Wicked Wilhelmites and Sauer Krauts: The New Zealand Reception of Ernst Lissauer's "Hymn of Hate"

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Abstract
When the German poet Ernst Lissauer published his anti-English poem "Haßgesang gegen England" in the early weeks of the First World War, the effect was electric. The poem, translated into English and dubbed the "Hymn of Hate," echoed around the globe, reaching as far as New Zealand where newspapers sedulously followed its international reception and published local responses. Given the nature of New Zealand's relationship to Britain and the strength of the international press links, it is not surprising that news of the poem reached New Zealand in the early months of the war. However, the sheer volume of coverage given to a single German war poem in New Zealand's press over the course of the war and after, as well as the many and varied responses to that poem by New Zealanders both at home and serving overseas, are surprising. This article examines the broad range of responses to Lissauer's now forgotten poem by New Zealanders during the Great War and after, from newspaper reports, editorials and cartoons, to poetic parodies, parliamentary speeches, enterprising musical performances and publications, and even seasonal greeting cards.

"The poem fell like a shell into a munitions depot." With these words, the Austrian novelist Stefan Zweig recalled the impact made by Ernst Lissauer's anglophobic poem "Haßgesang gegen England" ("A Chant of Hate Against England") upon first publication in Germany in 1914.[1]

The reception of Lissauer's poem in the German-speaking world is a remarkable story, but its reception, in translation, in the English-speaking world is no less surprising.[2] And this reception spanned the globe. New Zealanders, even those in small rural towns, knew Lissauer's poem and responded to it in a variety of ways. This New Zealand reception can be viewed as a specific example of the considerable international reaction to the "Haßgesang," or the "Hymn of Hate," as it was popularly known.

Lissauer, a 31-year-old German Jewish poet, wrote and published the "Haßgesang gegen England" within a month of the start of the First World War. Soon, the poem was reprinted widely in magazines and newspapers throughout the German-speaking world.[3] It seemed to capture the spirit of the time, and to reinforce the widespread feeling of indignation that many in Germany felt upon Britain's entry into the war.[4]

Anglo–German antagonism had increased in the half century before the outbreak of war, as Germany had grown from "a cluster of insignificant states under insignificant princelings" to emerge as Britain's principle economic and military rival in Europe.[5] As the naval race between the two powers intensified in the run-up to war, the British government sought to maintain the *status quo*, while the German government aspired to challenge it.[6]

From the declaration of war, the spontaneous outbreak of hatred towards England (a catchall which included Great Britain and the Empire) was reflected, and indeed reinforced, as the dominant tone of the German press.[7] Yet within Germany, hatred was not seen as the preserve of Germany alone; indeed, hatred on both sides was acknowledged, but there was a clear

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distinction between the German brand and English one, as Julius Schiller, a Protestant pastor from Nuremberg, set out in the liberal *Vossische Zeitung* newspaper early in 1915:

> We Germans hate in a different manner to the sons of Albion. Our hate is honest, based on just principles. England's hatred is dishonest, driven by envy, malice and jealousy. It is high time that we finally saw England in its true contours.[8]

The German text of Ernst Lissauer's "Haßgesang" is reproduced here as it first appeared, alongside Barbara Henderson's translation.

Haßgesang gegen England

Was schiert uns Russe und Franzos',
Schuß wider Schuß und Stoß um Stoß!
Wir lieben sie nicht,
Wir hassen sie nicht,
Wir schützen Weichsel und Wasgaupaß, –
Wir haben nur einen einzigen Haß,
Wir lieben vereint, wir hassen vereint,
Wir haben nur einen einzigen Feind:
Den ihr alle wißt, den ihr alle wißt,
Er sitzt geduckt hinter der grauen Flut,
Voll Neid, voll Wut, voll Schläue, voll List,
Durch Wasser getrennt, die sind dicker als Blut.
Wir wollen treten in ein Gericht,
Einen Schwur zu schwören, Gesicht in Gesicht,
Einen Schwur von Erz, den verbläst kein Wind,
Einen Schwur für Kind und für Kindeskind,
Vernehmt das Wort, sagt nach das Wort,
Es wälze sich durch ganz Deutschland fort:
Wir wollen nicht lassen von unserm Haß,
Wir haben alle nur einen Haß,
Wir lieben vereint, wir hassen vereint,
Wir haben alle nur einen Feind:
England.
In der Bordkajüte, im Feiersaal,
Saßen Schiffsoffiziere beim Liebesmahl, –
Wie ein Säbelhieb, wie ein Segelschwung,
Einer riß grüßend empor den Trunk,
Knapp hinknallend wie Ruderschlag,
Drei Worte sprach er: "Auf den Tag!"
Wem galt das Glas?
Sie hatten alle nur einen Haß.
Wer war gemeint?
Sie hatten alle nur einen Feind:
England.
Nimm du die Völker der Erde in Sold,
Baue Wälle aus Barren von Gold,
Bedecke die Meerflut mit Bug bei Bug,
Du rechnetest klug, doch nicht klug genug.
Was schiert uns Russe und Franzos',
Schuß wider Schuß und Stoß um Stoß!
Wir kämpfen den Kampf mit Bronze und Stahl,
Und schließen den Frieden irgend einmal, –
Dich werden wir hassen mit langem Haß,
Wir werden nicht lassen von unserm Haß,
Haß zu Wasser und Haß zu Land,
Haß des Hauptes und Haß der Hand,
Haß der Hämmer und Haß der Kronen,
Drosselnder Haß von siebzig Millionen,

A Chant of Hate Against England

French and Russian, they matter not,
A blow for a blow and a shot for a shot;
We love them not,
we hate them not,
We hold the Weichsel and Vosges-gate,
We have but one and only hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone.
He is known to you all, he is known to you all,
He crouches behind the dark grey flood,
Full of envy, of rage, of craft, of gall,
Cut off by waves that are thicker than blood,
Come let us stand at the Judgement place,
An oath to swear to, face to face,
An oath of bronze no wind can shake.
An oath for our sons and their sons to take.
Come, hear the word, repeat the word,
Throughout the Fatherland make it heard.
We will never forego our hate,
We have all but a single hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone –
ENGLAND!
In the Captain's Mess, in the banquet-hall,
Sat feasting the officers, one and all,
Like a sabre-blow, like the swing of a sail,
One seized his glass held high to hail;
Sharp-snapped like the stroke of a rudder's play,
Spoke three words only: "To the Day!"
Whose glass this fate?
They had all but a single hate.
Who was thus known?
They had one foe and one alone –
ENGLAND!
Take you the folk of the Earth in pay,
With bars of gold your ramparts lay,
Bedeck the ocean with bow on bow,
Ye reckon well, but not well enough now.
French and Russian they matter not,
A blow for a blow, a shot for a shot,
We fight the battle with bronze and steel.
And the time that is coming Peace will seal.
You will we hate with a lasting hate,
We will never forego our hate,
Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the head and hate of the hand,
Hate of the hammer and hate of the crown,
Hate of seventy millions, choking down.

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Sie lieben vereint, sie hassen vereint, Sie haben alle nur einen Feind: England.[9]	We love as one, we hate as one, We have one foe and one alone – *ENGLAND!*[10]

Hatred towards England took priority for Germany, and within a few weeks of the outbreak of war animosity in the press towards Germany's traditional enemies, Russia and France was replaced with a concentration on England, and newspapers such as *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* (aligned with the National Liberal Party) identified the destruction of England as the principal war aim.[11] Lissauer's poem illustrates the sentiment in its opening stanza.

One of the intriguing aspects of the poem's German reception is the universality of its appeal across social strata: its official endorsement by the government, its popularity amongst the public as well as its resonance for soldiers at the front. Endorsement from the highest echelons of society and the military came through Rupprecht, Crown Prince of Bavaria, and the German Kaiser himself.[12] Rupprecht, as commander of the German Sixth Army, supplied his soldiers with copies of the poem; and the Kaiser bestowed upon Lissauer the Order of the Red Eagle, Fourth Class, with Crown.[13] On the wings of the red eagle, then, the "Haßgesang" continued to soar, being taught in schools, set to music, and inspiring a subgenre of similar hate poetry, some of which was collected in the extraordinary 1915 anthology *Wehe dir, England!* (Woe to you, England!).[14]

But just as Lissauer was enjoying his greatest acclaim as the author of the famous poem, the seeds of opposition were being sown. Critical discourse surrounding the poem would soon shift between objections on moral and aesthetic grounds to disparagement on racial and cultural ones. The English-born German philosopher Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a virulent anti-Semite, took the position that the sentiments expressed in "Haßgesang" were thoroughly un-German, insisting that a true German is uncomfortable with Old Testament hate, whereas the author of the poem is from a race for whom hatred is a traditional value.[15] At a political level, discussion centred on concerns that the use of the "Haßgesang" in schools could lead to a corruption of youth. The press picked up on these moral concerns and by August 1915 the left–liberal *Berliner Tageblatt* was publishing articles critical of the "Haßgesang" and its use in schools. Lissauer's public response was not to defend the poem, but simply to mitigate his own responsibility for its glorification of hatred, portraying himself as a victim of the poem's success.[16]

By 1916 the "Haßgesang" had ceased to make headlines in the German press. The poem's propaganda value was well and truly spent, and now Lissauer worried that the disrepute garnered by the "Haßgesang" was preventing his other writing from being taken seriously. This very real concern was to stay with him for the rest of his life.[17]

The appearance of Barbara Henderson's English translation of Lissauer's poem in the *New York Times* on 15 October 1914, just a month after its first publication in Germany, provided the springboard for the work's international exposure.[18] Within a fortnight Henderson's translation crossed the Atlantic and was published in the *Times* of London.[19] Under the headline "A Poem of Hatred—England the Only Foe," the translation was published in full. Henderson had gone to considerable trouble to present a translation as close as possible to the original in form and content, and the result is a poetic statement that is as strident in English as it is in German.

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Even though it would become popularly known under a different title—"Hymn of Hate"—to the one Henderson chose for her version ("Chant of Hate"), the quality of Henderson's translation probably played a role in the rapid rise to notoriety of the work in the English-speaking world. Certainly, this was the form in which it became widely read, as confirmed by the sheer number of republications and the lack of any alternative translations.

In the same way that Lissauer's version of the "Haßgesang" might be seen to have adroitly captured the German *Zeitgeist*, Henderson's "Chant of Hate" correspondingly summed up for the English-speaking world an anti-German stereotype, namely its hatefulness. That, in essence, was the considerable value of the poem as propaganda for both sides. The epithetical "Hateful Germans" and their "Hymns of Hate" entered the vernacular as idioms for displays of hatefulness, be they ideas or bombs, German or otherwise.[20]

High rates of literacy and a flourishing press in New Zealand before the war kept New Zealanders engaged with world events.[21] International news via undersea telegraph cables was available to New Zealand papers through the monopoly of the United Press Association cooperative amongst daily papers, and as part of the imperial press system this news had a strongly British orientation.[22] Attentive readers would have been aware of the German military and naval build up in the years before the war, and the growing tensions with Britain.[23] The *Hawera and Normanby Star* of 29 January 1910, for example, warned of Germany's "policy of blood and iron" with regard to international relations.[24] New Zealand's dependence on international news sourced from Britain meant that British depictions of German hostility found their reflection in the local press.[25]

When Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914, it did so on behalf of the British Empire, which included the dominions of Australia, Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa and New Zealand.[26] As the only regular means of mass communication, New Zealand newspapers, which were largely supportive of Britain's action, were vigorously scrutinised for developments as the war progressed.[27] Just days after the declaration of war, the Christchurch *Star*, under the headline "The Day: A German Toast: Crushing the Free Nations," reprinted a report from Melbourne which recalled the German naval and military toast "Auf den Tag!" ("To the Day"). This meant the day when Germany felt strong enough to take on Britain. Perhaps this day had now come.[28] Another Christchurch newspaper, the *Sun*, followed up with its own special report under the heading "'The Bully of Europe': Real Causes of the Great War." In this article special mention is made of the toast "To the Day!" "Britain knows that the day referred to was the great day of the future Trafalgar, which may even now have arrived."[29] Armed with this knowledge, the paper's readers would have been able to make sense of the third stanza of the "Hymn of Hate" ("In the captain's mess") when Henderson's translation was printed in New Zealand newspapers a few weeks later.

> In the Captain's Mess, in the banquet-hall,
> Sat feasting the officers, one and all,
> Like a sabre-blow, like the swing of a sail,
> One seized his glass held high to hail;
> Sharp-snapped like the stroke of a rudder's play,
> Spoke three words only: "To the Day!"
> Whose glass this fate?
> They had all but a single hate.
> Who was thus known?
> They had one foe and one alone –
> *ENGLAND!*

By mid-November 1914, news of Lissauer's "Haßgesang" was beginning to appear in New Zealand papers. The major responses to the poem overseas were reported in New Zealand, and not just in the main metropolitan daily newspapers, but the smaller regional papers as well, like the *Mataura Ensign* and the *Poverty Bay Herald*.[30] The *New Zealand Herald* quoted a report from Copenhagen under the headline "Hatred of England: Music Hall Song: Distributed to Troops": "The Crown Prince of Bavaria is distributing among the troops copies of the so-called 'Poem of Hatred,' a music hall song expressing the Germans' undying hatred of England and England alone." [31] Curious readers were not able to study the poem, however, until Wellington's *Evening Post* published a few lines on 24 November 1914, in an article sourced from the United States newspaper, the *Springfield Republican*. This piece, reporting on German hatred towards England, quotes part of Henderson's translation of the "Haßgesang," although it gives neither the source of the poem, nor mention of the title, author or translator. "This," the report states, "is genuine poetry, because it is fired by a genuine hate; it comes flaming from the heart, and it may live for centuries as a spark struck out by the greatest war in history." In contrast, the article laments "the rather poor showing that our own poets have made in the appeals that they have been making to the nation."[32] At this early stage of the war, certain commentators clearly believed, Allied poets needed to lift their game.

When Henderson's translation was printed in full in New Zealand newspapers from early December 1914, it was taken directly from the *New York Times*. Similarly, the substantial editorial headed "A Hymn of Hate" in the *Wairarapa Daily Times* on 16 December 1914 was reprinted directly from the London *Times*.[33] Quickly, though, New Zealanders began to respond to the poem in their own ways. The enterprising Arthur Henry Adams, a New Zealand journalist and popular writer in both New Zealand and Australia, penned a thundering retort to Lissauer's inflammatory verses just before Christmas 1914.[34] Adams was the editor of the *Sun* newspaper and the Red Page of the *Bulletin* in Sydney at the beginning of the First World War, and his poetic conflation of "Germany" and "hatefulness" echoed the early British response of outrage and indignation. His poem was published in Australia together with Henderson's translation in a booklet form, and made available for purchase on both sides of the Tasman Sea. The most remarkable aspect of the booklet was its presentation (Figure 1). It had the size and general appearance of a greeting card, and on the cover, surrounded by an embossed design, were the words "With the Season's Greetings." Clearly this publication was intended to be sent as a Christmas card. Adams's characterization of Germany as treacherous met with the approval of the *Otago Daily Times*:

> Mr Adams's lines, which are entitled "My Friend, Remember!" deal with the treachery of the Germans, and impress upon readers the necessity for remembering that "Germany is Hate." The verses are written in Mr Adams's usual bright style, and sum up the German nation as it has appeared—a traitor and a spy.[35]

The stentorian tone of Adams's poem, together with the refrains "Never forget, through good and ill / A German is a German still" and "Remember: GERMANY IS HATE!", add to its rhetorical force and memorability.

> **My Friend, Remember!**
> Never compact with you to make,
> Never a German hand to shake,
> Never a German word to take –
> The German word that Germans break!
> Never forget, through good and ill,
> A German is a German still.

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This is your doom: you will too late
Remember: GERMANY IS HATE! [36]

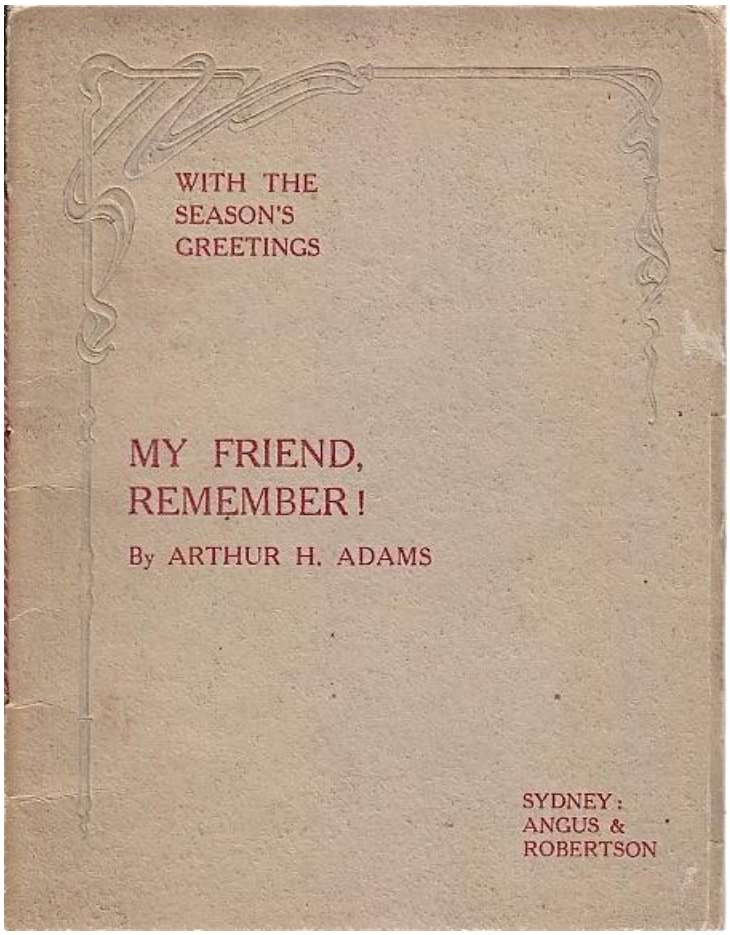

Figure 1. Arthur Adams**,** *My Friend, Remember!*

In addition to the *Otago Daily Times*, other New Zealand newspapers received Adams's poem in a positive light, viewing it as a clear literary strike against Germany. The Christchurch *Star*, reviewing Adams's poem under the heading "A Clever Rejoinder," tersely addressed Lissauer's efforts while demonizing the German nation as a whole: "There recently appeared in the Press an English translation of Ernst Lissauer's 'Chant of Hate,' which . . . has enjoyed a huge vogue in the land of the 'baby killers.'"[37] After quoting a few lines of the "Hymn of Hate," the *Star* continued:

> To Lissauer's extraordinary effusion Mr Arthur Adams, ex-Wellingtonian, but now of the *Bulletin*, has replied, in a suitably vigorous style, in a set of verses entitled, "My Friend, Remember!" published in pamphlet form, together with the German poem, by Angus and Robertson, Sydney. How hard Mr Adams can hit back at the Teutonic hate-monger may be seen by his opening verses.[38]

By early 1915, lengthy articles on German hate poetry began to appear in New Zealand newspapers. Under the banner "The War of all the Centuries: A Literature of Wrath: German Hatred of England: Clippings from the Kaiser's Press," the *North Otago Times* featured an extensive piece on hatred in German writing and the German press. "The one thing missing in German newspaper literature, just now, is a single note of cool reason; the faintest vision of

the relative sizes of things; a lonely grain of humour—that true antiseptic of all literature."[39] The paper concluded with a remarkably sober and detached assessment that contrasted strongly with the eternal damnation invoked in Adams's Christmas poem:

> It would be a mistake to take the shrill rhetoric of German newspapers too seriously. Nor do we believe that hate as a permanent mood ever takes captive the mind of an entire nation, or can hold it long. It is a mood; it will pass like a mood; and a mood is but for a moment. When the tumult of the present war has died into silence, and the sky of the race has been cleansed from [*sic*] the battle smoke that now darkens it, facts will be seen in clear outline, and the hates bred of war will die.[40]

In a similar vein, Dunedin's *Evening Star* published a sizeable article examining the passion of hate in German literature. The piece discussed the historical continuity of the subject in German writing leading up to the war and the contemporary German literature it was inspiring.[41] A few days later, the *Timaru Herald*, in an editorial headed "The Poem of Hate," condemned Lissauer's poem and Germany's capacity for hate. The paper also lamented that the "Hymn of Hate" "should be instilled into the minds of German children."[42] Elsewhere in the same edition the *Timaru Herald* noted, "it was reported yesterday that he [Lissauer] has been decorated by the Kaiser for this poem, which is declaimed in all the German schools."[43]

As well as keeping up with editorials and responses to the "Hymn of Hate" from home and abroad, New Zealand newspaper readers were able to keep abreast of the changing attitudes to the poem in Germany. As early as February 1915, the *Evening Star* was reporting on protest in German Socialist newspapers against the use of the poem in German schools.[44] Then, in August that year, the *Evening Post*, in an article headed "The Hymn of Hate: Losing Favour," quoted a report from Amsterdam: "Herr Lissauer's 'Song of Hate' is losing favour. The *Tageblatt* approvingly quotes from the *Koelnische Volks Zeitung* a clergyman's letter deploring the song and urging its removal from children's books."[45] Later still in 1915, the *Evening Post* published a report from a London correspondent that Lissauer had relented on his "Hymn of Hate," and "is now apparently chastened and almost penitent." The report went on to state that "some courageous professors and officials in Bavaria have had the song banned for children's use, as tending to breed unworthy feelings in the young German mind."[46]

At about the time New Zealand newspapers were reporting on Lissauer's change of heart, letters from New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli were arriving home. "The Soldiers' Mail-Bag" became a frequent column in the independent weekly *New Zealand Free Lance* newspaper, printing extracts from letters of troops serving at the front. By means of these letters, readers were able to gain an impression (albeit censored, both officially and self-censored by the writers) of the war through the eyes of serving soldiers. One such soldier was Gunner Joe Kenny of Wellington, serving with the Main Expeditionary Force at Gallipoli. An excerpt from one of his letters paints a vivid picture of life in the dugouts, and also shows how the soldier slang "Hymn of Hate"—for enemy shelling—had entered the vernacular and was being used by New Zealand soldiers on the Gallipoli peninsula:[47]

> We are all living in dug-outs close to the beach, and have plenty of swimming until the Turks start with their Hymn of Hate, as we call their shells. We have got it pretty hot at times from their artillery. As a matter of fact, we have been under fire all the time since we landed, but now and again they give us hell with shrapnel, and then it's a case of getting down deep in a dug-out or else stopping a shot. I don't mind admitting we don't need much telling to take cover.[48]

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The idiomatic use of "hate" for enemy bombardment was more commonly found in the patois of soldiers on the Western Front, including New Zealanders, and was not restricted to the enlisted ranks. In his memoirs from the First World War, Major Lindsay Inglis, commander of a machine-gun company of the New Zealand Machine Gun Corps positioned southwest of Arras in 1918, recalled an amusing anecdote one of his officers liked to tell of a reconnaissance operation of enemy posts he had carried out with Inglis:

> We found the posts all right, and we survived that; but on the way home Jerry began to hate us with five-nines. The first one landed about twenty yards away. Of course field officers take no notice of a thing like that, so I couldn't either.[49]

Creative New Zealand soldiers serving on the Western Front in 1917 also had Lissauer's poem in their sights, with the troop publication *New Zealand at the Front* containing both a parody of the poem, and a prose piece contextualising the "hymn of hate" trench slang. Advertised as "written and illustrated by men of the New Zealand Division," *New Zealand at the Front* was published by Cassells in London, with a substantial print run of 30,000.[50] Such anthology style publications were officially sanctioned and subject to censorship, yet they were produced as mementos, and read widely by both serving troops (see Figure 2) and their families at home.[51] C. Baker's poem "Try Smiling" offers a simple antidote to both Lissauer's enmity and grim trench life in general:

> If your dinner you've begun,
> And your playful friend the Hun
> Drops a "sausage" on your plate.
> Do not sing the Hymn of Hate —
> Try smiling.
> When you get the blooming hump
> Carrying sandbags to the Dump,
> And to make things rather worse
> It comes on to rain, don't curse —
> Try smiling.[52]

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Figure 2. World War I New Zealand soldiers with a copy of *New Zealand at the Front*, Belgium, 20 November 1917. Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association: New Zealand official negatives, World War 1914-1918. Ref: 1/2-012980-G. (H-343). Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.[53]

H. T. B. Drew's prose piece "An Outpost Incident" vividly and effectively defines the soldier slang "hymn of hate" for readers at home:

> The German gunners had finished their evening hymn of hate—an hour and a quarter of dreary wail upon wail of heavy shells on the wing, high up over the short trench, passing to our back areas. Punctuating this, hissed and snapped the venomous whizz-bangs, some exploding near the top of the miserable, narrow trench, whose only escape from demolition was its embarrassing closeness to the forward houses of a village occupied by Germans.[54]

In New Zealand, as elsewhere, initial reactions of shock and indignation to the "Hymn of Hate" soon gave way to humour and parody. A piece in the *Evening Star* in May 1915, with the headline "Germany's Deep Hatred," referred to both Frank Reynolds's famous *Punch* cartoon "Study of a Prussian Household Having its Morning Hate" and the poem that inspired it: Lissauer's "Haßgesang." The article noted that "it is a good omen that we have kept cool and smiled at all the Hymns of Hate and Gott straafe [*sic*] England business. To have done otherwise would have been to frustrate our own most cherished purposes."[55]

In July 1915, the *Evening Post*, the *Star*, the *Ashburton Guardian* and the *Sun* (Canterbury), all ran parodies of the "Hymn of Hate": the first three ran "The Tommy's Song of Hate" by an unnamed "member of the Expeditionary Force at the front," and the *Sun* ran an anonymous parody, simply titled "A Hymn of Hate," which had first appeared in the *Toronto Daily Star*.[56]

"The Tommy's Song of Hate" involved a soldier's complaint about a Prussian sniper creeping under a wire entanglement to steal a freshly made custard pudding. The poeticised tribulation ended:

> One hate I have an' one hate alone,
> One frightful hate in flesh and bone,
> One hate that's bigger than hate of wrong,
> A hate that I've turned to a morning song:
> I hate all Germans that lie and boast,
> And pass our so-called listening post,
> To sneak the comforts that feed the sick,
> A horrible, dirty, low down trick.
> I hate as one and I hate as four,
> I hate the hate of an army corps;
> One hate I have and one hate I hiss,
> An' I call the perishin' blighter this:
> PUDDEN-PINCHER.[57]

The parody that appeared in the *Sun* with "no apologies to Herr Lissauer" was also focussed on food:

> Carrots or beets, we hate them not,
> We love them not, we hate them not.
> Of all the things that land on our plate
> There's only one that we loath [*sic*] and hate;
> We love a hundred, we hate but one,
> And that we'll hate till kingdom come –
> Sauer Kraut.[58]

Stridently opposing "militarism" and "wowserism," the working-class weekly *New Zealand Truth* newspaper coopted parodies of Lissauer's poem (cartoons as well as poetry) for its own political agenda.[59] John Norton, the turn-of-the-century editor of the Australian *Truth* newspaper, had invented the term "wowser" to describe a particular species of Australian moral crusader who espoused prohibitionism and deplored the sinful pleasures of the working man. The *New Zealand Truth* took up cudgels against New Zealand wowsers, and in wartime eagerly compared them with the joyless Germans. In January 1916, under the heading "Peace and Goodwill on Earth: Wicked Wilhelmites and Wowsers' Way," the *Truth* offered a local parody of the "Hymn of Hate" including a cartoon with a poetic pastiche using (without crediting the source) Frank Reynolds's cartoon from *Punch* magazine as a starting point (Figures 3 and 4).

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Figure 3. "Wicked Wilhelmites and Wowsers' Way," first cartoon, *NZ Truth*, 8 January 1916, 6, using Frank Reynolds's *Punch* cartoon.

Whereas most responses to Lissauer's poem published in New Zealand loyally followed the pro-British, anti-German line dominating the British press, the *NZ Truth* newspaper, by adding other layers of meaning, refocussed the discourse onto domestic cultural values, thereby satirising local wowsers and depicting them as no better than the hateful Germans:

> See a family of Germans with their well-known Hymn of Hate,
> Which has now for special purposes been written,
> And which since the War's been started, had been early sung, and late,
> And has chiefly been directed towards Great Britain.
> [. . .]
> Yes from noon till night the Germans chant their well-known Hymn of Hate,
> Their staple food it seems in all this strife-time,
> And they're singing, singing, singing up into the evening late
> Their Chant of Hate, the Chant is of a Lifetime.[60]

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Figure 4. "Wicked Wilhelmites and Wowsers' Way," second cartoon, *NZ Truth*, 8 January 1916, 6.

For the family of wowsers, the *NZ Truth* had just as little time as for the enemy. The reproachful wowsers, if they had their way, the paper suggested, would "clothe all our park statues, put them into modern dress / In our cities no theatres they'd allow / They would ban all ballet-dancing, they would have no city press / And this Dominion they'd run anyhow."[61]

> And Art Galleries they'd close up, and Noo Zee'd be "To Let,"
> They wouldn't run a Sunday tram or train.
> For all, outside a Wowser, they a straight-jacket would get,
> No wonder, they'd be hopelessly insane.
> Things would all be topsy-turvy, and the Wowsers'd run the land.
> Already in God's Own there's far too many;
> It's just as well those hypocrites now truly understand
> That New Zealand of this crowd's "not taking any."[62]

As the second anniversary of the declaration of war approached, Lissauer's poem maintained its newsworthiness in New Zealand, while the fortunes of both poet and poem declined at home in Germany. New Zealand readers were reminded that what might seem risible today was once the rallying cry of the enemy. In April 1916 the *Evening Star,* in an editorial headed "Hymns of Hate," discussed the use of humour to take the sting out of Lissauer's poem, and the waning approval for the poem in Germany:

> At a moment when Lissauer's "Hymn of Hate" is said to be neglected and frowned upon in Germany, it is attaining a popularity of an equivocal character in the homes and among the people whom it holds up to execration and vengeance. The reasons are not far to seek. None but Germans ever took the "Hymn of Hate" seriously.[63]

On the same day, the *Auckland Star* ran a similar editorial under the banner "Humour Out of Hate" in which the humorous reaction to the poem was discussed, but the piece also warned readers not to be complacent about the national sentiment behind the poem:

> There was a Christmas truce in 1914, but none last year. In the meantime the British soldier had learned by bitter experience the truth about the German soldier's methods. Today he may still find the "Hymn of Hate" amusing, but he knows there is nothing amusing in the devilry directed by it.[64]

It was the Liberal Party MP Thomas Wilford, speaking in support of a resolution in Parliament to mark the second anniversary of the declaration of war, who once again adduced Lissauer and his poem to remind New Zealanders of the psychological advantage of Britain and the Allies over Germany. Inspired by reports of British soldiers ("Tommies") defiantly singing the "Hymn of Hate" back to the Germans in the trenches, Wilford h-drops for authenticity:

> One has only to remember the great gathering in Berlin called by the Kaiser—and with all the pomp and ceremony that he loves so well—when he presented Ernest [sic] Lissauer, the composer of the "Hymn of Hate," with the Iron Cross for his effort; and when we take our mind from that gathering at Berlin to the spirit of the "Tommies" in the trenches who sing,
>
> ’Ite of the ’eart and ’ite of the ’and,
> ’Ite by water and ’ite by land,
> Who do we ’ite to beat the band ?
> England !
>
> we can realize the psychological difference in the mind of the Germans and the Allies. Germany never understood, and never does understand, the psychology of the British race.[65]

Late in 1916, the independent weekly *New Zealand Observer* (Auckland) offered another political parody of the "Hymn of Hate" with the cartoon "The Hymn of Love," satirising the visit to Britain and the Western Front made by the New Zealand Prime Minister William Massey and Joseph Ward, the joint leaders of the wartime coalition (Figure 5).[66] Titled "How the War Was Won: The Illiad [*sic*] of Bill and Joe," the multipage spread presented the trip as a Homeric epic, complete with versified descriptions and cartoon illustrations of highlights from the visit.

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Figure 5. The Hymn of Love. *Observer*, 4 December 1916, 18.

Late in the piece, as the two politicians make their way towards the enemy trenches, the German soldiers are seen to react in consternation and surrender, as they suddenly recognise Bill Massey, and realise that not even their "Hymn of Hate" can save them. The accompanying verses read:

> So Bill got on the parapet, and Joe stood on the step:
> Then William made a fighting speech that proved him full of "pep";
> It was like a slab of Hansard with a modicum of sense,
> Calling vengeance on the Kaiser for a "want of confidence."
> But the Germans, when they heard it and beheld his shiny pate
> Couldn't even screw their courage to repeat the "Hymn of Hate";
> Beneath his all-commanding eye their minds became a blank,
> For they thought he was a sample of some deadly kind of "tank."
> So, while he had them mesmerised and shivering with fear,
> The Tommies made a gallant charge, and drove them to the rear.
> These tactics they repeated right from Calais to Verdun,
> Till the message flashed around the world, "Bill has them on the run!"
> And in the far Antipodes, they said, "I told you so,
> There was only one thing for it when we sent them Bill and Joe."[67]

Elsewhere in Auckland, the "Hymn of Hate"—in musical form—was being used to raise funds for the war effort. The *Observer* was dismissive of the endeavours of one particular music shop:

> Messrs A. Eady and Co. send for review an English edition of Lissauer's German "Hymn of Hate," the music for which is by Franz Mackioff [*sic*].[68] The money for the sales of this atrocity will be devoted to the "Weekly Dispatch" fund for supplying

> sailors and soldiers at the front with tobacco. Frankly, we can see no earthly reason for the dissemination of Lissauer's hymn. A song is merely written to be sung, and the idea of any British person in New Zealand singing it is inconceivable. Perhaps it is being sold as a curiosity.[69]

The *Observer*'s writer clearly overestimated the reluctance of New Zealand singers to perform the "Hymn of Hate." In contradiction to the above, Wellington's *Evening Post*, in September 1916, ran an advertisement in the entertainment columns for a "Bohemian Evening." An event was to be put on at the Town Hall by the Wellington Savage Club, "concluding with a Trench Concert featuring: 'Soldiers' Chorus', 'Spotty', 'The Drummer', 'Two Grenadiers', 'Perils of Pauline', 'Spin Spin', 'HYMN OF HATE' [capitals in the original], 'Long Long Trail', and Maori Haka." The "whole of the net proceeds," the advertisement continued, are to be "divided between Christmas gifts and War Relief Funds."[70]

The New Zealand reception of the "Hymn of Hate" reached another level when local responses to Lissauer's poem were set to music. Composer Harry Hiscocks, the organist at St Patrick's Cathedral, Auckland, collaborated with the octogenarian poet and graphic artist William Walter Boyes on the 1915 song "The Kaiser 'Hate!!!,'" which was produced as sheet music by Brett Printing and Publishing, and sold for two shillings. With the opening lines "Your hate, my friend, dear Kaiser Bill, / Will never do the British ill," it was described in the *Greymouth Evenng Star* as "essentially a plea for peace, and as such should commend itself to all."[71] Yet the defiant tone of Boyes's words, and the accompanying cover illustration of John Bull standing between a lion and a bulldog, was matched by Hiscocks's resolute march.[72]

The enduring infamy of the "Hymn of Hate" and the comparative lack of well-known patriotic verse in English continued to irk commentators in the New Zealand press. The *Wanganui Chronicle*, in an article headed "Poetry of the Great War," referred to an item in the January 1916 edition of *Munsey's Magazine* by the British writer Richard Le Gallienne critiquing the poetry of the war to date:[73] "There has been much disappointment expressed in literary circles that our British poets have not risen to the occasion in the way of expressing their feelings—the feelings of the nation—in reference to the Great War."[74] La Gallienne's sentiment echoed that expressed in the *Springfield Republican* article reprinted in the *Evening Post* in November 1914 (as discussed earlier), in which Lissauer's "Haßgesang" had been used as a yardstick of effectiveness against which all other nationalist war poetry must be measured. La Gallienne held up the "Haßgesang" as the exemplar, as well as Jules de Marthold's French reply "Chant de Haine." Also praised were William Watson's bellicose "To the Troubler of the World" and Rudyard Kipling's early call to arms "For All We Have and Are."

Kipling's war poetry was again in the spotlight in mid-1917, when both Wellington's *Free Lance* and the *Feilding Star* had recourse to the poem "The Beginning" in their search for English war poetry which set an appropriately vengeful tone in opposition to Germany. Why should hate, these newspapers argued, continue to be the preserve of Germany? The *Free Lance* observed:

> The day of punishment for the Master Villain of the World is not yet arrived, but when it does come, it should be merciless in its material severity. If Englishmen, and still more so, Englishwomen, hate the Kaiser, it is his own fault. It was due to Hun tuition and example that the English have learnt what hatred is.[75]

In contrast, the *Feilding Star*, under the heading "The Need for Reprisals," rolled out Napoleon's cliché describing Britain as a nation of shopkeepers to support its argument that

England had no need for hatred when responding to German atrocities: this was business. The phrase "blow for blow" evoked Henderson's translation of the "Haßgesang."

> Today England, having had many women and children slaughtered by German bombs dropped upon the East End of London, is aroused to red-hot indignation. As Kipling interprets it: the English have begun to hate. There is no need for hatred to move John Bull to reprisals. He is a keen business man—he should recognise not only the value of blow for blow, but how unwise it is to allow a rival or competitor to go on getting the better of him in bad bargains.[76]

When the Armistice arrived and soldiers began returning home, New Zealanders could have been forgiven, perhaps, for consigning the "Hymn of Hate" to history—an artefact of war, once considered execrable, but now fit only to be forgotten. Yet Lissauer and his poem were not forgotten in New Zealand, at least not in the interwar years. Para Wai, in the poem "Coming Back" published in the *Observer* immediately after the war, invoked the Germans and their Hymns of Hate within the first four lines of his poem. Once again, the phrase "Hymn of Hate"—or variations on it—was used as shorthand for the enemy's role in the war in its entirety.

Coming Back
When our heritage was threatened,
When the Goth beat at the gate,
When the very breeze vibrated
With the hymn of Hunnish hate;
Then the ploughman left the furrow,
Then the townsman left his trade,
And they marched away together
With the strong and unafraid.
Now the blacker clouds are clearing,
There are brighter days appearing,
Soon we'll hear the distant cheering
Of the fellows coming back.[77]

Amongst the thousands of pages of New Zealand government reports and documents considering the whys and wherefores of wartime conduct, commissioned during and after the war, Ernst Lissauer and his "Hymn of Hate" came up again. The particular document was a report on the treatment of prisoners of war at Somes Island in Wellington harbour (now Matiu Somes Island), commissioned in 1918 and tabled in the House of Representatives in 1919. The author was Mr Justice Chapman.

While investigating ill-treatment of prisoners, Justice Chapman addressed complaints of "irritation" to prisoners caused by prison guards making disparaging remarks about the Kaiser in the prisoners' presence. Chapman felt that this was a fairly minor matter, and excusable given the information the guards would have been able to glean from newspaper reports about the behaviour of Germany and the Kaiser. As Justice Chapman points out, the guards were, perhaps, uneducated men who could be excused for believing what they read in "neutral newspapers," and therefore be forgiven, too, for expressing their feelings about the Kaiser in their own ways. The report explains:

> These men read statements from neutral newspapers to the effect that the Emperor has listened to his soldiers singing Lissauer's "Hymn of Hate," and from a similar source that he has even decorated Lissauer. When they hear this kind of thing they recall statements to the effect that the shooting of Nurse Cavell was not merely the act of the

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> Governor of Brussels, but was approved at Berlin, and that other incidents of the same kind are attributable to the Emperor's Government. The men who hear these things from neutral sources and believe them are perhaps uneducated men, and it is not surprising that, they should express themselves in their own way respecting the enemy Sovereign.[78]

Awareness of the poet and the poem were taken for granted here, both amongst the prison guards, but also, presumably, amongst the members of the House of Representatives (the New Zealand Parliament), which had commissioned the report. There is no summary of the contents of the poem or biography of the poet. The assumption was that mere mention of the names of poet and poem were enough to remind the legislators of New Zealand that the prisoners would have been perceived as hateful Germans, and that this should be seen as a mitigating circumstance in their evaluation of these particular accusations of ill-treatment. There is also the implied acknowledgment of the power of the press to influence the thinking of New Zealanders. This sums up the role of the press in keeping the "Hymn of Hate" in the minds of New Zealanders both during and after the war.

Even in the late 1920s, Lissauer was still capable of making headlines in New Zealand newspapers. The *New Zealand Herald* carried this title in 1929: "Flaming German Poem: 'The Hymn of Hate': Statement by Writer." The article rehearsed much of the commentary condemning both Lissauer and his poem that had filled newspaper columns during the war. Lissauer's ultimate recantation of the poem was enlarged upon, however, with the paper offering this conclusion to the article:

> Today, ashamed of that poem, the author of it wishes the world to know that he is a man of peace who has written peaceful works of which he is really proud. "I may have hated England, but I have never hated the English," he says.[79]

Lissauer was never able to shake the notoriety of his "Haßgesang." In death, as in life, he and his "Hymn of Hate" were inseparable. The *Evening Post*, announcing his death in December 1937, summed it up with the headline "Death in Exile: Author of Hymn of Hate."[80] In the text of the article that followed, the "Hymn of Hate" was the only work of his mentioned. In case the reader had forgotten (it had been 19 years since the end of the war, after all), Barbara Henderson's translation of the poem for the *New York Times* was reprinted. The remarkable thing, perhaps, is not that poem and poet were remembered so long after the war, but that this notice of Lissauer's death, running to several column inches, was published in the evening paper of Wellington, New Zealand, just hours after his death in Vienna. That this was urgent news, so far away and so long after the events that made the poem famous, attests to the deep significance of the poem and its global impact, not least in New Zealand, during the First World War and interwar years.

This article is an amplification of a paper I presented at the Dissent and the First World War conference held in Wellington in 2017. That paper was itself based on a chapter from my MA thesis, "'Give 'Em a Few Bars of the Hymn of Hate': The German and English-Language Reception of Ernst Lissauer's 'Haßgesang gegen England'" (Victoria University of Wellington, 2016).

[1] Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eines Europäers* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2012), 266.
[2] This background to Lissauer's poem and its wide international reception draws from Richard Millington and Roger Smith, "'A Few Bars of the Hymn of Hate': The Reception of Ernst Lissauer's 'Haßgesang Gegen England' in German and English," *Studies in 20th & 21st Century Literature* 41, no. 2 (15 June 2017), https://doi.org/10.4148/2334-4415.1928
[3] The poem was first published in a pamphlet, *Worte in Die Zeit: Flugblätter 1914 von Ernst Lissauer* (Words for our Time—Pamphlets of 1914 by Ernst Lissauer). Lissauer published two further pamphlets in the early months of the war as the popularity of the "Haßgesang," in particular, continued to soar.
[4] Victor Klemperer, *Curriculum Vitae—Erinnerungen eines Philologen 1881–1918*, ed. Walter Nowojski, vol. 1, 2 vols (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1989), 280–81.
[5] "A cluster of insignificant states under insignificant princelings," Reginald Welby, 1st Baron Welby (1832–1915), speaking at the Royal Statistical Society in June 1914, quoted in Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo–German Antagonism, 1860–1914* (London : Allen & Unwin, 1980), 466.
[6] Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo–German Antagonism*, 470.
[7] Matthew Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 12.
[8] Quoted in Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War*, 12.
[9] Ernst Lissauer, "Haßgesang Gegen England," *Worte in Die Zeit: Flugblätter 1914 von Ernst Lissauer*, no. 1 (1914): 1–2.
[10] Ernst Lissauer, "A Chant of Hate Against England," trans. Barbara Henderson, *New York Times*, 15 October 1914, 12.
[11] Quoted in Stibbe *German Anglophobia and the Great War*, 16; *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, 18 September 1914.
[12] Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War*, 22.
[13] "Beförderung des Konteradmirals Souchon—Ausgezeichnete Schriftsteller," *Grazer Tagblatt*, 28 January 1915, 12; Elisabeth Albanis, *German–Jewish Cultural Identity from 1900 to the Aftermath of the First World War: A Comparative Study of Moritz Goldstein, Julius Bab and Ernst Lissauer* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002), 252.
[14] Heinrich Oellers, ed., *Wehe dir, England!: Die Dichtungen der Zeit* (Leipzig: Xenien, 1915).
[15] Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Neue Kriegsaufsätze* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1915), 8–9.
[16] For an account of the changing reception of Lissauer's poem in Germany, see Elisabeth Albanis, *German–Jewish Cultural Identity from 1900 to the Aftermath of the First World War: A Comparative Study of Moritz Goldstein, Julius Bab and Ernst Lissauer* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002).
[17] See C. C. Aronsfeld, "Ernst Lissauer and the Hymn of Hate," *History Today* 37, no. 12 (December 1987): 48–50.
[18] Barbara Bynum Henderson (1882–1955) was a poet, translator and pioneer leader in the North Carolina Equal Suffrage League. See Carolyn Murray Happer, "Henderson, Barbara Bynum," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, ed. William Stevens Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000), 100–01.
[19] *Times* (London), 29 October 1914, 6.
[20] For an overview of the international reception of Lissauer's poem in the English-speaking world, see Millington and Smith, "A Few Bars of the Hymn of Hate."
[21] Steven Loveridge, *Calls to Arms: New Zealand Society and Commitment to the Great War* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2014), 17.
[22] Ian F. Grant, "War a Daily Reminder, But Life Goes On: Newspapers during the First World War," in *New Zealand Society at War 1914–1918*, ed. Steven Loveridge (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016), 128–29; Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System 1876–1922* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), 31.
[23] For a detailed anaylsis of New Zealand press coverage of the 1909 naval crisis, for example, see Cameron David Bayly, "To the Last Shilling and the Last Man: The Presentation of the 1909 Naval Crisis by the New Zealand Press" (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1999).
[24] Robert Blatchford, "Germany and Britain," *The Hawera & Normanby Star*, 29 January 1910, 5–6.

[25] For a meticulous survey of the portayal of the German enemy in newspapers from Otago/Southland, see Natalie J. Wright, "Beyond the Pale of Human Recognition : The Image of the Enemy as Protrayed in the Otago/Southland Press during WW1 : Attitudes Towards British Propaganda and Censorship" (MA thesis, University of Otago, 1996).
[26] Steve Watters, "Where Britain Goes, We Go?" New Zealand WW100, https://ww100.govt.nz/where-britain-goes-we-go
[27] Ian F. Grant, "War a Daily Reminder, But Life Goes On," 127–28.
[28] "The Day: A German Toast: Crushing the Free Nations," *Star* (Christchurch), 7 August 1914, 1.
[29] "'The Bully of Europe': Real Causes of the Great War," *Sun* (Christchurch), 12 August 1914, 5.
[30] See, for example, *Mataura Ensign*, 31 October 1914, 5; and *Poverty Bay Herald*, 11 November 1914, 3.
[31] "Hatred of England: Music Hall Song: Distributed to Troops," *New Zealand Herald*, 12 November 1914, 8.
[32] "Fired by a Genuine Hate", *Evening Post* (Wellington), 24 November 1914, 6.
[33] "A Hymn of Hate," *Times* (London), 29 October 1914, 9; *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 16 December 1914, 4.
[34] Nelson Wattie, "Adams, Arthur Henry," in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, first published in 1996 https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3a3/adams-arthur-henry
[35] "Publications Received," *Otago Daily Times*, 23 December 1914, 8.
[36] Arthur H. Adams, *My Friend, Remember! Lines Written on Reading Lissauer's Chant of Hate* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1914).
[37] "Treasures of the Shelves: A Clever Rejoinder," *Star* (Christchurch), 9 January 1915, 7.
[38] *Star*, 9 January 1915, 7.
[39] "The War of all the Centuries: A Literature of Wrath: German Hatred of England: Clippings from the Kaiser's Press," *North Otago Times*, 9 January 1915, 2.
[40] *North Otago Times*, 9 January 1915, 2.
[41] "The Passion of Hate," *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 30 January 1915, 2.
[42] "The Poem of Hate," *Timaru Herald*, 2 February 1915, 6.
[43] "Poems of Hate," *Timaru Herald*, 2 February 1915, 4.
[44] "A Socialist Protest," *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 15 February 1915, 3.
[45] "The Hymn of Hate: Losing Favour," *Evening Post* (Wellington), 12 August 1915, 8.
[46] "The Song of Hate: Author Relents," *Evening Post* (Wellington), 9 October 1915, 13.
[47] For the provenance of "Hymn of Hate" as soldier-slang for bombardment, with its origin traced to Lissauer's poem, see Edward Fraser and John Gibbons, eds., *Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd, 1925), 115–16.
[48] "The Soldiers' Mail-Bag," *New Zealand Free Lance* (Wellington), 13 August 1915, 25.
[49] Lindsay Inglis, unpublished memoir, Inglis Papers, MSY-5456_135_p132, Alexander Turnbull Library; for the full anecdote, see Nathalie Philippe, "A Leader in the Making: Major Lindsay Inglis," in *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, ed. John Crawford, David Littlewood, and James Watson (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016), 102–17.
[50] *The Kia Ora Coo-Ee: The Magazine for the ANZACS in the Middle East*, 15 July 1918,18.
[51] Joanna Condon, "'Mainly About Us': Identity And Marginality In The Troop Magazines And Newspapers Of The New Zealand Expeditionary Force, 1914–1919," *NZLIMJ* 52, no. 3 (October 2011), http://www.lianza.org.nz/nz-library-and-information-management-journal-vol-52-no-3
[52] C. Baker, "Try Smiling," in *New Zealand at the Front* (London: Cassell, 1917), 68.
[53] The ATL further identifies the image as "[a] group of soldiers from the 3rd Battalion, NZ Rifle Brigade, enjoy the joke of reading a copy of the publication *New Zealand at the Front* while seated on a captured German anti-tank gun. Photo taken at 'Clapham Junction' a muddy part of the battlefield in Belgium on 20 November 1917 by Henry Armytage Sanders."
[54] H. T. B. Drew, "An Outpost Incident," in *New Zealand at the Front* (London: Cassell, 1917), 113.
[55] "Germany's Deep Hatred," *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 1 May 1915, 1.

[56] When "The Tommy's Song of Hate" was reprinted in the *Evening Post* early in the Second World War, the poem was jocularly credited as having been provided "by the favour of Upson Downes O'Flyffe." See "The Tommy's Song of Hate," *Evening Post* (Wellington), 31 January 1940, 8.
[57] "The Tommy's Song of Hate," *Evening Post* (Wellington), 10 July 1915, 14; *Star* (Christchurch), 13 July 1915, 5; *Ashburton Guardian*, 15 July 1915, 3.
[58] "A Hymn of Hate," *Sun* (Christchurch), 23 July 1915, 6.
[59] Ian F. Grant, "War a Daily Reminder, But Life Goes On," 129; Ian F. Grant, *Between the Lines: A Cartoon Century of New Zealand Political and Social History, 1906–2005* (Wellington: New Zealand Cartoon Archive, 2005), 70; Ian F. Grant, *Lasting Impressions: The Story of New Zealand's Newspapers, 1840–1920* (Masterton, New Zealand: Fraser Books, in association with Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, 2018), 601–04.
[60] "Peace and Goodwill on Earth: Wicked Wilhelmites and Wowsers' Way," *New Zealand Truth*, 8 January 1916, 6.
[61] *Truth*, 8 January 1916, 6.
[62] *Truth*, 8 January 1916, 6.
[63] "Hymns of Hate," *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 10 April 1916, 4.
[64] "Humour Out of Hate," *Auckland Star*, 10 April 1916, 4.
[65] Thomas Wilford, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 177 (8 August 1916), 941
[66] See John Crawford, "'I Get Blamed For Everything': Enduring the Burdens of Office, James Allen as Minister of Defence in 1915," in *Endurance and the First World War: Experiences and Legacies in New Zealand and Australia*, ed. David Monger, Sarah Murray, and Kate Pickles (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 15–30.
[67] "How the War Was Won: The Illiad of Bill and Joe," *Observer* (Auckland), 4 December 1916, 17–20.
[68] The setting was composed in the early months of the First World War by the Chemnitz music professor and minor composer Franz Mayerhoff (1864–1938).
[69] *Observer* (Auckland), 25 September 1915, 9.
[70] Entertainment Columns, *Evening Post* (Wellington), 29 September 1916, 2.
[71] *Greymouth Evening Star*, 19 April 1916, 4
[72] Chris Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland: The Songs & Sounds of New Zealand's Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017), 154–55.
[73] *Munsey's* was an American monthly mass-circulation magazine.
[74] "Poetry of the Great War," *Wanganui Chronicle*, 2 May 1916, 3.
[75] "The Kaiser's Close Shave," *New Zealand Free Lance* (Wellington), 15 June 1917, 8.
[76] "The Need for Reprisals," *Feilding Star*, 11 July 1917, 2.
[77] Para Wai, "Coming Back," *Observer* (Auckland), 16 November 1918, 16.
[78] Frederick Revans Chapman, "Prisoners of War at Somes Island (Report of Mr. Justice Chapman Respecting the Treatment of)" (Wellington: New Zealand House of Representatives, 1919).
[79] "Flaming German Poem: 'The Hymn of Hate': Statement by Writer," *New Zealand Herald*, 14 September 1929, 3.
[80] "Death in Exile: Author of Hymn of Hate," *Evening Post* (Wellington), 11 December 1937, 9.