two.³⁸⁴ These activities were gendered feminine, as ways for women to support the war effort, usually at home, while men were fighting overseas. Ten of the men made knights between 1917 and 2000 had been involved in patriotic or war-related work. Made a Knight Bachelor in 1934, George Wilson was 'well-known for his work in patriotic and social movements' in New Zealand, as well as being involved in commercial endeavours. He was 'responsible' during the First World War for the establishment of 'several funds which contributed so largely to the comfort of the soldiers overseas', was a member of the board of the Auckland Patriotic Association, and was the first to donate to the Auckland war memorial fund.³⁸⁵ William Perry, who was knighted in 1946, was the President of the New Zealand Returned Services Association (NZRSA) between 1935 and 1943, as well as being President of the New Zealand Defence League and the Wellington Navy League.³⁸⁶ Although these knights outnumber the dames who had been involved in patriotic or war-related work, they represent only 2.2% of all titular awards to men announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* since 1917, whereas the awards to women in this area represented 5.2% of all titular honours received by women.

Women's affairs, feminism and community service

Another related area in which several dames were active was women's affairs, as discussed in the previous chapter. While services to the community or public services were sometimes cited in their award, these women were involved in work related to women's issues and concerns. Dorothy Winstone, for instance, was honoured for her services to the community. She was the president of the New Zealand Federation of University Women (NZFUW), was made a life member of the NCW and was involved in

³⁸⁴ 'New Year Honours List', *The Press*, 2 January 1953, p. 6. Before working at the club in London, she had received the OBE for other similar war service. Ibid.

³⁸⁵ 'The Birthday Honours', *The Press*, 4 June 1934, p. 8. In *The Press*, it was noted that Lady Wilson 'also has been an active worker among women's organisations, and shares the honour which has come in recognition of continuous and long service in patriotic causes throughout the Dominion'. Ibid.

³⁸⁶ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; G. H. Scholefield, ed., *Who's Who in New Zealand*, 5th ed. (Wellington, 1951), p. 185.

the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion between 1975 and 1977.³⁸⁷ A headline in *The Dominion* when she received her award stated: 'Women's fighter rewarded'.³⁸⁸ Similarly Stella Casey worked in the NCW, the NZFUW, the World Union of Catholic Women's Organisations and the Catholic Women's League of New Zealand, as well as being involved in a number of committees and conventions concerning women's affairs.³⁸⁹ Four women were recognised explicitly for their services to women: Daphne Purves, president of the International Federation of University Women (IFUW) between 1977 and 1980; Miriam Dell, president of the International Council of Women (ICW) from 1979 to 1986; Silvia Cartwright, who carried out an inquiry regarding cervical cancer treatment at the National Women's Hospital between 1987 and 1988; and Phyllis Guthardt, who was also recognised for her services to the Methodist Church.³⁹⁰ Guthardt had, for instance, argued for the use of inclusive language, rather than the way that reports were requested of 'the men' for synod.³⁹¹ She 'was a bit disappointed' that the citation for her award mentioned specifically services to the church, as 'I'd regarded my ministry as a much wider ... service' that also included service 'to the community'.³⁹²

The importance of community service as a field in which women have received high honours seems at first paradoxical. Despite the impact of second wave feminism on the honours system, and the importance of feminist ideas and women's rights to several dames, many women were recognised for their efforts in this traditionally feminine field of work. Yet second wave feminism itself re-valued women's domestic and caring work, and, as previously mentioned, writing in the 1970s often emphasised women's biological

³⁸⁷ 'Queen's Birthday Honours List', *The Press*, 16 June 1990, p. 4.

³⁸⁸ 'Women's fighter rewarded', *The Dominion*, 16 June 1990, p. 7.

³⁸⁹ S. Beattie, 'Women's Affairs Campaigner Lived Busy, Selfless Life', *The Evening Post*, 13 July 2000, accessed from Factiva; Lambert, ed., p. 109.

³⁹⁰ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Lambert, ed., pp. 109, 158, 514.

³⁹¹ *Phyllis Guthardt* (The Methodist Church of New Zealand), available from http://www.methodist.org.nz//index.cfm/Touchstone/February_2003/Phyllis_Guthardt, accessed 3 November 2004.

³⁹² Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

difference from men as childbearers. Such work sometimes emphasised feminine nurturing qualities as a basis on which society should be re-shaped.³⁹³ The risk of this approach, logically, was that such an emphasis on the value of women's traditional work could lead to those traditional roles, and differences between men and women stemming from biology, being reinforced. It is within this celebratory approach that titular honours as recognition of women's caring role in the community, and the presence of feminist women working in community service, can be understood.

As well, while several dames have worked in women's organisations, they have sometimes been compared with other, more radical, feminists. In one article, Dell was quoted as saying that the Auckland media had considered her 'too worthy to be newsworthy' in the 1970s and 1980s, unlike those feminists whom the reporter termed her 'more strident and arresting sisters', supposedly 'burning bras and pasting up the first copies of *Broadsheet*'.³⁹⁴ Similarly, in a profile of Goodman, the writer noted that she was not seen to 'fit in with the radical feminism that was to sweep through the early 80s', as she was 'still married, lived in Parnell, didn't go out to work, [and] wore lipstick and blusher'.³⁹⁵ These women were depicted as conservative, despite their feminist beliefs, and often belonged to more conservative women's organisations, such as the NCW. Going further, Kiri Te Kanawa seems to have deliberately distanced herself from radical feminism, at least. She was once quoted as saying that: 'I know that within the context of a performance I represent women', but 'feminine women', not 'aggressive women'.³⁹⁶ Although dames became 'singular exceptions' through their joining the male-dominated honours system, a conformity to traditional images of the feminine sometimes remained evident in their relations with feminism, as it did in the prevalence of community service work in their achievements.

³⁹³ For example: R. Eisler, *The Chalice and the Blade: Our History, Our Future* (New York, 1987), pp. xv-xxiii, 198.

³⁹⁴ C. Brett, 'Amazing Grace', *The Christchurch Press*, 23 March 2002, accessed from Factiva.

³⁹⁵ Du Chateau, 'Great Dame', pp. 116-117.

³⁹⁶ R. Mellor, 'Dames just wanna have fun', *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 1 January 1996, p. 10.

Continuing the imagery: representing dames as mothers

Conformity with traditional images of the feminine has also often been evident in portrayals of dames in popular magazines and newspapers. Although it was in community service, where images of the female as caring and nurturing could be most clearly imagined, that women were most often honoured at the titular level, these images also appeared in relation to women honoured for many types of service. Many dames were portrayed in popular culture in ways that underlined their adherence to traditionally accepted gender norms, particularly through the evocation of the maternal image. A *North and South* interview of Susan Devoy opened by presenting the image of children and toys throughout her house, while Devoy herself was ‘trim and energetic-looking’ in the midst of this ‘domestic racket’.³⁹⁷ In 2002, an entire, though brief, article was focused on Devoy’s role as a mother of four boys who would have liked a daughter.³⁹⁸ The great voices of Sister Mary Leo’s students were said to have been ‘first nurtured in the warmth and concern of her little Auckland studio’.³⁹⁹ Similarly, although she never married, Ngaio Marsh was once described as ‘a motherly figure’ who reportedly ‘referred to herself as “Mum”’ in relation to the young actors she ‘nurtured’, who were described as her ‘children’.⁴⁰⁰ Going further, the author of an article in the *New Zealand Woman’s Weekly* downplayed Kiri Te Kanawa’s career, albeit in a tongue-in-cheek way, writing that: ‘*In between* keeping herself fit and looking after two children, Dame Kiri also holds down the most successful female opera career in the world’.⁴⁰¹ Representation of women in maternal images was not unique to those granted titular honours. Before being honoured, Kate Harcourt was described in one article as ‘the prototypical “loving mum”,

³⁹⁷ Legat, ‘Face to Face: Susan Devoy’, p. 74.

³⁹⁸ S. Catherall, ‘I would have loved to have a daughter’, *Sunday Star Times*, 1 December 2002, accessed from Factiva.

³⁹⁹ Wordsworth, p. 90.

⁴⁰⁰ G. Bowman, ‘A Priceless Legacy’, *New Zealand Woman’s Weekly*, 18 May 1987, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁰¹ Mellor, p. 9; my emphasis.

a born nurturer with a lovely wide smile and comfortably greying hair'.⁴⁰² Similarly, early academic women were often linked to images of the female as nurturer, or constructed themselves in this way.⁴⁰³ Emphasising that highly successful women were fulfilling the traditional female role of mother removed the focus from their careers, downplayed their exceptionalism and reinforced that gendered role as natural.

However, images of motherliness were not unproblematic in portrayals of dames. Catherine Tizard reportedly felt she would not have wanted to hold the position of Mayor of Auckland had her family still been at home. She was quoted as saying that it was 'hard' to be a female mayor 'because you don't have that wonderful support service called a wife'.⁴⁰⁴ Daphne Purves was quoted by her biographer as recalling that she had become 'a sort of mother figure' to the students at Otago Boys' High School, where she taught, particularly the shyer boarders.⁴⁰⁵ However, it was her later work in the IFUW and NZFUW for which she was honoured. These achievements came in the years when '[f]amily responsibilities were largely over' and she was able to pursue her own interests once more.⁴⁰⁶ Other dames, such as Marsh and Phyllis Guthardt, did not marry and have children at all. The ironic reality for some dames was perhaps that, despite their being depicted in a maternal light, the years while their children were young were not the years in which they reached the successes that they were honoured for, while others never filled the role of biological mother.

Selfless and graceful: further images of dames

Besides the construction of a maternal image, dames have been depicted in gendered terms in a number of other ways. Images of women in the Victorian era not only encompassed the 'angel in the house', the weak yet selflessly loving carer, but also

⁴⁰² A. Sandilands, 'The Redgraves, the Terrys and in New Zealand, the Harcourts', *Panache*, November 1987, p. 14.

⁴⁰³ Pickles, 'Colonial Counterparts', p. 281.

⁴⁰⁴ 'Our Living Treasures: Dame Catherine Tizard', *North and South*, January 1990, p. 105.

⁴⁰⁵ Anderson, p. 50.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

included a 'touch of frivolousness'. Women supposedly had short attention spans, loved to shop, and were 'illogical' and 'tender-hearted'.⁴⁰⁷ These basic images of women were echoed considerably later in some portrayals of dames in popular culture. In an article remembering her after her death, Stella Casey's life was termed 'pious and selfless', while the 'charmingly feminine' Ngaio Marsh was 'kind' and 'always determined to be available to others'.⁴⁰⁸ Ann Ballin was described as compassionate and 'empathetic', although also 'forthright' and a 'steely fighter'.⁴⁰⁹ Even before being made dames, Miriam Dell was described as 'comfortable to be with, full of fun and never stuffy', and Ann Hercus, although her office was 'not the first place you would seek a shoulder to cry on', was portrayed as full of 'practical advice'.⁴¹⁰ Although working for feminist goals, Dell was depicted as non-threatening: 'not high-powered, not bombastic, not crusading, nor a thrusting aggressive here-I-am woman'. Rather, she was 'a hard-working *lady* who really cares about people.'⁴¹¹

The frivolous image associated with Victorian women had its later echo in portrayals of dames in the frequent comments on their appearance in popular magazine and newspaper articles, profiles and interviews. Before Silvia Cartwright took up the position of Governor-General, she was interviewed about her past career and new direction. In the resulting article, she was described as 'tall, elegant and utterly charming'.⁴¹² Similarly, Barbara Goodman was described as looking 'every inch the society lady', although she also 'rolls up her sleeves... for a good cause'.⁴¹³ Reporting on historian Anne Salmond and her work, Lester Thorley wrote that she was 'an engaging and graceful woman, grey hair scraped back into a bun, large pearl and silver

⁴⁰⁷ Coney, ed., p. 14.

⁴⁰⁸ Beattie, accessed from Factiva; B. Harding, 'Dame Ngaio Marsh', *Comment* (15), April 1982, p. 18.

⁴⁰⁹ K. Andrew, 'Steely Fighter', *The Christchurch Press*, 15 June 2002, accessed from Factiva.

⁴¹⁰ A. Brown, 'Miriam Dell: Calm in a 'Killer Job'', *Thursday*, 31 January 1974, p. 38; 'Ann Hercus', in *Celebrating Women*, p. 33.

⁴¹¹ Brown, 'Miriam Dell: Calm in a 'Killer Job'', p. 38; my emphasis.

⁴¹² S. Pepperell, 'Dame Silvia - a woman strongly driven by duty', *The Timaru Herald*, 21 June 2001, accessed from Factiva.

⁴¹³ Du Chateau, 'Great Dame', p. 111.

earrings, and a large brooch on her jacket', as well as mentioning her 'blue eyes' and 'broad smiles'.⁴¹⁴ In the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, Laurie Salas appeared as 'a small, sensibly clad lady of middle age, an eminently respectable doctor's wife', who did not match the 'stereotype of a peace worker'.⁴¹⁵ Much earlier, in 1945, Hilda Ross' appearance was discussed at some length in a brief article in the *New Zealand Magazine* profiling her. She was termed 'a trim figure', who was:

...a grandmother, but does not look it. She wears her black hair cut short, almost like a boy's. She has a bright, alert eye, and a quick and springy step. Her voice is that of a woman of refinement, but there is no womanly backwardness about her when she is attacking any public problem that she regards as urgent.⁴¹⁶

The focus on Ross' appearance and voice served to stress that although she did not fulfil cultural ideas of women as retiring when working, she remained womanly, and acted out of an idealistic conviction, rather than out of a desire for power. In another article on Ross and her career, five (admittedly short) paragraphs were devoted to discussing her wardrobe and the difficulties of finding time in a busy schedule for appointments with a dressmaker or hairdresser.⁴¹⁷ Sometimes, appearance was even considered as a window onto political and social opinions. Miriam Dell, in 'bifocals, rose-coloured knit suit, snappy silk blouse and sensible brown shoes... might at first glance, [sic] appear a conservative herself'.⁴¹⁸ The description of dames in terms of their appearance, however, was part of a wider trend in the media to focus on women's appearance rather than their achievements. Women's liberation groups protested against media articles that focused on men's 'actions and opinions' and women's looks and family situation, and against the descriptions of women successful in science or politics or literature as 'vivacious single

⁴¹⁴ L. Thorley, 'Search for the Real Cook', *Waikato Times*, 28 June 2003, accessed from Factiva.

⁴¹⁵ R. Vincent, 'A Peaceful Pursuit', *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 8 December 1986, p. 19.

⁴¹⁶ D. Wilmot, 'The Member for Hamilton', *New Zealand Magazine*, May-June 1945, p. 41.

⁴¹⁷ P. Hoskins, 'Your Daily Problems Become Hers', *The Weekly News*, 25 May 1955, p. 10.

⁴¹⁸ Dasler, p. 46.

brunettes', or suchlike.⁴¹⁹ While these depictions were applied to women besides dames, the important point is that dames, although women recognised by the Crown for their work, could not always escape these constructions.

Modesty: gender and the down-to-earth Kiwi

A further theme in the representation of dames in popular culture is that of modesty, of having remained humble, ordinary New Zealanders. While this image was not distinctive to women, it reinforced that dames were non-threatening, despite their foray into the masculine domain of the honours system, and sometimes into male-dominated occupations as well. Exemplifying this theme is Fiona Kidman, 'whose grand title is belied by her modest, homely manner'.⁴²⁰ Similarly, regardless of 'what the title implies', Patricia Evison 'is neither aristocratic or haughty'.⁴²¹ Sister Mary Leo and Evelyn Stokes have both been termed 'self-effacing', Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu 'modest' and 'unobtrusive', and Barbara Goodman and Stella Casey, although both tenacious in pursuing a cause, both had an 'unassuming' approach.⁴²² Thea Muldoon, interviewed in her role as the wife of a politician before she became a dame, was described as a 'little lady, sitting poised and trim, [who] seemed diffident but anxious to please'.⁴²³ In interviews, a number of dames have claimed that they saw their awards as an honour for others involved in their projects as well. Being made a dame was for Elizabeth Harper 'an honour for the [Save the Children] fund, as well as everybody who worked so hard', and she was reported to have been unsure whether or not she could cope

⁴¹⁹ Dann, p. 105. Admittedly, knights were also occasionally described in terms of their appearance in the popular media. Robertson Stewart, for instance, was described in one profile as 'a dapper septuagenarian'. J. Macdonald, 'In A Class of His Own', *Pacific Way*, April 1990, p. 22. Edmund Hillary was also described in terms of his appearance, said to have an 'angular body' and 'craggy face', for instance. 'Our Living Treasures: Sir Edmund Hillary', *North and South*, January 1990, p. 40.

⁴²⁰ A. Hubbard, 'Telling tales', *Sunday Star Times*, 30 July 2000, accessed from Factiva.

⁴²¹ Pepperell, 'Leading Lady', accessed from Factiva.

⁴²² Beattie, accessed from Factiva; Rosamund Cropper, a colleague of Goodman, quoted in Du Chateau, 'Great Dame', p. 112; Upton, accessed from Factiva; Wordsworth, p. 90; J. Leigh, 'New Zealand's modest Queen', *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 18 August 1986, p. 6.

⁴²³ F. Parkin, 'Thea Muldoon: A place on the sideline', *New Zealand Listener*, 1 November 1975, p. 15.

with the title.⁴²⁴ After the announcement of her honour, Ballin reportedly said that the award 'belonged also to the people who had supported her throughout her work'.⁴²⁵ Modesty in their achievements is also evident in the surprise that many dames were reported to have expressed after the announcement of their honour. Anne Salmond was quoted as saying that she was 'astonished' by being made a dame, Stokes reportedly said she was 'stunned', and Ann Hercus admitted she was 'absolutely gobsmacked'.⁴²⁶ The honour was 'a surprise' to Malvina Major, because she had 'struggled against the system in New Zealand' and had 'chosen to live in New Zealand instead of living as an international artist'. She had thought that her OBE was the highest honour she would receive.⁴²⁷

Modesty, of course, is a characteristic that has often been seen as part of a New Zealand national identity. A recent book titled *Grassroots Kiwis*, which contained very brief profiles of a number of New Zealanders and was organised into chapters such as 'Some Rural Blokes' and 'Five Publicans', focused on New Zealand identity. In the foreword, a 'real bloke or blokes' was said to have 'humility', as well as being able, dependable and kind.⁴²⁸ After the announcement of his knighthood, Richard Hadlee was reported as saying that he was 'still good old Paddles'.⁴²⁹ Ronald Scott, knighted in 1974, reportedly said that he had accepted his title as an award for all of those who were part of the Games Organising Committee for the tenth Commonwealth Games, which he chaired, and for the community.⁴³⁰ However, for dames, portrayal as humble and down-to-earth had effects besides that of emphasising their New Zealand identity. For instance,

⁴²⁴ 'Car drive began charity career', p. 9.

⁴²⁵ 'Hope that victims benefit', *New Zealand Herald*, 31 December 1992, p. 9.

⁴²⁶ F. Barber, 'Professor will stick to one title', p. 9; G. Taylor, 'Waikato's new dame stunned and flattered', *Waikato Times*, 31 December 1999, accessed from Factiva; Hercus, personal communication with the author, October 2004.

⁴²⁷ Major, interview with the author, 4 November 2004.

⁴²⁸ K. Male, *Grassroots Kiwis: Some Real New Zealand Blokes and Sheilas* (Auckland, 2002), foreword, by Phil Gifford. In that foreword, Gifford mentioned Hillary and Devoy as exemplars.

⁴²⁹ 'Hadlee, Fay and Morrison knighted', *The Dominion*, 16 June 1990, p. 1.

⁴³⁰ 'For the team, says Sir Ronald Scott', *The Press*, 15 June 1974, p. 1.

at the televised opening of Te Papa Tongarewa, New Zealand's new national museum, chief executive Cheryll Sotheran, who was given the DNZM in 1999, was described as a 'diffident-looking' woman, drawn forward by Sir Howard Morrison to receive acknowledgement of her efforts. The image of her as 'overwhelmed, even close to tears' was at odds with the image of her as 'single-minded' and 'driven' that appeared later in the same article.⁴³¹ The implication of this representation is that Sotheran appeared as conventionally feminine, modest and somewhat weak, at the same time as she was set apart from the traditional image of the feminine by her drive and determination.

Elitism and images of the feminine in portrayals of dames

Depictions of dames that echo the older images of the 'angel in the house', and the weak woman with a great capacity for loving, also emphasise the continuing elite nature of the honours system. It was upper middle class, leisured women to whom nineteenth-century images such as the loving 'angel in the house' applied, rather than to the lower middle class woman or the working class woman in domestic service or in the factory.⁴³² Elite imagery was also present in the revealing comment from the author of one magazine article, Carroll Du Chateau, that Barbara Goodman looked 'more a lady than a dame'.⁴³³ This depiction of Goodman as a 'lady' evokes images of aristocracy and of an hereditary elite, reinforcing her exceptionalism. The remark also displayed an acceptance of the negative connotations that some have seen adhering to the term 'Dame', and a sense that women who entered the masculine domain of the royal honours system became 'honorary men', leaving behind their claim to be ladies.⁴³⁴ In this imagery, Goodman is shown as having retained her femininity despite entering the honours system. These various constructions of dames in popular culture reinforced

⁴³¹ Legat, 'Cheryll Sotheran', pp. 50-53.

⁴³² Rendall, p. 3.

⁴³³ Du Chateau, 'Great Dame', p. 111.

⁴³⁴ The negative connotations are also seen in this remark: 'Augusta Wallace has been called a dame plenty of times before "but not in a very flattering sense."', while '[f]rom today she carries the more dignified meaning of the word...' Young, 'This dame a true gentleman', p. 1.

traditional gender roles, taming these highly successful women who were honoured in their own right and rendering their success less of a threat to the male essence of the honours system. Moreover, these images potentially reinforced those gender roles.

Dames and knights in the arts

A high proportion of dames were also honoured for their services to the arts. Twelve women were made dames for their achievements in the various branches of the arts, representing 20.7% of all titular honours given to women in New Zealand since 1917. Among these dames were opera singers Kiri Te Kanawa and Malvina Major, artist Louise Henderson, concert organist Gillian Weir, author Fiona Kidman, actor Kate Harcourt, and Rangimarie Hetet, famous for her skill in traditional Maori weaving. In comparison, a very small proportion of men have received titular honours for their contribution to the arts. Ten men (2.2%) were honoured for careers that included services within the arts. Among them were entertainer Howard Morrison, composer William Southgate, ballet dancer Jon Trimmer, opera singer Donald McIntyre, and historian and writer Keith Sinclair.⁴³⁵ Only relatively recently were men granted a knighthood in New Zealand for achievements within the arts. In 1974, Alfred Reed, who founded the major New Zealand publishing house A.H. and A.W. Reed, was knighted, having also given significant service to the community, while in 1949 Professor James Shelley was knighted, having been involved in founding the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra (then the National Orchestra) and been an important figure in drama in Canterbury.⁴³⁶ Excepting the contribution of these men to the arts, no men were knighted for work relating to the arts until Gordon Minhinnick was made a knight for his services as a cartoonist in 1976, and Tossill Woollaston for his achievements as an artist in 1979.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴³⁶ Ibid. ; P. Treanor, 'Reed, Alfred Hamish 1875-1975', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; I. Carter, 'Shelley, James 1884-1961', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004.

⁴³⁷ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

Similarly, nine of the twelve dames who were honoured for work in the arts received their honour in the 1990s. The other three were Ngaio Marsh, who received the DBE in 1966; Sister Mary Leo, who received it in 1973; and Te Kanawa, who was made a dame in 1982.⁴³⁸

Women have had a 'complex association' with the arts in history. There were considerable obstacles to women's success in the arts, including restrictions on what was seen as appropriate for female artists and writers, the difficulties of finding time amongst domestic duties, or a lack of acceptance of domestic subject matter as 'serious' work.⁴³⁹ Despite these difficulties, awards of titles for work in the arts did not go to men in greater numbers, because recognition of services to the arts at the titular level has been a relatively recent development. Indeed, the high proportion of dames who were honoured for their achievements in the arts suggests that this was an area of endeavour more readily open to female success than other areas, such as politics or the law, where women were honoured far less often, as is discussed in the next chapter. In Britain, 'accomplishments' such as skill in music, painting and drawing or dancing had customarily been taught to middle-class girls to improve their chances of marriage. New Zealand women during the colonial period were looked upon as the 'guardians of refinement' in arts and culture as well as in terms of society's morals.⁴⁴⁰ Rather later, when Barbara Freyberg was made a dame, the short profile of her in *The Press* made note of her 'expert insight on music, art, drama, handcrafts and horticulture', which she had supposedly gained from '[a]ncestral ties and friendships in England', and recalled how she had 'delighted' listeners at the Canterbury centennial celebrations with her singing, as well as with her 'informed observations'.⁴⁴¹ In an interview, Malvina Major pointed out that in her profession as an

⁴³⁸ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴³⁹ Coney, ed., pp. 262-263.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 262.

⁴⁴¹ 'New Year Honours List', *The Press*, 2 January 1953, p. 6.

opera singer, she was ‘doing a job that requires a woman’.⁴⁴² The gendered pattern in relation to the granting of titular honours for work in the arts may also be reflective of aspects of masculine gender identity related to New Zealand national identity. Jock Phillips suggested that the ‘male stereotype’ in New Zealand, to which rugby, drinking alcohol and mateship were central, may have suppressed some talents in some men, such as playing the piano, by pushing them in other directions.⁴⁴³ The honours system mirrored this stereotype in society by rarely honouring men for services to the arts, thus potentially reinforcing it. The increase in titular awards given for services in the arts in the 1990s suggests a weakening of that stereotype, that work in the arts came to be seen as more worthy of recognition than previously.

Nursing and teaching: the female professions and honours

Clearly, there has been an important opposition between different aspects of women’s inclusion in the titular levels of the royal honours system in New Zealand. While women who received a title were in a sense ‘honorary knights’, accepted into a male-dominated institution, conformity to traditional images of the feminine continued in both their work and in depictions of them in popular culture. This central paradox of women’s participation in titular honours is further complicated by consideration of the links between honours for women and two important early careers for women, nursing and teaching. Just as leisured women’s early involvement in philanthropy, comparative to their involvement in other public areas of work, was reflected in the award of titular honours to women, such links are evident in relation to teaching and nursing. Women first entered professional employment in areas emphasising their role as nurturers, paid work that utilised ‘their domestic skills of care and nurture’, and teaching and nursing were two of the most important such professions.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Major, interview with the author, 4 November 2004.

⁴⁴³ Phillips, *A Man’s Country?*, p. 289.

⁴⁴⁴ See Pickles, ‘Introduction’, pp. xv-xvi.

It was women's perceived role as nurturers that allowed nursing to be viewed as 'a legitimate extension of the domestic sphere'.⁴⁴⁵ Indeed, it was in nursing that Florence Nightingale became, as mentioned earlier, the first woman given membership in an official order, albeit non-titular.⁴⁴⁶ Nightingale was known as 'the Lady with the Lamp' and an 'angel' tending injured soldiers.⁴⁴⁷ She was celebrated as a woman whose feminine virtues were strong; she was visible in traditional history as a 'super-womanly' exemplar of the supposedly feminine virtues.⁴⁴⁸ Nursing as work worthy of honour was a theme in New Zealand too. The first woman to receive an honour in New Zealand, Miss A. Crisp, was given the RRC for her service as a nurse with British troops in Africa and Egypt, and the first New Zealand woman to be honoured, Matron J. W. M. Williamson, was also given the RRC, for her work as a nurse with the New Zealand soldiers in the South African War.⁴⁴⁹ Of the early awards in the Order of the British Empire, at the lower levels of the order, nurses were prominent. Sibylla Maude, of the Nurse Maude District Nursing Service, was given the OBE in the civil division in 1934, and of the ten women who received the civil MBE in a 1937 list nine held positions as matrons and one as a nurse inspector.⁴⁵⁰ Nurses also featured among the small proportion of awards in the military division of the Order of the British Empire that were given to women, all at low levels of the honours system. For example, Ida Willis, Matron-in-Chief of the New Zealand Army Nursing Service, received an OBE in the military division in 1944.⁴⁵¹

Despite the importance of nursing as an early profession for women, however, only two women received honours at the titular level for medical work in New Zealand.

⁴⁴⁵ P. Sargison, *Notable Women in New Zealand Health/Te Hauora ki Aotearoa: Ona Wahine Rongonui* (Auckland, 1993), pp. v-vi.

⁴⁴⁶ She was honoured 'for her outstanding work as "Organiser of the Nursing System during the Crimean War of 1854-1855"'. De la Bere, p. 157.

⁴⁴⁷ Dossey, pp. 184-186.

⁴⁴⁸ The term comes from Pickles, 'Kiwi Icons', p. 13.

⁴⁴⁹ *New Zealand Honours: History*, <http://www.dPMC.govt.nz/honours/overview/history.html>.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Honours conferred by His Majesty the King', *New Zealand Gazette* (1), 11 January 1934, p. 8; 'Honours conferred by His Majesty the King', *New Zealand Gazette* (35), 28 May 1937, p. 1257.

⁴⁵¹ 'Honours and Awards conferred by His Majesty the King', *New Zealand Gazette* (1), 13 January 1944, p. 11.

Cecily Pickerill was an innovative plastic surgeon, and Norma Restieaux was a cardiologist and an associate professor of medicine at Otago Medical School at the time of her honour.⁴⁵² The lack of women to have received titles for medical work is at first glance surprising, given the frequent honouring of women for community service. However, the explanation for this apparent contradiction lies in the split between the positions of nurse, which was seen as a suitable position for women from the later nineteenth century, and doctor, a higher status occupation which remained for much longer a male-dominated profession where women's opportunities were limited, often to 'women-oriented specialisations' such as obstetrics.⁴⁵³ It appears that, as a career viewed as women's, nursing was not valued as men's work was, and thus not honoured at the titular level. Women in medicine, it seems, were only honoured at the titular level when they followed male career paths as doctors and researchers.

Consideration of women in education in relation to the award of honours in New Zealand supports this analysis. Work in education or in academia featured in the citations of nine women (15.5%) who received titular honours before 2000. Among these were Marie Clay, a professor at Auckland University who developed the Reading Recovery programme, Christchurch Girls' High Principal Dawn Lamb, historian Anne Salmond and anthropologist Joan Metge.⁴⁵⁴ Teaching, like nursing, became one of the first professions that women entered because it could be justified by evoking images of the female role as nurturer and mother. Awards of the DBE to Lamb, and to Sister Pauline Engel, Principal of Carmel College between 1983 and 1991, fit the pattern of women being honoured for work related to these images.⁴⁵⁵ As well, women were occasionally honoured for work in education at the lower levels of the honours system in

⁴⁵² F. Ross, 'Classic Physician' created a dame', *The Dominion*, 13 June 1992, p. 12.

⁴⁵³ Sargison, pp. v-viii; L. Doyal, S. Rowbotham and A. Scott, 'Introduction', in B. Ehrenreich and D. English, eds., *Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (London, 1973), pp. 10-11; M. R. Walsh, *"Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply": Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1975* (New Haven and London, 1977), p. 246.

⁴⁵⁴ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Lambert, ed., p. 122.

⁴⁵⁵ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Lambert, ed., p. 187.

the first decades of women's inclusion in honours. In 1928, Mary McLean, the former Principal of the Wellington Girls' College, was granted the civil CBE; this was the first award to a woman in an order of chivalry to appear in the *New Zealand Gazette* since 1920, apart from Christina Massey's GBE.⁴⁵⁶

Yet although a significant number of women were made dames for their work in education, these titular honours often went to women who worked at the tertiary level. As well as Clay, Salmond and Metge, Evelyn Stokes was a geography professor at Waikato University when she was honoured, as well as having been on the Waitangi Tribunal for eleven years, and Patricia Bergquist and Ella Campbell, both honoured for their 'services to science', were both researchers and university lecturers.⁴⁵⁷ After teaching at Avonside Girls' High School, Jean Herbison moved to the Christchurch Teachers' College, holding the position of vice principal between 1968 and 1974. She then became the Associate Director at the Christchurch Polytechnic in 1975, remaining in that role until 1984.⁴⁵⁸ The higher reaches of academia have traditionally been a male space, and women entering that space in the early twentieth century often faced difficulties, including lower pay than male academics, and less opportunity for promotion.⁴⁵⁹ The honouring of academic women again suggests that women were honoured when they achieved in traditionally male ways.

Amongst knights, a significant proportion of titles were given for academic and medical work, often both. Fifty-two knights (11.4%) were honoured for services that included academic work, and twenty-nine (6.3%) for work in the field of medicine; fifteen of these knighthoods encompassed both medical and academic work. Graham Liggins, for instance, received the honour of Knight Bachelor in 1991 for his services to

⁴⁵⁶ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One.

⁴⁵⁷ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; R. Lockley, 'Scientist helped put focus on sponge', *New Zealand Herald*, 31 December 1993, p. 22; 'Scientist who never managed to retire', *The Dominion*, 31 December 1996, accessed from Factiva; 'Newest dame could be last of the line', *The Dominion*, 19 April 2000, accessed from Factiva.

⁴⁵⁸ Herbison, interview with the author, 18 November 2004.

⁴⁵⁹ Pickles, 'Colonial Counterparts', pp. 277-280.

'medical research', and had been a lecturer at the University of Auckland.⁴⁶⁰ The importance of the academic and medical fields as areas in which men received titular honours supports the contention that the royal honours system remained a male-dominated space in the twentieth century. While honours to men in medicine and academia reflected the rise of the professions since the nineteenth century, these fields remained male-dominated for much of the twentieth century. Women who received titular honours in these areas of work had usually succeeded at a traditionally masculine level, in contrast to those women who were honoured for community services, work that conformed to the customary feminine role. There was a tension, then, between areas of work considered women's that were re-valued and honoured, and those that continued to be valued less highly than related, but customarily male, professions. Although nursing and teaching were professionalised through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they were largely viewed as 'feminised profession[s]'.⁴⁶¹ The women who worked in these areas fell between the area of voluntary community service that had come to be accepted as feminine in the nineteenth century, and the areas of work that had been traditionally perceived as masculine, including as doctors and academics. Women in both of the latter two, the conforming and the exceptional, were honoured at the titular level, whereas women in the 'feminised profession[s]' were largely excluded from high level honours during the twentieth century. Honours were granted at lower levels to these women, suggesting that these 'feminised profession[s]' were not held in high esteem in society in comparison to women's voluntary work or to supposedly masculine careers.

Extending conformity: a white norm as well?

In a similar way to that in which these women were honoured for achieving in traditionally male ways, the honours system has been a conservative space in relation to

⁴⁶⁰ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Taylor, ed., *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa*, 1998, p. 458.

⁴⁶¹ The phrase is from: W. Robinson, 'Frocks, frills, femininity and representations of the woman teacher in *The Woman Teacher's World*: reconstructing the early twentieth century English 'schoolmarm'', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 35(2), September 2003, p. 98.

race, and Maori have often been honoured for achieving in traditionally Pakeha ways. A number of knights and dames were honoured for services to the Maori people, and in this area of service as well, a greater proportion of awards went to women than to men. Five dames were created whose work involved service to Maori, or 8.6% of titular awards to women since 1917. These awards included Maori leader Whina Cooper and the Maori Queen Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu.⁴⁶² As well, Georgina Kirby and Mira Szaszy were made dames for services to the community that included work with the MWWL and other areas of Maori life.⁴⁶³ Seventeen men were knighted for work that included service to Maori, 3.7% of titular awards granted to men since 1917. Among these were Graham Latimer, President of the New Zealand Maori Council; Hugh Kawharu, foundation professor of Maori Studies at Massey University and Waitangi Tribunal member; and James Henare, a Maori leader who was also involved in a number of community organisations, such as the NZRSA and the Federated Farmers of New Zealand (FFNZ).⁴⁶⁴

Among those who were honoured for work including services to Maori, links and connections are evident. The earliest Maori knights, after 1917, were Maui Pomare, Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck. They were students at Te Aute College, associates of each other involved in reforming Maori healthcare along Western lines, and had all served as Members of Parliament at least once in their careers.⁴⁶⁵ Others who were later granted titular honours for services to Maori were often linked to these early Maori knights, including Ngata's son Henare in 1982; Kingi Ihaka, whose father was a friend of

⁴⁶² 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.; Lambert, ed., pp. 346, 613.

⁴⁶⁴ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; P. McConnell and R. C. McConnell, 'Henare, James Clendon Tau 1911-1989', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 581.

⁴⁶⁵ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; G. Butterworth, 'Pomare, Maui Wiremu Piti Naera 1875/1876?-1930', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; M. P. K. Sorrenson, 'Ngata, Apirana Turupa 1874-1950', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; M. P. K. Sorrenson, 'Buck, Peter Henry 1877?-1951', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004.

Ngata, in 1989; and Whina Cooper, who was a friend of Ngata and a supporter of his land development schemes, in 1981.⁴⁶⁶ Charles Bennett, made a Knight Bachelor in 1975 'for public services, especially to the Maori people', had been educated at Te Aute, and had been a commanding officer of the Maori Battalion.⁴⁶⁷ When he received his knighthood, he was the president of the Labour Party, which was in power at the time.⁴⁶⁸ Kirby and Szaszy were honoured for their work in the community, as were many other dames. These awards to both knights and dames show that Maori were often honoured when they had, in a sense, entered the Pakeha establishment, although often pressing Maori concerns. Like the honouring of female doctors, researchers and academics, these awards reinforced the traditional white male norm of the honours system at the same time as transgressing it. The white male essence of the royal honours system was thus not threatened by bestowing titular honours on these men and women. Further, the potential threat to the establishment posed by those seeking Maori rights could be lessened by honouring them, displaying that they had been accepted into the establishment.

Conclusion

Women who were made dames were clearly not simply 'singular exceptions' in an institution with a male norm. Their position was more complex, for while they had joined the male-dominated honours system, many dames had fulfilled traditional gender roles in the services for which they were recognised. Although the granting of a title in their own right, for their own achievements, was a non-traditional step that signified some change in women's position, traditional gender roles were potentially reinforced by the frequent honouring of women whose work exemplified the supposedly feminine

⁴⁶⁶ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; K. Ihaka, 'Ihaka, Kingi Matutaera 1921-1993', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; K. Boon, *Whina Cooper*, Famous New Zealand Women (Wellington, 1993), pp. 13-15; M. Taylor, 'Whina Cooper', *Te Ao Hou* 1955, p. 18; King, p. 127. Te Puea, another prominent Maori leader, was never made a dame, although she did receive a CBE in 1938. Coney, ed., p. 297.

⁴⁶⁷ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Taylor, ed., *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa*, 1998, p. 101.

⁴⁶⁸ Townsend, pp. 32-33.

virtues of caring and nurturing, particularly in the field of community service. Images of women in the popular media contributed to this underlying thread of continuity that ran through the creation of dames in New Zealand even in the late twentieth century. Yet, perhaps unexpectedly, it was the women who had followed predominantly male career paths to be doctors, researchers and academics who were honoured in the fields of medicine and education, not those in female-dominated roles that exemplified caring attributes. Achievements that reflected 'super-womanly' virtues were not the only type of success for which women were made dames.

Chapter Four

The work of dames and knights: traditional patterns in honours and non-traditional work for women

While many dames received their titles for their achievements in fields that reflected supposedly feminine roles and qualities, not all women made dames fitted this pattern. Like the women working as doctors and academics, some women were recognised for their success in traditionally male-dominated occupations. Yet although work in fields of activity such as law, commerce, or politics and government was non-traditional work for women, the award of titles to women for their work in these fields was part of a pattern in which the grant of titles in New Zealand since 1917 was weighted towards these areas. It was for work in politics or public service, in commerce or industry, and in the judiciary that men most frequently received titles during the period. This pattern was also common in the UK, being reproduced in New Zealand through the use of an essentially British honours system for much of the twentieth century. Among the dames whose work in male-dominated roles was non-traditional, yet whose honour was linked to traditional patterns in the granting of titles, distinct similarities were visible in their lives, and in the ways in which they were portrayed in popular culture.

Knights and dames in public service...

If many dames received their titles for work in areas traditionally viewed as women's, so too did many men receive their knighthood for work traditionally considered a male preserve. An overwhelming preponderance of men who received titular honours in New Zealand were given the honour for their services in public affairs, the judiciary, commerce and industry. Of all the services given by those who received titular honours between 1917 and 2000, work in public affairs appeared the most frequently in the careers of knights. Public services are services to the state and government, and include regional work (as in local government), national work (in the

legislature and the executive, for instance), and international work (for example, in the diplomatic service). Governors-General, Prime Ministers, politicians, diplomats and mayors, sometimes retired and sometimes still serving, have all appeared frequently in the honours awarded since 1917, receiving all types of titular honours. Of the 458 knighthoods announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* since 1917, over a third went to recipients who had given public service at the local, national or international level (172, or 37.6%) (see Figure Six in Chapter Three).⁴⁶⁹ At one end of the scale, a number of long-serving mayors, usually of major New Zealand cities, have been made Knights Bachelor; at the other, Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister in 1957 and between 1960 and 1972, and Governor-General from 1977 to 1980, received both a GCMG in 1970, and the prestigious KG in 1980.⁴⁷⁰ On the whole, though, national or international public affairs work predominated over local, with 122 knighthoods being given to men who had performed some public service at that level.⁴⁷¹

The pattern of honouring men in public service was a remarkably static trend over the years between 1917 and 2000. Only in four five-year periods during these years did other types of services outnumber public in the work done by male recipients of titular honours (see Figure Seven in Chapter Three). In three of those cases, public service was the second largest category of services to have been performed by men who became knights. In the fourth, between 1940 and 1944, during the Second World War, only one knight was created, as well as one additional knight. Both of those, Major-General John Duigan and Major-General Bernard Freyberg, were given KBEs in the military division. Among men who were knighted, public service was clearly a common thread, and one that has remained strong in the awarding of titular honours to men for almost a century.

⁴⁶⁹ Some men received more than one titular honour for work that included public service; the figure given is the percent of titles given that went to men who had given public service, not the percent of knights who had given public service.

⁴⁷⁰ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Wood, in Orange, ed., *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, pp. 234-235.

⁴⁷¹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

Women have been created as dames for their public services as well; indeed, this area of work appeared quite frequently in the services of women created as dames, after community service and equal to services in the arts. Nine titular awards have been given to women for work that included public service at the national level, and three for work that included public service at the local level. These twelve awards constitute 20.7% of the fifty-eight titular honours to women that have been announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* (see Figure Five in Chapter Three). Of those twelve honours, three were granted to Catherine Tizard: a DBE in 1985 for public and community service, including as Mayor of Auckland, a GCMG in 1990 when Governor-General Designate, and a GCVO in 1995 when Governor-General.⁴⁷² The GCMG, not awarded in great number in New Zealand anyway, was generally given to Governors-General or Prime Ministers, and the even rarer GCVO to Governors-General who had particularly served the monarch.⁴⁷³ Tizard's GCMG and GCVO, therefore, stemmed from this custom, and reflected her position as Governor-General.

Although a relatively high proportion of women received high honours for their public service, this proportion is deceptive in a number of ways. Firstly, because honours were used after their eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revival and expansion to reward those who served the state, public service work provided a high proportion of all honours, at all times and all levels. In New Zealand between 1917 and 2000, nearly one third (32.9%) of all titular honours were granted for work that included public services.⁴⁷⁴ Until 1975, civil servants were also able to receive the lower, non-titular Imperial Service Order (ISO) after giving 'long and meritorious service'. The ISO was never given to a woman in New Zealand between 1917 and 1975, although the rarely given Imperial

⁴⁷² Ibid.; Lambert, ed., p. 640.

⁴⁷³ Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 32; Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, p. 193.

⁴⁷⁴ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

Service Medal (ISM) appears to have been given once to a woman, before 1917.⁴⁷⁵ The award was no longer given in New Zealand after the QSO and QSM were established, as those awards catered for rewarding public service as well. The corollary to women's having received more QSOs and QSMs than men for community service, as was discussed in Chapter Three, was that men received the majority of the QSOs and QSMs awarded for public service. Similarly, in the UK, Walker examined the honours list for June 1982 and recorded that civil servants received a sixth of the honours at all levels, despite forming a mere sixtieth of the population. As for politicians, he noted that in the list for June 1985, ten knights and one dame were created for political services.⁴⁷⁶ The continuing dominance of honours given for public service work throws the gendered nature of the honours system into sharp relief, since public service positions have traditionally been dominated by men. The number of titular honours given to women for work that included public services, twelve, simply does not approach the number given to men, 158. In the more traditionally female area of community service, on the other hand, the disparity was far less. Nineteen women received titular honours for work including community service, compared to seventy-seven men.⁴⁷⁷

Secondly, as discussed in the previous chapter, women who were created dames for public services according to the citations for their awards, had often still worked in areas linked to traditionally feminine nurturing roles, such as commissions dealing with women's and children's issues. Hilda Ross, for instance, who worked in that male space as the National MP for Hamilton between 1945 and 1959, is remembered also as the first Minister in charge of the Welfare of Women and Children.⁴⁷⁸ As well, public service was combined with community service in the awards given to some dames. The DBE

⁴⁷⁵ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One; Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 24.

⁴⁷⁶ Walker, pp. 25-30, 189.

⁴⁷⁷ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴⁷⁸ Taylor, *The New Zealand Roll of Honour*, p. 922; D. Pope and J. Pope, *Mobil New Zealand Travel Guide: North Island*, 5th, revised ed. (Auckland, 1987), p. 93.

granted to Elizabeth Gilmer, a city councillor in Wellington between 1941 and 1953, recognised her strong involvement in community service as well as her contribution to local government. She was involved in the local branches of the Plunket Society, the New Zealand Crippled Children Society and the NCW, as well as a number of other organisations, and represented New Zealand at the 1949 ICW conference.⁴⁷⁹ Similarly, Catherine Tizard in 1985, and Dorothy Fraser in 1987, both received DBEs for community service as well as public service.⁴⁸⁰ The public service given by dames, therefore, was closely related to the community service for which women were more frequently honoured. Exceptions to this pattern were the DCMG granted to Ann Hercus, the first female Minister of Police, who was, however, also Minister of Social Welfare and the first Minister of Women's Affairs; and Catherine Tizard's GCMG and GCVO as New Zealand's first female Governor General.⁴⁸¹ Both women were exceptional, being the first women in traditionally male spaces. Yet at the same time, these awards were highly traditional, given for work that often featured in the careers of those honoured with a title. Indeed, in one newspaper article, Hercus' title was cited as an example of a politician receiving an award after 'only one term as a cabinet minister'.⁴⁸² This view of her honour does not recognise her achievements as a woman entering a traditionally male space.

Some explanation of the predominance of (mostly male) politicians and public servants in the award of titular honours is found in the practice of reserving certain honours for rewarding public service, especially long service. The Order of St Michael and St George, set up for rewarding colonial service, was usually a reward for civil

⁴⁷⁹ B. Labrum, 'Gilmer, Elizabeth May 1880-1960', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 4 April 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴⁸¹ 'Ann Hercus: a plea for action', *Management*, October 1984, p. 63; Lambert, ed., p. 640.

⁴⁸² R. Laugesen, 'Rewards for public service: A system without honour?' *The Evening Post*, 16 January 1991, p. 9.

service in or relating to the Commonwealth, and for diplomats.⁴⁸³ Of the thirty-four awards of the KCMG since 1917, twenty-four were given to politicians and diplomats, five to Chief Justices, and two to Chief Ombudsmen. The honour was also given to three university professors, Algernon Thomas, Albert Liley and Peter Buck, who was then director of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawaii.⁴⁸⁴ It is still the case that certain honours are restricted to certain types of service in the UK: the Order of the Bath given to 'State Servant[s] only, including members of the Armed Forces'; the Order of St Michael and St George for 'members of the Diplomatic Services and to those who render service to UK interests overseas'.⁴⁸⁵ The reserving of particular honours for 'civil servants, army officers or diplomats', and the 'automaticity' of some awards, is the target of one of the reforms proposed in a recent review in the UK, which recommended that awards no longer be given in the Orders of the Bath and of St Michael and St George, or for holding a certain position.⁴⁸⁶ Given the type of services these orders were reserved for, the small number of women given titular honours within them (none in the Bath and just two DCMGs and one GCMG in St Michael and St George) is unsurprising, as these have been areas traditionally dominated by men, particularly at the high levels. In the New Zealand honours system in 2004, however, David Baguley stated that the honours lists now held few state servants and diplomats in comparison to members of the general public. Indeed, he stated that serving public servants were no longer usually considered for honours, except where their service had been outstanding, or where they were nearing retirement.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, pp. 191-195; *Orders*, <http://www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/ceremonial/index/orders.htm>.

⁴⁸⁴ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; 'Three new knights, one new dame', *The Press*, 2 June 1973, p.1.

⁴⁸⁵ *Orders*, <http://www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/ceremonial/index/orders.htm>.

⁴⁸⁶ Public Administration Select Committee, paragraphs 146-148.

⁴⁸⁷ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

...in the law...

Another traditionally male space in which knighthoods were frequently granted was the judiciary. Many judges, usually those in the High Court (or as it once was, the Supreme Court) and Court of Appeal, have been made knights since 1917. Eighty-five knighthoods, 18.6% of all knighthoods bestowed since 1917, were granted for legal services, the majority of those to serving or retired judges.⁴⁸⁸ This pattern of titular honours going to members of the judiciary extended throughout the period between 1917 and 2000 unabated. In 1917, John Denniston was made a Knight Bachelor, after becoming a Judge in the Supreme Court in 1889; in 2000, Rodney Gallen received a KNZM for his work as a High Court Judge between 1983 and 1999.⁴⁸⁹ In between, three or more, usually more, knighthoods were given for work that included legal services in all but one five-year period, the exception being 1940-1944. Fifty-three Judges were made Knight Bachelor between 1917 and 1996, eight were given the civil KBE, six of those after they were appointed to a more senior position such as President of the Court of Appeal, and five received the KNZM.⁴⁹⁰ Higher awards, including the KCMG, the GCMG and the GBE, have gone to nine men who held the position of Chief Justice of New Zealand. Two of those, Michael Myers and Richard Wild, received the KCMG after being appointed as Chief Justice and a higher first class titular honour during or after their time in that role.⁴⁹¹

Just twice has a woman in New Zealand been made a dame for legal services, and both awards clearly demonstrate and reinforce the gender inequality in the profession, as well as stressing the uncommonness of these women. Augusta Wallace received a DBE

⁴⁸⁸ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.; G. H. Scholefield, ed., *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Wellington, 1940), p. 201.

⁴⁹⁰ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.; Spiller, Peter, 'Myers, Michael 1873-1950', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; Yet in the nineteenth century, it appears that generally Chief Justices received the honour of Knight Bachelor, and less senior judges no knighthood. Peacocke, p. 301.

for her service as a District Court Judge, a level of seniority not generally sufficient for a male judge to have been knighted, although a Chief District Court Judge, Desmond Sullivan, was knighted in 1985, and a Stipendiary Magistrate, James Wicks, in 1978.⁴⁹² Wallace, who had had her own legal practice and been a city councillor in Papatoetoe for three years, became New Zealand's first female Stipendiary Magistrate in 1975, when women made up a mere 2% of lawyers.⁴⁹³ Her uniqueness was augmented by her being the first woman granted a titular honour for legal services. By 1992, 47.5% of those admitted to the bar were female.⁴⁹⁴ Sian Elias, the second woman made a dame in New Zealand for legal services, received a GNZM in 1999, after she became New Zealand's first female Chief Justice. A first class titular honour was customarily granted to Chief Justices in twentieth-century New Zealand.⁴⁹⁵ As with Catherine Tizard's GMCG and GCVO, it may be argued that Elias' office was the reason for her honour, and her status as the second woman in New Zealand to receive a titular honour for legal services was simply coincidental.

Indeed, a variety of honours in New Zealand have been essentially automatic, being traditionally given to the occupants of certain posts. The custom of granting the title of Knight Bachelor to the Speaker of the House stretches back to Clifford in 1858. Newspaper articles discussing the move to end titular honours in New Zealand noted that such a change would deprive a former Speaker, Doug Kidd, of his turn to receive the title of Sir. A continuing element of automaticity was hinted at in Helen Clark's suggestion that Kidd could receive a different honour.⁴⁹⁶ It was customary to give a mayor in his or her third consecutive term a titular honour.⁴⁹⁷ A number of mayors did appear among the

⁴⁹² 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴⁹³ Coney, ed., p. 237; Lambert, ed., p. 669; Young, 'This dame a true 'gentleman'', p. 1.

⁴⁹⁴ Coney, ed., p. 237.

⁴⁹⁵ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁴⁹⁶ Brockett, 'Dames and Knights could go if review implemented', accessed from Factiva. Indeed, Kidd did receive a DCNZM, in 2000. 'The Queen's Birthday Honours 2000', *The New Zealand Gazette* (63), 13 June 2000, p. 1383.

⁴⁹⁷ Townsend, p. 40.

knights created after 1917, such as James Gunson, Mayor of Auckland from 1915-1925; James Barnes, Mayor of Dunedin between 1968 and 1977; Hamish Hay, Mayor of Christchurch who retired in 1989 as the city's then longest serving mayor; and Harry Barker, who completed nine consecutive terms as Mayor of Gisborne.⁴⁹⁸ Among the small number of knights created in the military divisions of the Orders of the Bath and the British Empire in New Zealand, many stemmed from the apparently automatic honouring of the Chief of Defence Staff or Chief of General Staff.⁴⁹⁹ The most recent such award was a KBE in the military division given in 1994 to Vice Admiral Somerford Teagle, who was Chief of the Defence Force between 1992 and 1995.⁵⁰⁰ Similar awards appeared 16 times throughout the years between 1917 and 2000. In 1935, for instance, Major-General Sir William Sinclair-Burgess, the General Officer Commanding the New Zealand Military Forces and already a Knight Bachelor, received a KBE in the military division. In 1967, a military division KCB went to Lieutenant-General Leonard Thornton, then Chief of Defence Staff, and Chief of General Staff between 1960 and 1965.⁵⁰¹ In the case of the judiciary, it was reported that Chief Justice Sir Thomas Eichelbaum argued in his submission to the Prime Minister's Advisory Committee that honours accompanied the occupation and helped to compensate judges for the drop in income from that of a successful lawyer.⁵⁰² The report of the committee acknowledged the practice of giving honours to 'senior members' of the judiciary, but, while agreeing that judges' positions were demanding and that they should be eligible for honours, urged

⁴⁹⁸ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; J. Stacpoole, 'Gunson, James Henry 1877-1963', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; K. Eunson, 'Barnes, James George 1908-1995', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; Lambert, ed., pp. 270-271; A. Milton-Tee, 'Barker, Harry Heaton 1898-1994', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004.

⁴⁹⁹ Townsend, p. 42; 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁵⁰⁰ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Taylor, ed., *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa*, 1998, p. 726.

⁵⁰¹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; G. C. Petersen, ed., *Who's Who in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1971), p. 326.

⁵⁰² Raea, p. 1.

that merit be the vital criteria for awarding honours, not position or level of seniority. In the report, the committee also contended that New Zealand had gone further than the UK towards making honours available to many people, for service rather than due to rank or office, 'reflecting the egalitarian traditions of New Zealand society'.⁵⁰³ In the recent Select Committee report on honours in the UK, one recommendation made was that civil servants no longer received automatic awards; while in a 1993 review on honours in the UK it was stated that honours ought not to be given automatically because one was employed in a certain occupation.⁵⁰⁴

...and in business

A large number of knights were also created among industrialists and businessmen. Of the 458 knighthoods announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* since 1917, 106 (23.1%) were granted to men whose careers included significant business interests.⁵⁰⁵ For instance, Woolf Fisher, who formed Fisher and Paykel with Maurice Paykel and was involved in technological development, was made a Knight Bachelor in 1964, and James Doig, an industrialist involved in a number of companies, was granted the same honour in 1970. James Fletcher, the retired president and director of Fletcher Challenge, was knighted in 1980; his father, and the company's founder, had also been knighted in 1946.⁵⁰⁶ Industrial and commercial figures have frequently been given high honours in the UK as well. From Margaret Thatcher's election as Prime Minister in 1979 until June 1985, Walker recorded sixty-four 'private-sector industrialists' who had been made knights.⁵⁰⁷ Along with public services and the judiciary, business has consistently been one of the three most frequently-appearing areas of work in the careers of men made

⁵⁰³ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 45, 59.

⁵⁰⁴ Public Administration Select Committee, paragraph 146; Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, p. 14.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.; A. Nathan, 'Fisher, Woolf 1912-1975', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; Lambert, ed., p. 205; S. J. Parker, 'Fletcher, James 1886-1974', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004; Petersen, ed., p. 132.

⁵⁰⁷ Walker, p. 164.

knights in New Zealand since 1917. Forty of the 106 men received their knighthood for careers that included both industrial or commercial interests and community service, particularly from the 1960s, when community service began to be an important element in the work of significant numbers of men made knights. Only one woman in New Zealand has been honoured for work of a commercial nature. Cheryll Sotheran received her DNZM for her services 'to museum administration' as the chief executive of New Zealand's national museum, Te Papa Tongarewa.⁵⁰⁸ Even then, her work in establishing New Zealand's national museum was closely related to public services.

Agriculture, including the dairy and the meat industries, has also produced a number of knights in New Zealand, which is unsurprising given the extent to which these activities have been important in the New Zealand economy. While these knights were sometimes involved in academic work and research, they were also often involved in the meat and dairy industries themselves, for instance in marketing and exporting. Thirty-one of the 458 titular honours granted to men since 1917 (6.8%) went to men whose careers had included services to agriculture.⁵⁰⁹ Created a Knight Bachelor in 1956, Walter Mulholland was the secretary of the Darfield branch of the New Zealand Farmers' Union (NZFU) at the age of seventeen in 1904, on the New Zealand Meat Producers' Board from 1943-1961, the president of the Dominion NZFU for nine years, and the first president of the FFNZ.⁵¹⁰ In 1988, Peter Elworthy was knighted for his 'services to agriculture', having been the president of the FFNZ between 1984 and 1987, and the founding president of the New Zealand Deer Farmers' Association between 1978 and 1981.⁵¹¹ No women have received titular honours in this area. Although it has never provided particularly large numbers of knights, this area is also one that has featured in

⁵⁰⁸ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; 'Warrior chief who battled for Te Papa', *The Dominion*, 8 June 2002, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁰⁹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.; W. J. Gardner, 'Mulholland, William Walter 1887-1971', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004.

⁵¹¹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Taylor, ed., *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa*, 1998, p. 258.

the careers of men granted knighthoods throughout the years from 1917 to 2000. However, the services of these knights, given the traditional importance of the agricultural sector in the New Zealand economy, were closely related to those of men who were knighted for their work in industry and commerce.

Controversy in rewarding politicians, judges and entrepreneurs

Some of the criticism that has been directed at the royal honours system in New Zealand focused on the large proportions of honours that have been given to those in public service, law or commerce and industry. This criticism generally revolved around the concern that such people were simply doing their jobs, and were already well rewarded with good salaries. As recently as 2000, Jim Anderton, then Deputy Prime Minister, argued that honours were cheapened through knighting 'successful businesspeople' and 'high-profile politicians'. He disapproved of honouring them for successes that 'in a way they have already got recognition for'.⁵¹² In the same year, when removal of titles was again being discussed, it was written in one newspaper that knighthood was 'too often conferred for no higher achievement than longevity in a prominent and usually well-paid position'.⁵¹³ Similarly, when Roger Douglas, architect of the controversial 'Rogernomics' policies in the Labour government elected in 1984, was knighted in 1991, this argument was an important thread in the disapproval expressed in the media. Writing in *The Evening Post* on that New Year's honours list, Ruth Laugesen suggested that honours had often gone to public servants for 'only doing what they have been paid to do'.⁵¹⁴ The same point was made in a letter to the editor on Douglas's knighthood.⁵¹⁵ Much earlier, similar criticisms appeared in a 1959 *Weekly News* piece, where the author noted that the civil service were already paid by the Government, yet received a high proportion of honours through the work they did 'for the

⁵¹² 'Anderton supports review of honours', New Zealand Press Association, 14 February 2000, accessed from Factiva.

⁵¹³ 'Why all the fuss about honours?' *New Zealand Herald*, 15 February 2000, accessed from Factiva.

⁵¹⁴ Laugesen, 'Rewards for public service', p. 9.

⁵¹⁵ L. C. Collier, *The Evening Post*, 11 January 1991, p. 6.

State'.⁵¹⁶ In the UK, one MP, commenting on the select committee review of honours, argued that honours should not merely be given for 'doing your job well'.⁵¹⁷ In a separate report, Sir Hayden Phillips recommended that the 'balance of awards' in the UK be 'further shifted away from state service', including the civil service, the military and the diplomatic service; he recommended that 20% of awards go to those in state service, rather than the 27% given for state service in 2003.⁵¹⁸ In a different version of this criticism of honours, De la Bere argued, in relation to those who had become 'well known, and usually highly paid, public figures' in sport or entertainment, that such people had 'really not done anything out of the ordinary for the good of their country', as people working in charity, medical research or science might have.⁵¹⁹ Criticism of the weighting of the honours system toward particular services was linked to the issues of control and corruption surrounding the process of distributing awards that were discussed in the Introduction of this thesis, and which are worthy of further study in the future.

Dames and knights in other traditionally male activities

Titular honours were also granted in small numbers to recognise important contributions in various other areas of traditionally masculine endeavour. In the military lists published in the *New Zealand Gazette*, all eighteen titular honours were granted to men, and women received only a small proportion of honours at all levels in the military division of the Order of the British Empire. Six OBEs, twenty-eight MBEs and twenty-four BEMs were given to women in the military division of the Order of the British Empire between 1917 and 1996, a little over 3% of all the total number of those awards

⁵¹⁶ Investigator, p. 3. On the other hand, the same anonymous writer argued that industrialists should receive more honours, because they had advanced New Zealand, and frequently served their communities as well. Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Vera Baird MP, quoted in Morrison, p. 14.

⁵¹⁸ Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, pp. iii, 6.

⁵¹⁹ De la Bere, p. 17.

given in that period in the military division.⁵²⁰ Seven men were knighted for services to a profession other than the law, medicine or academia; no women received titular honours in similar fields.⁵²¹ For instance, Miles Warren, whose architectural designs, which include the Christchurch Town Hall and the public library, are well-known in New Zealand, received the civil KBE in 1985 for his 'services to architecture'.⁵²² Two knights, and no dames, were created in New Zealand for their services to the trade union movement. One of those was Federation of Labour (FOL) president Tom Skinner, whose 1976 knighthood was viewed by some as co-opting him, and his acceptance as unfaithful to the movement.⁵²³ Three men and one woman were given titular honours for work that included services to religion. The three men were Paul Reeves in 1985, when he was Anglican Primate and Archbishop of New Zealand; Edward Norman in 1984, Anglican Bishop of Wellington since 1973; and Dean Goffin in 1983, Commissioner and Territorial Commander of the Salvation Army in New Zealand. Phyllis Guthardt was the only dame created for services to religion, and she was honoured for her services to women as well as to the Methodist Church.⁵²⁴ A Methodist minister, she was the first woman ordained in any of the mainstream churches in New Zealand.⁵²⁵

Although it was only relatively recently that honours for sport appeared at the titular level, a similar pattern is evident to that in other areas of endeavour not traditionally considered feminine. Fifteen men were granted a title for their services to various sports, and only one woman. Lance Cross, who was a sports broadcaster and a member of the International Olympic Committee's executive board, was made a Knight

⁵²⁰ 'Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000', see Appendix One. The military list has in the past been subject to criticism on the grounds that, proportionally, more awards (at all levels) were made to those in the military than considered appropriate in times of peace. For instance: Investigator, p. 3; Riddell, p. 9.

⁵²¹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁵²² C. Brett, 'The Fine Art of Miles Warren', *North and South*, August 1994, p. 84; 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁵²³ Townsend, p. 43.

⁵²⁴ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two.

⁵²⁵ 'Birthday honours led by women', *New Zealand Herald*, 12 June 1993, p. 1; Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

Bachelor in 1984; before his award, only two titular honours announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* had been granted for work involving sport.⁵²⁶ Other men knighted for their services to sports included Richard Hadlee in 1990, well-known New Zealand cricket player from 1973 to 1990; Peter Blake, then skipper of Team New Zealand, in 1995; and in 1999 Brian Lochore, former All Black captain, and coach of the team between 1985 and 1987, the year the All Blacks won the World Cup.⁵²⁷ Susan Devoy was the only woman made a dame in New Zealand for her services to sport, and this recognition of her success was combined with recognition of her services to the community.⁵²⁸ Similarly, however, Brian Lochore and Murray Halberg, who won Olympic gold in Rome in 1960, were recognised for their services to the community as well as to sport.⁵²⁹

Explaining the imbalance: a reflection of society?

In all these traditionally male-dominated areas of endeavour, from public service to the judiciary, from commerce and industry to the military or sport, titular honours were clearly granted to women far less frequently than to men. Titular honours were also given to women in these areas less frequently than they were given to women who had been involved in community service, an area constructed as feminine in which men were honoured less often, as a proportion of the total, than women. This pattern is particularly strong in those areas where men were granted titles in the greatest numbers, such as public service, business and law. In a way, the imbalance in the types of services for which men and women were most often honoured reflected an imbalance in society itself.

⁵²⁶ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; R. Palenski, 'Cross, Cecil Lancelot Stewart 1912-1989', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, accessed March 2004.

⁵²⁷ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Taylor, ed., *New Zealand Who's Who Aotearoa*, 1998, pp. 330, 112, 462; Lambert, ed., p. 253.

⁵²⁸ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two. New Zealand-born Naomi James, who was the first woman to sail a yacht single-handed around Cape Horn when she sailed alone around the world, was made a dame on the United Kingdom honours list, therefore she is not included in this study. Lambert, ed., p. 321.

⁵²⁹ 'Database of titular honours, 1917-2000', see Appendix Two; Shadbolt, pp. 8-10.

As careers in government, business, law or the military were traditionally the province of men, women faced obstacles entering and excelling in these fields. For instance, in 1966, Sian Elias was one of only eight females in a class of 400 law students at Auckland University. After completing her studies in the early 1970s, she discovered that a law firm where she had applied for a position, which she did not get, had been surprised that a woman would apply. The firm felt that she would be unable to have morning tea with the male staff but would be 'bored' with the secretaries.⁵³⁰ In the church too, Phyllis Guthardt experienced significant obstacles to her career for a number of years; when she was to become a candidate for the ministry, 'quite a number of people made it very plain' that they did not wish her to be ordained. She recalled her early years in the ministry, when: 'I think people were afraid that I might bury the wrong person at a funeral, or perhaps ... marry the bride to the best man'.⁵³¹ Since women often faced difficulty in entering or choosing careers, such as politics, law and commerce, in which many knights were created, the low number of women made dames for such work is not altogether surprising. The small number of women honoured in the Order of St Michael and St George, for instance, is partially explained as a result of the practice of reserving it for diplomats and politicians. Women have in the past reached posts where they might expect such an honour less often than men. As pointed out by David Baguley, the practice therefore created structural constraints until that honour was removed from the New Zealand system in 1996.⁵³²

Certainly, the committee reporting on honours in 1995 believed that '[a]n honours system mirrors a society'.⁵³³ In his review of the UK honours system, Sir Hayden Phillips suggested that the smaller number of awards going to women, as to ethnic

⁵³⁰ H. Bain, 'Sian Elias: taking the justice system into the new millenium', *The Press*, 24 March 1999, p. 9.

⁵³¹ Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004. On the other hand, Guthardt tells of one small girl who, hearing that a male minister was to take up Guthardt's position in one parish, asked her mother how a man could be a minister. As Guthardt explains, 'I was all she'd known'. Ibid.

⁵³² Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

⁵³³ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 57.

minorities, might 'reflect a deeper problem of gender and racial inequality in types of work', and in the 'numbers of women/ethnic minorities achieving key positions in many areas of society'.⁵³⁴ He suggested that women may achieve 'influential positions or noteworthy roles of service to the community' less often than men because of 'family responsibilities at some stage in their lives'.⁵³⁵ Baguley also stated that an honours system is 'supposed to reflect society' and what is considered important in society; he suggested that the honouring of individuals such as Brian Lochore, as an All Blacks player and coach, reflected a public desire that such people be honoured.⁵³⁶ The rise in women receiving honours carrying the title of Dame from the 1970s might then be accounted for by the influence of second wave feminism being felt, the increased value being placed on activities more often open to women, and by the changes in women's lives that had meant women more frequently entered public positions where such an honour was likely.

Yet there was no dramatic shift towards large numbers of women being recognised for their success in largely male-dominated fields after 1980. Rather, as seen in the previous chapter, it was only after 1980 that most dames were created, and community service work predominated among them. The explanation for this pattern lies in the way that work gendered feminine has been valued comparatively to work gendered masculine. As a state expression of what is valued, the honours system can influence society by honouring certain services more often than others, and therefore suggesting that they are more valuable. By creating honours such as the Order of St Michael and St George that were reserved for traditionally male careers, the work women traditionally did was devalued. An example of this devaluing of female work was the claim, written in a UK newspaper article at the time of the creation of the Order of the British Empire, that it was inappropriate to place the MBE before the Military Cross because 'any lady... who

⁵³⁴ Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, p. 42.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

leaves her home to take care of itself while she fusses about at a soldiers' canteen' could receive the MBE. In the same article, the author argued that it was inappropriate to give the same honour in the Order of the British Empire to official photographers who had worked with soldiers and risked their lives as to 'girls [who] have been engaged all the time in comfortable... billets at home'.⁵³⁷ As previously discussed, second wave feminists often emphasised the value of women's qualities and their unpaid domestic and community work. Moving beyond rhetoric, this emphasis included arguments that the value of traditionally female work should be acknowledged in a quantifiable way. Marilyn Waring, for example, wrote of the way in which women's unpaid work, productive and reproductive, was not seen as valuable in narrow systems of economic theory. Linking this failure to ascribe value to women's work to the invisibility of women, she argued that such invisibility would continue so long as their 'unpaid productive and reproductive labour remain invisible', and contended that what women do without payment should be recognised as work, and themselves as part of the labour force.⁵³⁸ While economic theory and scholarship may not have adopted ideas such as Waring's, the increase in the honouring of women working in community service or in women's affairs after 1980 can be understood in the context of an increased recognition of women's caring role in the community as feminists emphasised the importance of that role.

However, a clear imbalance remained between women and men in the granting of titular honours through the 1980s and 1990s, both in total numbers and in the types of service rewarded. In a submission to the committee reviewing honours in 1995, the NCW contended that voluntary work, especially work in the community by women, had

⁵³⁷ Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood, OBE Letters, Box 4, *Truth*, 21 August 1918, p. 235, quoted in Galloway, pp. 43-44.

⁵³⁸ M. Waring, *Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and What Women are Worth* (Wellington, 1988), pp. 9-10, 12-22, 259-260 (for instance).

been undervalued.⁵³⁹ In a brief article after Stella Casey was made a dame, the reporter wrote of Casey's desire to see 'more women in the community ... recognised for the work they do', and of her belief that the 'lack of recognition for women' was due to 'the media and the community profile men are given, compared to the often "invisible" work of women'.⁵⁴⁰ The report of the committee in 1995 concluded that:

women's access remains constrained by the roles played by women in our society, by the value put on women's work and, it appears, by a reluctance on the part of women to see their names put forward.⁵⁴¹

This statement encompasses as explanations both the career inequalities present in society, which were reproduced in the honours system, and the low valuation given to work traditionally gendered feminine, which could be reinforced by the honours system itself. Both of these interacting processes centred around the weighting of the honours system towards traditionally male careers, which was typified in the vast number of knights created in comparison to the number of dames, and in the small proportion of dames who did work in male-dominated careers.

Being first: dames as exceptional role models?

Dames working in male-dominated careers were therefore doubly exceptional, both as women given titles in their own right and as women who entered traditionally male domains. Moreover, many of the women who were given titular honours for work in male-dominated occupations achieved a 'first' for women by entering those occupations, or by reaching particular positions within them, thus strengthening their exceptional status. Being the first woman to enter roles traditionally gendered masculine was a common theme in the lives of many dames. Augusta Wallace and Sian Elias in the judiciary, Catherine Tizard in the vice-regal role, Phyllis Guthardt in the Methodist Church and Ann Hercus as Minister of Police, were all the first women in New Zealand

⁵³⁹ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 56.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Dame protests lack of honours for women', *The Evening Post*, 31 December 1990, p. 2.

⁵⁴¹ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 57.

to fill certain customarily male positions. Margaret Bazley, honoured for public services, was the first female State Services Commissioner in New Zealand, and Jean Herbison was the first female chancellor at a New Zealand university, holding the position at the University of Canterbury between 1979 and 1984.⁵⁴² Ella Campbell, whose work on orchids, native liverworts and ferns was internationally recognised, was the first female member of staff at Massey University.⁵⁴³ Although the latter three were working in areas where women were more often honoured than those who worked in politics, the judiciary or commerce, they were succeeding at a largely male-dominated level. Similarly, in the UK, New Zealand-born Dame Judith Jonas was the first woman to become the Provost of Kings College, Cambridge.⁵⁴⁴

As well as these achievements, some dames had careers filled with 'firsts' for women. Tizard was also the first female mayor of Auckland, Elias one of the first two women to be appointed as Queen's Counsel in New Zealand, and Guthardt the first female elected president of the New Zealand Methodist Church, in 1985.⁵⁴⁵ Hercus, besides being the first woman in politics to move away from the areas of health, welfare and education at Cabinet level, had also previously been the first woman appointed to the Commerce Commission, and subsequently became one of only two female ambassadors to the United Nations in the late 1980s.⁵⁴⁶ Gillian Weir was the first woman to hold the positions of president in the Incorporated Association of Organists and in the Royal College of Organists, while Marie Clay was the first female professor, the first female

⁵⁴² H. Bain, 'Goldminer's daughter knows when it's time to be tough', *The Press*, 9 June 1999, accessed from Factiva; Herbison, interview with the author, 18 November 2004.

⁵⁴³ *Massey News: The Resolute Dame Ella* (Massey University), available from http://masseynews.massey.ac.nz/2003/masseynews/july/july28/stories/dame_ella.html, accessed 3 November 2004; 'Dame Ella Campbell', *New Zealand Herald*, 2 August 2003, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁴⁴ 'Waitangi Day award to Cambridge provost', *The Press*, 7 February 2004, section A, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁵ 'Scene and Heard', *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 28 January 1985, p. 21; Wheeler, 'For Cath, goodbye to the smell of dogfish', p. 4; *Phyllis Guthardt*, http://www.methodist.org.nz/index.cfm/Touchstone/February_2003/Phyllis_Guthardt; *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, p. 212.

⁵⁴⁶ Bowman, 'Dame Ann... Behind the Public Face', p. 20; 'Ann Hercus', in *Celebrating Women*, p. 36. The other woman at the United Nations with Ann Hercus was also a Dame, Ruth Nita Barrow of Barbados. B. Riley, 'On Stage in the Big Apple', *New Zealand Listener*, 3 September 1988, p. 29.

head of department, and the first female emeritus professor at the University of Auckland.⁵⁴⁷ In a similar way, some dames have been known as the only woman, if not the first, in particular positions. When Dorothy Winstone was given her title, it was reported in *The Dominion* that she had been known as ‘the “token woman” on the various male-dominated committees’ she had been a part of, although she reportedly said that ‘she never felt that way’.⁵⁴⁸ Miriam Dell herself acknowledged her exceptional position, being quoted in *North and South* as saying that she had in the past referred to herself as ‘New Zealand’s professional token woman’.⁵⁴⁹ This concept of a ‘token woman’, in a perverse way, supports the argument that second wave feminism had increased the visibility of women’s concerns, by suggesting that previously all-male organisations and groups saw a need to present themselves as inclusive of women.

The ‘firsts’ for which women were honoured had important implications. In a sense, they opened new paths for women simply by achieving entry to male-dominated occupations. Moreover, as women who had been highly successful in male-dominated careers, these women demonstrated women’s ability to reach the upper levels in their careers. Some dames themselves expressed a desire to be role models whose success blazed a trail for other women to follow. Before being made a dame, Margaret Bazley, commenting as the ‘highest ranking woman in the New Zealand civil service’, was reported as hoping that ‘her example will encourage other women to pursue active and ambitious career paths’.⁵⁵⁰ Catherine Tizard considered that becoming Governor-General was ‘another male bastion ... quietly crumbling’, and one reaction felt by Ann Hercus when she was given the title was ‘immense pride in being a role model and being

⁵⁴⁷ Gillian Weir: *Biography*, available from <http://www.gillianweir.com/biography.shtml>, accessed 3 November 2004; *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, p. 182.

⁵⁴⁸ ‘Women’s fighter rewarded’, p. 7.

⁵⁴⁹ ‘Our Living Treasures: Dame Miriam Dell’, *North and South*, January 1990, p. 91.

⁵⁵⁰ I. Sharp, ‘Margaret Bazley: Something of a Pioneer’, *Pacific Way*, November/December 1987, p. 67.

honoured for that by the Government'.⁵⁵¹ Hilda Ross viewed her honour as 'recognition of work done by a woman, for women'.⁵⁵² The approbation from the Crown signified by the award of a titular honour in a sense strengthened the position of women in non-traditional occupations as role models for women to aspire to.

One dame who has shown an awareness of this potential for her being honoured for her work to facilitate the opening of paths for women into non-traditional occupations is Catherine Tizard. She was quoted in a *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* article as saying that she accepted the title 'because it was a statement about women's rights to aspire to public office'.⁵⁵³ In an earlier article profiling her, she said that when she became Mayor of Auckland she was:

aware of being on trial, not only on my own behalf but as a woman. If I messed it up ... it would prove that women in general couldn't hack such a high-pressure job.⁵⁵⁴

In a similar way, Phyllis Guthardt said in an interview that she saw her award as honouring women's 'very capable leadership', which had 'made it possible ... to imagine ... ordaining them'. She saw her honour as being a recognition of her work in 'breaking new ground' in the church, and was 'very aware of women who'd come before me'.⁵⁵⁵ These comments show the importance of the award of a title in giving honour to women's efforts in the past, as well as in creating role models, and suggest how the grant of a title, as a royal honour, can have wider significance than merely honouring one person's achievements or service. As an expression of approbation from the Crown, titular honours granted to women who were the first to enter careers traditionally gendered masculine had the potential to endorse those women as role models, and thereby smooth the progress of other women entering similar occupations.

⁵⁵¹ 'Goodbye to housework says Dame Cath Tizard, the new Governor General', *New Zealand Herald*, 11 February 1990, accessed from Factiva; Hercus, personal communication with the author, October 2004.

⁵⁵² V. Bootham, 'Hilda Ross', in C. Macdonald, M. Penfold and B. Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women/Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* (Wellington, 1991), p. 573.

⁵⁵³ Fleming, p. 23.

⁵⁵⁴ T. Redgrave, 'No 1 in Auckland', *New Zealand Listener*, 13 June 1987, p. 36.

⁵⁵⁵ Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

Yet that same commendation from the Crown could also increase the distance between these women who had achieved ‘firsts’ and other women. All dames, including those whose work has been in traditionally female areas, were ‘exceptions to the rule’ in an institution that assumed a male norm. Moreover, the title itself could create distance between the recipient and others, although this phenomenon was not necessarily distinctive to the experiences of dames. Tizard was reported more than once as saying that titles imposed ‘a barrier’ between the recipient of the honour and other people.⁵⁵⁶ On the other hand, Ann Hercus felt that there were not barriers created by the title, and that she was ‘not aware of being treated differently’, while Jean Herbison did not consider that there had been distance placed between her and other people by the title.⁵⁵⁷ Phyllis Guthardt noted that she was accustomed to there being a barrier ‘from people who didn’t know me because the thought of a woman in the ministry always made people uncomfortable for a long, long time’, and that ‘it never occurs to me’ that people might be ‘shy’ of the title.⁵⁵⁸ Dames who achieved female ‘firsts’ were, however, doubly exceptional. No other woman can be first, and therefore, the level of achievement in traditionally masculine fields at which the title of Dame was granted appears impossibly high. As ‘singular exceptions’ in male-dominated spaces, their exceptional status meant that it was difficult for other women to follow them.

Forthright and fierce? Representing dames in traditionally masculine terms

Images in the popular media of these doubly exceptional titled women who worked in traditionally male positions were often more reminiscent of the characteristics customarily gendered masculine than those gendered feminine. Labelled as ‘not a woman to be trifled with’, Ann Hercus’ public image was as ‘intimidating’ and

⁵⁵⁶ Clark, p. 59; Fleming, p. 23.

⁵⁵⁷ Hercus, personal communication with the author, October 2004; Herbison, interview with the author, 18 November 2004.

⁵⁵⁸ Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

'formidable'⁵⁵⁹. It was reportedly said that the 'softest thing about [Hercus] is her teeth', and the same remark appeared in an article profiling Margaret Bazley.⁵⁶⁰ Bazley was called 'the Government's hatchetwoman', 'a formidable woman' with a 'no-nonsense approach', and even a 'man-hater'.⁵⁶¹ Less negatively, Susan Devoy was portrayed in a 1999 article as having been a 'feisty character' during her squash career, and a similar image reappeared after her retirement, as a 'ferocious' defender of the Halberg Trust sports awards.⁵⁶² With the phrase: 'Devoy equals determination', she was included in a list of one hundred great New Zealanders of the twentieth century.⁵⁶³ She was depicted in an interview presented in *North and South* as having a 'steely resolve'.⁵⁶⁴

Portrayals of dames as tenacious and formidable were not confined to those women who worked in traditionally male spaces or achieved a 'first' for women. One interviewer wrote that Ngaio Marsh was 'daunting', although 'enchanting to interview' once 'the awe wore off'; another termed her a 'battler'.⁵⁶⁵ Kiri Te Kanawa's 'determination' has been described as 'legendary', and she has been said to have a 'steely will'.⁵⁶⁶ Long before she was made a dame, in a 1955 article, Whina Cooper was described as 'a fighter – a fiery, hard hitting one' who 'relentlessly pursued' her causes

⁵⁵⁹ Bowman, 'Dame Ann... Behind the Public Face', p. 20.

⁵⁶⁰ Bain, 'Goldminer's daughter', accessed from Factiva; D. Dekker, 'Our Ann in Cyprus', *The Evening Post*, 10 July 1999, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁶¹ Bain, 'Goldminer's daughter', accessed from Factiva; S. Carty, 'Bouquets and Bullets', *The Evening Post*, 29 September 2001, accessed from Factiva; 'Govt expresses appreciation for 40 years of public service', New Zealand Press Association, 13 November 2000, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁶² Legat, 'Face to Face: Susan Devoy', p. 74.

⁵⁶³ '100 Great New Zealanders of the 20th Century', *New Zealand Listener*, 3 July 1999, p. 21.

⁵⁶⁴ Legat, 'Face to Face: Susan Devoy', p. 74. The same author used that phrase again in another article in relation to Cheryl Sotheran. Legat, 'Cheryll Sotheran', p. 51. It has, however, been written that a 'tenacious spirit' is a characteristic of New Zealanders. Male, p. 6. Similarly, the representation of Elizabeth Gilmer as 'bluff, downright, full of fun and a great battler' shows characteristics traditionally seen as masculine and perceived as a New Zealand characteristic. 'Elizabeth May Gilmer, D.B.E.' *New Zealand Libraries*, April 1960, p. 91. Portrayals of political women as 'steel sheila[s]' have been considered by Julia Baird. J. Baird, *Media Tarts: How the Australian Press Frames Female Politicians* (Carlton North, Victoria, 2004), p. 260 (for example).

⁵⁶⁵ H. Paske, 'Ngaio Marsh: stage struck', *New Zealand Listener*, 20 March 1982, p. 38; F. Parkin, 'Dame Ngaio in twilight years', *New Zealand Listener*, 22 May 1976, p. 27.

⁵⁶⁶ K. Russell, 'Kiri - my 60th birthday wake-up call', *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 19 April 2004, p. 11.

until she succeeded, with ‘no retreat’.⁵⁶⁷ Mira Szaszy was said to have had an ‘often feisty career’, and Mary Leo was depicted as ‘the feisty little nun’, who was ‘iron-willed and imperious by nature’, and ‘a relentless, tough-minded perfectionist’ in her teaching.⁵⁶⁸ One reported issue in a case before the Employment Relations Authority was alleged ‘aggressive and nasty’ treatment by Georgina Kirby towards an employee of a Maori art gallery that she managed.⁵⁶⁹

The image of dames as fierce or determined has sometimes, as with Bazley and Kirby, extended to their being depicted as unpleasant. In one newspaper article on titles, the reporter suggested that, although knights no longer usually won their award in battle, ‘something of the glamour of St George seemed to rub off’ on them, while ‘the awesome aura of the dragon seemed to emanate from the dames’.⁵⁷⁰ Sotheran has often been portrayed as forthright, and even disagreeable. In one article, she was described as ‘forbidding... a contrast to the feelgood [sic] cultural emporium she oversees [Te Papa]’, and as being ‘[d]ressed all in black and slow to smile’. She was reportedly called ‘Chernobyl’ and ‘the foul-mouthed dame’ by her employees, because of her quick temper and tendency to criticise staff.⁵⁷¹ Her ‘fearsome reputation’ and ‘fiery temper’ were much in the media in relation to a case, similar to that Kirby was involved in, in which a former employee alleged before the Employment Relations Authority that Sotheran had ‘created a “climate of fear” in the museum’.⁵⁷² One colleague interviewed for an article profiling Sotheran considered that her ‘daunting intellect’, zeal, and need to complete an

⁵⁶⁷ Taylor, ‘Whina Cooper’, p. 17.

⁵⁶⁸ T. Potter, ‘Champion for rights of Maori women’, *Sunday Star Times*, 23 December 2001, accessed from Factiva; V. Aldridge, ‘Fiesty nun with the magic touch’, *The Dominion*, 6 February 1999, accessed from Factiva; I. Sharp, ‘Portrait of musical nun does her proud’, *Sunday Star Times*, 15 November 1998, accessed from Factiva. In her consideration of ‘colonial sainthood’, Katie Pickles has discussed similar representations of Mary Mackillop and Suzanne Aubert as ‘chaste, devoted and selfless, while simultaneously feisty’. K. Pickles, ‘Colonial Sainthood in Australasia’, forthcoming in *National Identities*, 2005, p. 8.

⁵⁶⁹ ‘Maori Dame ‘negligent’ over administration of art gallery’, *The Dominion*, 2 February 2002, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁷⁰ Dawe, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁷¹ N. Maling, ‘Culture Clash’, *Sunday Star Times*, 14 October 2001, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁷² ‘Warrior chief’, accessed from Factiva.

ambitious project 'would not raise a second look in a man'.⁵⁷³ These images have not necessarily been confined to the portrayal of dames, but may extend to other women successful in traditionally male spaces. Considerably before being made a dame, for instance, Tizard was described as outspoken, sometimes 'indiscreet', and as a 'maverick'.⁵⁷⁴ The important point, however, is that even women who have been honoured by the Crown for their work have been portrayed in these ways, stressing masculine qualities and their difference to other women.

As 'honorary knights', a minority of women who were accepted into the high levels of a system with distinct male norms, dames have sometimes been represented in ways that suggested they were 'honorary men'. One particularly clear example occurred in the article in *The New Zealand Herald* profiling Augusta Wallace when she was made a dame in 1993. Her husband was quoted commenting that:

My wife has achieved this honour not because she is a woman but because she has been a very competitive and able lawyer and judge and, dare I say, much more of a 'gentleman' than many of the men who sit on the Bench.⁵⁷⁵

At the time of the celebration of the centenary of women's suffrage, this remark emphasised that she had not been honoured merely because she was a woman. Rather, she was a gentlemanly woman, and an 'honorary knight'. Constructing dames as honorary men appears to lessen any threat they could pose to the established gender order, making them part of the masculine sphere, and thus set apart from the feminine despite being a woman.

However, alongside the representation of dames as formidable and determined, or as 'honorary men', the same women have often also been depicted as possessing the nurturing and caring qualities that have been customarily considered feminine, the types

⁵⁷³ Legat, 'Cheryll Sotheran', p. 53. While further research on the qualities usually seen as associated with successful people and on the portrayal of knights in the popular media would be useful, what is important for this thesis is that such depictions sometime portray an attribute as unpleasant in a female that would be admirable in a man.

⁵⁷⁴ J. Zavos, 'Cath Tizard casts her own shadow', *Thursday*, 15 May 1975, p. 18.

⁵⁷⁵ Young, 'This dame a true 'gentleman'', p. 1.

of representations discussed in the previous chapter. Mary Leo, although a demanding teacher, was also said to be compassionate and understanding to pupils.⁵⁷⁶ In a newspaper article after Whina Cooper's death, Winston Peters was quoted describing her as 'compassionate, ... maternal and loving' as well as 'manipulative and autocratic'.⁵⁷⁷ Described as '[s]mall' and 'twinkling', Augusta Wallace 'belies her courtroom reputation for formidability'.⁵⁷⁸ Even Margaret Bazley was described as appearing in pictures as 'a rather motherly-looking soul, dressed conservatively', and as being very caring to her staff if they worked well.⁵⁷⁹ In depictions of dames' appearances too, womanly images were sometime placed alongside images that emphasised their exceptionalism as women with masculine qualities. Bazley 'is slightly built and gently spoken', yet firefighters would not 'dare' to 'jostle her in the street', as they did to her predecessor.⁵⁸⁰ A young actor she had worked with remembered Ngaio Marsh as 'mannish in appearance', with a 'deep voice' and large feet, but also as 'intensely feminine'.⁵⁸¹ Portrayals of dames, then, did not follow a straightforward adherence to one of two models; rather, there was often a juxtaposition of masculine and feminine traits, of being an 'honorary man' yet maintaining femininity. These representations also lessened any threat these women's success may have posed to the traditional gender norms, by emphasising that although they were successful, they continued to possess attributes that have been constructed as feminine. In the case of Sotheran, one portrayal of her evoked a maternal image to justify her supposedly warrior-like actions, a description with strong echoes of the 'warrior queen'. She was referred to as 'Te Mama', the 'matriarch of the institution [Te Papa]

⁵⁷⁶ Sharp, 'Portrait of musical nun', accessed from Factiva; Lovell-Smith, 'Niccol, Mary Leo 1895-1989', <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>.

⁵⁷⁷ B. Rudman, 'After Whina, Maori to share the mantle', *Sunday Star Times*, 3 April 1994, section C, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁸ Findlay, p. 173.

⁵⁷⁹ M. J. Boland, 'Another tough job for Dame Fixit', *Dominion Post*, 24 February 2004, accessed from Factiva; Carty, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁸⁰ Bain, 'Goldminer's daughter', accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁸¹ Jack Henderson, quoted in A. Facer and A. Carew, 'Ngaio Marsh', in C. Macdonald, M. Penfold and B. Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women/Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* (Wellington, 1991), p. 422.

with the warrior reputation', who had 'fought many a battle' and 'defended the museum'.⁵⁸²

Ethnicity and images of dames

A further complexity is evident in the representation of dames, as Maori heritage could add another dimension to the exceptionalism that adhered to a dame. As well as the 'supposed integration' of Maori that Kiri Te Kanawa might be seen to symbolise, her Maori ethnicity has led to representations of her as exotic, as Katie Pickles has discussed.⁵⁸³ In Te Kanawa's case, the familiar focus on the appearance of successful women held a hint of the exotic and exceptional. She was depicted as 'imposing', at 1.7 metres tall, 'with huge brown eyes, honey-brown hair and a tan complexion'; she 'dazzles co-stars and public with her striking good looks'.⁵⁸⁴ She herself was quoted in one magazine article as saying, 'I'm exotic because I have two cultures on my side', and she was once described as carrying 'the exotic blood of native Maori aristocracy'.⁵⁸⁵ Not only was she honoured by royalty, but she herself was portrayed as part of an hereditary elite. In one popular article, an interview with Te Kanawa was depicted in terms that gave the account a decidedly royal flavour:

Many of the reporters automatically rise to their feet as she enters. We seem to be on the edge of spontaneous applause. ... She has graciously consented to be among us. We are privileged and enthralled. In fact we are enchanted.⁵⁸⁶

Although Te Kanawa had not entered a male-dominated field of activity as women in politics or law had done, the perceived exoticism of her race intersected with gender, making her too appear doubly exceptional, with suggestions that she belonged to an

⁵⁸² 'Warrior chief', accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁸³ See discussion of her ethnicity and representations in Pickles, 'Kiwi Icons', pp. 13-14.

⁵⁸⁴ D. Cowley, 'Dame Kiri Te Kanawa, "A Divine Songbird"', *Reader's Digest*, July 1982, p. 47.

⁵⁸⁵ T. Reid, 'Kiri: Giving something back', *New Zealand Listener*, 15 January 1983, p. 14; *Kiri Te Kanawa: Biography* (NZMusic.com and Morse Media), available from

http://www.nzmusic.com/artist_bio.cfm?i=230, accessed 3 November 2004.

⁵⁸⁶ Reid, p. 12.

aristocracy reinforcing the sense that she was exceptional, distanced from other women, and even from most men.

Conclusion

The women who entered the elite white male space of the royal honours system in New Zealand were placed in a position replete with tensions. The system was clearly oriented toward certain types of service, although by the 1990s greater recognition was being given to arts, sport and community service; the predominating areas of work were largely male-dominated occupations, particularly in the upper levels. Those few dames who were honoured for their roles in these traditionally male careers were exceptional because they had succeeded so highly in these areas, as well as because they had been given titles in their own right. Through depictions of them as 'honorary men' or as having qualities that had been traditionally gendered masculine, portrayals of dames in the popular media sometimes reflected the status of dames as removed from other women. Yet the gender norms in society were not threatened by such portrayals, as, alongside their determination and forthrightness, dames were also often shown to retain the supposedly feminine caring attributes.

Conclusion

The experience of being honoured with a title

Receiving a titular honour is an individual experience in many ways, a reward given for services not entirely like any other recipient's, and responded to in different ways by different individuals. Even the experience of the investiture itself has varied between recipients. For Phyllis Guthardt, the ceremony was 'quite delightful' although 'very swift', simply going forward when her name was called.⁵⁸⁷ Five family members went to Wellington with Jean Herbison for her investiture, and she was pleased to be recognised with the award 'almost before I retired'. She rarely had occasion to wear the insignia for her award, and noted that she had not thought to wear them when attending the investiture of another person.⁵⁸⁸ Malvina Major, whose award was the result of 'lots' of nominations, accepted an invitation to have the ceremony on her own, with a morning tea and sixty guests invited. She turned down the possibility of having the Queen invest her with her honour, partly to accept the invitation of a private ceremony, and partly because she did not receive sufficient invitations to Buckingham Palace for all of her children to attend.⁵⁸⁹

Individual recipients of titles have also had differing experiences of holding that title. While some dames, such as Kiri Te Kanawa and Malvina Major, have become well-known during their careers, others, such as Elizabeth Harper, have been far less so. Some found that holding the title affected their lives very little despite its being a highly visible honour, while others noted change in their lives. Ann Hercus found that the award affected her life 'very little' within New Zealand, as 'very few...call me "Dame"', although she did meet some 'curiosity' outside of New Zealand, such as during her time

⁵⁸⁷ Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

⁵⁸⁸ Herbison, interview with the author, 18 November 2004.

⁵⁸⁹ Major, interview with the author, 4 November 2004.

at the United Nations.⁵⁹⁰ Phyllis Guthardt does not believe that holding the title has changed any part of her life: 'not a thing'. She herself has not used her title, although it was used by the University of Canterbury during her time as Chancellor, and she noted that '[n]obody in the church even remembers I've got it'. She finds it 'a surprise' when people do use her title, and tells an anecdote of a tradesperson addressing her as 'Phyl', noting that he would not have even known she had a title.⁵⁹¹ Guthardt also noted that she did not consider she had become more of a public figure after receiving her title, because she was 'already retired from the ministry', and because, although she was involved in public speaking in her university roles, she is now a 'reluctant public speaker'.⁵⁹² Similarly, Jean Herbison did not consider that her life had changed after being given the title, saying 'I've just gone on being me'. Interviewed in 2004, she stated that 'very few' call her 'Dame Jean', even in correspondence, although the title was used when she was at the university as chancellor.⁵⁹³ Another who has been quoted as saying that she does not use her title is Janet Paul, who reportedly said that 'titles seem to be not our way of doing things in New Zealand', and that she felt she should have refused the title.⁵⁹⁴

On the other hand, Malvina Major has found that people do use her title, and that holding the title 'did change my life'. As an example, she noted that, instead of 'a constant battle' on her many trips overseas to reach her destination and 'be ready to sing' after arriving, 'suddenly, ... everyone wants to pick your bag up and run after you, and ... upgrade you'. Major also considered that after being made a dame she had received a greater number of invitations to become a patron of, or become involved in, charitable and community organisations.⁵⁹⁵ In a similar way, Susan Devoy was quoted as saying

⁵⁹⁰ Hercus, personal communication with the author, October 2004.

⁵⁹¹ Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004.

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Herbison, interview with the author, 18 November 2004.

⁵⁹⁴ D. Dekker, 'Creativity honed over time', *The Evening Post*, 8 December 1999, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁹⁵ Major, interview with the author, 4 November 2004. Among knights, Richard Hadlee was also reported to have said that it brought 'a tremendous amount of respect' and that 'we do tend to have requests to be

that the title ‘made “a little bit of difference” in gaining people’s respect, especially overseas and among older people’, while Catherine Tizard has reportedly said that holding the title ‘does open doors’, and that it causes her to be ‘treated more formally’.⁵⁹⁶ Fiona Kidman was also quoted suggesting that the title ‘does lend some air of respectability to your requests’.⁵⁹⁷

Despite all these differences of experience, the women who have been made dames, and the men who have been made knights, share in the experience of receiving a high royal honour, of having their work recognised with a visible title. Almost all countries in the world do have an honours system.⁵⁹⁸ In New Zealand, royal honours, and the giving of titles, have been a part of society almost since 1840; honours have a far longer history in the United Kingdom, from where the New Zealand system derived. The cessation in New Zealand in 2000 of the practice of granting titles to those who received high level honours has been one of a number of major changes to the New Zealand honours system over its lifetime. Knights and dames in New Zealand now are a group whose numbers will only decrease in the future. The patterns and trends visible in the awards of titles since 1917, however, have implications not only for the new honours system, but also for the way in which success is understood for men and women. Despite the vast changes in New Zealand between 1917 and 2000, the award of titles to women and men is an important part of the country’s history, and one where both continuing threads and divergences are evident, suggesting much about gender identities and roles in New Zealand, as well as shedding light on the perception and operation of national identity and class in New Zealand history.

patron of this and chairman of that, and get involved in more charitable works’. A. Samson, 'Honoured sports stars disappointed', *The Dominion*, 12 April 2000, accessed from Factiva.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.; Bungay, p. 62.

⁵⁹⁷ Register, p. 15.

⁵⁹⁸ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

National identity and controversy in honours as a system of recognition

The changes made to the New Zealand honours system over the twentieth century reflect connections that have been perceived between honours and national identity, suggesting that honours have an important place, albeit a largely unexamined one, in New Zealand society. As uniquely New Zealand awards have been instituted, the balance between imperial British awards and national New Zealand awards has shifted, particularly with the establishment of the New Zealand Order of Merit in 1996. As an official award, honours have been viewed by politicians and the media in terms of New Zealand's independence and supposed national character. The cessation of recommendations for the British state orders of chivalry was linked by many commentators to New Zealand's place as an independent and maturing nation, while the removal of titles was discussed in terms of the egalitarianism and supposed classlessness that is so often seen as a part of New Zealand's national character as a new settler society. Those who argued for the retention of titles argued on the grounds of history, for the retention of a rich tradition, or on the grounds that titles gave a greater visibility and recognition to national heroes such as Edmund Hillary, and heroines such as Kiri Te Kanawa.

This last argument reveals the current explicit central purpose of honours, which is to be a means of rewarding and recognising those who have achieved highly, as well as those who have given significant service to society. In a recent review of the UK honours system, these two 'strands of contribution' were identified, and it was recommended that honours should be given when the service is of a level where the person concerned has 'gone the extra mile' or where the achievements have made them visible 'head and shoulders' above the others in their field.⁵⁹⁹ Dames and knights in New Zealand have contributed in both of these ways, and have been granted that most visible of honours, a title, to acknowledge these contributions. Indeed, the very visibility of a

⁵⁹⁹ Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, p. 5.

title was a factor in their removal, as there was concern that New Zealand's highest honour was devalued by the lustre of titles given below it.

Yet beyond the lustre of titles, the award of titular honours has sometimes been plagued with controversy and criticism, as has been the case with all honours. Undoubtedly, the royal honours system in the UK was not always administered in what would today be considered an honourable way. New Zealand, through reproducing the British honours system, has also experienced some criticism of its honours system in terms of process, although such criticism has been muted in comparison to that in the UK. As well, there has been a continuing problem of public uncertainty as to the workings of the system. One common error was that an OBE meant an Order of the British Empire, rather than an Officer. Similar problems continue under the new honours system, as people are unsure, for instance, what an MNZM is (Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit). David Baguley identified this uncertainty as an issue that still requires a solution.⁶⁰⁰ Indeed, as discussed in Chapter One, it has been suggested that the changes to the system, including the removal of titles, have increased this problem, making awards 'increasingly irrelevant' as people receive 'a conglomerate of confusing initials' to follow their name.⁶⁰¹ Baguley acknowledged that post-nominals, the letters after the name, are seldom used by New Zealanders, considering this 'a pity', since then 'no one knows they've got it'.⁶⁰² Even titles, despite being more visible than an honour signified solely by post-nominal letters, have sometimes suffered this lack of exposure, as is evident from the experiences of those who make little use of their title. Baguley suggested that New Zealanders' supposed modesty, and the so-called 'tall poppy' syndrome, whether a reality of the national psyche or a myth, render it more difficult to increase the profile of honours.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰⁰ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

⁶⁰¹ 'Honours should mean something', *Waikato Times*, 5 January 2004, p. 6.

⁶⁰² Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

As a system of national recognition, the royal honours system in New Zealand is likely to continue to be subject to criticisms relating to the distribution of honours as well as in relation to the honours themselves and the profile of the system. As Baguley pointed out, an individual award can always be debated; a follower of rugby, for instance, will view an honour granted to a player or coach with more satisfaction than will a non-follower. In his words, however, comparing recipients in terms of how deserving they may be is impossible, because it is ‘comparing apples and oranges’, and the dividing line between levels of honour is ‘grey’.⁶⁰⁴ Debate as to what should be the criteria for honours is equally fraught and subjective. While some in the UK have suggested that the frequent honouring of civil servants is justified by their receiving a smaller salary than those working in the private sector, others have argued that salaries have ‘improved’, that those in the voluntary sector receive even less, and that awards to civil servants should therefore be reduced.⁶⁰⁵ In New Zealand, some have also questioned the frequent award of honours to those in commerce and industry who are making money without seeming to serve the community.⁶⁰⁶

Even within an honours system where excellence and achievement in any field can be honoured, as was the case with the Order of the British Empire and is now with the New Zealand Order of Merit, difficulties remain. Some areas of work, for instance, may be more often nominated, perhaps by organisations that understand the system, and thus may appear more valued in society. Phyllis Guthardt identified a possible lack of public knowledge about the honours system and the nomination process, as something that impacts upon who is and who is not honoured. She herself received the title after the Canterbury Methodist Women’s Fellowship and the New Zealand Methodist Women’s

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ Public Administration Select Committee, paragraphs 50, 136, 146.

⁶⁰⁶ For instance: Fiona Kidman, quoted in Register, p. 15; Guthardt, interview with the author, 29 September 2004. Guthardt, however, noted that she might ‘underestimate ... the importance of business to New Zealand’. Ibid.

Fellowship had 'prepared, unknown to me, a folder ... that they presented'.⁶⁰⁷ Guthardt also suggested that feminist women who were aware of the system, in organisations such as the NCW and the NZFUW, may have been able to influence the honours system through the nominations that were sent to the committee, since a 'sufficient volume' of nominations would encourage greater equality in awards.⁶⁰⁸ Criticisms of honours, then, are in many ways subjective and difficult, yet they must be addressed, since if the honours system is to be an effective way of recognising achievement, it must be respected.

Equity, diversity and honours

One aspect of the honours system in New Zealand that has clearly needed examination is the level of equity evident in the distribution of honours, particularly in terms of the diversity, or lack thereof, of recipients. Today it is generally accepted that honours should be available to all who achieve very highly or who give valuable service to their local community or to the country. Diversity has not always been a feature of honours. Particularly in the UK, titular honours have been criticised in class terms, first because they were not being restricted to the nobility but were being given to those who had been commercially successful, and later because titles themselves were seen as inherently implying unwelcome class distinctions. Less attention has been paid to the position of ethnic minorities in honours, although recent reviews of honours in both New Zealand and the UK included some consideration of this issue. The committee reviewing honours in New Zealand sought Maori perspectives, and desired the creation of a system that 'reflects the cultural diversity of New Zealand and the Treaty partnership in which we operate'.⁶⁰⁹ Similarly, women's position in relation to honours, titular or otherwise, has rarely been considered, although the recent reviews of honours did consider women's

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 3-4. In the UK, consideration of the position of ethnic minorities in relation to honours appeared in: Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, pp. 6, 12, 41-42.

situation in the honours system, particularly in numerical terms.⁶¹⁰ The 1995 report of the committee reviewing honours in New Zealand discussed the grant of honours to women, concluding that there was still a divergence between awards to men and awards to women that required addressing.⁶¹¹ This thesis, while framed with an awareness of class and race difference in society and in the honours system, has focused on the patterns that are evident in relation to gender difference in the award of honours.

Clearly, women's participation in the royal honours system in New Zealand was very different to that of men; the distribution of honours in the twenty-first century has a legacy of inequality to overcome. This legacy of inequality is indicative of women's unequal, although changing, position in society. It is not merely numerical, as honours lists in New Zealand over the years since 1917 have also not included women at the same level or on the same terms as men. Not until 1917 did women have the right to receive a title in their own right, whilst men had been made knights for centuries; even then, entry to the oldest and most prestigious orders of chivalry was denied them until much later, the Order of the Garter finally allowing female membership in 1987. Women received honours in smaller numbers, particularly at the titular level, and remained excluded from the relatively common honour of Knight Bachelor when appointments to British honours ceased in 1996. Until 1970, the creation of a dame was a very rare event, having occurred a mere six times. The total number had increased merely to eleven by the end of 1979. Even during the 1980s and 1990s, after the second wave feminist movement had emphasised the value of supposedly female qualities and work, as well as campaigning for equal pay and equal opportunity, the number of dames created remained significantly less than the number of men made knights. In the one year when women did outnumber men among the recipients of honours overall, and when one list contained all dames and no new knights, there was comment on the sex bias. These comments on

⁶¹⁰ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, pp. 7-8, 56-57; Phillips, *Review of the Honours System*, pp. 5, 42.

⁶¹¹ Prime Minister's Honours Advisory Committee, p. 57.

the 1993 list clearly expose the assumed male norm of the honours system that persisted into the 1990s. Few mentions of any sex bias were apparent for other honours lists, although Dorothea Horsman, like Stella Casey, was quoted in an article written after she was made a dame stating that she considered honours should represent women equally with men, although women may often work in different areas.⁶¹²

Traditionalism and exceptionalism among dames

Ironically, although calls to increase female participation in honours have focused on community service and volunteer work, this area of activity was the area for which women were most frequently honoured with a title. Many dames had given their services to their community; they were involved in organisations concerned with women's affairs, children's concerns or patriotic work. Even those honoured for their work in traditionally male-dominated occupations had sometimes been concerned with women's or children's issues. Although the ideology of public and private spheres never matched reality so starkly as its rhetoric may have suggested, even in its nineteenth-century heyday in England, echoes of this ideology reverberated in the royal honours system in twentieth-century New Zealand in the predominance of supposedly women's sphere activities among dames. The honouring of women with titles, however, is replete with contrasts and contradictions, and a number of women were also made dames for their work in areas of activity that had been gendered masculine and dominated by men. These dames were often the 'firsts', venturing into areas where no woman had gone before, and their exceptional status was recognised with an award that made them exceptions twice over, women honoured with a title in their own right for work in traditionally male-dominated activities. While they may be seen as role models, and indeed sometimes themselves accepted that identity, because they were opening new paths for female achievement, their very exceptionalism made them difficult to emulate, even impossible, in the sense

⁶¹² R. Vincent, "Who is Dorothea Horsman?", *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 31 March 1986, p. 14; 'Dame protests lack of honours', p. 2.

that no other woman could ever be first. At the same time, the titles granted to these women exemplified tradition, as it was in areas such as government, law and industry that honours had most often been given during the twentieth century, and before. These areas had a much stronger precedent for the granting of honours than did community service, or women's affairs, for instance. The predominance of these areas in the careers of those granted titles reveals the gendered nature of the honours system, where traditionally male areas of work were recognised and rewarded more often than traditionally female areas of work.

Another irony of the grant of titles in twentieth-century New Zealand is that, while these exceptional dames who achieved 'firsts' retained the link to tradition in this way, those women who were the first dames were also often linked to tradition despite their particularly exceptional status as titled women in their own right. Many of the first dames were the wives of prominent men, either knighted themselves, or who had perhaps declined honours or died before they may have received an honour. These women might also be seen as role models, in that the Crown, through giving them such high, and rare, honours, endorsed and applauded their fulfilment of that imagined female role as 'helpmeet', wife, mother and community worker. Moreover, the threads of working in activities gendered feminine and of entering work traditionally gendered masculine were sometimes entwined together in one woman's life. For instance, Catherine Tizard's career in local politics began after her husband, a lecturer and MP, put her name forward for municipal elections in 1971. Her family responsibilities were combined with teaching and work on the council, and she became the first female Mayor of Auckland, and later the first female Governor-General of New Zealand. As well, she has been throughout a 'strong supporter of community, charitable, educational and women's causes'.⁶¹³

⁶¹³ *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, p. 11.

Conservatism and change in the honours system as an institution

The tension evident between the highly traditional nature of the honours system and women's fulfilment of roles perceived as feminine, and the exceptional status of a dame as a woman honoured in her own right and perhaps employed in an area perceived as masculine, is emblematic of the continuing tension between the persistence of old conventions and the acceptance of new practices in the honours system in general. Undoubtedly, the royal honours system has experienced a variety of immense changes since the medieval systems of knighthood, where a knight was a military horseman, particularly in the last three centuries. Change has been in a sense inevitable, as society itself shifted in vast ways. No institution exists in a vacuum, and the honours system is no exception; to survive, it has had to adapt, to accommodate and reflect changes in society if not completely match them. Such adaptation is evident in the establishment of new awards or new classes of award, and the increasing numbers of award possible according to statute. These increases were necessary in order to provide for the honouring of a wider range of people engaged in a wider range of activity, as English society grew more democratic, to accommodate the population increase that contributed to there being more people deemed deserving of honours, or to allow for the rewarding of many who were mobilised for war under the new conditions of total war between 1914 and 1918.⁶¹⁴ In relation to women's participation in honours, such adaptation is evident in the gradual inclusion of women into most honours over the twentieth century, as feminism, in both its waves, influenced society and its attitudes. These changes in the British honours system were replicated in the New Zealand honours system, at least until 1996. The increase in New Zealand in the number of women granted titular honours after 1980, and the concurrent decrease in their being honoured for their efforts as the wives of prominent men, also shows the influence of feminism as a movement that impacted upon societal attitudes by demanding change, and on women's experiences and opportunities,

⁶¹⁴ Pamm, *Honours and Rewards*, pp. 179, 188.

bringing considerable change to women's position in New Zealand society in 2000 from that in 1917. In wider terms, just as society's increasingly democratic nature was reflected in the expansion of honours and their opening to women, the increasing acceptance of diversity and multiculturalism of the late twentieth century was at least partially reflected in honours. Some recognition occurred of the need to ensure ethnic minorities as well as women were catered for in honours, and increasing numbers of awards were made for services to the arts, sport and community service.

However, alongside these trends of change, the honours system remained static in other ways, a conservative and traditional institution in a shifting society. Besides the traditionalism inherent in a system that includes the bestowal of a title that has been in existence since at least the twelfth century in England, the honours system has been an elite institution about which many members of the public know little, and which has retained aspects of class exclusivity throughout its existence, including in supposedly egalitarian New Zealand, although to a lesser extent. In New Zealand, it has been a system where a white norm was assumed as well as a male norm, where Maori who were honoured had often achieved in traditionally Pakeha ways. Perhaps the clearest evidence of the static nature of the honours system, however, was the continued predominance of certain areas of service in the careers of those who received titular honours in New Zealand between 1917 and 2000, particularly among the men. Law, politics, the civil service, commerce and industry were, throughout the period, the services most often honoured. Other bastions of masculinity, such as the military, medicine and academia, also featured throughout the period in the careers of those granted titles in New Zealand, although in smaller numbers. Honours were often granted in these areas to men of wealth and status, while areas such as women's voluntary work were overlooked. Despite the increase in titular honours given for services to the arts, to sport or to philanthropy and in the community, these traditionally honoured areas were not displaced by the time titles were removed from the New Zealand honours system.

Exceptionalism and conformity: complexities in the portrayal of dames

A similar disjunction to these tensions between traditionalism and exceptionalism, change and continuity, has been evident in the representation of dames in the popular media in New Zealand. Dames have been portrayed in terms of supposedly feminine attributes, as motherly, as compassionate nurturers, or as self-sacrificing and unassuming. Like many successful women, dames have been described in terms of their appearance, suggesting a continuation of a belief in female frivolity. On the other hand, many dames have also been depicted as formidable, determined, and even occasionally as unpleasant. These qualities have traditionally been deemed to be naturally masculine, although it is generally in relation to women that they have been at times seen as unpleasant qualities. Some dames even represented themselves in these ways in interviews with the media. Susan Devoy, for example, described herself in one interview as 'feisty' and 'impulsive', completely focused on her sport and on winning, while Whina Cooper described herself as a 'fighter'.⁶¹⁵ Images of dames therefore are complicated by the complicity of the women themselves in their construction.

The clear disjunction between conformity to traditional images of the feminine and the exceptional possession of qualities traditionally perceived as masculine suggests that dames have been victims of the same dualism that has plagued women visible in traditional history. Like the 'female kiwi icons' of Katie Pickles' study, these women have been either 'super-womanly' or 'honorary men'.⁶¹⁶ In the case of dames, as for the first female Prime Ministers and Presidents, these images were further complicated.⁶¹⁷ Women whose work was in the traditionally feminine sphere of community service were

⁶¹⁵ Legat, 'Face to Face: Susan Devoy', p. 76; L. Wilson, 'Fiery Whina Goes Home to Fight Again!' *Te Iwi o Aotearoa*, October 1988, p. 14. While men may have also constructed themselves in these ways, further study would be required to explore this, and the implications would be different, as it would be men representing themselves with qualities seen as masculine, and in the case of being a fighter, as particularly part of the New Zealand male identity.

⁶¹⁶ Pickles, 'Kiwi Icons', p. 13.

⁶¹⁷ On the first female Prime Ministers and Presidents, see Pickles, 'Exceptions to the Rule', op cit. As already discussed, constructions of female saints in Australasia were similarly complicated. Pickles, 'Colonial Sainthood in Australasia', p. 8.

sometimes still described as tenacious and strong. They were sufficiently exceptional as women to be honoured in a visible way for supposedly female work that has often been invisible. Women who entered traditionally male-dominated occupations were sometimes still described as compassionate and motherly; they were still feminine. Sian Elias, for instance, New Zealand's first female Chief Justice, was described by one colleague as exemplifying 'human family values that put a perhaps slightly softer face on what is sometimes seen as the unfeeling face of the law'.⁶¹⁸ The interaction of images of exceptionalism and of traditional femininity may be seen in descriptions of Dorothy Fraser after she received her honour. She was written of as determined and 'extraordinary', but at the same time 'comfortingly ordinary', not 'flamboyant' or 'quiver[ing] with fervour'.⁶¹⁹

Gender identities, success and honours in the twenty-first century

Women's history has often focused on feminist women and their organisations, or on women whose everyday lives were invisible in traditional history, 'hidden from history'.⁶²⁰ To a limited extent, dames have been included in these histories, where they have been part of organisations such as the NCW. A number of dames have been part of that organisation, and many have been involved in work for women and children, and in community service organisations. As titled women who have been recognised for their work, dames have occasionally been the subjects of biographical work; most dames, however, have not. The focus on the recovery of women who have traditionally been invisible in history is one explanation for the lack of study of the lives of women who became dames. This thesis has made a contribution to women's history, recovering the work and experiences of women who were recognised for their achievements, who

⁶¹⁸ C. Du Chateau, 'Extraordinary judge, ordinary cares', *New Zealand Herald*, 24 March 1999, accessed from Factiva.

⁶¹⁹ G. Bowman, "We must leave the world a better place", *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, 23 May 1988, p. 70.

⁶²⁰ The phrase is from the title of Sheila Rowbotham's classic work. S. Rowbotham, *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It*, 3rd ed. (London, 1977).

contributed both in traditionally feminine areas of work and in breaking down barriers to women's participation in other areas that remained masculine domains for much longer. In doing so, it has suggested disjunctions and complications in the dualisms between ideals and areas of work perceived as masculine and feminine.

This thesis has also addressed the lack of work on the New Zealand honours system, which has been studied little, and the need for a collective examination of recipients of honours in New Zealand. If these men and women are models of what was considered success in New Zealand society, if the honours system has reflected society, the study of titular honours and their recipients is a critical one. The frequent honouring of women involved in community service and voluntary work, for instance, reveals an underlying continuity in attitudes to women's roles and work. In professions such as nursing and teaching, that became 'feminised profession[s]', women were not often honoured at the titular level; in community service work, also seen as a female area, but one with less financial reward, titles were given to women. This pattern continued in the 1980s and 1990s, suggesting that women are considered worthy of the highest honours when fulfilling that traditional role, their caring mission, giving of themselves outside of a profession. Not all dames were active in these areas; however, those who were not were often succeeding in traditionally masculine fields, or at male-dominated levels of their field. They were exceptional, the first women in particular roles, and, equally importantly, they often succeeded in areas where there was a strong precedent for honours.

The tension between these two major models of female success, the fulfilment of supposedly feminine ideals and the achievement of a first in an occupation deemed masculine, was linked to a tension between the changing context in which women lived over the twentieth century and the continuation of traditional images of the feminine and patterns of female experience in their lives. In the late twentieth century, many more women, including married women, worked in paid employment than in the early years of

the century. Women had gained political rights, and had held many of the major roles in the country's government, including Attorney-General, Chief Justice, Prime Minister and Governor-General. In Katie Pickles' words, women at the end of the century filled roles 'unimaginable' in the past.⁶²¹ These changes had other consequences as well. For instance, mothers in paid work had less time to give to community service and volunteer work, with '[t]he age of the professional volunteer ... largely drawing to a close'.⁶²² As well, for women who juggled family responsibilities and paid work, often doing part-time work, the opportunities for advancing in their professional life were often almost as limited as their opportunities for giving their time in community service work. In the changing context in which women live their lives at the start of the twenty-first century, how will women's experiences of the honours system in New Zealand shift? Although titles are no longer granted in New Zealand, honours continue to be bestowed at a variety of levels. If women are to reach a position of equality in honours, receiving equal numbers of awards on equal terms, shifts in society must continue to be filtered through into the honours system. Just as the numbers of women granted titular honours increased as second wave feminism gave women's affairs greater visibility and influence, women's changing position in relation to paid employment, community service and high level positions in employment must be reflected in a greater diversity in awards of honours to women. Women who work their way upward in their chosen career, through difficulties and obstacles, may be worthy of honours. Women who give their time and energy to community organisations in a genuine desire to improve others' lives may be rewarded. What of those women who juggle career and community work in the belief that both are equally important? Or the single mother who works long hours to both earn money to keep her children and to ensure they have a loving and secure home environment, and who also attempts to be available to help neighbours and friends?

⁶²¹ Pickles, 'Introduction', p. xii.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

David Baguley viewed those receiving the lower awards such as the QSM or the MNZM, who had served their community for years with ‘no reward’, as the ‘backbone’ of society.⁶²³ Yet those who fulfil important public service or judicial roles particularly well, whose commercial and industrial enterprises contribute to New Zealand’s economy, whose artistic endeavours open New Zealanders’ eyes to new ideas or whose sporting success inspires others may also be considered to play a crucial role in New Zealand society and deserve recognition. In all these questions of who should receive honours, it is clear that gender is heavily implicated, if often unexamined. Periodically, calls have been made to value women’s community service more, and to nominate and honour more women who quietly work in these areas. Such calls, however, continue to view community service as a part of a supposed female caring mission. If gender is, as Judith Butler has argued, ‘performative’, then perhaps it is time to move beyond dualisms where particular areas of endeavour are seen as peculiarly linked to one gender, and traits considered natural to that gender. If ‘the action of gender requires a performance that is repeated’, and if ‘gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylised repetition of acts’, then perhaps there are ways in which the granting of royal honours, titular or otherwise, can destabilise binary conceptions of gender identity.⁶²⁴ Disjunctions in the honouring of women, like those visible in the grant of titles to women in New Zealand between 1917 and 2000, must be accepted as complicating factors in the discourses surrounding concepts of success and of gender. Ideas of what constitutes success worthy of recognition, feminine or masculine, must also be widened, transgressed and challenged, and dualisms complicated, as women’s

⁶²³ Baguley, interview with the author, 11 May 2004. Indeed, according to Townsend’s earlier case study of honours, awards for community services formed a larger proportion of the total in the grant of lower awards than in the grant of titular honours. Townsend, pp. 45-46.

⁶²⁴ J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London, 1990), pp. 139-141, original emphasis removed. Indeed, Judith Butler’s most recent book, *Undoing Gender*, is a collection of essays considering ‘what it might mean to undo restrictively normative conceptions of sexual and gendered life’, and examining the ‘experience of *becoming undone*’ both in ways that allow and that hinder living a ‘livable life’. J. Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York and London, 2004), p. 1; original emphasis.

situations continue to change. Although titles have been removed from the honours system, replaced with less visible awards, the system of honours remains, and if it is to be an effective way of recognising and inspiring New Zealanders, these issues should not be ignored. Honours must be available in a flexible way to women and men regardless of gender, class or race, to public figures who visibly contribute to New Zealand or internationally, and also to those whose contribution is much less visible and much more local, but which makes New Zealand society richer.

Appendix One:

Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000

Honours awarded in New Zealand, 1917-2000

Table One: Knighthoods announced in the *New Zealand Gazette*, 1917-2000, by type of award

		Type of award												
		Kt	KG	GCB	KCB	GCVO	KCVO	GCMG	KCMG	GBE	KBE	GNZM	KNZM	Total
	1917-1919	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	10
	1920-1929	29	0	0	0	0	3	2	4	0	5	0	0	43
	1930-1939	27	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	0	8	0	0	43
	1940-1949	10	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	13	0	0	27
Decade	1950-1959	25	0	1	0	1	2	0	7	0	15	0	0	51
	1960-1969	21	0	0	1	1	2	1	3	0	16	0	0	45
	1970-1979	40	0	0	0	2	1	1	7	3	28	0	0	82
	1980-1989	59	1	0	0	2	0	3	3	1	22	0	0	91
	1990-1999	32	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	5	2	18	62
	2000-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
	Total	250	2	1	4	6	9	11	33	5	113	2	22	458

Table Two: Damehoods announced in the *New Zealand Gazette*, 1917-2000, by type of award

		Type of Award								Total
		GCVO	DCVO	GCMG	DCMG	GBE	DBE	GNZM	DNZM	
	<i>1917-1919</i>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	<i>1920-1929</i>	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	<i>1930-1939</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Decade	1940-1949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>1950-1959</i>	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
	<i>1960-1969</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	<i>1970-1979</i>	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
	<i>1980-1989</i>	0	0	0	2	0	13	0	0	15
	<i>1990-1999</i>	1	0	1	0	0	20	1	8	31
	<i>2000-</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	1	0	1	2	3	41	1	9	58

Table Three: Companionships and Commanderships announced in the *New Zealand Gazette*, 1917-2000, by type of award

		Type of award										
		CB		CMG		CVO		CBE		CNZM		Total
		men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	
	1917-1919	0	0	7	0	0	0	36	8	0	0	51
	1920-1929	2	0	27	0	1	0	12	1	0	0	43
	1930-1939	3	0	34	0	1	0	22	3	0	0	63
	1940-1949	12	0	19	0	0	0	56	3	0	0	90
Decade	1950-1959	7	0	29	0	4	0	92	3	0	0	135
	1960-1969	6	0	35	0	2	0	84	1	0	0	128
	1970-1979	13	0	45	3	6	0	126	9	0	0	202
	1980-1989	13	0	49	2	2	0	130	30	0	0	226
	1990-1999	8	0	21	2	3	2	81	37	54	32	240
	2000-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	4	13
	Total	64	0	266	7	19	2	639	95	63	36	1191

Table Four: Awards of honours of the fourth class announced in the *New Zealand Gazette*, 1917-2000, by type of award*

		Type of award						Total
		LVO/MVO 4th		OBE		ONZM		
		men	women	men	women	men	women	
	1917-1919	0	0	51	24	0	0	75
	1920-1929	9	0	3	1	0	0	13
	1930-1939	1	0	25	13	0	0	39
	1940-1949	0	0	192	25	0	0	217
Decade	1950-1959	2	0	240	23	0	0	265
	1960-1969	3	0	215	16	0	0	234
	1970-1979	16	0	325	44	0	0	385
	1980-1989	3	1	358	45	0	0	407
	1990-1999	6	0	179	63	114	57	419
	2000-	0	0	0	0	17	7	24
	Total	40	1	1588	254	131	64	2078

* Excludes the QSO, the Queen's Service Order. See separate table.

Table Five: Awards of honours of the fifth class announced in the *New Zealand Gazette*, 1917-2000, by type of award

		Type of award						Total
		MVO (5th)		MBE		MNZM		
		men	women	men	women	men	women	
	1917-1919	0	0	72	97	0	0	169
	1920-1929	2	0	1	2	0	0	5
	1930-1939	1	0	24	31	0	0	56
	1940-1949	0	0	283	127	0	0	410
Decade	1950-1959	11	1	346	158	0	0	516
	1960-1969	4	0	326	103	0	0	433
	1970-1979	14	2	490	124	0	0	630
	1980-1989	5	3	496	115	0	0	619
	1990-1999	7	0	249	112	203	97	668
	2000-	0	0	0	0	31	15	46
	Total	44	6	2287	869	234	112	3552

Table Six: Awards of the Queen’s Service Order and Medal announced in the *New Zealand Gazette*, June 1975-January 2000, inclusive

	Men	Percent	Women	Percent	Total
QSO					
- community service	144	50.0	144	50.0	288
- public service	349	79.7	89	20.3	438
QSM					
- community service	607	41.3	864	58.7	1471
- public service	860	63.7	490	36.3	1350

Notes on tables:

Figures given for a period of less than a decade are in italics.

Where an award is made in both a military and a civil division, both divisions are included in the figure given.

Awards are not necessarily given in order of precedence.

The sex of recipients was determined according to name and title (such as Miss); women appear to have been referred to as Miss, Mrs or Ms, while male recipients were not always referred to as Mr.

Percentages are rounded to one decimal place.

Key

Kt	Knight Bachelor	Not an order
KG	Knight of the Garter	Class 1
GCB	Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath	Class 1
KCB	Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath	Class 2
CB	Companion of the Order of the Bath	Class 3
GCVO	Knight or Dame Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order	Class 1
KCVO	Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order	Class 2
DCVO	Dame Commander of the Royal Victorian Order	Class 2
CVO	Commander of the Royal Victorian Order	Class 3
LVO/MVO (4 th)	Lieutenant of the Royal Victorian Order/Member of the Royal Victorian Order (4 th class)	Class 4
MVO (5 th)	Member of the Royal Victorian Order (5 th class)	Class 5

GCMG	Knight or Dame Grand Cross of the Order of St Michael and St George	Class 1
KCMG	Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George	Class 2
DCMG	Dame Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George	Class 2
CMG	Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George	Class 3
GBE	Knight or Dame Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire	Class 1
KBE	Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire	Class 2
DBE	Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire	Class 2
CBE	Commander of the Order of the British Empire	Class 3
OBE	Officer of the Order of the British Empire	Class 4
MBE	Member of the Order of the British Empire	Class 5
GNZM	Knight or Dame Grand Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit	Class 1
KNZM	Knight Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit	Class 2
DNZM	Dame Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit	Class 2
CNZM	Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit	Class 3
ONZM	Officer of the New Zealand Order of Merit	Class 4
MNZM	Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit	Class 5
QSO	Companion of the Queen's Service Order (divided into community service and public service)	Class 4
QSM	Queen's Service Medal (divided into community service and public service)	Class 6

Source

Tables compiled from honours lists published in the *New Zealand Gazette*, 1917-2000.

Appendix Two:

Database of titular honours, 1917-2000

Database of titular honours, 1917-2000

Knights

Knight	Year of Honour	Type of Award	Main areas of work	Category of service
James Allen	1917	KCB	MHR 1887-1920; Minister of the Crown 1912-1920; Acting PM; High Commissioner for NZ in the UK 1920-1926; NZ representative on the League of Nations; VC and chancellor University of Otago; member UNZ Senate.	Public - national
John Denniston	1917	Kt	Supreme Court Judge 1889-1919.	Legal
William Fraser	1918	Kt	Otago Provincial CI 1867-1870; chair County CI 1883-1893; MP 1893-1919; MLC 1919-1923; Minister of Mines in NZ Cabinet, appt 1912; also Minister of Public Works, Industries and Commerce; took up Earnsclough Station.	Public – local; public – national
John Sinclair	1918	Kt	MLC 1907 until at least 1925; barrister and solicitor; notary public; company director, incl of Otago Daily Times Co, Mosgiel Woollen Co and Executors and Agency Co; Otago HS board of governors, incl 8 yrs as chair.	Public – national; business
Lord Plunkett	1918	KBE	Governor of NZ, 1904-1910.	Public - national
Charles Johnston	1918	Kt	MP 1881-1887; MLC 1891-1918; Speaker of the House 1915-1918; a director and chair of Wellington Woollen Co.	Public - national
John Salmond	1918	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court.	Legal
Worley Edwards	1919	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court, 1896-1921.	Legal
Joseph Kinsey	1919	Kt	Of Kinsey, Barnes and Co, shipping agents; acted as agent for Scott's Antarctic expeditions.	Business
The Earl of Liverpool (Arthur William de Brito Savile)	1919	GBE	Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Dominion, 1917-1920.	Public - national
William Herries	1920	KCMG	MP 1896 until at least 1921; Minister of the Crown many years, incl of Native Affairs, Railways, Labour, Marine and Customs.	Public - national
Heaton Rhodes	1920	KBE	MP 1899-1925, Minister of the Crown 1912-1925, incl of Public Health, Defence; PMG; appt MLC in 1925; Minister in Attendance, Royal Tour 1927; farmer and horticulturalist; president Philatelic Society of NZ;	Public – national; community

			benefactor, incl to Canterbury Museum; Canterbury University College Cl; board of directors Christchurch Press Co; gave land for school; chair board of directors Rhodes Convalescent Home; and more.	
George Fenwick	1920	Kt	Newspaper editor and owner, incl <i>Otago Daily Times</i> (ed. 1890-1909), and setting up <i>Cromwell Argus</i> ; NZ Press Assn and United Press Assn; company director; involved Otago SPCA and in raising funds for Hocken Library, a hospital ward, and more.	Business; community
John Roberts	1920	Kt	Company director, incl Union Steam Ship Co, Donaghy's Rope and Twine Co; Mayor Dunedin 1889; chair Taieri County Cl; president NZ and South Seas Exhibition 1889-90; member Cl of Otago University 1885-1921; on Otago Harbour Bd; chamber of commerce; involved royal commissions, incl on federation in 1901. Son of Sir John Roberts.	Business; public – national; public – local
Theophilus Cooper	1921	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court of NZ, 1901-1921.	Legal
George Hunter	1921	Kt	MP for Waipawa, 1896-1899 and 1911 until at least 1925; farmer; benefactor.	Public - national
Edwin Mitchelson	1921	KCMG	MP 1881-1896; Minister of the Crown 1883-1884, 1887-1891, incl Public Works, Native Affairs; PMG; Mayor of Auckland 1903-1905; MLC 1920-1934; chair Harbour Bd; University Coll Cl.	Public – national; public – local
John Luke	1921	Kt	Formerly Mayor of Wellington 1913-1921; MP, incl 1918-1928; Wellington City Cl 1898-1911; member Hospital Bd; involved in business, S Luke and Sons; president NZ Engineers' and Ironmasters Assn.	Public – local; public – national
Donald McGavin	1921	Kt	Director-General of Medical Services, NZ Military Forces, 1919-1923; honorary surgeon Wellington Hospital; honorary surgeon to Governor-General.	Medical; military
Edward Chaytor	1921	KCVO	Commandant, NZ Military Forces (GOC), 1919-1924.	Military; personal to sovereign
William Fraser	1921	KCVO	Minister of Mines in NZ Cabinet; as above.	Public – national; personal to sovereign
James Coates	1922	Kt	General Manager, National Bank of NZ, 1893-1914; wartime relief committees; company director, incl Guardian Trust and Executors Co.	Business; war/patriotic work
John Ross	1922	Kt	Chair Ross and Glendining Ltd; on Cl of Otago University.	Business
Maui Pomare	1922	KBE - C	Maori health officer; MP 1911 until at least 1928; Minister of the Cook Is 1916-1928; Minister of Health 1923-1926; encouraged Maori recruitment World War One; set up commission on land confiscation with Apirana Ngata.	Maori; public – national

Walter Carncross	1922	Kt	Speaker of Legislative Council, elected 1918; MLC, appt 1903, chair of committees 1910-1918; MP 1890-1902; editor and proprietor <i>Eltham Argus</i> .	Public - national
Francis Bell	1923	GCMG	Lawyer, partner, Crown solicitor 1878-1911, president NZLS 1901-1918, A-G; Mayor Wellington 1891, 1892 and 1897; MP 1893-1896; Minister of the Crown; MLC, appt 1912; son of Sir Francis Dillon Bell.	Legal; public – national
Harold Beauchamp	1923	Kt	Chair and director, Bank of New Zealand; company director; member Wellington Harbour Bd; member royal commission on federation 1901.	Business
George Elliot	1923	Kt	Chair, Bank of New Zealand; company director; member of royal commissions.	Business
Robert Nolan	1923	KBE	Established prosperous business; manager soldiers' club; official of NZ War Contingent World War One (London); chair Hawera Gas Co; director permanent building society.	Business; war/patriotic work
Frederick Chapman	1923	Kt	Judge of Supreme Court, 1903, 1907-1921; Judge of Court of Arbitration, 1903-1907.	Legal
Arthur Myers	1924	Kt	Mayor of Auckland, elected 1905; MP 1911-21, Minister of the Crown, incl of Customs; generous benefactor, incl of land for park; involved in business.	Public – national; public – local; community
Lindo Ferguson	1924	Kt	Dean of Faculty of Medicine, Otago University 1914-1936; ophthalmologist at Dunedin Hospital 1884-1935; patron of the arts and gave basis of Ferguson Fund scholarship.	Medical; academic
William Sim	1924	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court of NZ , 1911 until at least 1925.	Legal
James Gunson	1924	Kt	Mayor of the City of Auckland , 1915-1925; president Auckland Chamber of Commerce; chair Harbour Bd; company director, incl NZ Insurance Co; involved in Red Cross, Order of St John and other organisations.	Public – local
George Richardson	1925	KBE - C	GOC Administration in NZ, 1919-1923; Administrator in Western Samoa, 1923-1928.	Public – national; war/patriotic work
John Hosking	1925	Kt	Judge of Supreme Court.	Legal
Henry Brett	1926	Kt	Newspaper proprietor for over 50 years, formed Brett Printing and Publishing Co; director United Press Assn; Mayor of Auckland 1877-1878; harbour board, and more.	Business
Henry Wigram	1926	Kt	Formed Canterbury (NZ) Aviation Co, 1916; founded Canterbury (NZ) Seed Co; Mayor of Christchurch 1902-1904; MLC, appt 1903; president Canterbury Chamber of Commerce 1911-1913.	Business
Alexander Roberts	1926	KBE - C	Company director, incl Wellington Meat Export Co; involved chamber	Business; public – national

			of commerce; NZ commissioner to British Empire Exhibition 1924-1925, Wembley, 1924-1925; son of Sir John Roberts.	
Charles Holdsworth	1926	Kt	Managing Director of the Union Steam Ship Co of NZ (Ltd), 1914-1930.	Business
Charles Statham	1926	Kt	Speaker of the House of Representatives; MP 1911-1935.	Public - national
James Allen	1926	GCMG	As above.	Public – national
Heaton Rhodes	1927	KCVO	As above.	Personal to sovereign; public - national
Charles Skerrett	1927	KCMG	Chief Justice of NZ, appt 1926.	Legal
Robert Maclean	1927	Kt	Bred animals, Maraekakaho station; chair Hawkes Bay County Cl; prominent Navy League; chair NZ War Contingent Assn; involved Charitable Aid Bd, Road Bd and more; MP 1896-1899; company director; member various societies; son of Sir Donald Maclean.	Public – local; agriculture; war/patriotic work
Apirana Ngata	1927	Kt	MP 1905-1943; Minister of the Crown, Native Affairs; much involved in land reform, Maori health reform, Maori social and economic reform, sport, arts and culture; involved Maori war effort WW1	Maori; public – national
Louis Barnett	1927	Kt	Surgeon; became professor of surgery 1909; retired from University of Otago 1924; part of founding College of Surgeons of Australasia; research; editor <i>New Zealand Medical Journal</i> 1893-1900; benefactor to University of Otago Medical School.	Medical; academic
Walter Stringer	1928	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court, 1914-1925.	Legal
George Fowlds	1928	Kt	MP 1899-1911; Minister of the Crown, incl Education, Public Health, 1906-1911; benefactor and involved patriotic work World War One.	Public – national
William Nosworthy	1929	KCMG	MP 1908-1928; Minister of the Crown 1919-1928, incl Immigration, External Affairs, Agriculture; PMG 1926-1928.	Public – national
Carrick Robertson	1929	Kt	Surgeon and medical lecturer; pioneer in surgery in NZ, founding fellow College of Surgeons of Australasia.	Medical; academic
Alexander Herdman	1929	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court; MP; Minister of the Crown 1908-1918, incl of Justice; Attorney-General 1912-1918.	Legal
Henry Buckleton	1929	Kt	General Manager of the Bank of NZ, appt 1919 (joined BNZ, Sydney, 1878).	Business
Joseph Ward	1930	GCMG	Prime Minister; MP; Minister of the Crown for 23 and a half years, incl Public Health, Finance; Leader of the Opposition; PMG.	Public - national
Michael Myers	1930	KCMG	Chief Justice, appointed 1929, retired 1946.	Legal
Thomas Sidey	1930	Kt	Attorney-General; MP 1901-1928; Minister of the Crown, incl of Justice; MLC; Mayor of Caversham 1894, 1899, 1901; Otago BHS and	Legal; public – national

			GHS boards.	
Thomas Wilford	1930	KCMG	High Commissioner for NZ in London ; NZ representative at League of Nations; MP 1899-1929; Minister of the Crown, incl of Justice; Leader of Liberals 1920-1925 Mayor of Wellington 1910-1911; member Wellington Harbour Bd; active in business.	Public - national
Alfred Bankart	1930	Kt	Company chair, incl. Campbell and Ehrenfried Co, NZ Breweries Ltd, NZ Insurance Co, Bankart Bros. Ltd, and others; Auckland Harbour Bd; Drainage Bd; Transport Bd.	Business
Arthur Dobson	1931	Kt	Surveying and engineering; city engineer Christchurch 1901; founded Midland Railway Co with father; discoverer of Arthur's Pass.	Professions
Cecil Leys	1931	Kt	Newspaper editor, managing director; involved NZ Newspapers Ltd; director United Press Assn; delegate to Empire Press Conference 1925; pres Leys Institute; member council Auckland Institute and Museum.	Business; community service
William Hunt	1932	Kt	Company chair and director, incl chair Wright Stephenson and Co; public boards and committees, incl chair Public Service Commission 1912; station manager; member Southland A and P Assn.	Business; public – national; agriculture
Cecil Day	1932	Kt	Official Secretary to His Excellency the Governor-General , 1912-1936.	Public - national
Alexander Gray	1933	Kt	Barrister and solicitor; founded firm; president NZLS; involved legal committees.	Legal
William Perry	1933	Kt	Sheepfarmer and breeder; involved Farmers' Union, Meat Control Bd, and more; published on sheepfarming; Massey Coll Cl; 16 yrs chair Wairarapa County Cl.	Agriculture
Stephen Allen	1933	KBE - C	Administrator to Western Samoa 1928-1931; honorary ADC to Governor-General 1925-1928; Mayor of Morrinsville 1927; lawyer; involved in business, incl Cargill Publishing Co.	Public – national; public – local
Hugh Acland	1933	Kt	Surgeon and founding fellow College of Surgeons of Australasia; chair Peel Forest Bd.	Medical
William Sinclair-Burgess	1934	Kt	Aide-de-Camp to the King, General Officer Commanding NZ Military Forces; General Officer Commanding NZ Military Forces.	Military
James Grose	1934	Kt	Manager of the National Bank of NZ (general manager 1928-1937).	Business
Robert Anderson	1934	Kt	Company chair and director, incl JG Ward and Co, NZ Milk Products Ltd, Nestle and Anglo-Swiss Milk Co, and more; Director Bank of NZ 1930-1935.	Business
George Wilson	1934	Kt	In business – Wilson and Canham, involved in trade with Canada; benefactor, incl to YWCA and Auckland war memorial fund; Auckland	Business; community; war/patriotic work

			Patriotic Assn; responsible for instituting funds contributing to welfare of soldiers overseas; director NZ Insurance Co.	
Clutha MacKenzie	1935	Kt	Director of the NZ Institute for the Blind.	Community
Percy Sargood	1935	Kt	Director of Sargood, Son and Ewen; benefactor and supporter of many organisations (community, patriotic, charity). Son of Sir Frederick Sargood.	Business; community
Alexander Young	1935	KCVO	Minister in Attendance ; MP 1911-1935; Minister of the Crown, incl of Health; chair Native Affairs commission; 3 times mayor; chair Hospital Bd.	Personal to sovereign; public – national; public – local
Christopher Parr	1935	GCMG	High Commissioner for NZ in London 1926-1929 and 1933-1936; Mayor of Auckland; MP, 1914-1925; Minister of the Crown, incl Public Health, Education, Justice; PMG; MLC; involved Auckland Harbour Bd, Education Bd and more.	Public – national; public – local
Alfred Ransom	1935	KCMG	Minister of Lands ; Mayor of Dannevirke 1910-1919; first elected MP 1922; Minister of the Crown, incl of Public Works; acting PM at times; involved in business; president Dannevirke Chamber of Commerce; chair Fire Bd 1911-1920, and more.	Public – national; public – local
Francis Frazer	1935	Kt	Formerly a Judge of the Court of Arbitration , appt 1921.	Legal
Henry Horton	1935	Kt	Managing director <i>NZ Herald</i> and <i>Auckland Weekly News</i> ; company director and chair, incl NZ Insurance Co.	Business
Herbert Hart	1935	KBE	Administrator of Western Samoa 1931-1935.	Public – national
George Shirtcliffe	1936	KBE - C	Manager, chair A S Paterson and Co; Wellington City CI 1907-1913; founded a scholarship; chair CI of Scientific and Industrial Research 1927-1935.	Business; public – national
William Sinclair-Burgess	1935	KBE - M	As above.	Military
James Hutchison	1936	Kt	Editor of <i>Otago Daily Times</i> (since 1909); connected with journalism for 56 years	Business
John Reed	1936	Kt	Senior Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand appt puisne judge 1921; Judge Advocate General 1911; acting Chief Justice 1936.	Legal
James Elliott	1936	Kt	Surgeon; foundation fellow College of Surgeons of Australasia; editor <i>New Zealand Medical Journal</i> 1911-1933; published.	Medical; academic
George Troup	1937	Kt	Mayor of Wellington 1927-31; member board of National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum; 39 year career with NZ Railways.	Public – local; professions
George Harper	1937	Kt	Lawyer, partner; member board of governors Christ's College 1900-; chair Metropolitan Relief Assn.	Community

Algernon Thomas	1937	KCMG	Professor Emeritus, Auckland University College; professor of natural science; Senate of UNZ; Auckland University Coll Cl; chair Auckland Grammar School board; researcher.	Academic
Ernest Davis	1937	Kt	Mayor of Auckland, 1935-1941; company director, incl Hancock and Co; involved formation NZ Breweries Ltd; on various social bodies and boards, incl Auckland Harbour Bd.	Public – local
Charles Norwood	1937	Kt	Company chair and director, incl CB Norwood Ltd, Dominion Motors, and more; mayor of Wellington 1925-1927; chair Harbour Bd, Fire Board; president Wellington Manufacturers' Assn, Chamber of Commerce, and more; member board of trustees NZ Crippled Children Society.	Business; public – local
Michael Myers	1937	GCMG	As above.	Legal
Theodore Rigg	1938	KBE - C	Director, Cawthron Institute, 1933-; research; scientific societies; member Cl of Scientific and Industrial Research 1926-1954.	Academic
Thomas Easterfield	1938	KBE - C	Chair of chemistry and physics, Victoria University Coll, appt 1899; research; published; first director Cawthron Institute, appt 1919; Professor Emeritus.	Academic
Albert Ellis	1938	Kt	Mining manager Pacific Phosphate Co; company director; phosphate commissioner for New Zealand; published.	Business; agriculture
Henry Ostler	1939	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court of NZ 1925-1943.	Legal
Charles Luke	1939	Kt	Mayor of Wellington 1895; MLC, appt 1907; member of executive NZ Exhibition 1885; chair Wellington Hospital Bd several years; 6 yrs chair Wellington Chamber of Commerce, and more; involved in Young Men's Christian Assn, Wellington Free Ambulance Assn; involved S Luke and Sons; brother of Sir John Luke (Kt 1921).	Public – local; public – national; community
William Benham	1939	KBE - C	Professor Emeritus, Otago University Coll; zoologist; professor of biology; UNZ Senate; published.	Academic
Thomas Hunter	1939	KBE - C	Professor Victoria University Coll; important in developing experimental psychology; VC UNZ 1929-1947; UNZ Senate; involved adult education, incl WEA.	Academic
John Duigan	1940	KBE - M	Chief of the General Staff, NZ Military Forces; earlier military command positions.	Military
<i>B Freyberg</i>	<i>1944</i>	<i>Additional KBE - M</i>	<i>Military commands, incl 2NZEF, 2nd NZ Div. Later, Governor-General.</i>	<i>Military</i>
Carl Berendsen	1946	KCMG	NZ Minister at Washington, 1944-1948; high commissioner to Australia, 1943-1944; Secretary Dept External Affairs 1928-1943.	Public - national

Alfred Turnbull	1946	KBE - C	Administrator of Western Samoa 1935-1946.	Public - national
Archibald Blair	1946	Kt	Judge of Supreme Court, 1928-1948.	Legal
James Fletcher	1946	Kt	Company chair, incl of construction company involved in state housing and defence construction during World War Two (became Fletcher Challenge).	Business; war/patriotic work
William Perry	1946	Kt	President NZRSA 1935-1943; barrister, solicitor; MLC, Minister Armed Forces & War Coordination in 1940s; patriotic organisations, incl president NZ Defence League; chair NZ Breweries.	War/patriotic work; public – national
Edward Puttick	1946	KCB - M	General Officer Commanding, NZ Military Forces, 1941-1945; other command military positions.	Military
Leonard Isitt	1946	KBE - M	Chief of the Air Staff, Air Officer Commanding, RNZAF, 1943-1946; military command positions.	Military
Fred Bowerbank	1946	KBE - M	Director-General NZ Medical Services (Army and Air).	Military; medical
Peter Buck	1946	KCMG	Director of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, appt 1936; involved in medicine, and Maori health; MP briefly; work in anthropology.	Academic; Maori; medical
John Brown	1946	KBE - C	Professor of Classics, Victoria Univeristy Coll; FNZIA; UNZ Senate; VC 1923-1926; published.	Academic
Cecil Whitney	1946	Kt	Managing director and company chair, incl Whitney and Sons (became Colonial Ammunition).	Business
Humphrey O'Leary	1947	KCMG	Chief Justice of NZ, for 7 years from 1946.	Legal
James Hight	1947	KBE - C	Professor of history and political science 1919-1948 Canterbury University Coll; UNZ Senate 36 years; pro-chancellor for 10 years.	Academic
Charles Hercus	1947	Kt	Professor of public health and bacteriology (University of Otago Medical School); Dean of Medical School, elected 1937; research; surgeon.	Medical; academic
Thomas Hunter	1947	KBE - C	Founder and first director of the State Dental Service for School Children; director of Division of Dental Hygiene, Dept Health.	Medical
Harold Johnston	1947	Kt	Former Judge of the Supreme Court, and of the Court of Appeal, 1934-1947; son of Sir Charles Johnston (1918 Kt)	Legal
Joseph Dawson	1948	KBE - C	Professor of Midwifery and Gynaecology at the University of Otago, 1931 or 1932 until 1950; research.	Medical; academic
David Smith	1948	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court of NZ, 1928-1948; president Crippled Children's Society 1935-1939; chancellor UNZ 1945-1961.	Legal
Howard Kippenberger	1948	KBE - C	Editor-in-Chief, NZ War Histories (23 volumes produced under his leadership); president NZRSA; barrister and solicitor; command positions in military.	Academic; war/patriotic work
Donald Cameron	1948	Kt	Mayor of Dunedin, first elected 1944-; City Cl, elected 1935; member	Public – local

			Otago Education Bd and University Cl, and more; director Reid and Gray.	
Norman Weir	1948	KBE - M	Chief of the General Staff, NZ Military Forces, 1946-.	Military
Arthur Donnelly	1949	KBE - C	Director, Bank of NZ 1935-, chair 1937-; company director, incl NZ Newspapers, NZ Breweries; Crown solicitor; involved NZ Cricket Cl; stabilisation commission.	Business; legal
Robert Kennedy	1949	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court, 1929-1950.	Legal
James Shelley	1949	KBE - C	Lecturer, incl on art history, Canterbury University Coll; founding director of broadcasting; founded <i>New Zealand Listener</i> ; involved WEA courses; important in dramatic circles, incl founded Canterbury Repertory Society; involved in founding NZSO.	Academic; business; arts
Joseph Heenan	1949	KBE - C	Dept Internal Affairs, including nearly 14 years at its helm; CEO NZ centennial celebrations; royal commissions; involved sporting bodies, incl New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Games Assn.	Public – national
Erima Northcroft	1949	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court, appt 1935; judge advocate general 1933-1935; NZ judge on International Military Tribunal for the Far East.	Legal
John McKenzie	1950	KBE - C	In business, incl McKenzies; supported charities, donated over 1 million pounds in lifetime, and began J. R. McKenzie Youth Education Trust and J. R. McKenzie Trust.	Business; community
Alexander Johnstone	1950	Kt	Lawyer, partner; president of New Zealand Law Society at time of honour.	Legal
Arthur Nevill	1950	KBE - M	Chief of Air Staff, RNZAF.	Military
John Allum	1950	Kt	Mayor of Auckland 1941-1953 (at least three terms); City Cl 1920-1929, 1938-1941; chair Auckland Metropolitan Patriotic Cl; established business in 1922.	Public – local
Ernest Andrews	1950	Kt	Elected Christchurch City Cl 1918, member for 32 years, including mayoralty from 1941-1950; member NZ Cl of Education; Christchurch Fire Bd, and more.	Public – local
William Appleton	1950	Kt	Mayor of Wellington, 1944-1950, and other local government positions; company director, incl Griffin and Sons; president Municipal Assn of NZ 1948-1951; involved community groups.	Public – local
Wilfrid Sim	1951	KBE - C	President National Party for 7 year; lawyer; Christchurch City Cl 1925-1927; director Mount Cook Tourist Co of New Zealand, Wellington Publishing Co; charity; son of Sir William Sim (Kt 1924).	Legal; public – national
Thomas Duncan	1951	Kt	Philanthropic work, for example, endowed hospitals for treatment of infantile paralysis; chair NZ Meat Board, for approximately 10 years;	Community; agriculture; business

			farmer and owner Otairi station.	
William Polson	1951	KCMG	Dominion president NZ Farmers' Union, 1921-1936; MP 1928-1946; Minister of the Crown; acting leader of the opposition 1943; MLC; farmer.	Public – national; agriculture
Arthur Fair	1951	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court and of the Court of Appeal, 1934-1955.	Legal
David Ewen	1952	KBE - C	Chair of directors Sargood, Son and Ewen Ltd; director Reserve Bank of New Zealand, appt 1934; director AMP Society; member Government Supply CI; involved YWCA, and more.	Business; public – national
Vincent Meredith	1952	Kt	30 years as Crown solicitor; represented Wellington in rugby and was manager of All Blacks team that went to England 1935, and selector Auckland and NZ Rugby Unions.	Legal; sport
William Jordan	1952	KCMG	MP for 14 years; NZ High Commissioner in London for 15 years from 1935; NZ representative on League of Nations.	Public – national
Matthew Oram	1952	Kt	Speaker of the House of Representatives , appt 1950; MP 1943-1957; Victoria Coll CI 1937-1950; president Constitutional Society.	Public – national
Frederick Doidge	1953	KCMG	High Commissioner for NZ in London , appt 1951; MP 1938-1951, Minister of the Crown, incl of External Affairs.	Public – national
Gordon Bell	1953	KBE - C	27 year tenure of chair of surgery at University of Otago Medical School; founding fellow College of Surgeons of Australasia; retired 1952; published.	Medical; academic
William Goodfellow	1953	Kt	Formed/director of companies, incl being managing director NZ Co-operative Dairy Co 1919-1932, established Challenge Phosphate Co, director NZ Newspapers; benefactor, incl to erect chapel at Auckland University Coll; set up radio station.	Business; agriculture; community
Enoch Levy	1953	Kt	Director Grasslands Division of DSIR; published; 40 years in public service, retired 1951.	Agriculture; academic; public – national
Harold Barrowclough	1954	KCMG	Chief Justice of NZ , 1953-1966.	Legal
John Ilott	1954	Kt	Company chair and director, incl J Ilott Ltd, and more; involved many community organisations, incl NZ Crippled Children's Society, Boy Scouts Assn.	Business; community
Willoughby Norrie	1954	GCVO	Governor-General of NZ , and Commander-in-Chief of NZ, 1952-1957.	Public – national; personal to sovereign
William Bodkin	1954	KCVO	MP, first elected 1928; Minister of the Crown, incl Civil Defence, Internal Affairs.	Public – national; public – local; personal to sovereign
David Henry	1954	Kt	Chair of board, NZ Forest Products Ltd, appt 1936; started mill; endowed	Business; community

			forestry scholarship; established trust for Auckland Presbyterian Orphanages and Social Service Assn.	
John Ross	1954	Kt	Chair Ross and Glendining Ltd; president and chair NZ and S Sea Exhibition 1925-1926; manufacturing associations; son of Sir John Ross (Kt 1922).	Business
Leslie Munro	1955	KCMG	Ambassador of NZ in the USA , 1952-1958; permanent representative of NZ to UN, incl on Security Cl 1954-1955; university council; lecturer in law 1924-1938, and more.	Public – national
William Cunningham	1955	KBE – C	Lawyer and partner; Crown Prosecutor; military service (incl command); sometime honorary ADC to Governor-General; president NZLS; involved NZRSA.	Legal; military
George Finlay	1955	Kt	Appt to Supreme Court 1943, later senior puisne judge; appt president of Land Sales Court 1943.	Legal
Walter Broadfoot	1955	KBE - C	26 years in House of Representatives (first elected 1928); PMG for 5 yrs; Minister of the Crown.	Public – national
Arthur Tyndall	1955	Kt	Secretary of Mines, 1934-1940; Judge of Court of Arbitration 1940-1965.	Legal
Thomas Webb	1956	KCMG	High Commissioner for NZ in the UK , 1954-1958; MP 1943-54; A-G; Minister of the Crown, incl of External Affairs, Justice; published.	Public – national
Walter Mulholland	1956	Kt	Member NZ Meat Producers Bd, 1943-1961; appt president Dominion NZFU 1936 (held position for 9 yrs); first president FFNZ; farmer.	Agriculture; business
Bernard Ashwin	1956	KBE - C	Secretary of the Treasury 1939-1955; director Reserve Bank by 1945; retired 1955 after 43 years as public servant; company director, incl Tasman Pulp and Paper.	Public – national; business
Robert Macalister	1956	Kt	Mayor of the City of Wellington , 1950-1956; City Cl 1938-1956; director Wellington Woollen Co; member Wellington Harbour Bd 1942-1956; solicitor.	Public – local
Joseph Stanton	1957	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court, 1948-1957.	Legal
Leonard Wright	1957	Kt	Mayor of the City of Dunedin , first elected 1950; company director, incl McLeod Bros Ltd; chair Otago Development Cl.	Public – local
William Sullivan	1957	KCMG	Mayor of Whakatane 1925-1938; MP 1941-1957; Minister of Crown 1949-1957, incl of Labour.	Public – local; public – national
Sidney Holland	1957	GCB	On the occasion of his relinquishment of office as PM of New Zealand. PM 1949-1957.	Public – national
Kenneth Gresson	1958	KBE - C	Judge of Supreme Court, 1947-1957; first president Court of Appeal, 1957-1963; sat on Judicial Committee of Privy Cl.	Legal

William Hale	1958	Kt	Involved in business, incl as director NZ Dairy Co, chair Auckland Farmers' Freezing Co; involved NZ Meat Bd; 10 years Hauraki Plains City Cl.	Business; agriculture
Ernest Marsden	1958	Kt	Professor of physics, Victoria University Coll 1914-1922; assistant director of education 1922-1926, secretary DSIR and CI 1926-1946, left DSIR late 1940s; president of Royal Society of New Zealand, 1947.	Academic
Charles Burns	1958	KBE - C	Surgeon; head of department of cardiology Wellington Hospital; commissioner Southland Hospital 1966; foundation fellow Royal Australasian Coll of Physicians.	Medical
Frederick Smirk	1958	KBE - C	Chair in Medicine, University of Otago, appt 1940; research; research professor and director Wellcome Medical Research Institute; Royal Australasian Coll of Physicians.	Medical; academic
Keith Stewart	1958	KBE - M	Generals' List (Retired) , Chief of the General Staff 1949-1952, commander NZ Division.	Military
William Gentry	1958	KBE - M	Generals' List (Retired) , Chief of the General Staff 1952-1955; officer commanding NZ Division.	Military
Geoffrey Peren	1959	KBE - C	Chair of Agriculture, Victoria University Coll, 1924-1927; professor of Agriculture and Principal of Massey Agricultural Coll, 1927-1960. Linked to Perendale breed of sheep.	Academic; agriculture
James Hutchison	1959	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court 1948-1966; son of Sir James Hutchison (Kt 1936).	Legal
Arthur Harper	1959	KCVO	Director of Royal Tours in NZ in 1953-1954, 1956 and 1958.	Personal to sovereign; public - national
Charles Cotton	1959	KBE - C	Lecturer in geology and geomorphology; published; professor at Victoria University Coll 1921-1953; Professor Emeritus after retired.	Academic
Timothy Cleary	1959	Kt	Judge of new permanent Court of Appeal, appt 1957.	Legal
Alexander Gillies	1959	Kt	Surgeon; fellow of Royal Australasian Coll of Surgeon; involved Red Cross and Order of St John.	Medical
Alfred North	1959	Kt	Member Court of Appeal 1958-72, and president 1963-1972; Judge of Supreme Court 1951-1957.	Legal
John Walsh	1960	KBE	Editor New Zealand Dental Journal; professor of dentistry, dean and director Otago University Dental School 1946-1971; chair Dental Cl of NZ; member Otago University Cl.	Medical; academic
George Currie	1960	Kt	VC, UNZ, 1952-1961, important in giving colleges more autonomy; chair commission on education.	Academic
Cyril Weir	1960	KBE - M	Generals' List, Regular Force , CGS NZ Army 1955-1960, GOC NZ	Military

			Div 1955-1960.	
Guy Powles	1961	KBE - C	High Commissioner for NZ in India , 1960-1962; High Commissioner in Western Samoa 1949-1960.	Public – national
Francis Adams	1961	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court; Judge of various Pacific Island courts, incl Fiji Court of Appeal 1960-1964.	Legal
Alexander McKenzie	1962	KBE - C	Company director (twelve companies) and chair, dominion president of the National Party 1951-1962.	Business; public – national
Duncan Stout	1962	Kt	Medical editor of New Zealand War History; surgeon; son of Sir Robert Stout.	Medical; military; academic
Alfred Carroll	1962	KBE – C	Farmer; member Wairoa County Cl 1924-1959 (chair 1935-1959); chair Wairoa Dairy Co Ltd; member East Coast Maori Trust Cl; Wairoa Hospital Bd and Harbour Bd.	Public – local; agriculture; business
Robert Kerridge	1962	Kt	Owned and controlled 133 theatres by 1947, retired as Kerridge Odeon's managing director in 1976 (stayed chair).	Business
Thomas Macdonald	1963	KCMG	NZ High Commissioner in London , 1961-1968; MP 1938-1957; Minister of the Crown 1949-1957, incl of Defence and External Affairs; NZ's first ambassador to EEC 1961.	Public – national
Henry Kelliher	1963	Kt	Editor <i>Ladies' Mirror</i> ; in business, incl Kelliher & Co, Dominion Breweries; director Bank of New Zealand; patron of arts; donor to charities.	Business; community
Alexander Turner	1963	Kt	Judge of the NZ Court of Appeal , 1962-1972, President of the Court 1972-1973; Judge of the Supreme Court, 1953-1962.	Legal
Bernard Fergusson	1963	GCVO	Governor-General of NZ , and Commander-in-Chief of NZ, 1962-1967; son of General Sir Charles Fergusson, and grandson of Sir James Fergusson.	Public – national; personal to sovereign
Frank Götz	1963	KCVO	MP 1949-1965; Minister of the Crown 1960-1965, incl of Internal Affairs.	Public – national; personal to sovereign
John Andrew	1963	KBE - C	Farmer; dominion president FFNZ 1952-1956; NZ Meat Producers Bd; director Farmers' Mutual Insurance Co, and more.	Agriculture; business
Gilbert Archey	1963	Kt	Director Auckland Institute and Museum, 1924-1964; research; published; fellow Royal Society of NZ; UNZ Senate 1941-1961.	Academic
Andrew Linton	1964	KBE - C	Farmer; NZ Dairy Bd; chair NZ Dairy Production and Marketing Bd, and more; Dairy Research Institute 1935-1959; involved in dairy companies.	Agriculture; business
Woolf Fisher	1964	Kt	Part of forming Fisher and Paykel; involved in developing technology; Auckland Chamber of Commerce, and more; founded Woolf Fisher Trust.	Business; community

Thaddeus McCarthy	1964	Kt	President of Court of Appeal 1973-1976; Judge of the Court of Appeal 1963-1976; Judge of Supreme Court 1957-1963.	Legal
Ronald Algie	1964	Kt	MP 1943-1966; Minister of the Crown 1949-1957, incl of Education; Speaker of the House 1961-1966; UNZ Senate; professor of law 1919-1937.	Public – national
John Ormond	1964	Kt	NZ Meat Producers' Bd 1944-1972, and briefly before war, chair 1951-; farmer.	Agriculture; business
Carl Smith	1964	Kt	Company director and chair, incl Cadbury Fry Hudson (chair and managing director 1932-1963), Bell Tea Co; community groups.	Business; community
Peter Phipps	1964	KBE - M	Chief of Naval Staff, first NZ'er to be admiral in NZ forces; chair of Chiefs of Staff Committee (Chief of Defence Staff), appt 1963.	Military
Alfred North	1964	KBE - C	As above.	Legal
William Stevenson	1965	KBE - C	Manager New Zealand Olympic Team, Tokyo; Mayor of Howick; endowed scholarships, benefactor to many causes. '[F]or outstanding services as a generous public benefactor and leader in community welfare.'	Community
Edward Sayers	1965	Kt	Surgeon; published; professor of therapeutics and Dean of Otago Medical School 1959-1967; chair in therapeutics; founding fellow Royal Australasian Coll of Physicians; research.	Medical; academic
Walter Nash	1965	GCMG	Prime Minister 1957-1960; Leader of the Opposition; MP, first elected 1929; Minister of the Crown, incl of Finance; Deputy PM and president of the Labour Party at times.	Public – national
William Goosman	1965	KCMG	National MP 1938-1963 (25 years); Minister of the Crown, incl of Works.	Public – national
Jack Butland	1966	KBE - C	Founder and chair J R Butland Pty Ltd, and other companies, company director, incl Rothmans Tobacco (Holdings) Ltd (UK).	Business
Francis Kitts	1966	Kt	Mayor of Wellington, first elected 1956; MP 1954-1960; chair Fire Bd, and more.	Public – local; public – national
Richard Wild	1966	KCMG	On his assumption of the office of Chief Justice of New Zealand; lately Chief Justice of New Zealand.	Legal
James Wattie	1966	Kt	Managing director of J Wattie Canneries (became Wattie Industries, was managing director and chair), and involved in other companies; benefactor.	Business; community
Clifford Plimmer	1967	KBE – C	Company director, incl Wright Stephenson and Co, Dunlop (NZ) Ltd, and more; member royal commissions.	Business
George McGregor	1967	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court, 1953-1969.	Legal

Harvey Turner	1967	Kt	Managing director Turners and Growers 1920-1962; founder and chair Fruit Distributors Ltd 1951-1979; involved in innovations in markets and technology; 20 years on executive of Auckland Chamber of Commerce; 18 years on Harbour Bd.	Business
Edward Blundell	1967	KBE - C	Lawyer 1930-1968; president NZ Law Society 1962-1968; company director; on royal commissions; NZ High Commissioner to London 1968-1972; Governor-General of NZ 1972-1977 (first NZ resident appt).	Legal
George Manning	1967	Kt	Mayor of Christchurch 1958-1968; involved in adult education, incl president WEA 1942-1948.	Public – local
Leonard Thornton	1967	KCB - M	Chief of Defence Staff, NZ Armed Forces, 1965-1971; CGS 1960-1965.	Military
John Meech	1967	KCVO	Secretary for Internal Affairs secretary of Civil Defence 1959-1967; Clerk of Writs 1954-1967; director of Royal Visits 1963 and 1966; involved in arts organisations, incl Queen Elizabeth II Arts Cl.	Personal to sovereign; public – national
John Grace	1968	KBE - C	Private secretary to Minister of Maori Affairs 1949-1959; member boards, incl Maori Purposes Fund Bd.	Maori; public – national
William Mackay	1968	Kt	Chair of directors, Calder Mackay Co Ltd, chair and managing director Farmers Trading Co; director NZ Forest Products Ltd; director YMCA for 11 years; member Auckland Harbour Bridge Authority 1952-1957; president Auckland Crippled Children's Society, and more. For 'services to the community in commerce, local authority and welfare work'.	Business; community; public – local
Walter Bate	1969	Kt	Mayor of Hastings 1953-1959; president Rotary; president Hastings Boy Scouts Assn; company director. '[F]or outstanding services to local government and the community'.	Public – local; community
James Donald	1969	Kt	MP 1928-1931; PMG 1928-1931; involved in business, incl Donald and Edenborough, Island traders; financed and supervised children's home; member Door of Hope Assn, and more; contributed to funds of many charitable organisations. '[F]or outstanding services to the community'.	Community
Henry Blyde	1969	KBE - C	Farmer for 40 years; director Lepperton Dairy Co for over 37 years (chair 25 years); member FFNZ and local branch chair Farmers' Union for 31 years.	Agriculture; business
Hamilton Mitchell	1969	KBE - C	'[F]or outstanding services as President of the New Zealand Returned Services Association since 1962'.	War/patriotic work; community
James Doig	1970	Kt	Director A S Paterson and Co Ltd, Kiwi United; chair and managing director UEB Industries Ltd.	Business

Trevor Henry	1970	Kt	Senior puisne judge of the Supreme Court; Judge of SC 1955-1976.	Legal
Arthur Porritt	1970	GCVO	Governor-General of NZ 1967-1972, first NZ-born.	Personal to sovereign; public – national
Alan Danks	1970	KBE - C	On staff of economic department, Canterbury University 1943-1966, professor 1962; pro-vice-chancellor Canterbury University, appt 1964; North Canterbury Hospital Bd; commission on social security.	Academic
Roy Jack	1970	Kt	MP, first elected 1954; Speaker of the House of Representatives, appt 1967; Wanganui City Cl 1946-1955.	Public – national
Dove-Myer Robinson	1970	Kt	Auckland City Mayor, first elected 1959 (held position for 18 years between 1959 and 1980); Auckland Metropolitan Drainage Bd, and more.	Public – local
Keith Holyoake	1970	GCMG	Prime Minister of NZ 1957, 1960-1972; MP 1932-1977; Minister of the Crown, incl of Agriculture; Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in and over NZ 1977-1980; involved in Farmers' Union.	Public – national
Brian Barratt-Boyes	1971	KBE - C	Surgeon; Surgeon-in-charge, Cardiothoracic Surgery Unit, Green Lane Hospital 1965-1989; published.	Medical
Philip Proctor	1971	KBE - C	Chair and managing director Dunlop NZ (retired 1965); president NZ Manufacturers' Assn; chair Remunerations Authority 1971-1972; involved National Society of Alcoholism, and more.	Business; community
Noel Cole	1971	Kt	Made home, Moose Lodge, available to distinguished guests and charitable causes; builder before WW1.	Community
Reginald Smythe	1971	KBE - C	Associated with forestry industry since 1928; managing director NZ Forest Products 1963-1975, deputy chair 1968, chair 1975-1977.	Business
Walter Norwood	1971	Kt	Chair NZ Motor Corp Ltd, CB Norwood Ltd; benefactor, incl to Botanic Gardens; trustee, incl Norwood Crippled Children Trust; son of Sir Charles Norwood (Kt 1937).	Business; community
Harcourt Caughey	1972	KBE - C	Director and chair many companies, incl Smith and Caughey Ltd; chair Caughey Preston Trust Bd 1954-1980; chair Auckland Hospital Bd 1959-1974; All Black 1932-1937.	Business; public – local
Bernard O'Connell	1972	Kt	Managing director, deputy chair of NZ Breweries (had joined company 1935).	Business
Malcolm Burns	1972	KBE - C	Director Canterbury Agriculture Coll 1952-1974 (22 years as director and later principal) (became Lincoln Coll); research; senior lecturer in soil science 1937-1949.	Academic; agriculture
Clifford Richmond	1972	Kt	Judge of the Supreme (now High) Court 1960-1971; Judge of the Court of Appeal 1972-1981; President of the Court of Appeal of NZ 1976-	Legal

			1981.	
Reginald Savory	1972	Kt	Former chair Auckland Harbour Bd; former president NZ Harbours Assn; Auckland City CI 1953-1962; member NZ CI of Technical Education, and more; president NZ Builders' Assn 1964-1967.	Public – local; academic
Robert Falla	1973	KBE - C	Director Dominion Museum, 1947-1966; field work and research; lectured; chair Nature Conservation CI 1962-1974.	Academic
Geoffrey Roberts	1973	Kt	General manager TEAL, then chair, worked to get Air New Zealand; involved aviation groups, incl president International Air Transport Assn 1973-1975.	Business
Albert Liley	1973	KCMG	Professor in perinatal physiology, University Auckland; developed techniques; national president Society for Protection of the Unborn Child.	Medical; academic
Alister McIntosh	1973	KCMG	Secretary of new External Affairs Department 1943-1966; permanent head of Prime Minister's Department 1945-1966; NZ's first ambassador to Italy, 1966-1970; chair board of trustees National Library of NZ.	Public – national
George Hart	1973	KBE - C	Managing director British Hearing Aids Ltd; pioneer of research.	Business; medical; academic
Alexander Turner	1973	KBE - C	As above.	Legal
Robert Macfarlane	1974	KCMG	Mayor of Christchurch 1938-1941, 1950-1958; MP 1939-1969; Speaker of the House 1957-1960; City CI 1961-1981 (first elected 1927), deputy mayor 1971-1974.	Public – national; public – local
Albert Henry	1974	<i>KBE - C Forfeited honour 1980</i>	<i>First Premier of the Cook Islands, elected 1965.</i>	<i>Public – national (Cook Islands)</i>
William Sharp	1974	KBE - C	Commissioner of Police, 1970-1975; joined police 1937.	Public – national
Richard Webb	1974	KBE – M	Chief of Defence Staff 1971-1976.	Military
Patrick O'Dea	1974	KCVO	Director of Royal Visits, NZ Secretary to the Queen 1969-1978, 1981; secretary of Internal Affairs 1967-1978.	Personal to sovereign; public – national
Alec Haslam	1974	Kt	Judge of the Supreme Court, 1957-1976.	Legal
Charles Hamilton	1974	Kt	Established CWF Hamilton and Co Ltd, Hamilton Perry Industries; involved in designing and manufacturing hydraulics, Hamilton jet unit.	Business
Alfred Reed	1974	Kt	Developed business into major NZ publishing house (A.H. and A.W. Reed); set up generous trust, benefactor.	Business; arts; community
Ronald Scott	1974	Kt	Chair Organising Committee, Commonwealth Games, Christchurch 1974 (and leader of delegation that won the games over Melbourne).	Sport
John Marshall	1974	GBE - C	MP since 1946; Minister of the Crown 1949-1957, 1960-1972; Deputy PM 1960-1972; PM 1972; Leader of the Opposition 1972-1974.	Public – national

Ian Macarthur	1974	Kt	Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court (Judge of Supreme Court 1959-1975).	Legal
Thaddeus McCarthy	1974	KBE - C	As above.	Legal
Edward Blundell	1974	GCVO	Governor-General of New Zealand, 1972-1977; as above.	Public – national; personal to sovereign
Owen Woodhouse	1974	Kt	Judge of the Court of Appeal 1973-1986, and previously Judge of Supreme Court 1961-1973; President of the Court of Appeal 1981-1986.	Legal
Peter Tait	1975	KBE - C	For services to local govt. Mayor of Napier.	Public – local
William Dunlop	1975	Kt	For services to the farming industry. President FFNZ 1973-1974.	Agriculture; business
Leonard Hadley	1975	Kt	For services to the trade union movement. Trade union official 1936-1984, national exec member NZFOL 1946-1976; director Reserve Bank of NZ 1959-1985.	Trade union
Terence McCombs	1975	Kt	Lately High Commissioner for NZ in the UK. For public services. High Commissioner 1973-1975; Labour MP 1935-1951; Minister of Education 1947-1949.	Public – national
Arnold Nordmeyer	1975	KCMG	For public services. MP 1935-1969; Minister of the Crown; Leader of Opposition; president Labour Party 1950-1955.	Public – national
George Wood	1975	KBE - C	For public services, esp as Chairman of the Consumer Council since 1959 (until 1975).	Public – national
Charles Bennett	1975	Kt	For public services, especially to the Maori people.	Public – national; Maori
Frank Holmes	1975	Kt	Professor of Money and Finance (1970-1977), Victoria University of Wellington. For public services. Became Lecturer, Victoria University, 1952; chair Monetary and Economic CI 1961-1964, 1970-1972.	Public – national; academic
Thomas Skinner	1976	KBE - C	For services to the trade union movement and the community. Labour MP 1946-1949; president NZFOL 1964-1979 (and vice president 1959-1963; trade union official.	Trade union; community
Henry Wigley	1976	KBE - C	For services to the tourist, travel and aviation industries. Managing director Mt Cook and Southern Lakes Tourist Co (became Mt Cook Group).	Business
Jack Hunn	1976	Kt	For public services, esp as Chairman of the Fire Services Commission. Involved in other commissions as well; secretary for defence 1963-1965; chair Waikanae CI.	Public – national
Stanley Whitehead	1976	Kt	Speaker of the House of Representatives since 1973 (until 1976); MP 1957-1976.	Public – national
Herbert Gilbert	1976	KBE - C	Director of Security since 1957, retired 1976.	Public – national

Gordon Minhinnick	1976	KBE - C	For services as a cartoonist ; staff cartoonist at <i>New Zealand Herald</i> .	Arts
			Mayor of the City of Dunedin since 1968 , until 1977; involved in business; involved in managing teams for Olympic and Empire Games; 4 terms as president Otago Savings Bank; member CI of University of Otago for 10 years, and more.	Public – local
James Barnes	1976	Kt		
Clifford Perry	1976	Kt	Senior Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court.	Legal
Bryan Todd	1976	Kt	For services to commerce and the community.	Business; community
			For public services, esp as Chairman of the NZ Ports Authority since 1969 ; MP 1946-1966; Minister of the Crown, incl of Labour, Transport; member Lyttelton Harbour Bd 1937-1954; CI Canterbury University Coll 1950-1959; chair Lincoln 1968-1974, and more.	Public – national
John McAlpine	1977	KCMG		
			For services to science and conservation ; research; two terms as president Royal Society of New Zealand; lecturer in earth sciences Victoria University; NZ Geological Survey; involved Environmental CI, National Parks Authority of NZ, and more.	Academic
Charles Fleming	1977	KBE - C		
Robin Cooke	1977	Kt	Judge of the Court of Appeal 1976-1986 , and previously Judge of Supreme Court 1972-1976; President of the Court of Appeal 1986-1996.	Legal
			For services to horticulture. Involved in tree planting, cultivating indigenous flora; 3 times president NZ Horticultural Trades Assn; involved in business.	Agriculture
Victor Davies	1977	Kt		
			For services to the community and the Maori people. Involved Maori corporations and tribal trusts; associated with Apirana Ngata in tribal affairs; District Maori welfare officer.	Community; Maori
Norman Perry	1977	Kt		
Douglas Carter	1977	KCMG	For public services, lately as NZ High Commissioner in the UK ; National MP 1957-1975; Minister of Agriculture 1969-1972.	Public – national
			For services to medicine. Surgeon; involved in Order of St John; involved many associations, incl Medical Assn of New Zealand; son of Sir James Elliott (Kt 1936).	Medical
Randal Elliott	1977	KBE - C		
Alan Low	1977	Kt	Governor of the Reserve Bank of NZ 1967-1977. Joined Reserve Bank 1938.	Public – national
Kenneth Myers	1977	Kt	For services to commerce and the community. Son of Sir Arthur Myers (Kt 1924).	Business; community
			For services to the travel industry, commerce and the community. Involved in Newmans; chair TNL Group; founding director Cook Strait Airways; president NZ Cricket CI; Nelson City CI 1944-1953.	Business; community
Jack Newman	1977	Kt		
Clifford Richmond	1977	KBE	President of the Court of Appeal of New Zealand, 1976-1981 ; as	Legal

			above.	
Harry Barker	1978	KBE - C	For services to the City of Gisborne. Mayor of Gisborne, first elected 1950 (held position for 27 years, 9 consecutive terms); editor <i>Poverty Bay Herald</i> ; on Gisborne District Roads Cl, and more.	Public – local
James Henare	1978	KBE - C	For services to the community, esp Maori Affairs. District Maori welfare officer; involved Waitangi National Trust Bd, and many Maori organisations; involved Order of St John, and more.	Community; Maori
Alan Gandell	1978	Kt	For services to the Order of St John. Director St John Ambulance Assn 1967-1971.	Community
Thomas Perry	1978	Kt	For services to commerce and the community.	Business; community
Ronald Davison	1978	GBE - C	Chief Justice of New Zealand, 1978-1989.	Legal
Donald McKay	1978	KCMG	For public services. Minister of the Crown.	Public – national
Hallam Dowling	1978	KBE	For services to local body and community affairs. Chair Hawke's Bay Hospital Bd, Medical Research Fdn.	Public – local; community
William Rodger	1978	Kt	For services to the accountancy profession. Dean of Commerce, lecturer in accountancy and author on accountancy.	Professions; academic
James Wicks	1978	Kt	For services as a Stipendiary Magistrate, 1961-1978.	Legal
Richard Wild	1978	GBE - C	As above.	Legal
Gaven Donne	1979	KBE - C	Chief Justice of the High Court of the Cook Islands and Chief Justice of Niue; also in other Pacific Island courts.	Legal
Hepi Te Heu Heu	1979	KBE - C	For services to the Maori people and the community. Turamakina Tribal Committee; member Tongariro National Park Bd; chair Tuwharetoa Trust Bd, and more.	Maori; community
Holmes Miller	1979	Kt	For services to the Ross Dependency, conservation and surveying. Surveys; involved Trans-Antarctic Expedition 1955; on Ross Dependency Research Committee; involved World Wildlife Fund, and more.	Academic
Robertson Stewart	1979	Kt	For services to manufacturing and the community. Chair PDL Holdings, involved trade missions; on Canterbury Manufacturers' Assn; Christchurch City Cl 1969-1972; donated to Antarctic Wing, Christchurch Museum.	Business; community
Arthur Ward	1979	KBE - C	For services to the dairy industry and education. General manager Dairy Bd/NZ Dairy Production and Marketing Bd 1954-1970; National Research Advisory Cl; Massey University pro-chancellor 1970-1975, chancellor 1976-1981.	Agriculture; academic; business
Lewis Harris	1979	Kt	For services to handicapped people and the community. Involved	Community

			establishing schools for intellectually handicapped; benefactor to civic projects, incl Napier's sunken garden.	
Tosswill Woollaston	1979	Kt	For services to art.	Arts
Richard Bolt	1979	KBE - M	Chief of Defence Staff, 1976-1980; Chief of Air Staff 1974-1976.	Military
John Staveley	1980	KBE - C	For services to medicine, esp to NZ Blood Transfusion Services. Director Auckland Blood Transfusion Service 1964-1976.	Medical
James Fletcher	1980	Kt	For services to industry and the community. Involved in Fletcher Holdings (chair 1972-1981); chair and director of other companies, incl Pacific Steel Ltd, Tasman Pulp and Paper Co, Marac; chair Fletcher Challenge Charitable Trust; son of Sir James Fletcher (Kt 1946).	Business; community
Valdemar Skellerup	1980	Kt	For services to industry and the community. Joint managing director Skellerup Industries 1955-1982, chair 1961-1982; initiated Skellerup Young Farmer of Year.	Business; community
Graham Latimer	1980	KBE - C	President of the NZ Maori Council, appt 1972; involved in appeals over Maori fishing rights, and more.	Maori
Alan Gilkison	1980	Kt	For services to aviation, export industry and the community.	Business; community
John Harrison	1980	Kt	Speaker of the House of Representatives 1978-1984; president Commonwealth Parliamentary Assn 1978-1979, and more.	Public – national
Ralph Thompson	1980	Kt	For services to commerce and the community; company director and chair, incl Lion Nathan, Schweppes Ltd; chair Cathedral of Blessed Sacrament Fundraising Appeal.	Business; community
David Beattie	1980	GCMG	Governor-General of NZ Designate; Governor-General of New Zealand, 1980-1985.	Public – national
Keith Holyoake	1980	KG	Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in and over New Zealand, 1977-1980; as above.	Public – national
David Beattie	1981	GCVO	As above.	Public – national; personal to sovereign
Thomas Davis	1981	KBE - C	Premier of the Cook Is (1978-1987). For services to medicine and the people of the Cook Is. Medical practitioner and politician in Cook Is, 1972-1978, and more.	Public - national (Cook Is); medicine
Charles Hilgendorf	1981	Kt	For public services, especially as Chairman of the NZ Meat Producers Board (1972-1980).	Public – national; agriculture
Austin Wilson	1981	Kt	For services to commerce and the community.	Business; community
Alan Stewart	1981	KBE - C	Vice-Chancellor of Massey University since 1964 (until 1983).	Academic
Michael Fowler	1981	Kt	Mayor of the City of Wellington, 1974-1983; City CI 1968-1974; had architecture practice.	Public – local

Alan Hellaby	1981	Kt	For services to the meat industry and the community. Managing director R and W Hellaby Ltd, appt 1963 (joined company in 1948); director of other companies, incl NZ Insurance Co, Pacific Steel, Rheem NZ.	Business; community; agriculture
Owen Woodhouse	1981	KBE - C	President of the Court of Appeal, 1981-1986; as above.	Legal
Lloyd Elsmore	1982	Kt	Mayor of Manukau, 1968-1983; company director; Mayor Ellerslie Borough 1952-1958; active in local government for 38 years.	Public – local
Russell Matthews	1982	Kt	For services to horticulture and the community. Created garden (Tupare); involved in establishing gardens, benefactor; involved Outward Bound Trust of NZ, and more; company director, incl Ivor Watkins Ltd.	Agriculture; community
John White	1982	Kt	Lately, a Judge of the High Court of NZ, 1970-1981.	Legal
Henare Ngata	1982	KBE - C	For services to the Maori people. Member NZ Maori CI 1962-1984, and more; company director; accountant; son of Sir Apirana Ngata (Kt 1927).	Maori
Allan Wright	1982	KBE - C	President, Federated Farmers of NZ 1977-1981. Farmer; Lincoln Coll CI.	Agriculture
George Chapman	1982	Kt	For political and public services. Member National Party since 1948, incl president 1973-1982; company director; director Bank of NZ 1968-1986; accountant.	Public – local; public – national
Laurie Francis	1982	Kt	NZ High Commissioner to Australia, 1976-1985; barrister and solicitor.	Public – national
Hamish Hay	1982	Kt	Mayor of the City of Christchurch, 1974-1989; City CI 1959-1974; company director; community groups; son of Sir James Hay.	Public – local
Neil Anderson	1982	KBE - M	Chief of Defence Staff, 1980-1983.	Military
Russell Pettigrew	1983	Kt	For services to the transport industry. Managing director, R. H. Pettigrew Transport.	Business
Graham Speight	1983	Kt	Judge of the High Court of New Zealand 1966-1982.	Legal
James Stewart	1983	Kt	Principal of Lincoln College, University College of Agriculture (1974-1984). For services to agriculture. Lecturer in farm management, Lincoln, 1952-1959.	Agriculture; academic
John Kennedy-Good	1983	KBE - C	For services to local government and the community. Mayor of Lower Hutt 1970-1986; City CI 1962-1972; Wellington Harbour Bd; former trustee National Museum and Art Gallery.	Public – local; community
Dean Goffin	1983	Kt	Commissioner and Territorial Commander of the Salvation Army in NZ. For services to the Salvation Army.	Community; religion
John Mowbray	1983	Kt	For services to banking, commerce and the community. General	Business; community

			manager National Bank of NZ, 1966-1976; chair NZ Bankers Assn; on company boards; chair and president Dr Barnados in NZ; member, board of Wellington City Mission.	
Laurence Stevens	1983	Kt	For services to the textile industry and export. Managing director Auckland Knitting Mills Ltd 1962-1980, and more; director Reserve Bank of New Zealand 1977-1986.	Business
Wallace Rowling	1983	KCMG	PM of NZ 1974-1975 and lately, Leader of the Opposition, 1976-1983; Minister of the Crown, incl of Finance, Foreign Affairs.	Public – national
Charles Bowmar	1984	Kt	For services to local govt and the community. Member Southland County CI 1953-1986 (chair for 17 years); farmer.	Public – local; community
John O'Regan	1984	Kt	Judge of the High Court, 1973-1984.	Legal
Lewis Ross	1984	Kt	Chairman, Bank of New Zealand. Chartered accountant and company director.	Business
John Thorn	1984	Kt	For services to local govt and the community. Mayor Port Chalmers 1956-1989.	Public – local; community
Robert Muldoon	1984	GCMG	PM of NZ, 1975-1984; Leader of the Opposition; Minister of the Crown, incl of Finance.	Public - national
William Leuchars	1984	KBE - C	President, New Zealand Returned Services Assn 1974-1988	War/patriotic work
Robert Rex	1984	KBE - C	Premier of Niue.	Public – national (Niue)
Cecil Cross	1984	Kt	For services to sport. Sports broadcasting 1952-1978; Olympic team selector; International Olympic Committee member in New Zealand, elected 1969 (and went on to executive 1978).	Sport
Lawrence Govan	1984	Kt	For services to manufacturing and the community. Director Reserve Bank of New Zealand 1972-1985; company director, incl Lichfield (NZ) Ltd; Wellington Harbour Bd, and more.	Business; community
Roderick Weir	1984	Kt	For services to farming, commerce and the community. Company chair and director, incl Alliance Insurance Ltd, Crown Meats Ltd; established Rod Weir and Co (stock and station).	Agriculture; business; community
Lancelot Adams-Schneider	1984	KCMG	For public services, lately as NZ Ambassador to the USA, 1982-1985. MP 1959-1981; Minister of the Crown, incl of Health and Social Welfare, Trade and Industry.	Public - national
Edward Norman	1984	KBE - C	Anglican Bishop of Wellington since 1973.	Religion
William Cooper	1985	Kt	For services to education and the community.	Academic; community
Lester Moller	1985	Kt	Judge of the High Court (Judge of Supreme Court 1964-1985)	Legal
Desmond Sullivan	1985	Kt	Chief District Court Judge, 1979-1985.	Legal
Miles Warren	1985	KBE - C	For services to architecture. Started Warren and Mahoney.	Professions

Paul Reeves	1985	Kt	Anglican Primate and Archbishop of New Zealand. Archbishop 1980-85, Bishop of Auckland 1979-1985. Governor-General Designate of New Zealand. First churchman and first person of Maori descent to be Governor-General). Governor-General 1985-1990.	Religion
Paul Reeves	1985	GCMG	Governor-General Designate of New Zealand; as above.	public - national
Clinton Roper	1985	Kt	Lately, a Judge of the High Court, 1968-1985.	Legal
Keith Sinclair	1985	Kt	For services to historical research and literature. Professor of history 1963-1987, editor <i>New Zealand Journal of History</i> 1967-1987; published.	Academic; arts
Ronald Trotter	1985	Kt	For services to business management. Company director, chn Fletcher Challenge 1981-1995; Roundtable.	Business
George Laking	1985	KCMG	Chief Ombudsman, 1977-1984. NZ Ambassador to EEC 1960-1961; NZ Ambassador, USA 1961-1967; Secretary of Foreign Affairs; Permanent Head of the PM's Department 1967-1972.	Public – national
Thomas Clark	1986	Kt	For services to manufacturing, export, sport and the community.	Business; sport; community
Leonard Southward	1986	Kt	For services to the community, especially the disabled. Company director; speed boat racer.	Community
Garfield Todd	1986	Kt	For services to Africa and New Zealand. MP Rhodesia 1946-1958; PM Southern Rhodesia 1953-1958; member, Senate, Parliament of Zimbabwe 1980-1985.	Public – national
Neil Begg	1986	KBE - C	For services to the NZ Historic Places Trust and the community. Elected member NZHPT 1970-1978, chair 1978-1986; lecturer at Otago 1949-1976; involved Plunket Society, and more.	Public – national; community
David Jamieson	1986	KBE - M	Chief of Defence Staff; Chief of Air Staff 1979-1983.	Military
Neil Isaac	1986	Kt	For services to conservation.	Academic
Ivor Richardson	1986	Kt	Judge of the Court of Appeal, appt 1977.	Legal
Earl Richardson	1986	Kt	For services to manufacturing.	Business
Frank Rutter	1986	KBE - C	For services to the NZ Hospital Boards Assn and the Auckland Hospital Board. President NZHBA 1977-1981, 1983-1985, president Auckland Hospital Bd 1974-1986; general medical practitioner.	Public – national; public – local
Robin Cooke	1986	KBE - C	President of the Court of Appeal, 1986-1996; as above.	Legal
Paul Reeves	1986	GCVO	Governor-General, 1985-1990; as above.	Personal to sovereign; public – national
Duncan McMullin	1987	Kt	Judge of the Court of Appeal.	Legal
Francis Renouf	1987	Kt	For philanthropic services.	Community
Tangaroa Tangaroa	1987	Kt	The Queen's Representative in the Cook Islands 1984-1990.	Public – national (Cook Is)

Ralph Love	1987	Kt	For services to the Maori people and the community.	Maori; community
Joseph Ongley	1987	Kt	Lately a Judge of the High Court.	Legal
Clifford Skeggs	1987	Kt	Mayor of the City of Dunedin , for 12 years; member Otago Harbour Bd 1965-1977.	Public – local
Gerard Wall	1987	Kt	Speaker of the House of Representatives 1985-1987.	Public – national
William Manchester	1987	KBE - C	For services to medicine, especially plastic and reconstruction surgery. Head of department Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery, Middlemore Hospital, 1950-1979.	Medical
John Bennett	1988	Kt	For services to education. Chair Maori Education Foundation; brother of Sir Charles Bennett (1975 Kt).	Academic
Ronald Brierley	1988	Kt	For services to business management and the community. Chair and director Brierley Investments Ltd 1961-1989.	Business; community
Murray Halberg	1988	Kt	For services to sport and crippled children. First NZ'er to run 4 minute mile; gold medal at Olympics Rome 1960; world records; established Halberg Trust 1963.	Sport; community
James Quilliam	1988	Kt	Judge of the High Court , 1969-1988.	Legal
Philip Scott	1988	KBE - C	For services to medicine. At Middlemore Hospital; Head of Department of Medicine at University of Auckland 1979-1987.	Medical
Peter Elworthy	1988	Kt	For services to agriculture. President FFNZ 1984-1987; president NZ Deer Farmers' Assn 1978-1981, and more; chair Ravensdown Fertiliser Co-op 1977-1982.	Agriculture
Spencer Russell	1988	Kt	Governor of the Reserve Bank of NZ , 1984-1988; chief executive Reserve Bank 1976-1984.	Public – national
Kenneth Keith	1988	KBE - C	Professor of Law, Victoria University of Wellington , 1974-1991, and Dean of Law 1977-1981.	Academic; legal
Kingi Ihaka	1989	Kt	For services to the Maori people.	Maori
Robin Irvine	1989	Kt	Vice-Chancellor, University of Otago.	Academic
Roy McKenzie	1989	KBE - C	For services to education and the community. Patron Outward Bound Trust; company director, incl McKenzies (NZ) Ltd; son of Sir John McKenzie (KBE – C 1950).	Academic; community
Thomas Eichelbaum	1989	GBE - C	Chief Justice of New Zealand , appt 1989.	Legal
Robert Jones	1989	Kt	For services to business management and the community. Founder and executive chair Robt Jones Investments Ltd.	Business; community
Hugh Kawharu	1989	Kt	For services to the Maori people. Foundation professor Maori Studies, Massey University 1970-1984; Waitangi Tribunal 1986-1996, Bd Maori Affairs 1987-1990.	Maori

Edward Somers	1989	Kt	Judge of the Court of Appeal 1981-1990. Judge of the Supreme Court 1974-1981.	Legal
Ross Jansen	1989	KBE - C	For services to local government. Mayor Hamilton City 1977-1989; company director.	Public – local
Kerry Burke	1990	Kt	Speaker of the House of Representatives 1987-1990. MP 1972-1975, 1978-1990; Minister of the Crown.	Public – national
Muir Chilwell	1990	Kt	Judge of the High Court, 1973-1991.	Legal
Brian Elwood	1990	Kt	For services to local government. Mayor Palmerston North 1971-1985; chair Local Government Commission 1985-1992.	Public – local
James Graham	1990	Kt	For services to the dairy industry.	Agriculture; business
Monita Delamere	1990	KBE - C	For services to the Maori people. Appt to Waitangi Tribunal 1986.	Maori
Michael Fay	1990	Kt	For services to merchant banking and yachting. Joint chief executive and director Fay, Richwhite and Co Ltd. Nephew of Sir Humphrey O'Leary (1947, KCMG).	Business; sport
Richard Hadlee	1990	Kt	For services to cricket. Played for NZ 1972-1990; first player in test history to take 400 test wickets.	Sport
Howard Morrison	1990	Kt	For services to entertainment.	Arts
John Mace	1990	KBE - M	Chief of Defence Staff, NZ Defence Force. Chief of General Staff 1984-1987, Chief of NZ Defence Force 1987-1991.	Military
James Belich	1991	Kt	For services to local government and the community. Mayor of Wellington, 1986-1992; member Wellington Regional CI; company director, incl Air NZ 1987-1989; founding president UNICEF NZ 1964-1986.	Public – local
Gordon Bisson	1991	Kt	Lately a Judge of the Court of Appeal (1986-1990).	Legal
Roger Douglas	1991	Kt	For public services. MP 1969-1990; Minister of the Crown, incl Finance; company director.	Public – national
David Hay	1991	Kt	For services to NZ Heart Foundation. First Medical Director National Heart Foundation 1977-1992; son of Sir James Hay.	Medical; community
Geoffrey Palmer	1991	KCMG	PM of NZ 1989-1990. MP 1979-1990; A-G; Minister of the Crown, incl Justice, Environment; Deputy PM 1984-1989.	Public – national
Maurice Casey	1991	Kt	Judge of the Court of Appeal. Husband of Dame Stella Casey (DBE 1990).	Legal
Graham Liggins	1991	Kt	For services to medical research. Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecological Endocrinology, Auckland University 1971-1987; director Research Centre in Reproductive Medicine.	Medical; academic
Arthur Williams	1991	Kt	For philanthropic services. Company director.	Community

Brian Talboys	1991	KCB - C	For public services. Deputy PM 1976-1980; MP 1957-1981; Minister of the Crown, incl Agriculture 1962-1969, Foreign Affairs, 1976-1981.	Public – national
Barry Curtis	1992	Kt	For services to local govt and the community. Mayor of Manukau City, first elected 1983; City CI 1968-1983; involved Jean Batten Memorial Trust, and more.	Public – local; community
Colin Maiden	1992	Kt	For services to education and business management. VC of Auckland University 1971-1994; company director Independent Newspapers Ltd, Fisher and Paykel Industries Ltd.	Academic; business
Patrick Moore	1992	Kt	For services to otolaryngology. Reader in Otolaryngology, University of Auckland School of Medicine; performed world first operations.	Medical
Richard Carter	1992	Kt	For services to business management. Executive director Carter Holt Harvey Ltd, and more; president NZ Merchants' Fdn, and more.	Business
Donald McIntyre	1992	Kt	For services to opera.	Arts
Geoffrey Henry	1992	KBE - C	<i>PM of Cook Islands (elected 1983, elected again 1989).</i>	<i>Public - national (Cook Is)</i>
John Jeffries	1993	Kt	Lately a Judge of the High Court (1976-1992).	Legal
George Mason	1993	Kt	For services to local government.	Public – local
Ian Barker	1994	Kt	Judge of the High Court, 1976-1997.	Legal
Robin Gray	1994	Kt	Lately Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1990-1993; MP 1978-1996, Minister of the Crown.	Public – national
John Ingram	1994	Kt	For services to engineering and business management. Company director, incl IBM (NZ) Ltd 1981-1983, National Bank of NZ 1983-1995, and more.	Professions; business
Timothy Wallis	1994	Kt	For services to deer farming, export and the community.	Agriculture; community; business
Tipene O'Regan	1994	Kt	For services to the Maori people and the community. Chair Ngai Tahu Trust Bd, appt 1983.	Maori; community
Dryden Spring	1994	Kt	For services to the dairy industry. Director NZ Co-operative Dairy Co Ltd (chair 1982-1989), and more; involved FFNZ.	Agriculture; business
John Robertson	1994	KCMG	Chief Ombudsman, 1984-1994. President International Ombudsman Institute 1992-1994; Secretary of Defence 1969-1979; Secretary of Justice 1979-1982.	Public – national
Somerford Teagle	1994	KBE - M	Chief of Defence Force 1992-1995.	Military
Alan Holland	1995	Kt	Lately a Judge of the High Court of NZ 1978-1995.	Legal
William Southgate	1995	Kt	For services to music. Composer, conductor.	Arts
John Anderson	1995	KBE - C	For services to business management, banking and the community. Company director, incl NZ Steel; executive positions National Bank of	Business; community

			NZ; chair Worldwide Fund for Nature, and more.	
Edmund Hillary	1995	KG	Mountaineer, author, explorer, 1951-1984; High Commissioner to India 1985-1989; first to climb Everest (with Tenzing) 1953.	Community; sport; public – national
Patrick Goodman	1995	Kt	For services to business management, export and the community. President Emeritus Goodman Fielder Ltd; chair Heinz-Watties Ltd.	Business; community
Thomas Waters	1995	Kt	For services to education. Emeritus Professor of Chemistry, Auckland University; VC, Massey University, appt 1983; published.	Academic
Peter Blake	1995	KBE - C	For services to yachting. Racing Skipper Team NZ 'Black Magic' 1993-1995.	Sport
Ian Axford	1996	Kt	For services to science. VC Victoria University 1982-1985; president ISCU Committee on Space Research 1986-1994.	Academic
Michael Hardie Boys	1996	GCMG	Governor-General Designate of New Zealand; Governor-General of NZ; Judge of the High Court 1980-1989; Judge of the Court of Appeal 1989-1996.	Public – national
Michael Hardie Boys	1996	GNZM	Governor-General of NZ and Chancellor of the NZ Order of Merit; as above.	Public – national
Robert Mahuta	1996	KNZM	For services to the Maori people. Director of Centre for Maori Studies and Research, Waikato University; member Tainui Maori Trust Bd, and more.	Maori
Terence McLean	1997	KNZM	For services to sporting journalism.	Sport; professions
Peter Tapsell	1997	KNZM	For public services, lately as Speaker of the House of Representatives. MP 1981-1996; Minister of the Crown, incl Internal Affairs, Defence, Lands.	Public – national
Thomas Thorp	1997	KNZM	Judge of the High Court 1979-1996.	Legal
Robert Owens	1997	KNZM	For services to business and the community. Chair Owens Group; trustee Owens Charitable Trust.	Business; community
John Wallace	1997	KNZM	Lately a Judge of the High Court 1982-1996.	Legal
Ronald Carter	1998	KNZM	For services to engineering and business administration.	Professions; business
Rajeshwar (Roger) Bhatnagar	1998	KNZM	For services to business and the community.	Business; community
Ian McKay	1998	KNZM	For services as a Judge of the Court of Appeal (1991-1997) and to the law.	Legal
Wilson Whineray	1998	KNZM	For services to sport and business management. Captain of the All Blacks 1958-1965; director Carter Holt Harvey and other companies; chair National Bank of New Zealand, appt 1998; trustee Halberg Trust for Crippled Children.	Sport; business

Robert Charles	1999	KNZM	For services to golf.	Sport
Selwyn Cushing	1999	KNZM	For services to business, sport and the arts. Executive director Brierley Investments; director Air NZ, Carter Holt Harvey, and more.	Business; sport; arts
Douglas Graham	1999	KNZM	For services as a Minister of the Crown and MP. MP 1984-1989; Minister of Justice 1990-1999, Minister in charge of Treaty of Waitangi negotiations 1991-1999; A-G 1997-1999.	Public – national
Donald Llewellyn	1999	KNZM	For services to agriculture and the community.	Agriculture; community
William Birch	1999	GNZM	For public services as a MP and Minister of the Crown. MP, first elected 1972; Treasurer, appt 1998; Minister of Finance, Revenue.	Public – national
Brian Lochore	1999	KNZM	For services to sport and the community. All Blacks 1963-1971; All Black captain 1966-1970 and coach 1985-1987.	Sport; community
Angus Tait	1999	KNZM	For services to technology, manufacturing and export.	Business
David Tompkins	1999	KNZM	For services as a Judge of the High Court and to the community. High Court Judge 1983-1997, acting High Court Judge, appt 1997; involved Outward Bound, and more.	Legal; community
Jon Trimmer	1999	KNZM	For services to ballet (Head of Royal NZ Ballet).	Arts
Rodney Gallen	2000	KNZM	For services as a Judge of the High Court 1983-1999.	Legal
Patrick Hogan	2000	KNZM	For services to thoroughbred breeding and racing. Owner of Sir Tristram; chair New Zealand Thoroughbred Breeders' Assn.	Sport
Gilbert Simpson	2000	KNZM	For services to information technology, commerce and the community. CEO Aoraki Corp; chair Christchurch City Mission Special Appeals campaign.	Business; community; academic
John Turei	2000	KNZM	For services to Maori.	Maori

Dames

Dame	Year of Honour	Type of Award	Main areas of work	Categories of service
Countess of Liverpool	1918	GBE	Wife of the Governor-General.	Community; war/patriotic work
Christina Massey	1926	GBE	Widow of former PM; "loyal and devoted" helpmate of husband; humanitarian work, organisations for betterment of women and children; war work World War One.	Community; war/patriotic work
Elizabeth Gilmer	1951	DBE	Wellington Hospital Bd 1938-1953; Wellington City CI 1941-1953; involved various associations, incl Crippled Children's Assn; NZ representative International CI of Women 1949.	Public – local; community
Barbara, Lady Freyberg	1953	GBE	Wife of the Governor-General; work with New Zealand clubs; involved in Girl Guides' Assn, NCW; New Zealand Crippled Children's Society, League of Mothers, Mothers Union, and more; daughter of Colonel Sir Herbert Jekyll. '[I]n recognition of her services to New Zealand during the war period, in connection with the welfare of New Zealand forces, and as wife of the Governor-General of New Zealand from 1946 to 1952'.	Community; war/patriotic work
Hilda Ross	1956	DBE	National MP for Hamilton 1945-1959; Minister for Welfare of Women and Children 1949-1957.	Public – national
Ngaio Marsh	1966	DBE	Literature (first book published 1933) and stage direction, Shakespeare, 1938-1964.	Arts
Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu	1970	DBE	The Maori Queen, acceded 23 May 1966.	Public – national; Maori
Sister Mary Leo	1973	DBE	Singing teacher, incl of Major and Te Kanawa.	Arts
Ruth Kirk	1975	DBE	Widow of the Rt Hon Norman Kirk, PM. For public services.	Public – national
Cecily Pickerill	1977	DBE	For services to medicine, especially in the field of plastic surgery. Plastic surgeon.	Medical
Daphne Purves	1979	DBE	For services to the International and NZ Federations of University Women. President IFUW 1977-1980, National President NZFUW 1962-1964.	Women
Miriam Dell	1980	DBE	President of the International Council of Women (1979-1986). For services to women. Voluntary community activity and public appointments.	Women

Norma, Lady Holyoake	1980	DCMG	For public services since 1935. Wife of Sir Keith Holyoake (GCMG 1970, KG 1980).	Public – national
Whina Cooper	1981	DBE	For services to the Maori people. Led land march; founding president MWWL 1951-1957; descended from chiefs; involved in Maori organisations.	Maori
Kiri Te Kanawa	1982	DBE	For services to opera.	Arts
Catherine Tizard	1985	DBE	For public and community service. Auckland City CI 1971-1983; Mayor of Auckland 1983-1990; Auckland University CI; ASB Community Trusts, and more; Governor-General Designate of New Zealand; Governor-General of NZ 1990-1996 (first woman).	Public – local; community
Jean Herbison	1985	DBE	For services to education. Teacher, Avonside Girls' HS; vice principal, Christchurch Teachers' College 1968-1974; associate director Christchurch Polytechnic 1975-1984; University of Canterbury CI 1970-1984 and chancellor 1979-1984; NZEAS national president 1978-1984; Commonwealth CI for Educational Administration 1982-1986, and more.	Academic
Dorothea Horsman	1986	DBE	For services to the community. National president NCW 1982-1986; national president NZFUW 1973-1976; various boards and organisations, incl YMCA.	Community
Vivienne Boyd	1986	DBE	For public services. Chair Consumer CI 1983-1988; NCW president 1978-1982, and more.	Public – national
Marie Clay	1987	DBE	For services to education. Auckland University, appt Professor 1975; Head of Department 1975-1977, 1986-1988.	Academic
Dorothy Fraser	1987	DBE	For services to the Otago Hospital Board and the community. Chair Otago Hospital Bd 1974-1986, member 1953-1956, 1962-1986; Dunedin City CI 1970-1974, and more.	Public – local; community
Joan Metge	1987	DBE	For services to anthropology. Fieldwork and research; Associate Professor at Victoria University, anthropology, 1968-1988.	Academic
Ann Hercus	1988	DCMG	For public services. MP 1978-1987; Minister of Police and of Social Welfare and of Women's Affairs, 1984-1987; Ambassador to UN 1988-1990.	Public – national
Laurie Salas	1988	DBE	For services to the community. 30 years voluntary work, incl NCW, ALAC, peace and disarmament work, elected national president UN Assn of NZ 1988; daughter of Sir James Hay.	Community
Barbara Goodman	1989	DBE	For services to the community. Chair International Woman's Year Committee 1975; chair Odyssey House Trust 1981-1983, and more;	Community

			niece of Sir Dove-Myer Robinson (Kt 1970).	
Silvia Cartwright	1989	DBE	For services to women. Chief District Court Judge 1989-1993; District Court Judge and Family Court Judge 1981-1989; conducted inquiry at National Women's Hospital, 1987-1988; later appt High Court Judge, and Governor-General.	Women
Miraka Szaszy	1990	DBE	For services to the community. Executive secretary MWWL 1952-1957, and many Maori women's organisations.	Community
Dorothy Winstone	1990	DBE	For services to the community. NZFUW national president 1964-1967, involved NCW.	Community
Catherine Tizard	1990	GCMG	Governor-General Designate of New Zealand; as above.	Public – national
Stella Casey	1991	DBE	For services to the community. Deputy chair Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs, 1981-1984; Parliamentary Watch Committee; member NCW and NZFUW, and more.	Community
Malvina Major	1991	DBE	For services to opera and the community.	Arts; community
Rangimarie Hetet	1992	DBE	For services to traditional Maori arts and crafts.	Maori; arts
Norma Restieaux	1992	DBE	For services to cardiology. Associate Professor of Medicine, Otago University, appt 1977; head of cardiology at Dunedin Hospital, appt 1975.	Medical
Ann Ballin	1993	DBE	For services to the community. Chair Victims' Task Force, appt 1988; chair National Organisation for International Year of Disabled Persons, 1980-1982; psychologist.	Community
Patricia Evison	1993	DBE	For services to theatre, television and the community. TV, stage and feature film roles.	Arts; community
Thea, Lady Muldoon	1993	DBE	For services to the community. Married to Sir Robert Muldoon (GCMG 1984).	Community
Phyllis Guthardt	1993	DBE	For services to the Methodist Church and to women.	Religion; women
Louise Henderson	1993	DBE	For service to art.	Art
Dawn Lamb	1993	DBE	For services to education. Principal of Christchurch Girls' High, appt 1987; foundation senior mistress at Macleans College in Auckland.	Academic
Augusta Wallace	1993	DBE	Lately a District Court Judge (Stipendiary Magistrate and District Court Judge 1975-1993).	Legal
Patricia Bergquist	1994	DBE	For services to science. Research; Auckland University, Professor of Zoology, appt 1981; Head of Department 1986-1989; assistant vice-chancellor (academic) 1988-1996.	Academic
Eileen Mayo	1994	DBE	For services to art.	Arts
Georgina Kirby	1994	DBE	For services to the Maori people. MWWL national president 1983-	Maori

			1987; member board of Maori Affairs; founder and director trustee Maori Women's Development Fund.	
Elizabeth Harper	1995	DBE	For services to Save the Children Fund (national president 1989-1993).	Community
Anne Salmond	1995	DBE	For services to historical research.	Academic
Pauline Engel	1995	DBE	For services to education. Teacher; Principal of Carmel Coll 1983-1991; chair Auckland Catholic Secondary Schools Assn, 1987-1990, and more.	Academic
Catherine Tizard	1995	GCVO	Governor-General of New Zealand, 1990-1996; as above.	Public – national; personal to sovereign
Gillian Weir	1996	DBE	For services to music. Concert organist; sister of Sir Roderick Weir (Kt 1984).	Arts
Kate Harcourt	1996	DNZM	For services to the theatre. Various performances, also work in publicity, scriptwriting, films and TV.	Arts
Ella Campbell	1997	DNZM	For services to science. Lectured at Massey University 1945-1976, world recognition for research.	Academic
Janet Paul	1997	DNZM	For services to publishing, writing and painting. Involved Blackwood and Janet Paul Ltd; published; painter.	Arts
Fiona Kidman	1998	DNZM	For services to literature. Many publications; also lectured in creative writing; NZ Book Cl.	Arts
Susan Devoy	1998	DNZM	For services to sport and the community. Three times world champion in squash; walked length of New Zealand to raise money for muscular dystrophy.	Sport; community
Elizabeth Hanan	1998	DNZM	For services to the community. Dunedin City Cl, first elected 1986; president NZFUW Otago 1990-1992; Consumer Cl 1986-1988; Dunedin Showcase Trust; and more similar. Daughter of Professor Sir John Walsh.	Community
Cheryll Sotheran	1999	DNZM	For services to museum administration.	Business
Margaret Bazley	1999	DNZM	For public services, lately as Chief Executive of the Department of Social Welfare. Chief executive, Ministry of Transport, and many public appointments.	Public – national
Sian Elias	1999	GNZM	Chief Justice of New Zealand.	Legal
Evelyn Stokes	2000	DNZM	For services to tertiary education and Maori.	Academic; Maori

Notes:

Bold notation denotes the citation provided in the *New Zealand Gazette* or obtained from the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

The C or M noted in some awards granted denotes civil or military division.

All dates given for awards are those of the notice published in the *New Zealand Gazette*, rather than of the announcement given in the media, which was often given for awards in the New Year List on 31 December of the previous year.

Categorisations of services are derived from citations in *The New Zealand Gazette*, or those provided by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Where such citations were unavailable, biographical information from other sources was used, particularly where the award of the titular honour and the reason for it was discussed. The timing of the award in relation to the work done or positions held was taken into account in categorisation.

This table does not contain all positions held, or work done, for reasons of space. Rather, major appointments and career achievements have been included, those directly relevant or close in time to the award given, or one of a number of similar positions. For instance, where a Judge has been granted a title, previous positions as a barrister or solicitor were not included.

Abbreviations:

ADC	Aide-de-camp
A-G	Attorney-General
ALAC	Alcohol Liquor Advisory Council
appt	appointed
Assn	Association
Bd	Board
Cl	Council
Co	Company
Coll	College
EEC	European Economic Community
esp	especially
Fdn	Foundation
FFNZ	Federated Farmers of New Zealand
GOC	General Officer Commanding
HS	High School
ICW	International Council of Women
IFUW	International Federation of University Women
incl	including
MLC	Member of the Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament

MWWL	Maori Women's Welfare League
NCW	National Council of Women
NZ'er	New Zealander
NZEAS	New Zealand Educational Administration Society
NZFU	New Zealand Farmers' Union
NZFUW	New Zealand Federation of University Women
NZHBA	New Zealand Hospital Boards Association
NZHPT	New Zealand Historic Places Trust
NZLS	New Zealand Law Society
NZRSA	New Zealand Returned Services Association
PM	Prime Minister
PMG	Postmaster General
TEAL	Tasman Empire Airways Ltd
UN	United Nations
UNZ	University of New Zealand
VC	Vice Chancellor
WEA	Workers' Education Association
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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Abbreviations and notes:

ATL Alexander Turnbull Library

DPMC Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet

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