Celebrating Ettie Rout
Sexual Health Pioneer

Ettie Annie Rout 1877 – 1936

The NZVS badge, on her lapel, stands for New Zealand Volunteer Sisterhood

Tribute by Margaret Sparrow

June 2013
ETTIE ROUT’S SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Ettie was a woman well ahead of her time. Single handedly she promoted ‘safer sex’ with the Australian and New Zealand troops of the First World War before that term was ever used. She argued strongly that venereal diseases were a medical and not a moral problem.

She campaigned for the issue of prophylactics for troops going on leave, early treatment of infections and safe brothels. After researching what would be the most effective means of prevention (which would not have been easy for a non-medical person) she included the following items in the prophylactic kit: calomel ointment (containing mercury) or vaseline to be applied before sex, Condy’s crystals (potassium permanganate) an antiseptic solution for bathing or irrigation after sex, and condoms. At that time condoms were either made of vulcanised rubber (thick) or animal membrane (thin).

This was in the era before antibiotics and early treatment was the army’s strategy. Preferably as soon as feasible and certainly within 12-24 hours of having sex, men were instructed to go to a ‘blue light’ centre where they were treated with disinfectant forced up the urethra.

Irrigation equipment for treatment of gonorrhoea in France (1914-1918) from JD Oriel, *The Scars of Venus* Pg200.

Ettie’s kit was sometimes referred to as an ET outfit, the ET standing for ‘Early Treatment’. Towards the end of 1917 the kit was finally adopted by the New Zealand army.

The Volunteer Sisterhood founded by Ettie also provided social amenities for the soldiers. After spending time with the troops in the Middle East she continued her campaign in England and France. In Paris she would meet the trains bringing the troops and hand them kits and cards advising them of the safe brothel she has set up with the help of French venereologist Dr Jean Tissot who dubbed her ‘a real guardian angel of the ANZACs’. In 1920 the New Zealand RSA collected £100 as a tribute for her valuable work.
In New Zealand, women’s groups campaigned against her. The following press release is from the Women’s Christian Temperance Union in the Ashburton Guardian 19 March 1918.

‘UTTER ABHORRENCE.’
MISS ROUT CONDEMNED
(Per Press Association)
TIMARU, March 19.
The W.C.T.U. Convention passed the following resolution to-day:
“This Convention of representative women of the W.C.T.U. of the Dominion of New Zealand, expresses its utter abhorrence at the effrontery of Miss Ettie Rout, in implying that the New Zealand boys must be supplied with remedies to make wrong-doing safe, and sin easy. We contend that we send our sons to fight for purity and righteousness, and we utterly dis-countenance everything that slackens the moral fibre and self-control. We place on record our emphatic repudiation of the use of prophylactics and of the woman who advocates them.”

If she had lived to see the Second World War Ettie would have been pleased to see the adoption of prophylactic kits issued freely to men going on leave. One such kit is on display in the Family Planning contraceptive museum in the National Office, Wellington. Two condoms also came with the kit:
BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Ettie and her twin sister were born in Tasmania and the family came to New Zealand when Ettie was a young child. She had another sister who was two years younger. After leaving school she was one of the first to train in Gilby’s shorthand and became a public shorthand typist in Christchurch, operating her own business. She wrote articles for the Lyttelion Times. She had wide, if unconventional, interests and was a rationalist, socialist, and freethinker. She was a long-time friend of physical culturist Fred Hornibrook who approved of her not wearing corsets or tight fitting clothes. She unfashionably wore trousers at times and cycled around Christchurch.

In this studio photograph Ettie is the tall woman third from left at the back. Fred is in the centre with his physical culture group.[Photograph Canterbury Museum]

In the first decade of the 20th Century Ettie became involved in the labour movement, first farm labourers then gold miners. In 1910 she set up and edited the Maoriland Worker for the New Zealand Shearers' Union, of which she was an honorary member. When the shearers joined the New Zealand Federation of Labour in early 1911, the paper was taken over by the federation although she remained a contributor. She was an advocate for better conditions for female shop workers and for independent citizenship for married women.

In July 1915, during the Gallipoli campaign of the First World War, she set up the New Zealand Volunteer Sisterhood and invited women between the ages of 30 and 50 to go to Egypt to care for New Zealand soldiers. In spite of government opposition, she sent the first batch of 12 volunteers to Cairo that October. The women worked in the New Zealand YMCA canteen in the Esbekia gardens and in hospitals.

Ettie arrived in Egypt in February 1916, and immediately became aware of the soldiers' high venereal disease rate. When the bulk of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force left for France that April, Ettie remained in Egypt to care for the men fighting the desert campaign in Sinai and Palestine. She opened the Tel El Kebir Soldiers' Club and later a canteen at El Qantara, to provide better rest and recreation facilities and better food.
Within the military support came from General Sir Alexander Godley and his wife Lady Louisa, Defence Minister Colonel James Allen and General George Richardson. She had absolutely no support from the New Zealand Prime Minister, William Massey, and back in New Zealand Lady Stout led a deputation of women to ask the Prime Minister to put an end to Ettie’s efforts. In the British House of Lords a bishop called her ‘the wickedest woman in Britain.’

In June 1917, just after the Imperial War Cabinet had met to discuss VD and prostitution, she went to London to push the military into providing free and compulsory prophylactic kits for soldiers going on leave. The Australians and Canadians introduced these first then New Zealand followed, supplying kits by the end of 1917. Before that Ettie sold them at the New Zealand Medical Soldiers Club, which she set up at Hornchurch near the New Zealand Convalescent Hospital, about 20 miles from London.

Ettie received no credit from New Zealand authorities for her role in the kit's development. In April 1918 Ettie Rout went to Paris where she set up a one-woman social and sexual welfare service for soldiers.

Ettie with soldiers in Paris 1918. [Photograph National Archives]

After the war in 1919 and 1920 she and Fred did voluntary work for the American Red Cross in the war-ravaged Somme town of Villers-Bretonneux. This included the feeding of 200 children.

In 1920, when she and Fred were both 43 they moved to London and married. She had no children. Always primarily a campaigner, she wrote a number of books, among them Safe Marriage, a contraceptive and prophylactic manual for women which was banned in New Zealand in 1923, but was published in Britain and Australia. She was a contemporary of two other family planning pioneers, Margaret Sanger (1879-1966) in the USA and Marie Stopes (1880-1958) in Britain.
In 1936 after the breakup of her marriage she returned to New Zealand for the first time since her departure in 1916. On a trip to Rarotonga she died of a self-administered overdose of quinine on 17 September 1936 aged 59. She was buried in the graveyard of the London Missionary Society church (now the Cook Islands Christian Church) at Avarua (pictured below).

Safe Marriage was published in 1922.

Ettie in London after the war with her faithful Remington.
The obituary from the *Evening Post*
19 September 1936 pays greater
attention to her typing skills than to
her ‘welfare methods for the troops’
WARTIME RECOGNITION FOR ETTIE ROUT

For her work with the ANZACs she was mentioned in dispatches and she is acknowledged in the Australian war history, twice in Bean’s multi-volume history and once in the medical history. See: http://www.awm.gov.au
However her name was not mentioned in the official war history of New Zealand.

In 1920 she received a commendation from King George V as reported in the Horowhenua Chronicle 17 June 1920.

The French decorated her with their highest civilian honour the Reconnaissance française medal, for her work in Paris and her contribution after the war to the reconstruction of the town of Villers-Bretonneux in the Somme. The town was adopted by the City of Melbourne and funds were collected to help with its reconstruction. Victorian schoolchildren raised money towards the rebuilding of the local school which has ever since been known as the ‘L’Ecole Victoria’ (Victoria School). In the school building is the ‘Franco–Australian Museum’. Since 1919, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, have carefully tended and looked after the war cemeteries and memorials which dot the region.
RECOGNITION FROM NEW ZEALAND AIDS FOUNDATION (NZAF)

The Christchurch AIDS Support Network made its first submission to the North Canterbury Hospital Board in February 1986, but the plan for an independent clinic with a full range of services was rejected on the grounds that AIDS patients did not need special facilities, and that its potential use was over-estimated. The NZAF argued that the STD clinic did not provide anonymity, counselling, or a gay-sensitive environment and the Board eventually agreed to the establishment of a counselling service in association with its STD clinic.

The Hospital Board rejected the name "Ettie Rout" on the grounds that its policy was not to name buildings after people, and proposed calling the clinic the "AIDS Information Centre". Since NZAF’s major aim was to offer anonymity and a low key environment, nothing could have been less suitable. But the row over the name was symbolic as well.

During the First World War when the burghers of Christchurch set up Social Hygiene Patrols in the Square in order to control syphilis, Ettie Rout was on the railway stations of France handing out condoms to soldiers. It seemed to the NZAF that the authorities in Christchurch continued to hold unrealistic views on how to combat disease.

In March 1988 the NZAF decided to withdraw from the hospital STD clinic and set up a community health centre in Christchurch located at 453 Montreal Street. In August 1988 the NZAF opened the clinic and it was named the Ettie Rout Centre.

In 1995 the Ettie Rout Centre moved to 31 St Asaph Street.

During this period the Ettie Rout Centre Wellness Fund provided direct help, both practical and financial, to Canterbury people living with HIV/AIDS. A pamphlet (pictured left) outlined what the fund could be used for - and that included massage services, emergency finance, beds and bedding, home appliance repairs, flu vaccinations, agency nursing care and transportation. The fund relied upon donations from the public and from fundraising by staff and friends of the Ettie Rout Centre.

In March 2003 the Ettie Rout Centre was relocated to 269 Hereford Street, but in this move the name was changed to NZAF South Te Toika. The Hon Lianne Dalziel opened the centre and there was a powhiri and Maori blessing by the Kaumataua Rev. Maurice Gray. The alternative name of Te Toika was gifted by the local iwi. In the regional Kai Tahu dialect Te Toika means ‘the south’ and the ‘k’ is correctly underlined to recognise the local pronunciation.

One can’t help wondering what Ettie would have thought of the consultations that led to the change of name. Her picture remained in one of the rooms known as the Ettie Rout room.

Following the devastation of the Christchurch earthquakes on 4 September 2010 and 22 February 2011 there were two temporary relocations before new premises were opened on Monday 23 January 2012 upstairs at 253 Cashel Street. There is no longer a room dedicated to Ettie Rout but there is a photo of her on the wall in the meeting room.

I am grateful to Vern Keller, librarian, NZAF for researching the above.
FURTHER RECOGNITION BY CHRISTCHURCH HEALTH WORKERS

The Mainland Women and HIV Network was established in the 1980s because of the number of women contracting HIV. The people involved in the Network come from various organisations and groups - as well as interested individuals. Groups represented included: NZAF, NZ Prostitutes Collective, Sexual Health Centre (Christchurch), Christchurch Women’s Prison, 198 Youth Health Centre, Family Planning Association, Pacific Island Health Resource Centre, Rodger Wright Centre for needle exchange and Crown Public Health Ltd. Health promoter Diane Shanno was a member of the network and I am grateful to her for the information below.


Ettie Rout is also commemorated in the Christchurch Women’s Refuge safe house. All the rooms are named after famous Christchurch women such as Kate Sheppard and Mabel Howard. One of them is the Ettie Rout Room. It has a very nice plaque with some information about Ettie beside the door as you go in. Diane Shannon, a founding member attended the 40 years celebration in 2013.
OTHER TRIBUTES:
Television Programmes

**Pioneer Women.** In 1983 Ettie was featured in a Feltex-award-winning TVNZ documentary on pioneer women, one in a series of six. The director was Ginette McDonald, the producer Pamela Jones (now Meekings-Stewart), the writer Jane Galletly and the part of Ettie was played by actress Jane Waddell. The other women in the series were Nurse Sybylla Maude, Caroline Ngoungou, Elizabeth Colenso, Ellen Hewett and Princess Te Puea.

**New Zealand's Top 100 History Makers.** This was a weekly television programme first shown on Prime Television on 6 October 2005. A total of 430 notable New Zealanders were ranked by a panel of seven to determine the 100 most influential persons in New Zealand history. There were six episodes to present the list, and a final 7th episode, screened live on 17 November 2005, with the rankings of the top ten as a result of votes collected from the public via text and internet. (Not statistically valid!) Ettie came in at No 52 below comedian John Clarke and above athletics coach Arthur Lydiard. Joseph Romanos, one of the panellists, produced a book later in 2005 containing profiles of the chosen 100. A 2012 edition of this is now available.

**Landmark project and Trail of Light St Paul's Anglican Cathedral**
On 19 September 2003 to celebrate the 110th anniversary of women’s suffrage in New Zealand, the Governor General Dame Silvia Cartwright unveiled a memorial to honour the women of New Zealand. The Landmark project is a time-line of the main legal and social changes which have been important landmarks in the history of women’s rights in New Zealand. The ‘Trail of Light’ is a glass etching by artist Rhondda Greig installed in St Paul’s Anglican Cathedral, Molesworth St, Wellington. This art work places on record a tribute to all women by identifying 50 who have made a tangible difference to the status and wellbeing of women in New Zealand. As part of the Landmark project there are three tribute books. The first provides a biographical summary of the 50 women selected for the ‘Trail of Light’. The second provides a brief summary of the significance of each social or legislative change identified as a Landmark. The third is the ‘Trail of Light Continues’ which provides an opportunity for additions to the trail through a nomination and selection process based on the procedures adopted for the first 50 women. Ettie Rout is in the centre panel.
Tasmanian Honour Roll of Women
On 29 July 2008 Ettie was one of 28 Tasmanian women inducted on to the Tasmanian Honour Roll of Women. Premier David Bartlett announced the list of eminent Tasmanian women, many of whom were present at the ceremony, and congratulated the women for their "inspirational leadership, compassion and commitment in their chosen fields. Some of them are familiar people in the Tasmanian community, but there are others whose endeavours are quite astounding yet they are relatively unknown." The 28 joined 143 women already named on the Honour Roll since it was established by the Tasmanian Government in 2005. Ettie Rout, Launceston was honoured for services to health.

Play
_Ettie_, by Campbell Smith, was a prize-winning play in the PANZ (Playwrights Association of New Zealand) play writing competition 2003. A workshop was held at the University of Waikato in 2005. It was re-titled _Through Dark Clouds Shining_ and on 1 August 2008 the world premiere of the play was performed at the Hagley Theatre, Christchurch. This play is available from Playmarket. Campbell Smith has written 24 plays many about New Zealanders who have changed the course of history. In 2012 the 87 year old artist, playwright, poet and wood engraver was awarded an honorary doctorate from Waikato University.

For a review of the play by Ruth, one of Ettie’s relatives see:  

Archives New Zealand
On 11 November 2008 the Governor General Sir Anand Satyanand opened an exhibition at Archives New Zealand, Wellington, to celebrate the 90th anniversary of Armistice Day and the end of the First World War. Under the title of _An Impressive Silence: Public Memory and Personal Experience of the Great War_ the exhibition included 7 sections: Off to War, Nurses/Voluntary Aid, Home Front, Ettie Rout and VD, Facing the Cost, Coming Home and Remembrance. The exhibition was open until 29 May 2009 and the sights and sounds of the war were also captured in an online version. The exhibition was reviewed by Kirstie Ross for the _New Zealand Journal of History_.

The section on Ettie in the Archives New Zealand exhibition included one of the cards she distributed to soldiers endorsing a Parisian brothel run by Madame Yvonne.
Ministry for Culture & Heritage
The Ministry is responsible for a wide range of activities and has a number of informative websites. See: http://www.mch.govt.nz
A search for Ettie Rout on the home page provides numerous references with significant articles in the following categories: New Zealand History, Te Ara The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Commemorations and Anniversaries, WW100. See: http://ww100.govt.nz
The Ministry for Culture and Heritage, will be collaborating with the New Zealand Defence Force, Massey University and the Royal New Zealand Returned And Services Association to produce a multi-volume history of New Zealand’s part in the First World War. Ettie Rout will feature in two of the volumes currently being written:
Professor Glyn Harper’s The New Zealand Soldier at War and
John Crawford’s The New Zealand Expeditionary Force
If funding is available a volume on health will also be commissioned.

Auckland War Memorial Museum.
On the excellent Cenotaph database there is a page on Ettie. See:
http://muse.aucklandmuseum.com/databases/Cenotaph/127645.detail?Ordinal=1&c_surname_search=rout&cFirstname_search=ettie

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

She is in the company of other New Zealand icons, Maud Basham (Aunt Daisy), Jean Batten, James K Baxter, Carmen, Dame Whina Cooper, Sir Edmund Hillary, Ralph Hotere, Billy T James, Katherine Mansfield, Colin Meads, Robert Muldoon, George Nepia, Sir Apirana Ngata, Dr Maui Pomare and Yvette Williams.

The museum will be having a major exhibition commemorating the centenary of the First World War. This will focus initially on Gallipoli but will have a changing focus over a five-year period. A book will be published by Te Papa Press.
ETTIE’S GRAVE IN RAROTONGA

In December 2009 Dr David Bradford and companion Michael went on a cruise on the Regent "Seven Seas Mariner" across the Pacific from Auckland to Los Angeles. The second port of call was Rarotonga and David and Michael made a special pilgrimage to see Ettie Rout’s grave in the churchyard of the Cook Islands Christian Church in Avarua.

Dr David Bradford AM, Foundation Fellow of the Australasian Chapter of Sexual Health Medicine at Ettie’s grave December 2009.

David writes: "It was interesting that the handout from the Cruise Ship advised that there were several famous people buried in the graveyard, including Ettie Rout - it mentioned her by name - and yet when we actually got there it was a real problem to locate the grave. There was a tour from the ship that afternoon - a circle island tour - and the bus paused beside the church and churchyard and the guide reeled off a list of famous people buried there - including American author Robert Dean Frisbie (1896-1948) - but omitted Ettie. The tour didn't stop there as we had hoped - consequently we had a good mile or so walk from the pier to the Church afterwards and another mile back to the ship to ensure we saw the grave.

We had a lot of trouble finding the grave until Michael remembered that suspected suicides were always buried at the very back of the churchyard and sure enough there it was almost against the back fence behind the church on the right hand side. Some (discreet) signposting would have helped. It really wasn't easy to find! Only Michael's sharp eyes found it after we had been round and round the churchyard two or three times and had almost given up hope of finding it.

I was saddened to see that her grave was very dilapidated and unkempt - such a shame that someone who had done so much for sexual health and who had been such a pioneer against considerable opposition would be so little remembered.

I was asked to speak on two occasions during 2009, one in Sydney at an Art Conference at the Casula Power House Museum and one in Canberra, a History of War Conference at the Australian War Memorial about the problems of STIs in Australian and New Zealand soldiers in the Vietnam conflict. I began both talks by paying tribute to Ettie as "the guardian angel of the ANZACs" and the first safe sex campaigner and saying that it was almost entirely due to her influence that both the Australian and NZ Armies dropped their punitive approach to soldiers with STIs by the time of the Vietnam War and that we as Army regimental medical officers (RMOs) there were not only
advocating condom use but mandating the supply of same before soldiers went on leave. So her influence lives on and her stance has been vindicated many many times over since the coming of HIV/AIDS in the eighties.

I believe she should be regarded as a national icon in both Australia and New Zealand and there ought to be a well beaten track to her grave - who knows how many countless men and women have been saved the ravages of STIs and more latterly HIV/AIDS by her wonderful example and courageous fighting spirit? It is very sad that so many seem never to have heard of her despite the official record. A historian at the medical War History Conference in Canberra told me he was grateful to me for drawing his attention for the first time to her work in my talk. If even the official war historians don't know about her, things are pretty grim!”

Author Jane Tolerton who in 1992 published the biography *Ettie: A life of Ettie Rout* (Auckland, Penguin Books) recalls how Leslie Grange, then head of the NZ Soil Division went to Rarotonga in the 1950s to survey the soil. He was a WW1 veteran and someone mentioned Ettie. They looked for the grave but, like David and Michael, they couldn't find it.

Jane writes: "After Grange returned to NZ, the grave was found and he was sent the inscription. He got the second gravestone made and shipped it over - and it was put on top of the grave - which is why there is one sloping gravestone and one sitting upright on top with exactly the same wording. Grange had been nursed by Ettie in WW1. One of the most interesting things is that when I phoned his family (as he was dead by the 80s when I was researching) his son assured me that "That wouldn't have been Dad". In fact, luckily Grange had written to a would-be biographer - who had kept the letter....and there was back up evidence as well. In Rarotonga I had met the man who had physically put the second gravestone on - and he was the one who told me about Grange's visit.

This vignette is perfect: the wish of the man to do something to recognise Ettie - but not publicly (just as the RSA collected money for her after the war and sent it to her in England, but did not publicly speak out in her favour) and the family not even thinking about it but just - no, it wouldn't have been our Dad."

Jane also recalls her last visit to Rarotonga: "I had a copy of my book with me. There was an auction of art and so on - the proceeds going to a safe sex campaign for young people - amazingly. So I donated the copy of Ettie and it was auctioned....and bought by a man who owned a resort."
RESTORATION OF ETTIE’S GRAVE 18-26 AUGUST 2012

Report by Margaret Sparrow to New Zealand Sexual Health Society

After obtaining helpful advice and a demonstration from Grant Clark of Wellington Memorials, Newtown on the correct technique for restoring the inscription on polished granite I travelled to Rarotonga to restore Ettie’s grave. The instructions proved to be reliable and the outcome was an amazing improvement. The inscriptions are now clearly legible.

I am grateful to Twiggy Johnston, Pacific Sexual Health Adviser and youth educator for Lower Hutt DHB for her help and especially for introducing me to her family in Rarotonga. I stayed with her cousin Autiare Luke at Matavera about 8mins drive from the grave site. A friend of the family Mr Teva Simiona, a resident of Aitutaki, was a tremendous help. Also holidaying on the island were Wellingtonians Alex and Irina Bolotovski who helped me with the cleaning, painting and scraping. I am sure that Teva will keep a watch on the grave as he has a sister buried in the same area. I also met with the President of the Cook Islands RSA, Mr Denis Dwane and the immediate Past President, Mr Henry Wichman. They are already engaged in the care of the graves of returned soldiers on the islands and saw it as quite appropriate that Ettie’s grave be included in that voluntary activity.

Early in my visit I paid a courtesy call on the New Zealand High Commissioner the Hon John Carter who made some useful suggestions not only to help with the project in Rarotonga but also on my return to New Zealand. He suggested briefing the Minister of Defence, Dr Jonathan Coleman and approaching the National Army Museum, Waiouru for greater recognition

I visited Iola Adam, a friend of Dr Janet Say who was involved in the early stages. She suggested that I see Jean Mason, librarian at the Cook Island Library and Museum which was very useful. The Cook Island News interviewed me and an article was published in the Cook Island News, Saturday 25 August 2012.

I had lunch with Heather Webber-Aitu previously of Lower Hutt Sexual Health, now married to a Cook Islander and working with the Public Service Commission located downstairs from the New Zealand High Commission. She suggested I meet with Mrs Kath Koteka of the Cook Island Family Welfare Association (CIFWA) a nurse who is very experienced in family planning (including the insertion of Jadelle implants), cervical smears and sexual health. I spent Friday morning at this busy clinic meeting the staff and volunteers.

I visited the National Cultural Centre which includes the National Library (Runanga Paka) and spent half an hour with Odile Urirau, the Library Officer and Toni Moeroa, Library Assistant. I donated a copy of Jane Tolerton’s biography of Ettie as they did not have one.

To the RSA I donated the remaining paint, turps, wire brushes, paint brushes, scraper, scrubbing brush and pumice, the latter unknown in Rarotonga. These items were gratefully received and will be used on other graves. I feel that having the RSA involved is the best prospect for maintenance long-term. Visitors are welcome so please visit the club rooms if anyone is in Rarotonga. It is easy to find near the airport.

I returned to New Zealand, mission accomplished and with grateful thanks to all those named above and to Istar Ltd and the New Zealand Sexual Health Society for funding assistance. I am grateful to author Jane Tolerton for providing heavily discounted copies of her biography of Ettie.
Photographs before during and after the restoration of Ettie Rout’s grave, Rarotonga August 2012

Avarua Christian Church front view. Ettie’s grave is at the rear, far left.

Margaret Sparrow at Ettie’s grave. The top headstone is unreadable.

Margaret Sparrow painting over top headstone with silver paint after cleaning.

The workers Alex & Irina Bolotovski, Margaret Sparrow and Teva Simiona. Top headstone painted silver, bottom painted black.

After scraping, the finished result.
REFERENCES


Mason, Jean Tekura. In memory of…*Cook Islands News* Saturday 12 April 2003. Jean is the community librarian opposite the church where Ettie Rout is buried. This article is on a number of notable persons buried in the graveyard, including Ettie.


Romanos, Joseph. *New Zealand’s Top 100 History Makers* New Zealand: Trio Books; 2012.


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