

Reefton's Forgotten War Hero: Mining Engineer A. Winter Evans

By BRIAN R. HILL

The first name in the list of Fallen on the War Memorial in Reefton - Lt. Col. A. Winter Evans - has intrigued locals in recent years, for the passing of time has erased memories of him in that West Coast region of the South Island of New Zealand. Some of the other 59 names of World War I Fallen listed on the War Memorial, which is located in King George V Park on the corner of Buller Street in Reefton, are also unknown to locals because the Reefton mines always attracted large numbers of itinerant miners, including many from Bendigo, Victoria. Some of these men enlisted from Reefton but had only a casual or fleeting connection with that town.¹

Although he was not a local, having come from South Africa, Alfred Winter Evans did have a connection of some significance with Reefton where he lived from 1909 to 1910 and again from 1911 until his enlistment in the New Zealand Army in 1915.² A mining engineer, Evans was general manager of the most important mining group in Reefton, Consolidated Gold Fields of New Zealand Ltd (CGFNZ). Evans' two children were born while he and his wife lived in Reefton.³ He was general manager of CGFNZ during a tumultuous period of the goldmining industry in New Zealand, and consideration of his mining career in Reefton illuminates much of the history and an overlooked facet of the economics of this important gold field, which was the second biggest in New Zealand.⁴ Research into his life also reveals that Evans had an even more heroic military background than the people of Reefton were then aware. Although Reefton learned at the time, of Evans' heroism in WWI when he was twice Mentioned in Dispatches and decorated with the Distinguished Service Order (DSO), local people did not know that he had been recommended for the Victoria Cross while a teenage soldier in the Boer War and had been awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal (DCM) for outstanding bravery in action. This was because Evans' modestly forbore him from mentioning the fact or using the letters of his decoration, as he was entitled.⁵

Winning his spurs!

Evans was born in Durban in the then British colony of Natal in February 1881. During the Boer War he enlisted in the Natal Volunteer Force, serving as a trooper [Trooper

292] in the Natal Mounted Rifles. His fore-mentioned recommendation for the Victoria Cross occurred when serving in this capacity while only 18 years old, when he displayed valour in act of heroism under fire.⁶ During the siege of Ladysmith, on 4 November 1899, Evans was in a patrol of five troopers of the General's Escort who were sent to scout an area between Limit Hill and Helpsmakaar Post. They had dismounted to climb a ridge to observe the enemy positions when they were fired upon by an estimated 20 Boers on the ridge, 'some of whom were so near ... we could see the plate on the heel of their rifles'.⁷ Running back to their horses under heavy fire, the Boers increased in number to some 200 but Trooper Golding was unable to catch his horse. At this juncture, Evans chased and caught it and, unheeding of his own safety, in a valiant act of unselfish bravery rode back with it through a deadly hail of bullets to rescue a grateful Golding, who later remarked 'I mind that I must have lost my life but for Trooper Evans' plucky conduct'.⁸ Neither was hit by the bullets whizzing about them, but both horses were wounded. General White's recommendation that the Victoria Cross be awarded to the youthful Evans was not acceded to, but he was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal.⁹ Evans was later commissioned in the field in the Imperial Light Horse.

After the Boer War, Evans became a mining engineer and commenced a promising career on the Rand, and while still in his twenties became a sub-manager on the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa's 'Simmer and Jack' mine, then one of the world's biggest gold mines.¹⁰ N.M. Rothschild & Son in London had sponsored the flotation of both Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Ltd by Cecil Rhodes in 1887 and of Consolidated Gold Fields of New Zealand Ltd by David Ziman in 1896.¹¹ When in 1909, the CGFNZ general manager in Reef ton, Ernest W. Spencer (who had been appointed in 1898) was due for overseas leave, Rothschilds arranged for Evans to be given leave of absence from the Simmer and Jack mine to stand in for Spencer as acting general manager of the CGFNZ group in Reef ton.

Before Evans returned to South Africa in 1910, he had at the insistence of CGFNZ chairman Sir Westby Perceval, written a report on improvements that could be made in CGFNZ's operations. Evans wrote this on the proviso that it be submitted to Spencer for comment. The report was a visionary statement pointing out how CGFNZ's operations in Reef ton could be modernised and improved.¹² Evans believed in a more aggressive mine exploration policy, and because of the geological complexity of the orebodies at Reef ton which were subject to considerable displacement by faulting, he

thought it essential that geological surveyors be appointed, and mine models showing the orebodies and faults be constructed. Among his many recommendations, Evans also wanted to see the introduction of cost control methods.¹³ But these suggestions were taken as criticisms that stung the arrogant Spencer and made him a confirmed enemy. Spencer resigned not long after returning from his overseas leave, and he left Reefton.¹⁴

Evans having returned to South Africa, the CGFNZ group found itself in a difficult position. Ziman, the company's managing director was then in Reefton but his function was solely to seek other ventures for the company for future growth. He was not qualified to be general manager because this position required technical qualifications in mining engineering.

The group then tried a new strategy with two newly created mining divisions that separated the Blackwater Mine at nearby Waiuta from the company's other mining operations in Reefton. The divisions were to operate with no overall general manager of the group, the Board appointing two new mine managers from Australia as superintendents of the newly created divisions. This radical departure from the previous regime did not work because the new mining division superintendents poached scarce mining labour from each other, driving up costs. Ziman rowed fiercely with one of the new managers and with the Board in London over their policy. Costs soared, and as the mines' poor performance and the bickering among management became known, the group's share prices fell in the market. This, and a looming lack of liquidity to pay dividends, finally goaded the Board into action, and in early 1911 they approached Evans to return to Reefton to sort out the mess.

In June 1910, Evans married Louise Foster, the daughter of CGFNZ director Arthur Foster.¹⁵ Evans was assistant general manager of Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa's 'Simmer Deeps' mine, one of the great mines on the Rand, when in March 1911 his father-in-law offered him a five year contract as CGFNZ group general manager in Reefton. This offer came with the then enormous salary of £2,000 a year, plus a car and house.¹⁶ Despite Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa offering him a £500 a year rise to retain him, Evans leapt at the CGFNZ offer.

Although Spencer's previous salary is not known, this was manifestly very substantially above what he had been paid as CGFNZ general manager, and Evans' terms of appointment enraged him. Seething with envy, Spencer commented bitterly to CGFNZ's solicitor Free, 'Oh ye gods what a lucky marriage, or is it that he is such a good man?'¹⁷

Appointment at Reefton

On leaving Reefton, Spencer had moved to Yalwal in NSW where he attempted to establish a large low-grade gold mine with a syndicate of backers who had been CFGFNZ staff members in Reefton. Spencer hankered for his old position in Reefton, and maintained a copious correspondence with friends and Lodge brothers in Reefton and with staff in CGFNZ's mines, as well as with the directors of the company in London. He was kept fully informed of all developments in the company's affairs.¹⁸

Evans insisted that he be given sole control in Reefton, and be answerable only to the Board in London. The Board agreed and instructed Ziman to leave Reefton and to make the company's Reefton house available for Evans and his wife. Although initially welcoming the news of Evans' appointment, Ziman took this as a slight and because of the indignity of being required to leave Reefton he harboured considerable enmity towards the new general manager.

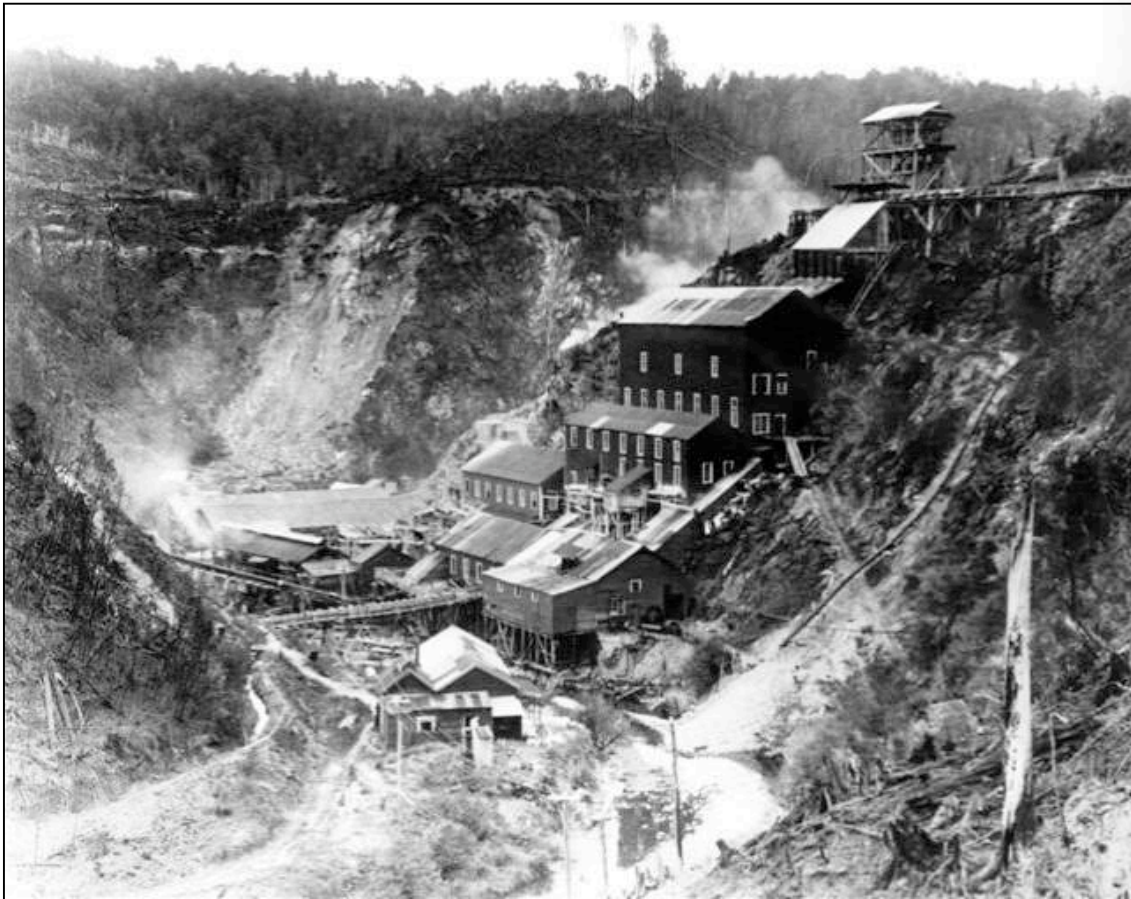
Turbulent times

Although the companies in the CGFNZ group had paid regular dividends since inception, it was soon apparent to Evans that there were fundamental problems in the Reefton mines. One problem was that from the time CGFNZ commenced operations in Reefton in 1896, the price of gold had remained fixed while inflation increased general prices in New Zealand by about three per cent every year. As the Arbitration court tended to grant wage rises that reflected these increases in the cost of living, CGFNZ was forced to increase productivity to counter the cost increases. This it did through the introduction of new technology and improved methods that included more substantial air compressors to operate rock drills, the substitution of cyanidation to replace chlorination, and capital investment to allow increased throughput in order to achieve economies of scale.¹⁹ However, CGFNZ's costs still increased from 12shillings 6pence a ton of ore in 1899 to 26s 4d a ton in 1912.²⁰ By 1911 there had also been an ominous reduction of two to three pennyweights of gold, worth some eight to 12shillings a ton in the grade of ore mined by CGFNZ's Progress mine.²¹ The continuation of profitable operations was in doubt.

As CGFNZ had squeezed all the productivity gains it could from new technology, Evans decided the only way to keep the mines in profitable operation would be to reduce costs by introducing contract stoping²² to replace ore extraction paid by wages.²³ Wage costs comprised about four-fifths of the total cost of mining at Reefton

at that time.²⁴ Contracting involves piece work, and it does not require such high levels of supervision as wages work because of the incentive provided to the miner by the piece work payment system for work accomplished.²⁵ Contracting has always been employed in mining because of the difficulty in supervising miners scattered in many working places in a large mine.²⁶ Development work such as driving, cross cutting and winzing²⁷ had always been carried out by contract work in the Reefton mines, as in most other mines.²⁸ However, because of the bonanza grades of many of the reefs in the early days and the need at that time to provide supervision in the stopes to reduce gold

Figure 1: *The water-powered Snowy River Mill at the Blackwater gold mine, operated by Blackwater Mines Ltd, one of the companies in the Consolidated Gold Fields of New Zealand Ltd group of London, of which A. Winter Evans was general manager.*



Source: Courtesy, Darrell Latham Reefton collection.

stealing, stoping at Reefton was undertaken by wages work. The usual premium on wages to achieve productivity improvement under contract stoping was not necessary

because supervision was already provided in the stopes. This tradition was carried on for 40 years at Reefton, long after bonanza grade strikes ceased to be commonplace.

Although energetic and skilful miners welcomed contract work, which gave them the opportunity of increasing their earnings,²⁹ the miners' union at Reefton was implacably opposed to the substitution of contract work for wages in stoping.³⁰ In December 1911, the union banned all contract work in the Reefton mines. Many miners who usually made good pay under contract development left Reefton for fields elsewhere where contract work was available, severely hampering the company's operations.³¹

A similar situation developed at Waihi, the biggest gold mine in New Zealand which faced similar profit constraints, making inevitable a major industrial confrontation involving New Zealand's two main gold fields. Industrial turmoil brewed for months,³² and when it came to a head the dispute was fought with determination, the strike lasting six bitter months, causing considerable hardship in Reefton. The shutdown in Reefton has been variously described as a strike and a lockout, the Solicitor General added to the confusion by ruling that the stoppage could not be described as either a strike or a lockout.³³ It was certainly provoked by the company when in May 1912, the manager of CGFNZ's Blackwater mine, claiming the right to introduce new technology to cut costs, required the men to work the recently introduced Waugh hammer drill single-handed: the previous machines (which were more cumbersome) having been operated by two men.³⁴ The men refused, walked off the job, and a long stoppage began.³⁵ The companies' share prices tumbled in the market.³⁶ Ziman who had borrowed heavily against his substantial shareholdings in the CGFNZ group was severely affected financially.³⁷ He was convinced it was a lockout but was confused as to the motives behind the dispute: 'You can be sure that Evans' "lockout" is nothing else than to ruin me' [Ziman's emphasis].³⁸

The strike did not involve a shutdown of the entire Reefton goldfield. The 'Big River' mine and the 'Keep-It-Dark' mine that were owned by small local companies were not subject to the dispute and continued operating. Also, CGFNZ was able to keep several of its mines working by using shift bosses and other salaried staff to maintain some production.³⁹ Spencer was put out by the intense loyalty that Evans inspired from Spencer's former staff during the strike, charging that there was 'too much bravado and too little thought in the company's affairs' when Evans used the company's salaried staff to maintain operations at the Energetic and Wealth of Nations mines.⁴⁰

Figure 2: Wheel of Fortune gold mine (c.a. 1909-1915). *This was one of the companies in the Consolidated Gold Fields of New Zealand Ltd group of London, of which A. Winter Evans was general manager*



Source: Courtesy, Darrell Latham Reefton collection.

The engine drivers' union was not involved in the dispute, so the winder drivers were able to stay on the job carrying out invaluable work keeping the mines bailed out and free from water. This was essential to the security of the mine workings because flooding of the mines would have caused considerable damage because of the tendency of the walls of the mine openings in Reefton to swell and slab off when wet. The fact that they continued working resulted in considerable victimisation of the winder drivers who were subjected to abuse and threats, forcing some to resign.⁴¹

When Evans learned that the winder drivers were being abused as scabs he defiantly painted a large 'scab' sign on his car to demonstrate his support for them. This provocation not only affronted the strikers as Evans intended, but it also irritated Spencer in far-off Yalwal in NSW, who wrote to the Progress mine battery manager, 'What d---d [sic] rot, what one might expect from a schoolboy'.⁴² Control of the miners' unions in New Zealand had been gained by militants, members of the anti-arbitration Federation of Labour, formed in 1908.⁴³ Known as the Red Feds, they were syndicalists who supported the radical idea of 'One Big Union'. Industrial revolutionaries, they

dreamed of fomenting and organizing a cataclysmic national strike that would result in the overthrow of the capitalist system.⁴⁴ The Waihi miners' union Red Fed leadership withdrew the union from the Arbitration system, causing miners at Waihi who were disillusioned with the strike and the Red Feds' radical aims, to form an arbitrationist union and return to work. The strike broke out in violence.⁴⁵ The collapse of the Waihi strike saw the end of the Reefton strike and a return to work. With their industrial victory CGFNZ's mines were now able to introduce contract stoping that was then instituted for the remaining 40 years' life of the field. The companies did not pursue working the new hammer drills single-handed, confirming that the dispute was not about the disagreement that had originally triggered the strike.⁴⁶

Evans' policy was vindicated as the introduction of contract stoping substantially improved productivity. Annual output per miner employed in the Reefton field increased by more than a-third from 132 tons in 1911 to 178 tons per miner in 1913.⁴⁷ That the conflict was really about the companies having the right to stope by contract rather than by wages in order to reduce costs is borne out by the companies' results.⁴⁸ CGFNZ was able to reduce costs at the mines it operated from 21s 5d a ton in 1912 to 17s 3d in 1913.⁴⁹ CGFNZ subsidiary company, Progress Mines, achieved even greater gains, slashing its total mining costs in Reefton from 26s 5d in 1911 to 19s 1d a ton in 1913, even though treatment costs rose from 4s to 4s 6d a ton. The gain was due to a saving in ore extraction costs of 37 per cent that was achieved through contract stoping introduced after the strike. This saw a fall from 20s 2d in 1911 to 12s 9d a ton in 1913.⁵⁰

However, even cost reductions of this magnitude were insufficient when faced with New Zealand's price inflation of some 67 per cent over the next two decades.⁵¹ Progress Mines failed to pay any more dividends, although it was able to continue operating until 1920.⁵² CGFNZ's Blackwater Mines Company managed to distribute dividends totalling only 42 per cent over the next 20 years, and CGFNZ failed to pay any dividends for the next 20 years until deflation and the increase in the gold price in the 1930s once again restored prosperity to the Reefton mines. However, Evans did not survive to witness this.

A leader in the field

When war was declared in 1914 Evans asked to be released from his five-year contract with CGFNZ so that he could enlist in the New Zealand Army but the company

refused.⁵³ Evans joined the part-time New Zealand Territorials or Army reserve in Reefton, being appointed a captain in the New Zealand Army Motor Reserve because 'Mr Evans is always willing to put his car at the disposal of the [Defence Force] Department, and thus considerable saving would be effected.'⁵⁴ He also organised and trained a mounted rifle company of volunteer reservists in Reefton.⁵⁵

Figure 3: *A. Winter Evans*



Source: J. Bryant Haigh and A.J. Polashek, *New Zealand and the Distinguished Service Order*, Christchurch, 1993, p. 288.

It was 1915 before Evans could enlist. Ziman sounded as rancorous as Spencer when he told his wife of Evans' posting overseas to the Front in 1916:⁵⁶ 'He wrecked our mines. I hope he does not get any power to do mischief at the war.'⁵⁷ Ziman's misgivings were misplaced: Evans soon distinguished himself in France being twice

‘Mentioned in Dispatches’ at the Battle of Messines, in March and April 1917.⁵⁸ In July 1917, he was awarded the DSO.⁵⁹ His citation read:

For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. During an attack and the subsequent consolidation of the captured position he showed the greatest coolness and energy, inspiring all ranks by his magnificent personal example and never sparing himself to make the operation of his battalion the success which it was. His work at all times has been of the same high standard.⁶⁰

When he arrived in France, Evans had found one of CGFNZ’s prospectors, David M. Turnbull, in his unit, and he made him his orderly or batman. It was no sinecure being orderly to a dashing, courageous officer like Evans who was always in the thick of the battle exposing himself to the most dangerous situations to inspire his men: Turnbull was killed in action in 1916. By that year, 23 members of CGFNZ’s Reefton staff and 115 men employed in the company’s mines had enlisted voluntarily.⁶¹ The Inangahua Miners Union leadership was opposed to enlistment, urging their members to fight what they saw as the more important class war, rather than what they described as ‘the bosses’ war’.⁶² The mining unions were vociferously opposed to conscription, and when it was introduced in New Zealand in 1916 the government made the West Coast mines 'exempt industries' to forestall any industrial disruption of the war effort. The exemption was instituted through the device that anyone called up from the mines had their conscription deferred *sine die* by the Military Service Board.⁶³

Evans was a competent military commander noted for his meticulous planning and skilful implementation. ‘In connection with the Battle of Messines, his plan for training, assembly and attack were not less notable for their minute attention to detail than for the remarkable precision which characterised their execution’.⁶⁴ Evans had a meteoric career in the New Zealand Army, being promoted from captain to major and then to lieutenant colonel in 1916. With the carnage on the Western Front there was of course plenty of scope for promotion: in one of the battles at Messines, one company in Evans’ battalion lost all its officers and another company three of its officers within an hour of the offensive starting on 7 June 1917.⁶⁵ Almost inevitably, Evans was killed in action. This was on 12 October 1917 - a date now forgotten - but it is the day on which more New Zealanders died than on any other day in that country’s history. It was the date of the second New Zealand assault in the battle of Passchendaele in Flanders.⁶⁶ Evans, who commanded the Third Battalion, was leading an attack on an emplacement of machineguns at Wolf Farm, Passchendaele:

His remarkable genius for organization was only equaled by his extraordinary gallantry under fire ... he had gone ahead to endeavour by direct personal efforts to get his troops forward, but moving from shell-hole to shell-hole amongst the scattered groups, he drew upon himself the inevitable bursts of machinegun fire, under which, fearlessly persisting, he at last fell mortally wounded.⁶⁷

In 2001 the author was startled to read a newspaper interview with a soldier who had been wounded in the same burst of machinegun fire that killed Evans: what was startling was that the interview had taken place that week - 84 years after the event being described. The reason for this very unusual happening was that the sole remaining Kiwi World War I veteran, the 104-years' old Bright Williams was being interviewed after the death of the second-to-last WWI survivor in New Zealand.⁶⁸ Despite his great age, Williams had perfect recall of that fateful day at Passchendaele 84 years before:

We knew where that damned machinegun was. Every time the colonel (col. Winston-Evans [sic]) and I came into view we got peppered. One ear would be ringing then the other ear. We were diving for the next shell hole deep in the ground or whatever.

Both of them were hit. Williams said Evans struggled on with a tourniquet on his wound trying to press on the attack, but his tourniquet was not secure and he died about 50 yards further on. The severely wounded Bright Williams spent a day and a night lying out in the cold and rain before being picked up by stretcher-bearers.⁶⁹ Evans' body was never recovered from the muddy hell of No Man's Land at Passchendaele so he has no known grave, but his name is commemorated on the New Zealand Memorial in Tynecot Military Cemetery at Passchendaele in Belgium.⁷⁰

Announcing Evans' death, Reefton's newspaper *The Inangahua Herald* reported that, 'The Union Jack was at once unfurled at half mast over the Company's [Reefton] Office, and the sad news quickly spread throughout the district and cast a gloom over the town.' *The Herald* carried a rather perfunctory 150-word obituary that made no mention of Evans' decorations for bravery, but it did state that Evans had also served in the Boer War.⁷¹

With the death of Alfred Winter Evans, although Reefton gained a war hero to honour or forget on their War Memorial, mining lost a dynamic, daring and visionary engineer and manager who, had he been spared, would undoubtedly have gone on to make a significant contribution to the development of the mining industry in New Zealand.

Endnotes

¹ Brian R. Hill, ‘“The little Man” David Ziman, mining giant: the biography of an entrepreneur’, PhD thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2000, pp. 169, 170, 174.

² ‘Statement of Service, Evans, Alfred Winter. no. 26/77’, New Zealand Military Forces archives, Department of Defence, Wellington [hereafter NZMF].

³ A son, Robert Winter, was born in Greymouth in December 1911, and a daughter, Barbara Louise, in Reefton in March 1915.

⁴ When 81 years of quartz mining activity on the Reefton Goldfield came to an end in July 1951, the Reefton gold mines had produced more than two million ounces of gold, about 8 per cent of New Zealand’s total output, see J.M. Barry, *The History and Mineral Resources of the Reefton Goldfield*, Wellington, 1993, p. 2. The main producer in New Zealand was the Martha Mine at Waihi that produced 35 million ounces of bullion or electrum containing seven million ounces of gold (the balance being silver) up to closure in 1952, see Philip Rainer, ‘Company Town, an industrial history of the Waihi Gold Mining Company Limited, 1887-1912’, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1976, pp. 279, 281. See also ‘Gold and silver mining’, Appendices to the Journal of House of Representatives, New Zealand, [hereafter AJHR], *Mines Statement* 1953, p. 3.

⁵ Even the compilation of New Zealand DSO winners in J. Bryant Haigh and A.J. Polashek, *New Zealand and the Distinguished Service Order*, Christchurch, 1993, p. 288, is not cognizant of Evans’ DCM or Boer War service, listing his medals as ‘Distinguished Service Order, British War Medal, Victory Medal and Mentioned in Dispatches (twice)’. It failed to mention his DCM and South Africa Medal and six bars.

⁶ ‘VC Recommendation’, Lieut.-General Sir Geo. S. White, Commanding Natal Field Force, Ladysmith, to The Chief of Staff, Natal Army, 2 March 1900, War Office, London [hereafter WO] 32/7899.

⁷ ‘Affidavit,’ Cornelius Johannes Lansberg, Ladysmith, 6 November 1899, WO 32/7899.

⁸ ‘Affidavit,’ George Jackson Golding, Ladysmith, 6 November 1899, WO 32/7899.

⁹ ‘Submitted to the Queen,’ no. 113, p. 27, 12 July 1900, WO 146/1; and ‘War Office, July 20, 1900,’ *The London Gazette*, 20 July 1900, p. 4510.

¹⁰ J.H. Curle, *The Gold Mines of the World*, London 1902, p. 43. ‘Robinson Deeps, Sub-Nigel and Simmer and Jack became known as “Faith, Hope and Charity” because they were the mainstay of Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa for 25 years at the turn of the century’. See, Paul Johnson, *Consolidated Gold Fields. A Centenary Portrait*, New York 1987, p. 38.

¹¹ Hill, ‘The Little Man’, p. 125.

¹² A. Winter Evans, ‘Report’, 29 April 1910, David Ziman letters 1896-1913, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington [hereafter DZL ATL].

¹³ These methods involved more stringent recording of costs and the classification and allocation of the components of all costs in each department so that cost problems could be identified and tackled.

¹⁴ Spencer resigned after an acrimonious dispute with CGFNZ founder and director David Ziman after Ziman negotiated an option for himself over the Prohibition lease that bordered the group’s Blackwater mine. This dispute is discussed in detail in Hill, *The Little Man*, pp. 233-37.

¹⁵ Foster was manager of the Anglian Finance Company that had participated with Ziman in the original floating of CGFNZ. Ziman had known Foster and Anglian’s chairman George Jones in the early 1890s when they all lived in Johannesburg. Foster was a director of CGFNZ for nearly 40 years from its formation in 1896 to his death in 1935.

¹⁶ A.L. Foster, CGFNZ London, to David Ziman, Reefton, 30 March 1911, Consolidated Goldfields of New Zealand Ltd collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington [hereafter CGFNZC ATL].

¹⁷ E.W. Spencer, Yalwal, Australia, to S.L.P. Free, New Zealand, 26 July 1911, CGFNZC ATL.

¹⁸ In 1914 following failure of Spencer’s Yalwal venture he accepted a position in Abosso in West Africa. In 1920 his dreams came true and he was reappointed CGFNZ general Manager in Reefton, a position he then held until his retirement in 1936, 38 years after he had first been appointed.

¹⁹ H.A. Stratford, ‘Warden’s Report’, AJHR C-3A Papers, *Mines Statement* 1897, p. 13.

²⁰ CGFNZ’s Progress mine costs in 1899 were detailed in ‘Latest Bullion Returns’, *New Zealand Goldfields Gazette*, London, 19 July 1899, p. 2; and the same mine’s 1912 costs in ‘Progress Mines’, *Mining World & Engineering Record*, London, 29 June 1912, p. 836.

²¹ ‘General Manager’s Report’, *Progress Mines of New Zealand Annual Report to Shareholders* 1914, p. 14.

²² Stopping: The mining operation of extracting ore. See, A. Nelson, *Dictionary of Mining*, London 1964; Ralph Birrell, *Glossary of Mining Terms*, Australian Mining Monograph 1, Zlota Press, Strathfieldsaye, Vic., 2000; Fay, H. Albert *A Glossary of mining and mineral industry*, US Bureau of Mines Bulletin 95, Washington 1920.

²³ Technical mining journals at that time published many articles on the ideas associated with scientific management and the efforts to encourage improved worker productivity to control mining costs. A comprehensive list of these is to be found in Logan Hovis and Jeremy Mouat, 'Miners, Engineers, and the Transformation of Work in the Western Mining Industry, 1880-1930', *Technology and Culture*, vol. XXXVII, 1996, note 65, p. 452.

²⁴ Analysis of the cost figures in various annual reports of the several companies in the CGFNZ group in Reefton confirm this: typically, *Progress Mines Annual Report to Shareholders*, 1910, p. 13, shows that wage costs were 15s 6d per ton out of total costs of 19s 6d per ton - thus 79.5 per cent.

²⁵ For a discussion of contracting in mines vide Herbert C. Hoover, *Principles of Mining*, New York, 1909, pp. 165-167; Ronald C. Brown, *Hard-Rock Miners. The Intermountain West 1860-1920*, College Station, 1979, pp. 104-109; and Theodore Jesse Hoover, *The Economics of Mining*, Stanford 1933, pp. 456-466. Herbert Hoover noted that some 80 per cent of all mining was undertaken by contracting.

²⁶ Former CGFNZ General Manager, Spencer, doubted that some pairs of men stoping on wages in CGFNZ's Blackwater mine 'saw a shift boss once in their shift', see, E.W. Spencer, Yalwal, to CGFNZ Director, A.L. Foster, London, 17 January 1912, CGFNZC ATL.

²⁷ Winzing: The mining operation of sinking a winze, or a small shaft between two levels in a mine. See, Nelson, *Dictionary of Mining*; Birrell, *Glossary of Mining Terms*; Albert A *Glossary of mining and mineral industry*. Reefton also used 'winze' to denote any smaller shaft sunk from the surface which was not the mine's main shaft.

²⁸ An analysis of the percentage of work performed by contracting in mines in the USA is to be found in Charles C. Wright, 'Management of Labour in Successful Metal-Mine Operations', *US Bureau of Mines Information Circular 6650*, Washington, 1932, p. 6.

²⁹ 'Mine Contracting at Reefton', letter by 'A Drifter' to the editor, *The Inangahua Times*, Reefton, 17 January 1912.

³⁰ Richard Crawley, President of the Inangahua Miners' Union, letter to the editor, *The Maoriland Worker*, Wellington, 13 January 1912; M. Fagan, Secretary of the Inangahua Miners' Union, 'Reefton Contract Dispute', letter to the editor, *The Inangahua Times*, Reefton, 19 January 1912.

³¹ As one example, the mill at the Blackwater Mine could operate for only nine days in December 1911 because of the lack of ore from the mine. See, 'New Zealand Gold Mines', *Mining World & Engineering Record*, London, 10 February 1912, p. 160.

³² Inangahua Miners' Union secretary Mark Fagan was an avowed foe of Evans whom he described in a letter to the editor as an 'alleged mining authority prating glibly of stoping on the Rand, and of their extensive experience handling the docile Kaffir'. See, M. Fagan, 'Reefton Contract Dispute', letter to the editor, *The Inangahua Times*, Reefton, 19 January 1912.

³³ A.G. Nightingale, 'Waiuta: a History of a Quartz Goldmining Community on the West Coast', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1985, p. 85.

³⁴ For a discussion of the 'two men to a machine' rule in Broken Hill, see Brian Carroll, *Built on Silver. A History of Broken Hill South*, Melbourne, 1986, p. 127.

³⁵ Gerard Morris (ed.), *Waiuta. The Gold Mine, The Town, The People*, Reefton, 1986, pp. 22-30.

³⁶ Over the period of the strike, CGFNZ fell from £1 2s 6d to 13s 9d, and eventually to 8s 9d. Associated companies Progress Mines were down to 6s 3d from 13s 9d, and Blackwater Mines fell from £1 11s 3d to £1 2s 6d. Information according to share price tables in 'New Zealand Gold Mines', in *Mining World & Engineering Record*, London.

³⁷ The unpleasantly vindictive Spencer gloated; 'I heard from a New Zealand politician that Ziman was talking suicide, but he hasn't the pluck for that', see, E.W. Spencer, Yalwal, to London sharebroker Spitzer, 21 May 1912, CGFNZC ATL.

³⁸ David Ziman, Wellington, to Reefton sharebroker T.H. Lee, Reefton, 2 April 1912, DZL ATL.

³⁹ This was necessary to protect the mine leases because the miners' union attempted to claim-jump the Blackwater mine, making application in the warden's court for the forfeiture of the company's mining lease on the ground that it was not being worked. See, *The Inangahua Times*, Reefton 12 July 1912.

⁴⁰ E.W. Spencer, Yalwal, to H. Cooper, Reefton, 24 July 1912, CGFNZC. Cooper was CGFNZ's Reefton office manager.

⁴¹ Saunders, an engine driver on one of the Reefton mines with whom Spencer had been in the Masonic Lodge, wrote to Spencer to tell him that he had resigned his position after receiving 'threats and abuse'. Always on the lookout for points to score against Evans, Spencer sympathised: 'Management put you in an unfair position', see, E.W. Spencer, Yalwal, to Saunders, Reefton, 6 August 1912, CGFNZC ATL.

⁴² *Ibid.*, to Andy Watson, Reefton, 25 September 1912.

- ⁴³ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1959, p. 203. Some of those urging extreme measures in New Zealand had been members of the radical Industrial Workers of the World, formed in the USA in 1905.
- ⁴⁴ Erik Olssen, *The Red Feds*, Auckland, 1988, pp. Xiv, 135; Richardson, *Coal, Class and Community*, Auckland, 1995, p. 108.
- ⁴⁵ J.H.M. Salmon, *A History of Gold-Mining in New Zealand*, Wellington 1963, p. 260.
- ⁴⁶ The second man employed on the drill played a jet of water on the hole being drilled to allay dust.
- ⁴⁷ Calculated from the tables 'Quartz tons crushed' in 'Appendix I, Reefton returns,' in Brian R. Hill, 'Explaining the Reefton paradox', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, vol. 2, September 2004, p. 167. Also see 'Table 10, Numbers of miners employed' AJHR C-2 Papers, *Mines Statement* 1911, p. 16, and 'Table 9, Numbers of miners employed', AJHR C-2 Papers, *Mines Statement* 1913, p. 15.
- ⁴⁸ Industry historians like Salmon fail to discern the economic imperative behind the dispute which explains the companies' unusual steadfastness in this prolonged strike, instead believing the strike to be related to the Red Feds' militant industrial strategy in pursuit of their radical ideological aims. Salmon sees the concurrence of the reduction in profitability with the industrial dispute as a coincidence, or even as an act of God: 'It was providence rather than the relationship of cause and effect, that the strike should occur at a time when the quality of the deposits was falling'. See, Salmon, *History of Gold-Mining in New Zealand*, p. 263.
- ⁴⁹ 'General Manger's Report,' *Consolidated Gold Fields of New Zealand Ltd Annual report to Shareholders*, London, 1914.
- ⁵⁰ 'General Manager's Report', *Progress Mines of New Zealand Ltd Annual Report to Shareholders*, London 1914.
- ⁵¹ Hill, 'The Little Man', Appendix II, Inflation and deflation', p. 333.
- ⁵² The Globe-Progress mine is being re-opened this year by Oceana Ltd, 85 years after it closed.
- ⁵³ 'Chairman's address', *Blackwater Mines Ltd Annual Report of Proceedings, Annual General Meeting*, London, 30 June 1915, p. 2.
- ⁵⁴ Col. R.A. Chaffey, Commanding Canterbury Military District, Christchurch to HQ, NZ Military Forces, Wellington, 10 March 1915, New Zealand Defence Forces Archives, Department of Defence, Wellington [hereafter NZDFA].
- ⁵⁵ 'Roll of Honour', *The Grey River Argus*, Greymouth, 18 October 1917.
- ⁵⁶ When Evans was posted overseas, his wife Louise and their two children left Reefton to return to England where her parents lived.
- ⁵⁷ David Ziman, Reefton, to Lena Ziman, London, 19 March 1916, DZL ATL.
- ⁵⁸ W.S. Austin, *The Official History of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade*, Wellington, 1924, p. 247.
- ⁵⁹ New Zealand Army records show that Evans' award was announced in the 'Fourth Supplement,' *The London Gazette*, London, 14 August 1917, NZDFA.
- ⁶⁰ Haigh and Polashek, *New Zealand and the Distinguished Service Order*, p. 288.
- ⁶¹ 'Manager's Report', *Consolidated Gold Fields of New Zealand Ltd Annual Report to Shareholders*, London, 1916.
- ⁶² See Richardson, *Coal, Class and Community*, p. 166, *passim*, for a study of the attitude to the war, and the opposition to conscription among the mining unions on the West Coast.
- ⁶³ Len Richardson, 'Politics and War,' in Philip Ross May (ed.) *Miners and Militants*, Christchurch, 1975, p. 136. This arrangement was made with the unions by the government and the mining companies welcomed it because the wartime lack of manpower hampered operations.
- ⁶⁴ Austin, *Official History of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade*, p. 247.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 203.
- ⁶⁶ Glyn Harper, *Massacre at Passchendaele, The New Zealand Story*, Auckland, 2000, p. 10.
- ⁶⁷ Austin, *Official History of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade*, p. 247.
- ⁶⁸ Tony Potter, 'Last of a Dying Breed', *Sunday Star Times*, Auckland, 21 October 2001, p. A3.
- ⁶⁹ Bright Williams was 20 years old at the time. He died in February 2003, just before his 106th birthday.
- ⁷⁰ Haigh and Polashek, *New Zealand and the Distinguished Service Order*, p. 288.
- ⁷¹ 'N.Z. Roll of Honor. Lt. Col. A. Winter Evans', *The Inangahua Herald*, Reefton, 18 October 1917. Another district newspaper, *The Grey River Argus* in Greymouth not only referred to Evans' DSO but it also gave him a bar to his DSO. In mentioning that Evans had also served in the Boer war, *The Argus* wrote that Evans' father was 'also a soldier of repute, and he was killed treacherously by the Boers when approaching under the white flag that had been displayed by the enemy'. See, 'Roll of Honour. Lieut.-Colonel Winter Evans DSO. Killed in Action,' *The Grey River Argus*, Greymouth, 18 October 1917.