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THE PATRIOT BAND - THE SCHOOL CADETS FROM THEIR EVOLUTION  
TO THE GREAT WAR.

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of Master  
of Arts in History at Massey University.

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1973

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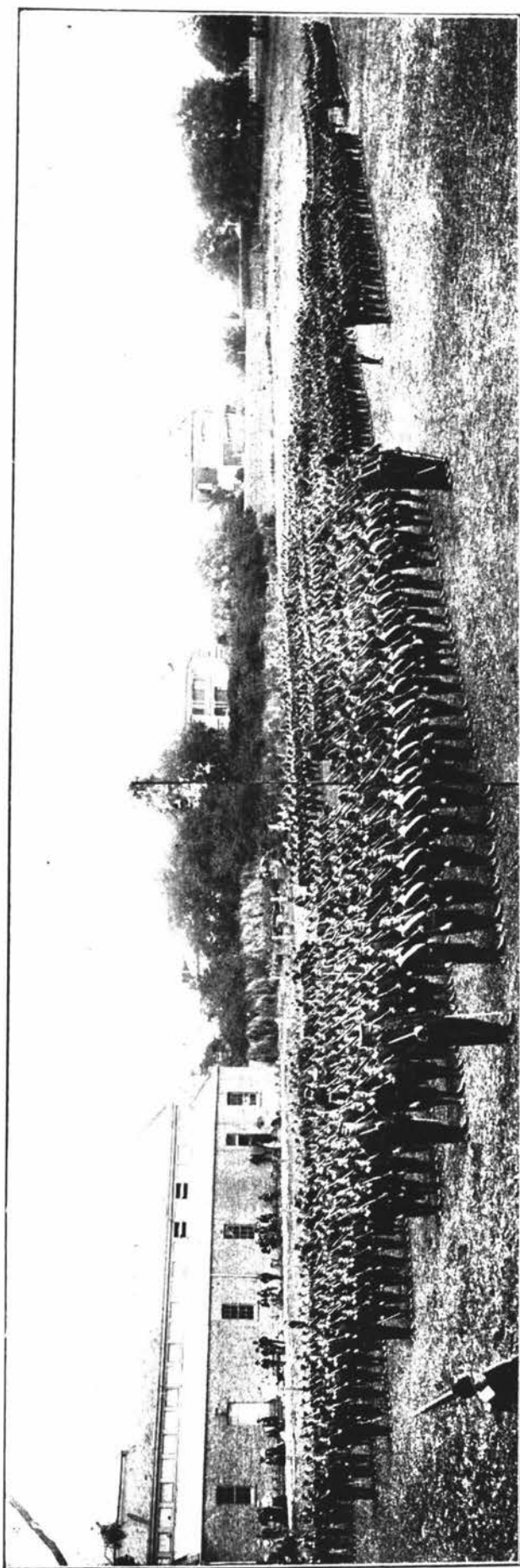
ABBREVIATIONS.

AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
AS	Auckland Star
LT	Lyttleton Times
MAGSB	Minutes of the Auckland Grammar Schools' Board
NZG	New Zealand Gazette
NZH	New Zealand Herald
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.
OTD	Otago Daily Times
WEBM	Wellington Education Board Minutes

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OAMARU NORTH SCHOOL COMPANY CADETS, WINNERS OF THE SOUTH ISLAND GOVERNMENT CHALLENGE SHIELD FOR 1907 WITH A SCORE OF 765 OUT OF A POSSIBLE 840.



INSPECTION BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR (LORD FLUNKET) OF THE 1ST, 2ND, AND 3RD AUCKLAND PUBLIC SCHOOL, CADET BATTALIONS ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE NORTH ISLAND CHALLENGE SHIELD TO THE ONEHONGA SCHOOL, CADETS, ON THE 20TH FEBRUARY, 1906.

The writing of history consists in the complementary activities of analysis and reflection. A study of the school cadets in New Zealand from their evolution in the old established colleges till 1914, provides an opportunity for both these activities to be attempted through the medium of a relatively small but highly defined topic.

As an institution, the cadets provide an interesting study in themselves, for by minutely observing the specialised activities of a large section of New Zealand society, namely its children together with those especially concerned with the cadets through education or defence, it is possible to gain a detailed understanding and insight into their beliefs and assumptions. The activities and attitudes of teachers, concerned military men, articulate members of the general public and where possible pupils, will each provide a slightly different vantage point from which to reconstruct this picture.

One also learns something of the values people wanted their children inculcated with, for children then as now went to school amidst certain social, civic and moral assumptions possessed by society at large, and more especially by their educators the teachers, inspectors and administrators. The books they read, the activities they took part in, became necessarily infused within the cadet system itself, for it was after all but a practical extension of classroom activity. To many New Zealanders, "the good schoolboy", "the good cadet" and "the good future citizen" were identical.

Teachers for the most part seem to have shared these assumptions whilst like teachers today, being somewhat suspicious of any dissipation of their teaching time into extra-curricular activities. It is when "teacher" singular is substituted for the plural form that difficulties appear, for what did the individual teacher who was often apathetic towards departmental directives believe of the cadet movement?

Again, one can assuredly discuss the value systems and framework in which the teacher taught though an acquaintance with contemp-

rary school books and journals, but this is not to say that all teachers actually taught these ideals.

Inspectors' reports contained in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives provide the opinions of men who were well acquainted with the latest in educational and political developments whilst being teachers themselves, for the most part practical and realistic enough to gauge the educational process room by room through their district.

One can question still, whether such men were representative of the average classroom teacher, whose views for the most part seemed to have remained inaudible. Today the New Zealand Educational Institute provides a forum for the teacher but from 1883 when the institute was formed, till 1913, the organisation pursued its original aim: that of improving the teachers' working conditions and striving to gain official recognition of its work as a prerequisite to broader interests. Only after 1913 did the Institute begin to take an active interest in the aims and philosophy of education, but by that time the organisation and basis of the cadet movement had fundamentally changed.<sup>1</sup>

Newspapers provide infrequent and indirect, though often tantalising indications of teachers' views on such specific issues as cadet camps and Saturday instruction. Quite often the passing of an important act concerning cadets, such as the Defence Amendment Act of 1910, provided the occasion for editorial analysis, but editors could be equally provoked into comment by such comparatively trifling events as the success of a local school in shooting or the publication of a reader's letter on cadets. Thus newspaper evidence even more than other sources can depend on luck as well as judgement.

One is therefore left with two questions. Firstly, did teachers see cadets as an important part of a child's education, or as just another chore? Secondly, given society's emphasis on patriotism and imperialism especially from the 1890's to 1914, did such sentiments provide a veil through which teachers unquestioningly looked at the world, or were they after all a convenient halo to be cast

<sup>1</sup>J. Caughley, Inauguration Address, New Plymouth, January 1913, in Reports of the Annual Meetings of the Council of the Institute. Wellington 1958.



aside after infrequent inspectoral visits? We shall probably never know.

Among the military, a detailed analysis of what cadet instructors believed themselves to be accomplishing can elucidate their attitudes towards New Zealand's defence and how education could serve this goal. Although it must be remembered that such men could well be atypical soldiers, the comparatively small numbers of them involved make their attitudes somewhat less obscure than those of teachers.

The advantages of such minute observations become particularly important when one turns attention to the high schools and colleges of the period, for here any sweeping generalisation can be dangerous. Their peculiar blend of pioneer hardiness and English public school exclusiveness gave each school a different character which helped determine the distinctiveness of each high school corps.

Although such detailed analysis has obvious merits, it does possess certain disadvantages. Firstly it raises as many questions as it solves and the answers tend to lie outside the immediate framework of the topic, either within the field of New Zealand education or wider still in the national and international situation. Secondly, history is not a static process: it contains movements and trends that need to be explained if possible. Thus along with analysis there must be reflection. The school cadet topic can also be used as a springboard from which to investigate specific problems within New Zealand education or society in general, for such an activity is pertinent to an understanding of this age. In addition events occurring within the school cadet situation tend to mirror complementary processes in education, and to a lesser extent in the development of New Zealand and other western states. In this sense they are all related aspects of a single theme.

Accordingly the thesis follows four somewhat arbitrarily chosen chronological periods, each revealing a distinctive phase in the history of the school cadets. To match this, events within the field of New Zealand education have been similarly periodised as have (to a lesser extent) events in the development of New Zealand itself. This is perhaps to strengthen the telescopic value of the topic at some expense to its essential continuity, but provided

the limitations of such an approach are realised, the advantages outweigh any faults.

Although the 1877 Education Act made provision for cadet corps or detachments to be set up in schools, the various education boards were left to their own discretion. Thus development was rather uneven with the richer boards tending to show more interest than the poorer boards, struggling with heavy financial and administrative problems. Between 1877 and about 1896 however, the cadets made fairly rapid, if sporadic progress determined more by unrelated events external to them, than by specific action of the government through the education department or boards

Some parallels can be found within the sphere of education itself during this period. The 1877 Education Act had in general made education free, secular and compulsory, and real progress was being made towards the building up of a national system of education, though the quality of that education was extremely uneven throughout the colony, ranging from the Nelson Board which had operated a system not much different from the national system itself and accordingly possessed a nucleus of trained personnel, to Auckland which suffered from its excessive area, poorly trained teachers and otherwise slipshod administration.<sup>2</sup>

Just how far New Zealand was from the goals implied by the 1877 Act was illustrated by the proliferation of local power at the expense of the centre. Throughout the colony salary scales for teachers differed from board to board, each of which stringently maintained its own classification scheme for the appointment of teachers, while school appointments remained in the hands of local school committees. The period from 1877 to 1896 was therefore one of spectacular advance, hampered by much inertia and lingering anachronisms for cadets and education generally.

From 1896 to 1902 the ground work for rapid development was laid. Public opinion, supplemented by the expert advice of education

<sup>2</sup> M.D. Heatherton, "The History of English Influence on Educational Thought and Practice in New Zealand," M.A. thesis, Canterbury University, 1932, p.56.

and defence spokesmen was in accord with the wishes of parliamentarians, particularly of the Liberals for an effective centralised, and therefore departmentally controlled cadet scheme, all of which culminated in the gazetting of explicit regulations for the formation and control of the public school corps.<sup>3</sup>

At least part of the development can be explained by the appointment of George Hogben to the position of Inspector-General of Schools in 1899, for by 1901 he had helped initiate a rapid period of reform with the passing of the Public School Teachers Salaries Act, which made salaries standard throughout the colony, and by lending his support to a scheme of superannuation for teachers.<sup>4</sup> The period 1902 till approximately 1910 saw a continuation of reform within the educational system, and perhaps not surprisingly this was the heyday of the cadets as well.

Perhaps two-thirds of the male children in public schools between the ages of twelve and fourteen, supplemented by a somewhat higher proportion in the high schools, donned cadet uniforms and took part in weekly drills, target practices, and marches in formation for the benefit of distinguished overseas visitors. Some of this extraordinary activity again can be explained by considering parallels in educational administration and philosophy during these years, for this period saw attempts to make the boards and their employees the inspectors less autonomous and more responsible to the Education Department. At the same time endeavours were made to widen the scope of secondary education to allow as many children as possible to enjoy its benefits. It is interesting to consider what influence this latter effort might have had upon the concept of the high school cadets as an elite cadre.

By 1900 John Dewey had established himself as a leading American educationalist whose ideas were noticed both in Europe and in Australasia. Dewey taught that schools were simply embryonic societies, and as such should reveal to society's young members the intricacies of industrial production, science and technology, and citizenship of a modern state in which most would take their place

<sup>3</sup>NZG No 37, pp1058-1059.

<sup>4</sup>A.H. McLintock (ed) An Encyclopedia of New Zealand Wellington 1966. Vol 1 p.523.

not as professors or clergymen, but as factory workers, farmers, and carpenters. Again it is worth considering the effect of such a philosophy on the cadet movement. Were the ideas that produced New Zealand's first technical colleges connected in any way with those that helped produce the cadet system after 1902?

The 1910 to 1914 period saw the decline of the Junior Cadets and the integration of the Senior (High School) Cadets into a national defence system. Once again there are parallels with educational administration in particular, as this period showed signs that progress had gone too far, too fast. Rethinking occurred in educational theory (though this is better discussed along with international influences), which in its turn led to a resolution at the Inspectors Conference of 1910 asking for the demilitarisation of the Junior Cadets.<sup>5</sup>

There is therefore little doubt that much of what was happening in the school cadets can be explained through a parallel study of education itself, noting its philosophical, administrative and financial changes. Nor must one neglect the possibility that the cadet movement itself, once underway as a national movement, provided its own internal dynamic.

Nevertheless it is probable that the answers to many questions lie outside the sphere of formal education, in what was occurring in society at large. The education system is related in a similar way to these events as the cadets were to education. Again the move is from the specific to the general, and again a similar periodisation is valid though perhaps not to the same extent.

H.C.V. Jeffreys has written, "Education is in fact nothing other than the whole life of a community, viewed from the particular standpoint of learning to live that life."<sup>6</sup> Although he wrote for a modern audience with three generations of mass education behind it, it was true that by 1877 something of this view was influencing New Zealand administrators, concerned with consolidating the process of national development.

Before the 1870's New Zealand was little more than a collection of rather isolated frontier settlements, tenuously linked, with

<sup>5</sup>AJHR 1910, E-ID, p32.

<sup>6</sup>H.C.V. Jeffreys, Glaucon, in AKC. Ottoway, Education and Society, Plymouth, 1962, p.7.

great local variations. Vogel's development policy of the 1870's led to the abolition of the provinces (1875) which in its turn necessitated the Education Act of 1877. Although to some extent the impact of Vogel's policy helped turn New Zealand into a single community, local rivalries were still strong and the 1877 Act itself was expected to provide a decentralised system of public school education with the balance of power held equally between education boards and school committees.<sup>7</sup> Together with the long depression which began from about 1881, this state of affairs affected both educational and cadet progress adversely.

By the 1890's the colonists had become more acutely aware of possessing specific national characteristics which in some way differentiated them from Englishmen. At the same time successive Imperial Conferences marked them clearly as part of a world empire. New Zealanders were the better part of the British race that had chosen to live in the southern hemisphere. The two sentiments were not necessarily incompatible and the course of the South African war intensified both. The 1902 regulations concerning cadets marked the culmination of this process, and in its turn influenced the school cadets.

From about 1909 till 1914, New Zealand society faced a critical period of readjustment on the political and philosophical levels. Rising international tension necessitated the growth of serious New Zealand war preparations after 1900, and to some extent it appears that the original conception of the cadets became a casualty of this. Organised protests against the introduction of partial conscription grew markedly from 1909 and the cadets suffered from this, though comparatively little effort was directed specifically at them by anti-militarists.

By about 1910, educational philosophy was again, like defence thinking, undergoing great changes and this was particularly evident in the field of physical education. Evidence from the Inspectors Conference of 1910 and the Royal Commission on Education (1912),

<sup>7</sup>A.H. McLintock (ed), An Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Wellington 1966, vol 1.

suggests a new emphasis on the developing child with both physical and mental processes being seen as complementary. It might well be asked to what extent these ideas were decisive for the cadets, for according to these views military drill could not only be regarded as worthless, but perhaps even harmful to the growing child.

Overseas developments, particularly in the fields of education and defence were very important in influencing changes within New Zealand. Conscription by ballot had become common among the European powers excepting Britain, by the 1880's and by the early 1900's the size of armies had greatly increased. From the time of the dreadnought scare (1909), the Great Powers inexorably began to weigh numbers and resources against probable military opponents, for war was becoming to be recognised as a test of factories and resources as well as of armies. Such events explain the new seriousness in New Zealand's defence preparation after 1909, and the discarding of weak or inefficient military units.

Overseas developments were also of importance in educational philosophy. Britain, America and Switzerland provided models for New Zealand to emulate. In the early 1900's, Dewey's condemnation of the old almost medieval school curriculum as it then existed in many countries did not pass unnoticed in New Zealand and helped to inspire the modern view of education as an activity of the whole community. By 1900, however educational philosophy like defence had reached a point where drastic re-analysis was necessary. Working models were needed and here the English Board of Education's 1909 Syllabus of Physical Exercises became influential, again making itself felt during the 1912 Royal Commission on Education.

This brief Synopsis demonstrates some of the values and perhaps some of the dangers of relating a small topic first to its immediate field and then to broader historical themes. Of course there are relevant questions which, while not exactly lending themselves to such periodisation, can be pursued from the topic basis. In this category are certain less definable more fluid movements within New Zealand society such as patriotism, racial attitudes, drunkenness, and larrikinism. It is possible if not entirely probable, to link these fluid movements together in order to see the

school cadets as a related aspect of a single theme running throughout New Zealand history; that of plugging the gap between reality and aspiration. In the minds of the pioneers, the ideal of building a utopian society was very strongly entrenched. However the 1890's saw the second generation of colonists acutely aware of the disjunction (symptomised by mental and physical disease, larrikinism and drunkenness) between the dreams of their fathers and colonial actuality, for which they envisaged two solutions. Firstly they could turn the utopian proposition into a rational proposition: secondly they could amend the environment in order to heal the disjunction.<sup>8</sup> The first solution was provided by the election of the Liberals in 1891 and their energetic use of the state in the economic sphere. One aspect of the second solution was the formation of a colony wide system of school cadets. Perhaps the cadets themselves, like defence preparations, represented an over-reaction to crisis, for they were not merely a mass movement but a "cordon sanitaire" directed against the new and unhealthy features in the environment which seemed to threaten any progression towards a utopian society. Seen this way, the cadets became a natural, even necessary phenomenon that marked New Zealand's progress from a rural frontier orientated community to a sizable, urban and partially industrial society, where the individualism of the nineteenth century had to conform to the farm-factory-hearth organisation of the twentieth century.

Thus in examining the progress of the school cadets from their beginnings till 1914, two purposes will be served. Firstly, by placing one facet of New Zealand society under the microscope it should be possible to closely examine New Zealanders of an earlier time involved in an activity which by its very nature reveals their beliefs and assumptions. Secondly, in order to be aware of all that comes within and beyond the topic's scope, it will be necessary to turn a telescope upon the whole of New Zealand society between these years, and in so doing tap the main themes running through the history of a developing nation.

<sup>8</sup>I am indebted to Professor W.H. Oliver of the Massey University History Department for suggesting this line of inquiry.

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## 2. NEITHER RECREATION, NOR TASK.

Ewing has stated that cadet work did not spread to any extent through the schools until the Boer war gave it impetus.<sup>1</sup> While this is not quite accurate, it is true that until the regulations of 1902 the cadets were not "colony-wide" for they were neither a unified movement nor organised by society for a common purpose.

Before any further discussion is attempted, three terms must be defined; "institution," "society," and "community." An institution may be regarded as "an organisation for the promotion of some public object."<sup>2</sup> A society is "a kind of community whose members have become socially conscious of their mode of life and are united by a common set of aims and values."<sup>3</sup> People living in a society differ from those living in a community in that while the community may share a common mode of life, its people are not all conscious of any single organisation and purpose. It therefore follows that only a society can produce an institution with any real claim to universality. The Public School Cadets became such a national institution upon the gazetting of their regulations in 1902, which made them colony-wide, subject to the Department of Education.

One is then left with the question: why, if cadets were present in the schools by the late 1860s, did New Zealand see no system of colony-wide proportions for nearly thirty years despite the appearance of the 1877 Act which gave them official approval? One answer is that until about 1896 there was no lasting desire on the part of the public for any organised system of cadet training. Educational opinion was not particularly favorable, and there was no real agreement on what cadets were supposed to achieve. This meant that much of the initial effort required to form and sustain cadets through their first years had to come from the schools themselves. In New Zealand, only the high schools possessed the characteristics

<sup>1</sup> J.L.Ewing, The Development of the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum, 1877-1971, Wellington, 1970, p.83.

<sup>2</sup> H.W. Fowler and F.G. Fowler (eds), Concise Oxford Dictionary, Oxford, 1964, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> A.K.C. Ottaway, Education and Society, London, 1964, p. 3.



necessary for this, for their most notable feature was aspiration to what was believed to be good English public school practice. Cricket, rowing and athletics were accepted, even necessary activities for their boys and in an age where "manliness" was considered the virtue "par excellence" and boys expected to show some ability with their fists, it was hardly surprising that these schools did provide their own dynamic in developing first military drill, then cadet corps. Several high schools formed cadet companies within a short time of their foundation, notably Auckland Grammar and Wellington College.<sup>4</sup>

At Auckland Grammar an officer on loan from the permanent militia drilled the boys over the formative period 1869 to 1871. The "drill" stressed military discipline and rigorous exercise to the extent that the "weaker boys" had to be excluded, though the masters regarded it as an excellent way of supervising the lunch break where the alternative was "the beach or the street."<sup>5</sup> By November 1871 with only 189 boys on the roll, Auckland Grammar could boast two cadet companies under the immediate command of two teachers, each with the rank of captain. The teachers were themselves supervised by a regular militia officer released by the government for the task. The boys apparently found the programme boring, though offset by occasional opportunities to handle real carbines.

At Christ's College much the same pattern occurred, and from the early 1860s the boys were drilled regularly on the Quad by militia officers. Evidently, like the boys of Auckland Grammar they were bored and dissatisfied with drill arrangements and in 1873 they petitioned the headmaster for a school cadet corps which they believed would, in addition to aiding in any future defence of the colony, make the rather isolated and dull drill programme "more of a recreation than a task."<sup>6</sup>

Two college histories, those of King's College (Auckland) and Wellington College<sup>7</sup> mention the Maori wars of the late 1860s as a factor in the growth of their cadet corps. For a time Auckland

<sup>4</sup> Auckland Grammar was founded in 1869 and produced its first cadet company in 1871, while Wellington College was founded in 1867 and produced a cadet company by 1870.

<sup>5</sup> K.A. Trembath(ed), A Centennial History of Auckland Grammar School, Auckland, 1969, p.29.

<sup>6</sup> The School List of Christ's College from 1850-1950, Christchurch, 1950, p. 628.

<sup>7</sup> F.M. Leckie, The Early History of Wellington College 1877-1833, Auckland 1934; Kings Collegian, Kings College, Auckland,

residents believed themselves threatened with an attack from the Waikato, and colonial militia companies were rapidly formed. However one must not over-emphasise the effect of all this activity on the Auckland colleges. At Auckland Grammar as far as one knows, masters never mentioned the threat or appeared concerned. Auckland was adequately garrisoned and not until the school shifted to its new site in the Albert barracks in 1871, a time when the Maori threat to Auckland was well over, did the boys become introduced to firearms and rifle shooting at the Mount Eden range.

The same was probably true of Wellington, and although once again the threat of attack cannot be discounted completely, the appearance of the Wellington Grammar School Rifle Volunteer Cadet Corps three years after the school's foundation was probably part of the school's natural development.

Indeed, apart from the vague fears of aggression from the Maoris and Russians there was little outside the school environment that could encourage the rapid growth of cadets. Fear of the Russians however was fanned into a dynamic force for action, and this occurred on two important occasions, the first in the early 1870s and the second in 1885 - 1888. By late 1872 Russian gains in Central Asia together with her construction of a Black Seas fleet were interpreted by colonial newspapers as posing a grave threat to the empire. The fear in which Russia was held by the majority of New Zealand's reading public was illustrated by the success of the Daily Southern Cross article "The Raid of the Russian Cruiser Kaskowski," which hoaxed readers into believing that a Russian cruiser was holding the capital to ransom.<sup>8</sup> Despite the furore created however, the scare died down rapidly and the article failed in its aim of speeding up defence preparations in the colony.

The second more widespread scare in 1885-1888 resulted in more attention being paid to coastal defences and in 1885 G.S. Whitmore (later Sir George) became Commandant of the New Zealand forces. He attempted with some success to reorganise the militia and volunteers through the Defence Act of 1886, but again public fears subsided and the threat diminished in the minds of many to the status of an underlying fear which surfaced but rarely.

<sup>8</sup>Daily Southern Cross, Auckland, 17 February 1873.

The effect of both scares was to increase the number of cadet corps gazetted. From 1874 to 1876 the number of cadet corps gazetted rose from ten to twenty, and from 1883 to 1885 they nearly doubled again, from 19 to 36 corps.<sup>9</sup> Predictably the rise in both cases was rapid, but of short duration. In neither case could the rate of increase be sustained and especially after the second scare had reached a peak in 1886, there was a rapid falling away of cadet corps. Even such a proud cadet corps as Te Aro was forced to disband in 1889 owing to the effects of depression which made cadets a luxury, even for the more eminent high schools. Not even the Russian scare was able to save the Auckland Grammar School corps from being dissolved, once the depression had necessitated a choice between increased facilities for technical education and military training. The headmaster reported to school board that "Last term at [his] instance, the ex-cadets resolved to donate to this purpose [technical education] a considerable sum of money which the cadet corps had in hand...."<sup>10</sup>

The general lack of interest and the dearth of government aid for cadets were only symptoms of the problems faced by the embryo New Zealand society which was striving to overcome problems of finance, communication and localism. Until the turn of the century it was patently unable to provide the necessary help or direction to the struggling cadet corps. To a certain extent the Education Act of 1877, in making education up to secondary school level free, secular and compulsory, provided New Zealand with a basis from which to develop a system of national education. In this sense it had a powerful indirect effect on school cadets, being part of a process that eventually turned a number of communities into a society capable of developing and sustaining projects on a national scale, though the effect was not immediate. In addition, any consideration of the Act's effect must be qualified by noting not only the nature of the Act, but also the state of education generally during the period 1877 to 1914.

<sup>9</sup> NZG 1874 - 1876; 1883 - 1885.

<sup>10</sup> NZH 4 April 1885. Extract of a report on technical education delivered to the Auckland Grammar School's Board by the headmaster.

The Act recognised the power of local forces in New Zealand education and attempted to provide a balance between education boards and school committees. The education boards in particular, armed with the right to appoint their own inspectors and create their own teacher salary scales, enjoyed a good deal more independence than they do today, with the result that such boards as North Canterbury, Nelson, and Wellington with their comparatively well organised administrations, provided better education and attracted the superior teachers from the boards such as Auckland, whose teachers were "neither highly educated nor thoroughly trained!"<sup>11</sup> Every board possessed a large number of isolated schools accessible by horse only under favourable conditions. Four out of five New Zealand schools were staffed either by a single teacher, or by a teacher and pupil teachers<sup>12</sup> whose supervision was a further drain on the harassed teacher's resources. The teacher himself was likely to have the minimal qualifications of a Class 'D' or 'E' certificate and to have undergone his own training as a pupil teacher. Joseph Ormond has summed up the dilemma of the pupil teachers aptly, and his words are worth bearing in mind throughout, for the teacher was not only the main means after the parents by which the children were introduced to society's values, but also their main instructor in the cadet work that reflected these values.

At 15 or 16, he is taken generally from some upper standard, and is given the care of some 20 or 30 scholars, frequently of the tenderest age. In most cases he is set out to teach for the whole of the school day, receiving only the scrappy hints that a busy master or mistress can spare him. Some time out of ordinary school hours he himself is to receive instruction in quite a multiplicity of subjects, with a view to passing the pupil teacher's examination at the end of the year. Preparation for this necessitates extremely late hours and by the time he has reached the end of his three or four years course, the pupil teacher's penchant for the profession has developed into either distaste or disgust. Neither of which however is strong enough to overcome the fear of non-employment should he leave the calling a hard fate has placed him in. In the majority of cases, if he passes his final pupil teacher's examinations, the lowest grade of which is extremely easy, he becomes a fully fledged teacher, clothed with the plenary powers of life or death over the minds of any children that may come across his professional path. 13

<sup>11</sup> I. Cumming, Glorious Enterprise, Christchurch, 1959, p.261.

<sup>12</sup> AJHR 1902, E-1, Table 8, p.9 - 62.

<sup>13</sup> J. Ormond, "Education in New Zealand," part 111, in The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, Auckland, December 1899, p.215.

When it is realised that classrooms were often as inadequate as the teachers, resulting in overcrowding, poor lighting and leakages, one can understand the concern of Henry Hill the Hawkes Bay inspector, when he wrote that isolation dulled the mind and caused the country teacher to often lose the desire for activity on the scale of the town teacher.<sup>14</sup>

The 1877 Act provided for the instruction of boys in military drill, but the details of this were left to the various education boards. Throughout the 1880's the government, faced with depression, was unable to do much to encourage the cadets while the boards which all to some degree had problems of a financial and administrative nature, did little themselves to aid schools with cadet corps. In 1892 the boards made a joint approach to the Defence Department for government assistance that would reach beyond the four main centres and out into the far-flung small schools. In response to this plea, volunteer militia officers were occasionally freed from their regular duties in the smaller centres, but the problem was never really solved. Drill in the small school continued to depend on the enthusiasm or otherwise of the headmaster (usually the sole teacher) for its efficiency. Only Wellington, by employing Monsieur de Moy as permanent drill instructor with the time to undertake perhaps three circuit tours of country districts annually, made a concerted effort to improve the situation at this stage.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately military drill was only one aspect of the drill taught by de Moy, and the sheer variety of activities taught in Wellington schools did not help matters.

Wellington, like the other boards had its few metropolitan showpieces among the outlying confusion, among them Thornton School where a fife and drum band accompanied a smart cadet corps on parades, but these were usually the product of headmasters who strove to emulate the military tradition they believed schools required, rather than of government or board help. Thus Tuamarina College, Marlborough, one of the two satisfactory schools in the district in military drill, was reported by a satisfied inspector as "decidedly military throughout."<sup>16</sup> The smaller boards were

14. AJHR 1902, E-1B, p.19.

15. AJHR 1892, E-1B, p.16.

16. AJHR 1892, E-1B, p.24.

infinitely worse off and A.J. Morton the Westland inspector reported in 1895 that drill and other forms of physical training were almost totally neglected.<sup>17</sup>

If the Education Act had provided at least tacit official recognition of the necessity for military drill, it also attempted to provide some clarity. In section 85 it was stated that-

In public schools, provision shall be made for the instruction in military drill of all boys and in such of the schools as the board shall from time to time direct, provision shall also be made for physical training, and where ever practicable, there shall be attached to each school a playground of at least a quarter of an acre.<sup>18</sup>

In separating "military drill" from "physical drill", the Act at least in theory had differentiated between the two. Unfortunately, given the lack of a physical education syllabus (one was not issued till 1904), teachers and inspectors continued as they had before 1877, using the term "drill" to cover a wide range of physical activity in a most confusing manner.

Monsieur de Mey had been expected to instruct Wellington children in a variety of drill activities, including Swedish drill, pole drill, military or squad drill, Indian clubs and gymnastics. Each school was somewhat optimistically expected to have learned two of these.<sup>19</sup> It was hardly surprising that even inspectors differed in opinion as to what constituted "drill". The Southland inspectors J. Hendry and G.D. Braik believed that disciplinary exercises and drill merely subserved purposes of deportment rather than physical development, though they admitted its indirect influence on school discipline.<sup>20</sup> Hill on the other hand meant by drill not "the purposeless exercises sometimes classed as drill but military drill as applied to the training of children."<sup>21</sup> But even the seemingly narrow term "military drill" could mean one of two things. It could mean a number of precise exercises such as forming fours, marching and wheeling, or it could mean uniformed cadets undergoing training in virtually all aspects of military work, from squad drill to complicated battalion manoeuvres. As in the high schools the second,

17. AJHR 1895, E- 1B, p.29.

18. Statutes of New Zealand, 1877, p. 126.

19. AJHR 1892, E- 1B, p.16.

20. AJHR 1893, E- 1B, p.38.

21. AJHR 1895, E- 1B, p.19.

given a favourable school environment, could grow out of the first.

Until the code of 1904, the main driving force in New Zealand schools was sustained by the importance attached to examination passes,<sup>22</sup> for teachers' reputations were made or broken by the results they achieved. Many teachers neglected subjects such as drill, music, and history in order to concentrate on the examinable subjects; reading, writing and arithmetic. Inspectors could though, be impressed by competence in the former group of subjects and often these only sprang to life when inspectors arrived. Perhaps L.B. Wood, W.J. Anderson and T. Ritchie, the South Canterbury inspectors were rather naive when they reported that only eight out of the 59 schools in the district omitted drill in the examinations,<sup>23</sup> as was the Marlborough inspector J. Smith when he wrote that there was sufficient military drill at all the board's schools.<sup>24</sup>

Inspectors like the teachers concentrated on the examinable subjects, only occasionally making half-hearted calls for improvements in the rest, as did the Southland inspector who thought that more might be done in the larger centres in military drill.<sup>25</sup> Few approached the concern of the Nelson inspector who regarded the neglect of all forms of physical culture as "highly censurable", or of Hill who stressed the necessity of military drill in every school.<sup>26</sup>

Fewer still would have anticipated the tremendous rise of the school cadet system at the expense of other forms of physical drill amongst boys within a few years. By the early 1890s, without yet the backing of a fully matured society, with only sporadic public interest, and with a school curriculum that stressed academic subjects to the detriment of others, the surviving school cadet corps seemed somewhat incongruous. In most schools, military drill with or without cadets was a boring task for teachers and pupils; a task to be got over quickly if at all. As far as the boards were concerned, examinations and finance mattered more. To them the cadets were, like all forms of drill, to be treated as "frills"; as a recreation rather than as a serious subject. As a consequence cadets drifted along, becoming neither recreation nor task.

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22. Ewing, p.58.

23. AJHR 1894, E- 1B, p.24.

24. AJHR 1894, E- 1B, p.15.

25. AJHR 1895, E- 1B, p.41.

26. AJHR 1895, E- 1B, p.19.

### 3. ENDING THE DRIFT

(Henry V111 ordered) that "every man having a man-child or men children in his house shall provide for all such being of the age of seven years and above, and till they come to the age of seventeen years, a bow and two shafts to learn them and bring them up in shooting; and after such men shall come to the age of seventeen years every one of them shall provide and have a bow and four arrows continually for himself at his own proper cost and charges, or else the gift and provisions of his friends, and shall use the same as the afresaid rehearsed."<sup>1</sup>

While the Boer war was a major factor in the post 1902 development of the school cadets, one is justified in dating the real beginnings of a colony-wide system of cadets from about 1896, for between June 1896 and December 1901 the number of cadets rose from 2,102 to 4,323.<sup>2</sup> While it is probable that much growth occurred during the late 1899 to 1902 period it is impossible to obtain accurate statistics, for the gazettes which normally listed new corps as they were accepted to service are totally unreliable. One cannot directly link any of the trends and events outlined below to the rise in cadet numbers, but they were important prerequisites to the great surge in cadet activity dating from after 1902. Some of these trends had been present for decades and were merely accelerated in the period 1896 to 1902, but others were new factors owing their origins to the changing political and social structure of a growing society.

The years 1894 to 1895 marked the lowest point for New Zealand's export prices, but recovery was not immediate. Meat prices only began to improve from 1897-98, and wool not till 1901-02. It was not till 1899-1900 that the Liberal government was able to consider improvements in education, a time which was to coincide with their appointment of George Hogben as Inspector-General of Education. Hogben was the reformer they needed, for he had been a past inspector of schools and had recently earned a name as a progressive headmaster. Although his reforms, backed by the government, were not aimed at a complete centralisation of the educational system, they were in line with the Liberal policy of using the State to direct economic and administrative affairs, as had been the case in 1894 with such measures as the Advances to Settlers Act

<sup>1</sup>. General Lord Methuen, "Training the youth of England," in the Nineteenth Century, February 1905. Extract in AJHR 1905, E- 1D, p.11.

<sup>2</sup>. AJHR 1896, H.35, p.1, and AJHR 1902, E- 1D, p.3.



and the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act. Such policies necessitated the expansion of the infant Education Department and some encroachment upon the power of the well entrenched boards, and indeed these were essential prerequisites for a colony-wide departmentally controlled school cadet scheme. That public opinion was swinging in the direction of more unified control for education is suggested by the indication of such bodies as the Otago Trades and Labour Council, which as early as December 1892 has demanded that all educational endowments be placed under the control of the Minister of Education, and a set of uniform standards and text-books set up throughout the colony.<sup>3</sup>

In July 1900, the Liberal government had promised to establish a uniform salary scale for teachers and later that year the Public School Teachers' Salaries Bill was introduced into parliament, though not passed till 1901. Hogben himself took special interest in teachers' superannuation, and he was able to persuade Seddon of the viability of a state superannuation scheme for teachers, which was duly introduced into Parliament in 1902, though not passed till 1905. Both bills had been delayed by the education boards who feared any possible encroachment on their rights. They had a powerful parliamentary lobby in Frederick Pirani (Palmerston North), a member and later chairman of the Wanganui Education Board, and Alexander Hogg (Masterton), a member of the Wellington Board. Hogben especially was feared as a dangerous centraliser, for it was known that he had in 1887 recommended to a select committee on education that the boards be disbanded and the inspectorate centralised. In Parliament Hogg betrayed this fear in attacking the Public School Teachers' Salaries Act.

This bill is the manufacture of the new Inspector General. That is the broom that is going to sweep so clean all the schools of the colony and that is going to make a complete sweep of the education boards. That gentleman is apparently quite prepared to take over the management of the whole of the schools of New Zealand, and no doubt the whole of the schools in Federated Australia for that matter, if only he is allowed the opportunity.<sup>4</sup>

Undoubtedly such fears were behind the efforts of several education boards from 1900, to show their energy in complying with section 85 of the 1877 Act.

3. H. Roth, George Hogben. A Biography, Wellington, 1952, p.81.

4. NZPD 1900, 115, p.339.

Their attitude seemed to be that whatever the Education Department might be tempted to do, they could do better. The Auckland Board declared that it was making "a systematic effort to improve and extend instruction in military drill," and had appointed an experienced instructor to direct teachers.<sup>5</sup> Wanganui, no doubt spurred on by its spokesman Pirani, asked the Department of Education for the services of a drill instructor and made serious efforts to establish cadet corps at its larger schools.<sup>6</sup> The North Canterbury Board was more pointed in lauding its own efforts over the past year, for "In order to more generally comply with section 85 of the Education Act, the Board [was] arranging teacher's military drill classes at Ashburton and Christchurch with the help of the Defence Department."<sup>7</sup>

By 1902 the Wanganui Board could even afford to rap the Department over the knuckles, for had it not more than a year ago applied to the Department for drill sergeants and had arranged for teachers to assemble at the main centres for Saturday instruction? Because nothing was done, teachers and cadets were left to their own devices "to drift along as best they may...."<sup>8</sup> The cadets may have indeed drifted along for some thirty years, but the boards, spurred on partly by fear, were now attempting to do something towards checking the drift.

Possibly neither the boards, despite their fears, nor the government, even given its willingness to back educational reform would have favoured the establishment of a colony-wide departmentally controlled cadet system without the influence of developments in educational philosophy which were circulating increasingly in New Zealand from about 1895.

The transmission of educational ideas has always been a two-way process, and as with the rationalisation of educational administration under Hogben, a favourable climate of opinion was necessary. An increasing number of inspectors and teachers were complaining of the excessively narrow academic bias of the curriculum and in 1885- W.H. Vereker-Bindon, a Wanganui inspector, wrote that the "bugbear" of the whole system was "cram".<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> AJHR 1901, E-1, p.64.

<sup>6</sup> AJHR 1901, E-1, p.67.

<sup>7</sup> AJHR 1901, E-1, p.81.

<sup>8</sup> AJHR 1902, E-1, p.67.

<sup>9</sup> AJHR 1885, E-1B, p.12.

Most inspectors also considered moral instruction undervalued and inadequate. Hogben as headmaster of Timaru High School (1889-99), had considered moral instruction the most important part of education and had regularly given such instruction to the assembled school, justifying it with references to ordinary life.

But it was events in Britain that influenced New Zealand the most, turning vague dissatisfaction with the old syllabus into a positive programme for a new one. In 1888 a Royal Commission (known as the Cross Commission) examined all aspects of English primary education. Considerable emphasis was put on moral training, particularly at the primary level comprising instruction to the child on duty to parents and country, honesty, purity, cleanliness, temperance and good manners.<sup>10</sup> Such work was to be inspected regularly like any other subject. The Commission had also recognised that it was the duty of the State to care for the physical welfare of children, and thus the relation between child and State became a closer one characterised by the duties of each to the other, and a wider one covering all children. These recommendations were embodied in the Cross Code (1890), which was responsible for transforming English elementary education over the next decade.

These events did not go unnoticed in New Zealand. They particularly influenced Hogben as Inspector-General and he became convinced that the old syllabus had to be discarded. The ensuing 1904 syllabus embodied many of the suggestions made by the Cross Commission, and reflected a growing body of New Zealand educational opinion. Moral and physical instruction were made compulsory subjects from standards one to six, and in all schools where there were twenty boys over 12, military drill was to be taught. In these ways children were to be made into useful, healthy and loyal citizens.

The 1904 syllabus was also influenced by the ideas of the American educationalist John Dewey, whose ideas were circulated in New Zealand by the late 1890s. Dewey advocated that schools move away from their excessively academic curriculums, in favour of preparing the child for life in his community. The school was to become the prototype for modern society, reflecting its dynamism

<sup>10</sup>. Ewing, p.37.

and intricacies. Again New Zealand educational opinion was ready to receive these ideas, for the importance of manual and technical education had been recognised as early as 1885 when Sir Robert Stout made a full report to Parliament dealing with the state of the colony's education in which he condemned the almost complete lack of technical training.<sup>11</sup>

Little could be done however during the long depression, but by 1900 the money and administrative organisation existed to set up a colony-wide system of technical colleges and manual training centres. In justifying the Manual and Technical Instruction Act of 1900, the Minister of Education W.C. Walker quoted Dewey's emphasis on mass education for relevancy backed by the state for the good of the country as a whole.<sup>12</sup> One can surmise that the widespread concern about larrikinism in the 1890s also played its part in producing this act and all these ideas were implicit in the post 1902 cadet system.

While changes in the basis of educational philosophy were preparing an ideological basis for cadets, a growing concern over the colony's defence weaknesses was revealing a need for cadets that those outside educational circles could easily lend their support for. Ever since the Russian scare of 1885-88, a growing number of military officers had pointed out New Zealand's vulnerability to attack. Successive commandants of the Defence Forces, while praising the keenness of the Volunteers, criticised the system on account of its poor organisation. To deal with potential aggression a more highly trained force of men was believed essential and in 1900 Colonel A.P. Penton commanding New Zealand Forces called for the establishment of a cadet corps system in the public schools under the control of the Education Department and the boards. He suggested that they should be armed with light rifles as were cadets in Victoria, and that for £3,750 one quarter of the total eligible sixth standard boys could be completely equipped. This would ensure that boys would be introduced to military training, and to keep up their keenness he proposed that a similar movement should fill the gap between the time a boy left school till the time he enrolled in the adult militia.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup>. NZPD 1885, 52, p.109.

<sup>12</sup>. AJHR 1902, E-1, p.21.

<sup>13</sup>. AJHR 1900, H-19a, p.4.

As both military and non-military men were to stress through the history of the cadet movement, Penton suggested that New Zealand could through the cadets, avoid the necessity of general conscription, a step still unpopular with the majority of New Zealanders who stood on the principle of their rights as Englishmen.

Above all the vulnerability of New Zealand with its 3,000 miles of coastline, to the brand of cruiser warfare believed to be under development in Russia and France, appeared great. J.J.D. Grix writing for the Naval and Military Institute at Wellington in 1894 warned his readers of the vulnerability of New Zealand and the weakness of its creaking volunteer system which in an emergency, would be faced by "well-trained and disciplined men, armed with the most modern and powerful weapons and led by thoroughly skilled officers...."<sup>14</sup> Grix did not contemplate Britain losing control of the sea, but he did fear semi-piratical raids by vessels that slipped through the British naval screen. In the same year "The Raid of the Russian Cruiser Kaskowski" was reissued, this time in bound form, and dedicated to H.J. Seddon. The author's forward however, indicated that the possibility of attack was now considered in a far more serious vein and pointed out how ill-prepared the country was for such an event.<sup>15</sup>

The point was certainly not lost on Seddon, concerned as he was with New Zealand's stature and responsibilities in a world-wide British empire. In 1896 A.D. Willis unwittingly gave him an opportunity to publically demonstrate his interest in the subject of military training when he asked him if cadet corps could be established throughout the colony. Willis believed that cadets should be limited to those youths that had left school, as those in the primary schools could not be sufficiently trained, while those in secondary schools were the privileged few. Seddon was therefore, as in the case of an earlier query on the availability of permanent militia to teach cadets,<sup>16</sup> able to agree and go one better. However, he obviously spoke with some conviction when he replied to Willis,

<sup>14</sup>. J.J. Grix, The Defence of New Zealand, Wellington, 1894, p.12.

<sup>15</sup>. D.M. Luckie, The Raid of the Russian Cruiser Kaskowski, Wellington, 1894

<sup>16</sup>. NZPD 1891, 73, p.452.

that he himself hoped to see every youth in the colony trained to arms, and he promised to look into the setting up of corps at the new technical schools as well. However he disagreed with Willis about the school cadet system which the government had arranged, for it was part of what he envisaged as a "natural sequence", with youths leaving the school units to immediately join the volunteers.<sup>17</sup>

In leading rather than merely responding to pressure, Seddon was being politically wise, for the smallest of local newspapers was always prepared to conduct its own crusade over defence inadequacies and the Opposition was only too pleased to oblige them. Even Sir Robert Stout, perhaps still smouldering after his loss to Seddon in the struggle for party leadership, allowed himself to be interviewed by a correspondent for the Wairarapa Daily Times. In 1898 yet another Russian scare assured Stout of an attentive following when he noted the seriousness of New Zealand's position in the event of a war with Russia. Comparing his own defence policies with those of the liberal government, he noted that

... we of course recognised that we could not get conscription but we also knew that we could get all our men trained. First, we decided upon compulsory military drill in public schools, and secondly we resolved that no policeman should be appointed unless he was a drilled man. We put all that in our Defence regulations of 1887, but the present government was the first to set this aside and studiously ignore the whole scheme....

Unfortunately for the cadet movement, Stout had been defeated in 1887 and the regulations did not come into effect, but such accusations were now being digested by an increasingly interested public and no government could afford to ignore them.

The alarmist sentiment of Grix and the activities of Imperial Russia as reported in the New Zealand press were also having effects outside immediate military circles. School inspectors, always aware of current events manifested increasing concern over the military situation. Given their acquaintance with the new educational philosophies gaining ground, they reserved especially pointed comments for the nonchalant attitudes of teachers towards military drill. In 1893 the Southland inspectors J. Hendry and G.D. Braik reported

<sup>17</sup> MZPD . 1896, 92, p68.

<sup>18</sup> Wairarapa Daily Times, 25 January 1899.

on the apathy towards military drill in their district, concluding somewhat smugly that "the time would come when those in authority would marvel why such sleepiness had been shown in a concern so vital to the national existence."<sup>19</sup> However until the board's fears towards Hogben's intentions grew, they did little. Only the Wellington Board seriously attempted to put drill on a more military footing by organising its own district cadet scheme. At a monthly meeting of the board (June 1898)<sup>20</sup> R. Lee, the Wellington Senior Inspector, always a keen advocate of the school military drill, read a report on the subject based on the result of a conference which had included Lee and Major Loveday, a retired Volunteer Militia officer. It would be indeed interesting to discover the identity of the others present, for Lee later reported that there were many strange objections and differences of opinion. Lee's report proposed an ambitious plan which included cadet training at detachment, company and even battalion level. Unfortunately such a plan involved major effort, requiring qualified instructors, an efficient organisation and money, and the latter in particular was in short supply. The scheme therefore was never realised in the proportions envisaged, but it remains interesting for the reasons put forward by the board for adopting it, which in one form or another were to remain a part of the movement's background.

Firstly marching, together with gymnastics and swimming (regarded as integral part of cadet activities) were to provide the boy with a smart carriage and good physique, besides rendering him more amenable to school discipline. Here the influence can be seen, not only of the attitudes towards the physical well-being of children, but of the rising concern over larrikinism. Secondly, as a national movement for future citizens the cadets would be able to guide New Zealand's youth along the path to citizenship to the envy of the world and more particularly to the consternation of the New South Wales and Natal, both of whom had introduced cadets some time previously.<sup>21</sup>

It was this curious blend of patriotism, inter-colonial rivalry, fear of attack, and fear of the undisciplined citizen that was to be converted into public pressure in favour of a centrally controlled colony wide movement by the catalyst of the Boer War. Few people

19. AJHR 1893, E-1B, p.38.

20. Wairarapa Daily Times, 27 June 1898.

21. AJHR 1898, E-1B, p.20.

in New Zealand had expected the Boers to defy Imperial troops, let alone defeat them in pitched battles. Yet in a little over two months the Imperial forces had suffered four costly defeats at the hands of farmers, the last three occurring in the same week, "black week."

The effects on New Zealand were considerable. First, New Zealanders were given a chance to manifest their loyalty to Britain, and great pride was taken in the 6,500 men who eventually served in South Africa. Secondly the lesson ~~noted~~ out to regular troops on the battlefield by civilians was not lost on a country which could not afford a large standing army, and throughout their career the cadets were seen (often to their detriment) as a training camp for a future irregular force which could repel invasion simply by virtue of their being "handy shots."

At the same time as the possibilities dawned of a home grown army springing from the new farms the Liberals had created, the weaknesses of the British forces were noted and analysed by soldiers and educationalists. Inferior physique and morale were believed to have contributed to their initial poor showing quite as much as insufficient training.

New Zealanders were able to a large extent to listen to British "soul searching" with smug satisfaction, for the "colonials" had received much praise from the British army and press. In addition, Kipling's poem, The Islanders savagely dismissed the Britons as city people; the "Sons of the sheltered city, unmade, unbrindled/ and unmet" while eulogising New Zealanders along with other colonials, for the British "fawned on the younger nations for/the men who could shoot and ride." <sup>22</sup>

There were those in New Zealand who were beginning to wonder if they indeed deserved the praise given to them. The incidence of illness among their children was nothing to boast of. Much of this was caused through the State schooling itself, for many of the schools were simply "T.B. manufacturing areas" as the Otago Daily Times aptly put it in 1902. <sup>23</sup> Joseph Ormond was probably well aware of

<sup>22</sup>ODT 22 February 1902. Editorial.

<sup>23</sup>ODT 21 February 1902. Editorial.



this when he wrote a series of articles for the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine.<sup>24</sup> He argued that education required the balance of physical, moral and intellectual spheres, a balance certainly not achieved under the present system with its emphasis on examinations. Germany provided Ormond with a leading example of how an industrial nation, through military drill and physical exercise could produce healthy loyal citizens. Although he was reluctant to suggest that "sports loving colonials" required the gymnastic exercises of the Germans, he reminded his readers of the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest, for surely an increase in New Zealand town dwellers meant the risk of continuing deterioration of the physique of the sons of the pioneers. No system of education could safely neglect physical training he warned, and physical training he thought also meant military drill and rifle shooting.

Within the schools, teachers and children alike eagerly followed news of the war with patriotic fervour. Inspectors too played a major part in patriotic activities in schools, helping to organise rallies and parades, and encouraging the "Childrens' Patriotic Fund" which was active in each school district. In their annual reports they lamented the lack of military training<sup>25</sup> and reserved special praise for schools that distinguished themselves in this regard.

In January 1901, at an inspector's conference called to discuss proposed changes in the syllabus, Lee moved "That this conference recommends the establishment of a colonial system of military drill in schools, including the formation of companies and cadet corps dressed in simple uniform and provided with light rifles."<sup>26</sup> Even at this late stage, by no means all inspectors were prepared to go as far as uniforms and rifles, and an amendment to omit all words after "schools" was narrowly defeated by 14 votes to 11. The motion carried in its original form as proposed by Lee was to provide the government with further testimony, if they needed any, of the widespread support any future cadet system would enjoy.

24. J. Ormond "Education in New Zealand" in New Zealand Illustrated Magazine October 1899 - March 1900.

25. AJHR 1900 E-1B p.43.

26. AJHR 1901, E-1C, p.7.

The Otago Daily Times, reflecting the enthusiasm, published in full an account of a top-level British conference on military training in secondary schools, which "brought to light much that was of paramount interest."<sup>27</sup> The article quoted Lord Roberts, Imperial Commander-in-Chief as saying that he believed training given to schoolboys would make them into an efficient reserve, thereby adding much strength to the nation. The article concluded that

In this colony a beginning has been made, what is needed is organisation and the support, hearty and ungrudging, on the part of the defence authorities - in other words, of the government. Of this we shall have something to say in a further article. As the next session of Parliament will soon be in active working, it is to be hoped that the question will not be omitted from its deliberations, but steps be taken to obtain all possible information on a subject of<sup>28</sup> such supreme importance to the well-being of the nation.

The government in fact was already committed. The beginning had occurred in 1900 when £400 was voted to provide for an initial supply of 2,000 model (dummy) rifles for distribution to active school cadet units. The ultimate intention was that each cadet should receive a model rifle, while the school paid for the uniforms out of its weekly capitation grant. In December of that year the Defence Amendment Act<sup>29</sup> empowered the governor to make regulations for cadet corps both within and outside the public schools, thus preparing the legal path for centralised administration under Education or Defence Department auspices.

Only the boards remained to be coerced, if indeed they now needed coercion, and this was done indirectly through the Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act(1901).<sup>30</sup> This Act made it the duty of every board to teach physical drill to all children over the age of eight, and to submit an annual report to the Minister of Education on the progress made. For many boards and schools, cadet activities for the boys were to overshadow other forms of drill. In 1902, with the path now prepared, the government finally gazetted regulations placing the public school cadets under the Education Department.(May 1902).<sup>31</sup> Capitation was fixed at 2s.6d per head

<sup>27</sup>.OTD 17 May, 1901.

<sup>28</sup>.Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>.Statutes of New Zealand, 1900, p.205.

<sup>30</sup>.Ibid 1901, p.31.

<sup>31</sup>.NZG 1902, 15 May, pp.1508-1509. These regulations were not extended to the Senior Cadets in private high schools, who remained under the Defence Department.

per cadet, and copies of the drill book Infantry Drill (1896) were made available by the Department for school use. Thus after some false starts a public school cadet scheme controlled by the Department of Education had been established. True there had been scattered and unfortunately unrecorded objections from teachers, known only from the occasional contemptuous dismissal by the assenting majority: true there were uncertainties over which authority, the Minister of Education, the Education Department, or the Defence Department had the real right to overall control, but these were to be heard much later. In general there was nothing but enthusiasm from teachers, press and public. Given the changing attitudes towards education and defence, and the election of the Liberal government, cadets would have probably been organised into a colony-wide institution sooner or later. The Boer war made certain it would be sooner.

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4. TO SHIELD AND DEFEND

Let others fight for gold and fame,  
 In anger or defiance;  
 We seek a higher nobler aim,  
 Defence and self reliance.  
 Our aim is for our country's good:  
 Like Spartan Greek, or Roman  
 A patriot band we take our stand,  
 To rout the foreign foeman.<sup>1</sup>

The effect of the 1902 regulations were dramatic. From a peak of 91 corps throughout New Zealand in 1900, cadet strength rose to 182 corps by 1903. In May 1902, on the eve of the gazetting of the regulations, there were 5,712 school cadets,<sup>2</sup> and in 1906 this had reached 14,115.<sup>3</sup> Even the boards were impressed, and in ~~the~~ North Canterbury Board reported that the formation of cadet corps throughout its district had "proceeded space" during the past year.<sup>4</sup> The Auckland Board reckoned the increase in its district at nine corps (from 27 to 36), putting this down to the encouragement of the movement by the issue of government regulations supplying miniature rifles, ammunition and capitation to schools with cadets.<sup>5</sup>

Enthusiasm on the part of the children, education officials, teachers and the public was high, and certainly one of the features of the cadet movement was that enthusiasm was able to transcend shortcomings in the system such as a lack of adequate weapons, a shortage of instructors, and on occasions bad weather. The Otago Daily Times' account of a flag raising ceremony at Pukatanui School, Otago is enlightening.<sup>6</sup> Its correspondent reported that the ceremony was well attended despite the biting south-west squalls and roads that were ankle deep in mud. The chairman of the school committee, reminded parents and children of the worth of the Union Jack they

1. Cadets Marching Song, verse 1. Words by J. Liddell-Kelly, London, in School Journal, 1908, Part 3, p.13.
2. AJHR 1902, E-1D, p.3.
3. AJHR 1906, E-1, pp.xvi.
4. AJHR 1903, E-1, p.79.
5. AJHR 1903, E-1, p.65.
6. OTD 25 May, 1901.

were hoisting.

It was not so much the flag itself, as the power it represented. He reminded the children that there were 400 millions of Chinese and 40 millions of Japanese within about three weeks steaming distance of New Zealand, besides about 26 million in the Straits settlements who were still nearer to us, and no one could foretell what might happen to us should this power be used against us, but whenever the Union Jack was unfurled, it was a silent testimony of the mighty power that was ever ready to guard the rights and privileges of its people.

After the unfurling, the headmaster had the boys line up and march past. The salute was taken in the midst of a raging storm and the ceremony was adjourned only after patriotic songs were sung.

Doubtless the fortitude of the cadets was strengthened by memories of child heroes who marched and suffered in like fashion across the pages of the Citizen Reader, a British book adapted to New Zealand schools from 1907, and the School Journal, also issued from 1907. In the preface to the 1904 English edition of The Citizen Reader, W.E. Forster wrote "there is no doubt that the enormous majority of school children will have public as well as private duties to perform".<sup>7</sup> If either class or teacher doubted just what these were, the School Journals gave them the answer. From 1911 onwards over 40 per cent of its material concerned the empire or war, much of it in the form of articles in which school-aged children performed sacrifices for the good of others. Such acts were inevitably linked to the empire, either implicitly as in "Hero of the Lifeboats"<sup>8</sup> where a boy's courage augured well for the future of the empire's maritime strength, or explicitly, as in the article entitled "How boys and girls of New Zealand can help the empire".<sup>9</sup>

The large numbers within the cadets, especially after 1903, together with the lack of official experience and the inadequate votes for funds made enthusiasm sometimes virtually all the cadets did have. Rifles, planned by the government to be issued on the basis of one model (dummy) rifle to each cadet, and one miniature rifle (for target practice) to every ten cadets, never quite kept pace with the demand and because they were sent to the boards for distribution to the schools, there were frequent bottlenecks. For instance, in 1905

7. W.E. Forsger (ed), The Citizen Reader, London, 1904, Preface.

8. School Journal, 1912, part 3, p. 23.

9. Ibid 1911, part 3, pp. 154-155.

there were 12,523 cadets but only 11,450 model rifles and 900 miniature rifles.<sup>10</sup> By 1907 the situation was a little better and for 14,848 cadets there were 14,000 model rifles and 1,000 miniatures,<sup>11</sup> but some corps were still to be seen drilling with broomsticks.

Many of the miniature rifles used by the cadet corps were soon in poor condition due to inexperience in keeping them clean, and although the locks were occasionally replaced, the guns soldiered on till they were useless.

In 1908 it was even alleged that cadet morale was declining because of the small numbers taking part in the shield competitions and the disgraceful weapons they were forced to use.<sup>12</sup>

The capitation grant, put at 2s 6d per head per week for every cadet member also lingered in the footsteps of reality, and again was the subject of questions in Parliament. In answer to an early plea for increased capitation, Seddon had replied that it was a matter of finance, and that there was no general demand for it.<sup>13</sup> However the question arose sporadically over the next few years. In 1905, Seddon was again questioned on the matter on four separate occasions; each time he replied that not only was it a matter of pounds shillings and pence, but that there was a need to develop among the coming generation, the self-reliant spirit of their fathers.<sup>14</sup> The capitation remained the same until its abolition upon the passing of the 1909 Amendment Act.

Maladministration was another charge levelled in Parliament at the cadets, and again the charge appears to have had some foundation. In 1901 The Otago Daily Times, a firm supporter of cadets in schools, alleged that the Defence Department which had control of the High School cadets, had made inadequate provision for billets, so that 4,000 boys visiting Christchurch for the Royal visit arrived cold, miserable and hungry, with no place to stay. Several schools were fitted out as temporary accommodation, but in freezing temperatures, damp straw bedding with no fires proved woefully inadequate, and there were calls for a public inquiry into the incident. Seddon's

10. AJHR, 1905, E-1 p.xv.

11. AJHR, 1907, E-1 p. xvi.

12. NZPD, 1908, 144 p. 401 (Symes).

13. NZPD, 1904, 128 pp. 372 - 373.

14. NZPD 1905, 133, p 45 Reply to Laurenson, Wood and Hanan; p 555 to Graham. On this last occasion Hall attacked Seddon's reply, but no avail.

scornful reply to any such suggestion was that "our boys are not gingerbread." 15 This probably cost him some friends, but perhaps after all it was the opinion of the majority of New Zealanders who remembered and cherished a colonial ideal of hardiness.

If the cadets themselves were generally expected to show enthusiasm even in the face of adversity, distinguished visitors were expected for their part to comment favourably on this. Among the first of many overseas visitors to be suitably impressed was the Prince of Wales, on his first tour of the empire. The press quickly noted his obvious pleasure at seeing the cadets parade, and the Otago Daily Times was quick to point out that not only were the cadets healthy, but they looked a great deal better than their Australian counterparts had done in the Flemington review some weeks before.<sup>16</sup> Once back in Britain, the Prince lost no time in publically praising the enterprise of the Australians and New Zealanders, and in phrases that were to be well received in both countries, he termed the cadet movement admirable and well worth calling attention to the Secretary of State for War.<sup>17</sup> The cadet movement was then in its infancy in Britain, and when the Prince of Wales upon opening a cadet headquarters building at Hampstead again eulogised the Australasian example, his statement was avidly seized by the New Zealand press, for the cream of the Australasian cadets so they believed, were those of New Zealand.<sup>18</sup>

Another visitor that New Zealander were particularly keen to hear words of praise from was Mr F. Tate, Victoria's Director of Education. In 1905 after inspecting nearly 1,000 Dunedin cadets, he informed them that "On his return he would tell them [the Victorian cadets] what he had that day seen, and give them something to work up to."<sup>19</sup>

But the greatest tribute of all in the eyes of most New Zealanders was undoubtedly given by Rear-Admiral G.S. Sperry, commanding the American "White Fleet" on a visit to Auckland, simply because he

15. OTD 10 July, 1901.

16. OTD 1 July 1904.

17. "Guildhall Speech" in E.F. Knight, With the Royal Tour, London 1902, pp408-9.

18. OTD 18 May 1905.

19. OTD 27 February 1904.

was a foreign national and this meant recognition outside the empire circle.

I think that you have a most careful system of training the youth of the dominion. One of the greatest safeguards of a country is the proper instruction of its youth in defending its shores should the necessity arise. There is still more than this however, to be said for the system. It affords the means of an excellent physical training, and on this point alone its advantages can scarcely be underestimated.<sup>20</sup>

To look at the cadet movement through the speeches and parades which were a part of its most impressive years, is to obtain an overview of a movement which had its glitter and its justifications, and without doubt commanded great respect and devotion on the part of a wide section of society. However it is important to look in more detail at some of the groups connected with cadets; the teachers, the public, the military, and the cadets themselves, in order to see if this view is indeed the correct one.

The views of the cadets are difficult to obtain for they rarely recorded their opinions in lasting form, though like most children of their age they appear to have enjoyed being the centre of attention, and probably looked forward to escaping for an hour or two each week from what must have been a very formal and oppressive classroom atmosphere. Mr Stuart Billman, who was a pupil at Richmond Road School (Auckland) in 1912, clearly remembers his days as a Junior Cadet.<sup>21</sup> Along with most of his classmates he thoroughly enjoyed the parades and competition of cadet life. For children who were prepared to walk the seven miles from Richmond to Epsom just to play football once a week, such parades proved little hardship. Mr Billman confirms the fact that children were taught at school to be very patriotic. In his own schooldays he was taught to "hate the Germans" and when H.M.S. "New Zealand" was laid down (1909), each child was asked to contribute one penny towards her building. In such circumstances, cadets were a practical means by which the children could express what they had been taught about their duty to the empire. Inter-school rivalry was also very strong, and resulted

<sup>20</sup>. School Journal, Part 111, September 1908, pp.255-256.

<sup>21</sup>. The following two paragraphs are based on an interview I conducted with Mr Stuart Billman, who was a Junior Cadet at Richmond Road School in 1912. I stand indebted to Mr Billman for his friendly cooperation.



in frequent after-school fights. Cadets again provided a practical and comparatively harmless means of fostering school-rivalry, and a Junior school cadet corps took great pride in its school colours, which were displayed around the tops of the boy's stockings.

The classroom atmosphere also fostered a spirit of individual competition, and yet again this was carried over and developed in creative ways within the cadet corps, in the form of shooting competitions and competition to become a boy N.C.O.

Teachers, recalls Mr Billman, were very patriotic and often gave lectures to the class on the subject of empire. There is little doubt in fact that a great many teachers reflected the enthusiasm of the children and the public for the cadet movement, with only the occasional grumble, usually over specific details of the movement rather than over its general concept. Partly due to a lack of funds and a shortage of military instructors, but also due to government policy which was aimed at linking the system as closely to the schools as possible, cadet training was carried out in the public schools mainly by the teacher. Participation in the cadets as an officer could be satisfying. Their work was continually referred to in the press whenever cadets were mentioned, and in general the public appreciated their efforts. Their names and rank were published in the New Zealand Gazette upon official recognition of their corps, and many doubtless felt that they were making a useful contribution to the future safety of the country and empire. However it could also be arduous and time-consuming for the teachers, involving regular night-work at drill instruction classes and Saturdays at the rifle range. He received no payment, because the statutory 2s 6d went to the school, and his rank was valid only within the Public School Cadet organisation. The Defence Department steadfastly refused to recognise his rank, and this meant that the Public School Cadet Officer was inferior in status to an officer of an adult corps, even though he did the same work. In addition it was annoying for teachers, if as was likely they were members of adult volunteer corps themselves because they could be captains in one organisation and private soldiers in the other. This particular grievance was often taken up in Parliament on behalf of teachers, but Seddon as Minister of Defence was as intransigent as he had been over the sufferings of the Senior Cadets at Christchurch and the inadequacy of capitation grants. The

school corps and the volunteer corps officer were equal as far as Seddon was concerned, and nothing more was to be gained by pressing him on the issue.<sup>22</sup>

During a speech after inspecting Dunedin cadets,<sup>23</sup> Seddon promised shortly to introduce legislation which would confer legal status on the Public School Cadet Officers, but again nothing was actually done to improve the situation, which remained bad until capitulation was abolished by the Defence Act of 1909.

Despite the hardships involved however, there never seems to have been a lack of teacher-officers and after 1902, Saturday drill instruction classes for teachers were introduced on a larger scale than before. Most boards participated in the scheme, making their own arrangements as to convening centres, while relying on the government for teacher's free railway passes and militia instructors. In North Canterbury, Saturday drill classes for two terms annually began in 1901, and by 1902 31 teachers were reported to have passed their examinations in physical and squad drill, which entitled them to certificates of competence. Most of these teachers were from remote schools, and town teachers desirous of this certificate were examined in their own schools at mutually agreeable times. On the other hand, the Marlborough Board did not consider that its small schools should be compelled to join any system, and by 1902 it had not made any regulations under the Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act, 1901.

Drill instruction classes did not always meet with the response they received in North Canterbury. At the Wellesley Street School, the Auckland Board ran a Saturday instruction course, beginning in October 1902 with an attendance of 21. By October 1903 this had been reduced to one only, and classes were discontinued. Other classes in Auckland met with a similar fate.<sup>24</sup>

Enthusiasm was by no means always lacking though, and Wellington women teachers were regularly observed by inspectors, attending drill classes and wielding model rifles with enthusiasm.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup>. NZPD 1905, 134, p.231. Seddon in reply to a question from Vite.

<sup>23</sup>. AJHR 1905, E-1D Appendix VII, pp.8-9. Extract from Dunedin Evening Star report dated 26 May, 1905.

<sup>24</sup>. I. Cumming, Glorious Enterprise, Christchurch, 1959, p.300.

<sup>25</sup>. AJHR 1901, E-1, p.69. Such demonstrations by women helped to prove that they were capable of doing the same jobs as men, and at the Royal Commission on Education (1912) those supporting the principle of equal pay were able to state categorically that in every way, their jobs were comparable with those of men.

By 1905, most male teachers had received some form of military instruction,<sup>26</sup> but in order to ensure the future of cadets and military training in schools, the training colleges and normal schools offered Saturday drill instruction classes for men. Herein lay an obvious difficulty, for most training institutions were in the position of Christchurch Normal School, which had 21 students, only four of whom were men.<sup>27</sup> Though a number of women did take cadet corps successfully not all were able or willing to do so. This put the onus on the male teachers who were sometimes subjected to intolerable pressure from headmasters to take school military drill or command a cadet corps. The press and the education boards, in praising the cadet movement generally, were inclined to overlook evidence of discontent among some teachers. There were occasional instances in which discontent among some teachers was manifested. In February 1906, after the Auckland Board had passed a resolution congratulating teachers on "the gratifying result of their labours in this useful and important direction,"<sup>28</sup> Mr C.J. Parr told the board that teachers complained of too few battalion drills and that they wanted a parade in the Domain once a month. As a correspondent was quick to point out to the editor of the Star, they had not been so responsive to suggestions of a field day in the Domain for all the cadets in ~~the~~ Auckland district, or to the idea of Christmas camps, despite the fact that compensation was promised them on the form of an extra weeks holiday.<sup>29</sup>

Wellington teachers showed a similar reluctance concerning parades and camps at battalion level, and in 1906 several of them made representation to their board alleging that the efficiency of the cadets was endangered by the large number of ceremonial parades that had been held during the past year. After debating the issue, the board decided to in future, decline to allow any ceremonial parades without consideration and prior notification.

Battalion parades could be especially irksome for the teacher, because they involved a substantial loss of leisure time to which he felt himself to be entitled. In 1907, Captain Erskine, a Wellington teacher, wrote a letter to the Wellington Education

26. AJHR 1905, E-1, p.xv.

27. AJHR 1901, E-1, p 82.

28. AS 22 February 1906.

29. AS 28 February 1906.

Board stating that although he was willing to continue instructing his cadet corps, he wished to be relieved of all attendances at battalion parades. The board pointed out that it was his duty to act as an officer of cadets, and that this included attendance at battalion parades, whereupon Erskine resigned as an officer of cadets. At the November meeting of the board, however, T.W. McDonald was able to carry a motion to the effect that "the board [could] not see its way clear to recommend the acceptance of Captain Erskine's resignation, his reasons being insufficient."

Erskine was apparently not satisfied with this somewhat brusque treatment, and he contacted the Wellington Teacher's Institute which by December had requested a reconsideration of his case along with the whole question of the control of cadets. The Board, spurred on by the forceful McDonald, was able to use the incident to request the Department to hand over control of the Wellington cadets, arguing that such problems could be best dealt with through the board, rather than a remote department. The incident is interesting both in its revelation of the board's dissatisfaction with departmental control, and of the difficulties battalion parades could create for teachers, though one feels Erskine was rather unreasonable.<sup>30</sup>

The incident also serves to introduce Major T.W. McDonald, ex-army officer, board-member, and from July 1909, Commandant of the Junior Cadets. McDonald had always believed that the first duty of a citizen was to be able to shoot, and in 1899 he organised his own drill instruction classes for teachers in Wellington. In his enthusiasm for cadets, he resembled Loveday himself, but unlike Loveday he had been a regular army officer and possessed an idea of what was possible for schoolboys to accomplish, rather than an inflated ideal. Loveday had always been of the opinion that more might be done with the public school corps, and this led to some disagreements with teachers. In 1906, he told an Auckland Star correspondent that a practicable scheme would be from ten to fifteen minutes daily spent on physical exercises before the day began at school, in addition to normal cadet work.<sup>31</sup>

30. WEBM 1902-1907, 27 July 1906, p 322; 24 October 1907, pp485-486; November 1907, p 493; 12 December 1907, p.499.

31. AS 28 February 1906. Editorial.

Teachers, he believed, were often reluctant to give up their Saturday time for range-work, while Auckland headmasters had "for certain reasons" not favoured weekend camps.

Loveday's emphasis on the value of cadets as a training ground for a militia, and an alternative to conscription if adopted universally, led the Star to comment that "Our public school system, if managed properly, may become the foundation of a complete system of public defence,"<sup>32</sup> and for some years the paper pleaded for real rifles, not "dummies" for the cadets.

Most of the public who were interested in the cadets felt this way, and such attitudes, together with the belief that New Zealand was the "sole part of the empire to encourage school cadets,"<sup>33</sup> constituted the two main sources of public enthusiasm.

Public interest however, while gratifying, could result in many well-intentioned suggestions for improving the scheme. In August 1904, a certain J.H. Newlyn after watching a cadet parade in Christchurch, wrote to the Lyttleton Times feeling that "today's display lack[ed] one feature that ought to be prominent in a seabound colony, namely naval cadet corps." These, he claimed would be useful in coastal defence"<sup>34</sup>

Nearly two months later, the same paper reprinted a letter from the Canterbury Times which compared cadet progress in New Zealand with that in Britain and Natal. The writer argued that while the Home authorities looked to New Zealand for inspiration and guidance in such matters, Natal was just ahead of New Zealand in the area of cadet camping, which the writer believed good for discipline and character building. He concluded; "Are we to be taught lessons by a sister colony, or, if the lesson is good, will we ignore the benefits to be derived from it?"<sup>35</sup>

The continual public interest could become especially annoying to school authorities, as was the case when Christchurch parents complained of their sons having to wear second hand uniform trousers,

32. AS. 21 February 1906. Editorial.

33. LT 1 September 1904. Letter to the editor.

34. LT 18 August 1904. Letter to the editor.

35. LT 1 September 1904. Letter to the editor.

because funds did not permit lavish expenditure. However, in this particular case, the parents themselves "took so much interest that they subscribed a sum sufficient to equip all cadets there with a full outfit, including trousers." <sup>36</sup>

Quite intolerable pressures were often put on headmasters to form and in some cases lavishly equip a cadet corps in order to keep up with a neighbouring school. Even schools with long established cadet corps were not free from this pressure, and in February 1906, "Veteran" asked the editor of the Star if the Auckland Grammar School (corps gazetted in 1873) had a cadet corps and if not, why not?" <sup>37</sup>

Those in Parliament proved equally unmerciful in their criticism and suggestions for improvement. Arguments over the scarcity of trained staff, the poor weapons and the inadequate capititation were sporadic but persistent. There was also complaints over costs, and one member in 1907 asked if there was any truth to the rumour that public school cadets were to be armed with American rifles costing eighteen shillings each. <sup>38</sup> However, he regarded the system as valuable; too valuable to be administered in a careless manner.

Only the radical Mr T.E. Taylor recorded his objection to cadets during these years when in 1904 he asked the Minister of Education to "Arrange for scientific physical exercises to replace the absurd system of drill now in vogue" <sup>39</sup> Seddon immediately asked him to make his objections specifically in writing, and probably discouraged by the lack of support from the House, Taylor did not raise the question again.

Given the wide degree of support, it is perhaps not surprising that in the period before 1909 especially, the Public School cadets began to grow into a complete miniature army, justified mainly in terms of itself. Those involved with the movement seemed to lose their sense of proportion, and the Defence Act of 1909 was intended as a brake upon this process, although it was a brake applied too softly and too late. The act abolished the Public School cadets and the High

36. AS 28 February 1906. Editorial.

37. Ibid. Letter to the editor.

38. NZFD 1907, 142, p.112.

39. NZFD 130, p. 667.

School cadets, creating in their place two new cadet organisations, Senior Cadets and Junior Cadets, each with its own ranks and organisation. The Junior cadets comprised all boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen, and were to be under the direction of the Minister of Education. The Senior Cadets comprised all boys, whether at school or not, between the ages of fourteen and seventeen and were to be trained under the Defence Department.<sup>40</sup> Both cadet organisations were envisaged as providing initial training in a progressive military training scheme, and upon reaching the age of seventeen, a youth was to be transferred to a general training section till he was twenty-five, whereupon he joined the reserve till he was thirty. Membership in both Senior and Junior cadets was compulsory for all British subjects who had been resident in New Zealand for over six months. The capitation was abolished and uniforms and equipment were to be freely supplied by the government.

In July 1909, upon the retirement of Loveday, T.W. McDonald took command of the Junior cadets, and from his first report it was evident that a new seriousness was to replace the at times amateurish enthusiasm of the past years. McDonald thought that much re-organisation was due. First, he found the officers and cadets generally enthusiastic, but often woefully lacking in military experience. He proposed to have more regular instruction for officers and recommended the setting up of special training college corps to provide for future leaders, while as a stop-gap measure training camps for teacher-officers were to be formed. Second, he considered that cadet officers must be properly appointed and seniority clearly determined. This was an attempt to satisfy both the officers themselves and the Defence Dept over their status.<sup>41</sup> McDonald also resolved to make it a "fundamental principle" to consult the Officer Commanding New Zealand Forces, if he decided to make any changes in the Junior organisation. Again, this was an attempt to lessen the conflict between Defence and Education Departments, as the Defence Department had always felt that all cadets should have been placed under its own jurisdiction, and had been led to believe by the government that this would be one of the provisions of the 1909 Act.

40. Defence Act, 1909, in Statutes of New Zealand 1909, Sections 35-42, pp306-7.

41. AJHR 1910, E-11, p.2.

McDonald had judged the shooting of the Juniors in many cases to be very poor. Entries in team shooting competitions when Loveday was Commandant had been compulsory for all schools. Large numbers of boys had not been sufficiently trained in shooting, and McDonald in his report noted that "many of them had fired at three ranges: 100, 150 and 200 yards without once hitting the target." All Junior ranges over 200 yards long were to be abolished, competitions made optional, and only the light .22 and air rifles retained for use on the miniature eight-25 yards ranges. McDonald's report, and later Kitchener's of 1910, illustrated the increasing concern of the professional soldier that the Junior cadets were becoming an end in themselves, and not simply a means of preparing the boys for more thorough military training as a young man.<sup>42</sup>

From being their own *raison d'être* the cadets were to be made the initial and natural beginning of a progressive system of compulsory military training. The more serious minds of the new Defence Council, in their desire to put New Zealand on a war footing, had triumphed over the more *grandiose* conceptions of a few militia officers and many of the public, backed by the Press, who saw in the cadets the nucleus of a guerilla army skilled in shooting, "which in rough and broken country like New Zealand's ... could render futile any conceivable attack even if conducted by a body of well disciplined regular troops."<sup>43</sup>

If the public school cadets during their nine years of existence had grown out of their original role and had to be somewhat rudely brought into their place, the same could not possibly have been said for the cadets within the private high schools. Within a system where all constantly strove to build an environment, if not equal, then at least comparable with the best English public schools, the successful cadet corps fitted in along with the successful rowing or cricket club as part of the well established school's tradition. King's College staff and boys rebelled in the knowledge that their corps was the senior company in the Auckland area,

42. This is evident in the reports of successive commandants of New Zealand forces after 1900, particularly of Colonel R.H. Davies from 1907.

43. AS 21 February 1906. Editorial.



being able to date itself back to the time of the college's foundation. Auckland Grammar School's Corps had been the second Auckland company by only a few weeks, and as with King's pride was great. This was enhanced in 1910 when old pupils of the girl's school donated the King's and Regimental colours to the Battalion, the handing over ceremony being performed by Kitchener himself at a review in the Auckland Domain. (March 1910) <sup>44</sup>

Very often the younger the corps, the greater the effort on the part of the staff and boys to vie with the more well established corps. Thus in 1905, Rangiora High School reported proudly of its newly formed cadet corps, that "it proved to be one of the best, if not the best cadet corps in the colony." <sup>45</sup> By 1912 the same school was able to claim that the cadets had maintained their reputation along with the cricket and football teams, who had kept up the credit of the school in the field. <sup>46</sup>

High schools however, were apt to become over ambitious in building up their cadet corps. King's College in 1908 introduced a signalling platoon and ambulance classes in addition to their ordinary rifle companies, but it was uniforms that provided the greatest expense. At Christ's College, the cadets had to provide their own uniforms, consisting of blue serge tunics with white facings and silver buttons, blue forage caps (pork pie shape), with white band, and blue trousers with white stripes. <sup>47</sup> Not all parents of high school children could afford such expense, and Rangiora High School after equipping its cadets in uniforms costing £130, had to resort to public subscription and a bazaar after being informed by the government auditor that their attempt to transfer £20. from their grant to defray expenses was "without authority of law". <sup>48</sup> In 1908, Napier High School fell into the same trap and a deficit of £30. was recorded against their annual financial statement. <sup>49</sup>

Costs were also increased because most high schools believed that all boys except those physically unable or forbidden by parents, should undergo cadet training. This provision does not seem to have

44. AJHR 1911, E-16, p 25.

45. AJHR 1905, E-12, p.22.

46. AJHR 1912, E-6, p.36.

47. The School List of Christ's College, p. 628.

48. AJHR 1905, E-12, p. 22.

49. AJHR 1908, E-12, p.22.

been irksome for the boys themselves, however, who were instilled from the moment they arrived with a sense of school pride. At Auckland Grammar in 1910, four-fifths of the boys volunteered for cadets and the gratified school board immediately made cadet work obligatory for all, the headmaster losing no time in informing Lord Roberts of its ready acceptance by parents and boys.<sup>50</sup> In September 1911 however, he pleaded successfully with the board for a reduction in the strength of the school's cadet companies, because they were too big for civilian officers to handle.<sup>51</sup>

Most headmasters, though, were themselves instrumental in setting up and encouraging their cadet corps. At Auckland Grammar J.W. Tibbes (headmaster from 1893-1924) can be taken as representative of the great headmasters of the formative period in New Zealand secondary education, who not only ran their schools single-handed, but attempted to mould them in conformity with their own theories. Tibbes believed that the school's duty lay in producing good citizens as well as scholars, with a sense of national, civic and moral responsibility. He was convinced that military drill was invaluable in providing the boy with communal discipline, initiative and exercise.<sup>52</sup> In R.A. McCullough, he found a teacher of like views, and from 1902 the Grammar cadets were built into an elite company which dominated Auckland shooting events. Grammar's "secret" lay in strict, even harsh discipline, with offenders being punished with 500 or more lines in Latin or three strokes of the cane.

Up to about 1906 Tibbes had given the cadets the reputation of being a closed society. Membership was very difficult to obtain and Tibbes jealously guarded their privileges and gave them special outings. They were very much his cadet corps, and he fought hard and successfully to retain an autocratic control over them. As early as 1895 he submitted a report to the school board in which he outlined his own right to determine the cadets' form of drill, to administer the funds of the corps, and to grant or withhold permission

50. AJHR 1910, E-6 p.24.

51. MAGSB 1904-1913, 28 September 1911, p. 369.

52. This paragraph and the next are indebted to R.A. Trembath, Ad Augusta: a History of Auckland Grammar School, Auckland, 1969.

for corps field days. Above all, the corps could not exercise with any adult corps without his approval, nor could officers attend evening classes without his sanction.<sup>53</sup>

It is somewhat surprising therefore, to find him from 1906 advocating for cadets to be made compulsory for all boys, not only within the school, but throughout New Zealand. To some extent the Boer War appears to have influenced him, and certainly rivalry with other Auckland colleges was a factor, but despite his efforts, Grammar was not able to form Auckland's first cadet battalion, that honour falling to King's College by three months in March 1908.

While high school cadets do give an impression of being elitist, they were not necessarily racially elitist. The hatred of the Maori wars had passed, and in its place was appearing the stereotyped of the Maori as a chivalrous and brave warrior. Many New Zealanders, perhaps familiar with the works of Thomas Braekken would have agreed with E.F. Knight's contention that there were two martial races in New Zealand.<sup>54</sup> Te Aute College was praised by inspectors as possessing a very fine cadet company with a high standard of efficiency,<sup>55</sup> though by 1906 it was one of only two Maori schools out of one hundred that had cadets, the other school being Rangitukia. Inspectors were continually offering encouragement to the others, and in 1906 a visiting inspector said of St. Stephens Maori College (Auckland) that "There is good material here for a cadet corps".<sup>56</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the desire to encourage as many boys as possible into cadets, one is struck by the prominence of a few individuals in high school cadet corps. At Christ's College for example, H.C.F. Burnett, who was captain of the school cadet corps in 1914 was also head prefect, a notable cricket, rugby and gymnastics participant, winner of the Ormsby medal for all-round athletic excellence, Junior Scholar in 1911, Senior National Scholar in 1913, and Junior University Scholar.

53. MAGSB 1887-1896, 28 October 1895, pp. 442-443,

54 Knight, pp.181, 203.

55. AJHR 1908, E-12, p.7,

56 AJHR 1906, E-2, p.9.

This prominence of a few in contrast to the mediocrity of many is further illustrated from the results of shooting competitions for both Senior and Junior Cadets. Prizes were taken time and time again by a few good teams. Onehunga, Waimate, Omaru North and Terrace School (Wellington) each won the Government Challenge Shield for State primary schools twice during the years 1904-1910, while Dannevirke North won it three times from 1908 to 1910, gaining the first and second highest scores during this period. The Onehunga District High School, in addition to its win in the Government Challenge Shield, won the Weekly Press Shield in 1910 and finished the year by sending the best New Zealand cadet to Britain to compete in the Intercolonial competitions.

Such results not only required keen boys but keen and skilled drill instructors as well. Instructors such as Major Robb of Onehunga and R.A. McCullough of Christ's College were prepared to take time in drilling their corps hard, even unmercifully to attain good results, but this was not general. Loveday commented sadly after acknowledging Robb's work that "If other teachers followed his example there would be much keener competitions and the interest in the work would be much greater among the boys."<sup>57</sup>

The domination by a few schools of shooting events, troubled many parents as well, and the success of Onehunga at shooting prompted an exasperated father, whose two cadet sons had never fired for the Government Challenge Shield to ask the editor of the Auckland Star: "Sir, could or will you tell us how many squads of cadets from other schools in Auckland have competed for the shield, and why these other school cadets have not been given a chance to compete for the shield?"<sup>58</sup>

Cadet shooting, camping and field manoeuvres were regarded by parents and cadet instructors as healthy outdoor activity for boys, and such attitudes reflected the New Zealander's view of war. Most of the wars experienced by the empire during the later nineteenth century had been colonial wars of a limited type, and consequently

57. AS 28 February 1906 Editorial.

58. AS 21 February 1906. Letter to the Editor.

cherished by successive generations as providing pleasurable, healthful activity, like cricket. Out of touch with many of the more recent military developments most New Zealanders including many cadet instructors had not realised that the age of total war was dawning. They were to face a period of conflict over the next few years, not only on the battlefield, but within the cadet movement itself, for the remaining five years before 1914 were to see readjustments of a philosophical and educational nature, as well as of military kind.

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## 5. GRIM REALITIES.

History will show this: that however powerful our navy may be, a military force is necessary to bring a conflict to a satisfactory close. Over and over again history has repeated itself. Our victory at Trafalgar was only completed by our victory at Waterloo. The time may come when we may have to decide a grave question of empire in the plains of India, and if we are to take our place in the defence of the empire we must be ready to send abroad an expeditionary force to assist the Imperial authorities.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1912, the Junior Cadet organisation appeared to be at the height of its strength. Not only had it to some extent sloughed off the more grandiose conceptions of the early public school cadet years, but it had also become a more homogenous group comprising only boys from 12 to 14 years of age.

The Defence Act of 1909 making membership of the Junior cadets compulsory for those eligible, had given the system a tremendous accretion of strength and it now comprised 29,305 cadets. These very sources of strength however, were to prove part of its undoing, as new values and events claiming attention from all sections of New Zealand society profoundly effected the cadet movement as a whole. The Senior cadets were better able to adapt to these changes and even enhance their position and prestige as an indispensable introduction to a young man's military training, but the Juniors rapidly succumbed as one by one the idealogical and utilitarian pillars on which they rested were knocked away.

In chapter two it was suggested that changes within the field of educational philosophy helped to bring about a favourable atmosphere for cadets. The years 1909 to 1914 were again years of decisive change in educational theory and practice though many of the foundations had been laid with the introduction of the 1904 syllabus. The 1904 syllabus had made particular provision for the scientific and the practical, and illustrated how much Dewey's ideas had been accepted. Initially this had seemed to strengthen the idealogical basis of cadets, for Dewey believed that school activity should run parallel to the life of society and reflect the values that children were to grow to maturity under. However, in the long

1. J.B. Allen, member for Bruce and Minister of Education under the Massey Administration. NZFD 1910, 151, p.770.

term such a philosophy counted against military drill, especially in the primary school after the 1909 Defence Act had introduced a new earnestness and a new universality into the Junior Cadets as part of a nation-wide defence scheme, for defence could hardly be termed "social" in the same sense as moral instruction, games or health. O.D. Flamank, President of the New Zealand Educational Institute, in speaking of health instruction as a social activity, argued that "In view of the fact that military training for youths [was] now extended over a period of 14 years, some time might well be spared to make them as efficient in the preservation as in the destruction of human life."<sup>2</sup>

If military drill was non-social in the sense that it did not well accord with what educationalists assumed should be a co-operative society, then it was also non-individual in that it failed to take into account the needs of the growing child. Hogben's 1904 syllabus had prescribed a course of free exercises, each planned to develop certain areas of the body and these were to become known as "scientific physical drill." In the same year, probably as a result of reading the syllabus, T.E. Taylor had asked the Minister of Education to arrange for scientific physical drill exercises to replace the absurd system of physical drill then in vogue, but Seddon had been able to satisfy the house that the standard regulations on cadets contained a programme of exercises in physical drill "though there [was] something wanting in seeing this [was] complied with."<sup>3</sup>

The first indication of a change came in 1908 when Hogben issued Dovey's manual to public schools, a supplement to the 1904 prescription giving a limited programme of physical exercises for children. Hogben believed the emphasis on school military drill to be excessive, and he had hoped that the manual would show up the limitations of purely military drill, though judging from inspectors reports it caused little stir.

2. O.D. Flamank, Presidential address, 3 January 1912, The Reports of the Annual Meetings of the Council of the Institute, Wellington, 1912, p.11.
3. NZPD 1904, 130, p.667.

<sup>4</sup>Of more moment were events in Britain. In 1909 the English Board of Education published its Syllabus of Physical Exercises which were to revolutionise physical training both in Britain and New Zealand, and Ewing sees this syllabus as "a landmark in the transition from physical instruction to physical education." The Syllabus saw physical exercises as necessary to the development not only of the body, but also the brain and character. Teachers were to recognise that children were growing individuals who were passing through various stages of development, and the prescription set up a progressive programme of scientifically planned exercises that took into account various physiological aspects of the child's growth such as respiration, bone structure and nervous system.

By 1910 these ideals were circulating in New Zealand and were evident in the inspectorate, which is probably a good indication that they were firmly established. In February 1910 an educational conference met in Wellington and a motion was put forward stating that as many boys of 12 were not fitted for military drill with a rifle, gymnastics ought to be taught instead. However an amendment was moved to the effect that "gymnastics" be changed to "systematic physical exercises", and in this form the motion was carried, and the appropriate recommendation made to the Ministers of Education and Defence.

While new developments in physical education were taking place, events elsewhere were assuming increasing importance for the future particularly for the Junior Cadets. The years 1909 to 1912 had seen an increase in serious war preparations throughout the empire. The first effect of this had again seemed to make cadets more relevant than ever, for the resulting Defence Act of 1909 set up a system of military training in which membership of both Juniors and Seniors was compulsory for those eligible. Juniors were required to complete not less than 52 hours of training per year under the direction of the Minister of Education, while Seniors were not to exceed six whole day drills, twelve half-day drills, and 24 night drills under the direction of the Defence Department. As outlined in chapter three, both Seniors and Juniors were to some extent viewed

4. Ewing, p.127. The next two paragraphs are indebted to Ewing pp127-128.



as part of a progressive defence training scheme which would occupy the New Zealand male from youth to manhood.<sup>5</sup>

This was the situation in early 1910 when Field Marshall Lord Kitchener arrived in New Zealand to report on the state of the defence forces. His criticisms of the Australian volunteer system had been uncompromising, and he had stressed the need for an efficient and continuous programme of military training. The tone of his visit was set some days after his arrival, for when he was proudly shown the new Lyttleton tunnel, his only question was why had it not been duplicated to prevent a blockage of traffic in time of war.<sup>6</sup>

His report contained criticisms of a similar nature to those he had made of the Australian defence system. Again he stressed the need for efficiency in the military training programme, and efficiency he believed could only be gained by continuity of training which entailed the same authority being in control throughout. Kitchener spoke of the cadets as being "splendid material for the defence of the country"<sup>7</sup> and wrote the children an encouraging note in the School Journal, but in his report he noted that "while cadet training is valuable as a preparation, it cannot in my opinion replace recruit training, which is a necessary preliminary to the production of an efficient and trained soldier."<sup>8</sup> Cadet training hours were to be more than doubled, with the Juniors completing 120 hours and the Seniors 16 days annually, but whereas the Seniors were to undertake basic drill in preparation for recruit training, the Juniors were to be demilitarised and concentrate on purely physical training,

In the case of the Seniors, the report was acted upon almost immediately, without great difficulty. Because they were under the Defence Department, they were better prepared and organised to fit into the role foreseen for them. Even in the better established colleges where cadets were part of school tradition, units were able to retain something of their individuality, and in any case had been long instilled with the value of their training as a prerequisite to service

5. Defence Act, 1909, in Statutes of New Zealand 1909, clauses 35-40, pp 306-309.
6. OTD 23 February 1910.
7. AJHR 1910, E-11, p.2.
8. OTD 10 March 1910.

for king and empire. In 1910, the population of the high schools were still by and large drawn from a privileged class, which had fewer objections to being closely associated with the military establishment.

Within the Junior system however, things were different. It catered for a much younger and in many ways, less homogenous group of differing abilities and different social classes; hence its vast array of rifle battalions and even ambulance brigades made it a relatively easy target for criticism, once Kitchener's report was known in Parliament. The report had an almost immediate effect. The opposition in general supported its provisions and the speech of J.B. Allen probably summarised Parliamentary reaction on both sides of the House to the report, and possibly to the recommendation of the 1910 Education Conference.

I hope the cadets are not going to be made into a sort of mimic army, because that seems to me to be the tendency. Provision is made for battalions, brigades, and field ambulance sections. What in heaven's name do we want with brigades or field ambulance sections of boys between twelve and fourteen? I hope no attempt will be made to produce anything like a complete army of boys from twelve to fourteen years of age. What Lord Kitchener recommends, and what any sensible person agrees with, is that the Junior Cadet system shall be used to prepare boys to afterwards equip themselves as defenders of the country. The training they want is physical drill, the virtue of patriotism, miniature rifle shooting and nothing further than company drill. I do not see any necessity to expend money on battalions and brigade organisation, or in field ambulance sections, and I hope the right honourable gentleman will consider this, and make the movement from Junior Cadets through Senior Cadets to general-training section a co-ordinate and continuous movement. Under the Act and the regulations, we made the Junior Cadet into a complete boy soldier, then we turned him into something less in the Senior Cadets, by training him in company drill when he already had battalion drill in the Junior Cadets; and then he was passed into the general-training section to be drilled as an individual and without uniform. There was no co-ordinate training at all. That was a backward movement. . ."<sup>9</sup>

In reply Ward had to agree. Kitchener's report carried with it much prestige and Ward himself, anxious to preserve a dwindling Liberal majority was prepared to cut his losses and costs in order to stay abreast of public opinion.<sup>10</sup>

9. NZPD 1910, 151, p 770.

10 NZPD 1910, 151, p.801.

The exchange must have sounded sweet indeed to the ears of those in the Defence Department, for they had long seen the Juniors as pulling in a different direction from the rest of the movement; often undertaking advanced military work such as battalion field manoeuvres which they considered ought to be taken at a much later stage.<sup>11</sup> However, the criticism made of the Junior movement must have seemed ironic and unfair to McDonald, who had made similar criticisms of his predecessor Loveday upon taking up his command. He had attempted to eliminate the objectionable features in the Junior movement such as the misplaced emphasis on shooting, and issued instructions that physical drill without apparatus was to be taught by his instructors. The use of bells or clubs for drill, he considered unsuitable for young children, a contention he believed supported "by medical men and physical culture experts throughout the Dominion".<sup>12</sup> He had reduced the number of Junior camps, and striven to improve liaison between himself and the Defence Department.

Unfortunately the system itself had become too big for one man, even assisted by the provisions of the 1909 Act, to provide an effective brake on its development in the single year he had been commandant, even if McDonald himself had not to some extent become a convert to the system. But even if McDonald had been able to make the Junior system an integral part of universal military training, the steps would have been fraught with dangers.

On one side stood the government and most of the opposition, committed to implementing Kitchener's recommendation of continuous training. On the other side stood the Defence Department, which was only too eager to swallow the Junior Cadets. Apart from this rather unpalatable thought, there was a still comparatively weak but growing body of opinion that feared any co-operation between the Departments of Education and Defence, and disliked what they regarded as the military spirit, "... arrogant, intolerant, and dangerous."<sup>13</sup> Such opinion was represented in Parliament by T. E. Taylor, and outside by the growing volume of anti-militarist literature.<sup>14</sup>

11. "Report on the System of Military Training of Cadets in New Zealand," Wellington 1916, Box 10/394, Army Department files, National Archives.

12. AJHR 1911, E-11, p. 3.

13. NZPD 1910, 151, p. 776.

14. For instance, the leaflets of the National Peace Council of New Zealand, and The Anti-Militarist, Christchurch, from 1911.

Kitchener's report and the Parliamentary discussion which followed it spelled doom for the Junior Cadets, for Kitchener had denied them their military role, instead forcing them back upon his own theories of physical drill which had been outdated by the new developments in physical education. Scientific physical drill exercises geared to the developing child did not accord well with the regimented organisation of the Junior Cadets, in which a comparatively varied age group physiologically and emotionally was to be taught as a single group apart from the rest of the school. However, the Liberal government was unwilling to alter drastically the Junior Cadets even at this stage, for in Roth's words, "anxious to preserve its dwindling majority, it replaced vigorous administration by all-party Royal Commissions which took evidence and presented reports on whatever the government was frightened to touch; education, the public service, and the cost of living."<sup>15</sup>

Thus it took a Royal Commission to deal the final blow. The Commission, chaired by Mark Cohen, who was well known for his interest in education, met in May 1912 to discuss the whole structure of education in New Zealand and recommend any improvements. As a matter of course the subject of Junior Cadets was raised, and witness after witness, principals of training colleges, headmasters, and professors of education came forward to criticise them.

The first witness to be so questioned was N.R. McKenzie, President of the Headmasters' Association, who thought that physical education should be given more attention and that the drill given to cadets was too long, being a violation of the new physical education principles.<sup>16</sup>

He was supported in this contention by most of the other expert witnesses, particularly the Principal of the Auckland Training College, who argued that as military men did not understand the principles of physical education, the present Junior Cadet drill could be harmful to the developing child.<sup>17</sup>

By no means all the witnesses were prepared to condemn the Junior Cadets outright, though they nearly all believed that even if

15. Roth, p.140.

16. AJHR 1912, E-12, p.74.

17. Ibid. p. 104.

squad and company drill could be aids to discipline, mass displays, brigades and battalion drill were a waste of time. Only L.T. Ashmann, the rather conservative headmaster of the Wellington Normal School, was prepared to disagree that the chief aim should be physical development through a demilitarised system of cadets, and claimed that it was "unwise to make a drastic alteration in the direction of demilitarising the Junior Cadet units."<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately for Ashmann he was alone against the turning tide of educational opinion.

But it was the Defence Department that dealt the most telling blow against any continuing military role for the Juniors. Major-General Godley, Commandant of New Zealand forces, voiced the long standing grievances of the Defence Department when he complained of the lack of natural progression from Juniors to Seniors, for the Juniors were taught military exercises he would have hesitated to teach territorials. Therefore when the Junior became a Senior, he had "...had a shot at every sort of work in the field, and consequently he was 'blase'. You may say that he was almost finished with his military training by the time when, to my mind, he should begin it!"<sup>19</sup>

A note of exasperation crept in, for he felt strongly that if the Juniors were to have military recognition then they should be under military control, and if not under military control, then they could hardly expect military recognition. The Defence Department was prepared to see the Junior Cadets demilitarised, and to concentrate on physical drill which would not interfere with its own training programme, but it wanted Defence Department officers to instruct the teachers, who would then teach the cadets.

Strengthening the Defence Department's case was the fact that the government had apparently originally envisaged the 1909 Defence Act as giving the control of the Juniors to the Defence Department, so that when the cost of the universal military training scheme was announced, it included the cost of the Juniors, even though they were still under the Minister of Education,

Although Cohen was quick to inform the General that the Juniors were controlled by the Minister of Education rather than the Education

18. Ibid, p. 404.

19. Ibid, p. 676.

Department, this was merely outlining another aspect of the dilemma, for Junior Cadet expenses had always been charged to the Education Department which theoretically had no control over them. The dispute began to have all the makings of a second rate inter-departmental wrangle when Captain A.C.C. Stevens, who had temporarily replaced the more cautious McDonald while the latter was in England undergoing extra training, spoke on his behalf.

He began by attacking Godley and the Department for lowering his organisation's morale and ignoring its work. He was prepared, he said, to drop battalion drill and the "toy guns and swords," but he told the Commission that the Junior Cadets were something in which New Zealand led the world, and to disband the organisation would be to not only throw away this, but the £27,000. invested in them.<sup>20</sup> Aware of the revolution in physical education that was manifesting itself at the Commission, he went on to state.

It may be urged that I am not sufficiently expert to be a Physical Director. I do not see that this follows. A man in a larger way as a carpenter need not necessarily be able to put in a window sash as well as his foreman, and it does not necessarily follow that a general can shoot as well as a private. I have all my life been a keen athlete, and since being with Junior Cadets, have given the subject of physical training special attention and have made a study of it, and I am quite ready to inaugurate a satisfactory system in New Zealand if given adequate support. 21

The Commission seemed unimpressed and Cohen probably summed up the general feeling when he asked Stevens why it "should be urged so persistently that, in order to bring on a child, you must dress him in military garb while in tender years."<sup>22</sup>

Against this Stevens could only read out a letter written by the visiting British Colonel G.C.B. Wolfe to Major Robb after inspecting a cadet parade in Auckland, in which Wolfe claimed the cadets were the empire's "sheet-anchor," during the present dangerous period.<sup>23</sup> Again it was somewhat ironic for the Junior Cadets that such a letter, which a few years before would have been avidly read and widely applauded was, like Captain Steven's final report on the

20. Ibid, p.701-702.

21. Ibid, p.703.

22. Ibid, p.704.

23. Ibid, p.704 G.C.B. Wolfe to Major Robb, C.C. Auckland Junior Cadets (Onehunga) 30 May 1912.

Junior Cadets (June 1912), a mere gesture against the inevitable.

The Commission was originally planned to deliver its verdict on 25 June 1912, but this was delayed for one month and as a consequence the Commission's report was discussed by the new Reform Cabinet. Because of the government's precarious position and the outbreak of war two years later, much of the report was shelved, with the Education Act of 1914 merely summarising many of the educational changes of the previous ten years. However the government was resolved to disband the Junior Cadets, not only because of the Commission's findings, but because because of the decision to reduce government expenditure.

On 31 December 1912, the Junior Cadets as an official organisation, ceased to exist. Military drill within the primary schools was allowed to continue, and headmasters were given the opportunity to continue with it in their own schools if they wished. Few wished to do so. Within a few months military drill had become practically unknown in the primary schools. A fitting epitaph for this rapid passing was written by four Wellington inspectors, after completing a tour of their district.

Although we cannot but feel some regret at the passing away of the Junior Cadet system - a system which had many good points and to ensure the success of which, many of our teachers unselfishly devoted a great deal of time and energy, we are of opinion that once the teachers have been trained on the uniform system approved by the Department, the result will be improvement in both physical and mental condition of the child. 24

The future lay with the new physical education, and even before the Junior Cadets had been disbanded, plans were made for the instruction of teachers in exercises that assisted the child's development; "to make the body a fit instrument, not merely for the maintenance of health, but as a servant of the higher life, alike emotional and intellectual." <sup>25</sup> One system was dead, but as so often happens in education, another orthodoxy was beginning.

Meanwhile the Senior Cadets continued, protected by their age (14-17) from the effects of the physical education revolution which

24. AJHR 1914, E-2 Appendix C, p.xv T.R. Flemming, F.H. Bakewell, F.G.H. Stuckey and A.B. Charters.

25. AJHR 1910, E-2, Appendix C, p. vi Auckland Inspectors Report.

was concerned mainly with the primary school, and avoiding the inter-departmental squabbles that had beset the Junior organisation in its last few months. As Kitchener had regarded them as the lynch-pin of the territorial training scheme, there was little parliamentary criticism levelled at expenditure on rifles and uniforms, and in general this state of affairs continued till the outbreak of war, though the years 1909 to 1914 were by no means calm ones for the Senior Cadet organisation.

Public criticism on a comparatively large scale did occur over the relationship between the Senior Cadet movement and the Scout movement, which increasingly appeared to favour the former at the latter's expense.

From their formation in New Zealand in 1908 the scouts had enjoyed widespread popularity, and by August 1911 their total strength stood at nearly 16,000 boys and 1,000 officers.<sup>26</sup> Although scouting had a basically military organisation, it was a movement independent of the military headed by Major D. Cosgrove as Dominion Chief Scout.

The 1909 Defence Act, however, was a great setback for New Zealand scouting, because under Section 39 the Minister of Education was given power to take control of the scouting organisation in order to form Junior Cadet battalions or detachments from scouting ranks. The reaction of the scouting organisation to this was one of dismay, but by considerable negotiation, a compromise was reached by which the scouts could retain their special identity (their own uniforms and ranks) within the Junior Cadets. To avoid breaking up scout troops, whose ages usually ranged from 12 to 16 years, special provision was made under the Act<sup>27</sup> for scouts to continue in the Junior cadets until they were 16, and only then be transferred into the Seniors where the greater time spent on drill would probably preclude them from participating in scouting activities.

Major-General Godley was sympathetic to the plight of these older scouts up to a point, and when interviewed by Cosgrove, assured him that the senior boy-scouts although required by law to undergo military training, could carry out that training under their own officers.

26. S.G. Guilliford, New Zealand Scouting - The First Fifty Years 1908-58, Wellington, 1968, p.15.

27. Statutes of New Zealand 1909., Section 39, p.308.



If for example, there are 100 senior boys in a township, and 75 of them are boy scouts, these 75 can wear their own uniforms and form three sections of the company, while the other 25 will form the fourth section and wear their Senior Cadet uniforms, even though the mixture offends my military eye. 28

Unfortunately, both the army officers who trained the Senior Cadets, and the Junior Cadet officer-school teachers regarded the scouts as rival organisation, to be subordinated to their own purposes if possible, and there was considerable opposition from them to any compromise. The dissatisfaction of cadet officers, together with Kitchener's recommendation of continuous training under a single authority, led to modifications incorporated in the Defence Amendment Act of 1910, which dealt specifically with the scout anomaly. 29 Under the Act, boys of 14 years were to register as Senior Cadets from May 1911, and by December the effects were being felt upon the scouts. In August 1911, there were 15,000 scouts in New Zealand. By December the total had dropped to 8,000 and the compulsory territorial service had thinned out the ranks of available scout masters. Compulsory Cadet parades left the older boys with little or no inclination for scoutwork, and the hostility of cadet officers towards the scouts was relentless. The official scout magazine, The Dominion Scout, reported that "Instead of making explanations which would help the boys to remain in the [Boy Scout] organisation and to qualify as Senior Cadets in accordance with the Act, they [the Senior Cadet officers] impress on them the fact that they are Senior Cadets, and that the other counts for nothing." 30

Neither could the scouts expect much sympathy from the government. Ward as Defence Minister, in bringing down the 1910 amendment, claimed that the boy scouts would be able to carry on scout training, but not as "independent auxiliaries." To allow such a state of affairs he stressed, would be to allow the scouts to be "used as a haven for dodgers." 31

In both Britain and New Zealand the scouting movement had tended to draw its recruits from the middle classes, and there was a strong feeling among those on both sides of the House that compulsory

28. Culliford, p.18.

29. Statutes of New Zealand 1910, Section 7, p.59. This section replaces Section 39 of the 1909 Act.

30 Culliford, p.20.

31. NZPD 1910, 151, p.762.

32. NZPD 1910, 151, p.802.

military training should be for all classes. Thus E.H. Clark believed that it was good to compel scouts to do military training because scouts' parents were usually "well off" and it would be unfair to the poorer classes if they were allowed to "get away with it."<sup>32</sup>

By 1912, despite the protests of scouters and those sympathetic to them, the scout movement was faced with extinction. The visit of Lord Baden-Powell to New Zealand in 1912, in order to boost scout morale, brought matters to a head. He was met everywhere he went by march-pasts of uniformed Senior Cadets, while the scouts he had come especially to see were relegated to the background, and not even given the free railway passes that Senior Cadets enjoyed. In Dunedin, Baden-Powell, after observing such a rally, admitted his dislike at seeing boys "put through like trained soldiers" and he jocularly suggested to Cosgrove that if his scouts should again be paraded with the military, they should be made to run past in patrols, yelling their cries or simply do their circular rally and stand aside till the march-past was over.<sup>33</sup>

Baden-Powell's visit just saved the scout movement from extinction, but it remained at a low ebb until 1914. A bitter taste had been left in the mouths of many scouters and their families, which was perhaps reflected in some of the opposition to compulsory military training.<sup>34</sup>

Opposition to compulsory military training had begun almost as soon as the 1909 Act was passed, and was expressed in anti-militarist rallies and through literature such as The Anti-Militarist journal and National Peace Council leaflets, which demanded an immediate repeal of the Act. The Senior Cadets as a part of the territorial system were occasionally singled out for criticism, and The Anti-Militarist maintained that, while primary and secondary school cadets had been bad enough, now (1911), every boy was forced to take part in military exercises."<sup>35</sup> The journal also speculated on the possible effects on New Zealand's youth, claiming that the compulsory defence system could turn loose "a body of men that [would] endanger the purity and chastity of your daughters."<sup>36</sup>

32. NZPD 1910, 151, p.802.

33. Culliford, p.24.

34. For an account of British youth movements faced with similar difficulties, see Springhall, J.O. "The Boy-scouts, Class and Militarism in relation to British Youth Movements," in International Review of Social History, Volume xv, part 2, 1971, pp.125-128.

35. The Anti Militarist, 1 September 1911, Vol I, No 1, Christchurch, p.7.

36. Ibid p.9.

Such alarmist statements were hardly to be taken seriously, but they were given some edge when hostile crowds broke up anti-militarist meetings and disrupted speeches. In May 1911, an anti-militarist meeting at Christchurch was disrupted by youthful demonstrators, many of whom were college boys of cadet age who carefully took off their badges so as to avoid identification.<sup>37</sup>

It is easy to overestimate the strength of opposition to conscription, as the Manchester Guardian of June 1913 did when it stated that 20,000 youths had failed to register for service, but the Auckland Star in dismissing the story equally underestimated it in assuming that the country was "quite well disposed towards conscription." There was much public indignation over the prosecution of youths who failed to register for service as cadets or territorials, especially when they were brought before public courts as if they were criminals. An especially bitter response was that of "Vivian" who wrote to the Auckland Star complaining that "The police Court is too common and is too humiliating for my son to be the first, to my knowledge of four generations of colonials to receive the government's brand 'convicted'".<sup>38</sup>

While the Senior Cadets faced public criticism from without, there were signs that the disbandment of the Junior Cadets had not healed the internal rift, between the Defence and Education Departments. In 1914, James Allen, himself a Colonel in the Territorials and especially sympathetic to universal military training, became Minister of Education. One might, as the leaflet Education and Militarism suggested,<sup>39</sup> have seen a rather ominous co-operation and it is true that free places and scholarships to public schools were withheld if pupils did not observe the defence regulations. However, there were those within the Education Department who were not prepared to co-operate with the Defence Department in seeking out offenders even when they had the available information, and in February 1914, District Headquarters, Dunedin was informed by a disgruntled officer

37. Ibid, p. 4-5.

38. D10/9 Army Department files. Star and Guardian extracts undated, but probably June 1913. National archives.

39. Education and Militarism, National Peace Council leaflet No.10, Christchurch, 1914.

that "If the Education Department would pass on this information in a spirit of co-operation, then it would be fairly easy to nab the shirker."<sup>40</sup>

The army however, should have had reason to feel satisfied. The Junior Cadets which had been a constant thorn in their sides had disappeared, while the Senior Cadets had become virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the military training scheme. The coming of the Great War submerged much discontent under an initial wave of public fervour. The Senior Cadets continued virtually unnoticed throughout the war years, providing partially trained youths for military service, though hampered by lack of trained instructors. It remains an open question whether those who had seen in the cadets the nucleus of an irregular army would have been satisfied with this role.

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40 Memo. T.W. Grant to R.H. Collins, dated 26 February 1914.  
D10/25 Army Department Files. No ranks given.

## Conclusion

Education reflects the values and aspirations of society, but "education" is itself almost as unmanageable a subject as 'society' and contains many complex patterns of interaction between people and institutions. By studying cadets, a relatively small topic, it is possible to examine in detail the fortunes of one institution which involved a substantial though manageable cross section of society.

Any institution is dependent upon the needs, techniques and values of society and these in turn influence the decision of people. That the needs, techniques and values did not exist in a sufficient quantity for action before about 1895 is evident from the fact that for 25 years between 1870 and 1895 cadets merely drifted along in the relatively exclusive environment of the later nineteenth century high schools largely ignored by the rest of the community.

The rise of the school cadets as a colony-wide institution began from about 1895 and the events of the next seven years saw a combination of factors creating a demand for change: The election of the Liberals, the growth of a more unified society and bureaucracy underpinned by the fears of certain vested interests; the election of Hogben as Inspector-General of Education; the concern of colonists over the apparently worsening social and economic conditions, the fear of external aggression and the new developments in educational philosophy. Thus the definitive regulations of 1902 which determined the form of the Public School Cadets till 1909 depended on a multiplicity of factors over a period of years, for the processes of historical change, while not static are seldom as abrupt as sometimes represented.

The passing of the Junior Cadets and the modifications in the role of the Seniors from 1909 were again the result of changing needs, techniques and values in society, which covered all spheres of life; educational and non-educational, national and internal. The growth of physical education with its related aspects of child development, as opposed to physical drill; the mounting concern over defence, as manifested by Kitchener's visit and the Defence Amendment Act of 1910 together with the inter-departmental rivalry and the rise of anti-militarism made for a rapid period of change, effecting the cadets as a national institution. As society changes, so institutions wax and wane

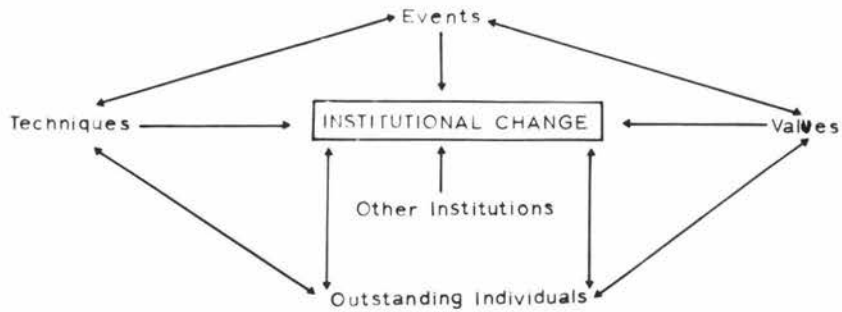
and by 1914 the only schoolboys undergoing military training were to be found in the high schools.

Senior cadets still exist today, despite the relatively unfavourable educational and political environment, predominantly in the old established high schools. The situation of cadets in the 1970's resembles the situation in the 1870's where a few schools maintain cadet units as a source of school pride and as a focus of school tradition. Whether the cadets ever again will experience such a remarkable upsurge of interest and enthusiasm depends on the direction education and society takes. At the time of writing, the future of the remaining cadets while not in danger was certainly limited.

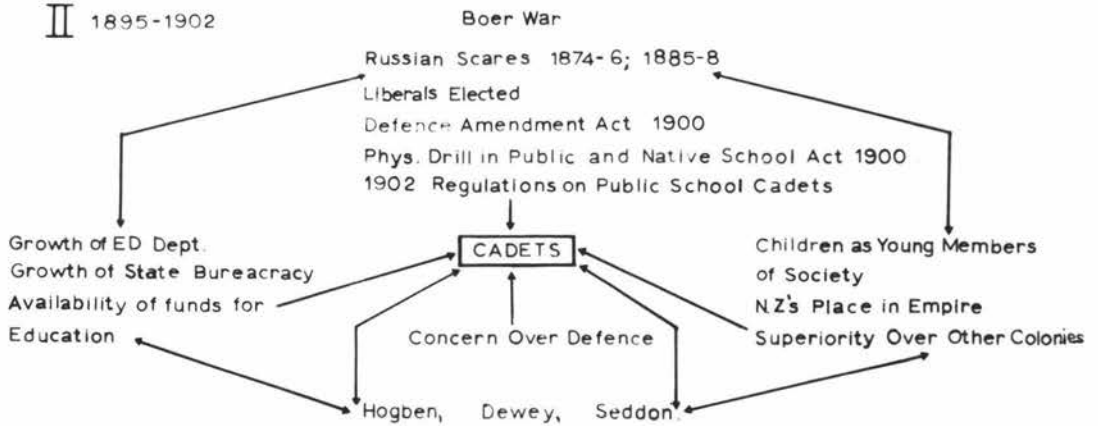
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# CADETS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

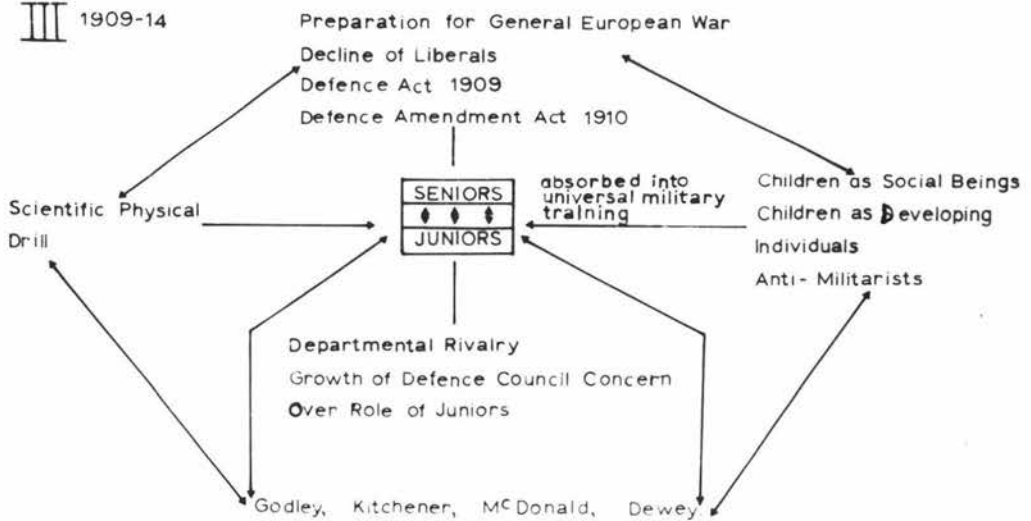
I



II 1895-1902



III 1909-14



## LIST OF SOURCES

### Arrangement

- I. Manuscript Material.
- II. Official publications. This section includes all official publications of the New Zealand Government.
- III. Contemporary Periodicals and Newspapers. Those published before 1914.
- IV. Other published contemporary material. This section includes material published before 1914 in book or pamphlet form.
- V. Secondary Published Material.
  - (a) Books
  - (b) Articles
- VI. Miscellaneous, Published and Unpublished. This includes unpublished theses, published minutes, and an interview.



## I. MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

Army Department Files: D10/9 June 1913  
D10/25 Memo. T.W. Grant to R.H. Collins  
26 February 1914  
D10/394 "Report on the system of Military Training  
of Cadets in New Zealand" Wellington 1916  
Held in National Archives, Lower Hutt

Minutes of the Auckland Grammar Schools Board, three volumes 1887-1913  
Held in the Auckland Public Library

Minutes of the Wellington Education Board 1902-13  
Held at the Wellington Education Board offices

## II. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

- I. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1878-1915
- (a) Annual Reports on the Defence Forces of New Zealand 1900-1914  
H-9
  - (b) Annual Reports of the Minister of Education, 1878-1915, E-1
  - (c) Inspectors Reports, 1878-1903, E-1B; 1909 E-2 Primary Education.
  - (d) Primary Schools 1909-1914 - E-2
  - (e) Native Schools, 1906-1908, E-12
  - (f) Report on the Public School Cadets, 1902-1908, E-1D, 1909,  
E-2 Appendix E, Primary Education, 1910-1912, E-11
  - (g) Report on the New Zealand Junior Cadets 1910-1912, E-11
  - (h) Teachers and Civil Service Examinations, 1896-1900-1902, E-1A

### Other papers

1887 H16 Report on the New Zealand Defence Forces  
1896 H-35 Cadet Corps. Return showing number and respective strengths  
of corps connected with colleges, Collegiate Schools and Primary  
Public schools in the Colony  
1901 E-1C Conference of Inspectors of Schools  
1907 E-1C Conference of Training Colleges and Members of Boards of  
Advice  
1910 E-10 Conferences on Education  
1912 E-12 Report of the Education Commission

- (2) New Zealand Gazette, 1902-1904
- (3) New Zealand Official Year Book, 1894-1914

- (4) New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1891, 1896, 1900, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1910, 1912, 1914
- (5) Statutes of New Zealand, 1877, 1900, 1901, 1909, 1910

### III. CONTEMPORARY PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

Auckland Star (Auckland daily) 1906  
Evening Post, (Wellington daily) 1912  
Lyttleton Times, (Christchurch daily) 1904  
New Zealand Herald, (Auckland daily) 1885  
New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, (Auckland monthly) 1899-1900  
Otago Daily Times, (Dunedin Daily) 1901-1902, 1904-1905, 1910  
School Journal, (Wellington quarterly) Part three 1907-1914  
Wairarapa Daily Times, (Wairarapa Daily) 1898-1899

### IV OTHER PUBLISHED CONTEMPORARY MATERIAL

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                   Cyclopedia Company Limited Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Six  
                   Volumes, Wellington and Christchurch, 1897-1908  
                   Dewey, J. The School and Society, Chicago, 1936  
                   Knight, E.F. With the Royal Tour, London, 1902

Pamphlets   Bell, A. Military Lectures and Speeches on National Defence,  
                   Hamilton, 1909  
                   Christie, L.P. (Editor), The Anti-Militarist, Christchurch,  
                   1911, 1912  
                   Ford, C.K. The Defence Act, - a Criticism, Christchurch, 1911  
                   Grix, J.J.D. The Defence of New Zealand, Wellington, 1894  
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                   Wellington, 1894  
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### V. SECONDARY PUBLISHED MATERIAL

Books           Alexander, W.F. and Currie, A.E. A Treasury of New Zealand  
                   Verse, Cambridge, 1921  
                   Archer, R.L. Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century  
                   Cambridge, 1921  
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- Ewing, J.L. The Development of the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum 1877-1971, Wellington, 1970
- Fowler and Fowler F.S. and H.W. (Editors) Concise Oxford Dictionary, Oxford, 1964
- Kings College Collegian, King's College, Auckland, 1971
- Leckie, F.M. The Early History of Wellington College 1867-1883, Auckland, 1934
- McLintock, A.H. (Editor) An Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Three volumes, Wellington, 1966
- Oliver, W.H. The Story of New Zealand, London, 1960
- Ottaway, A.K.C. Education and Society, Plymouth, 1962
- Roth, H. George Hogben - A Biography, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1952
- Selleck, R.J.W. The New Education - The English Background, Melbourne, 1968
- Sinclair, K. A History of New Zealand, Middlesex, England, Revised Edition, 1969
- The School List of Christ's College from 1850-1950, Christchurch, 1950
- Trembath, K.A. (Editor) A centennial History of Auckland Grammar School, Auckland, 1969

## Articles

- Springhall, J.O. "The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in relation to British Youth Movements" in International Review of Social History, Volume XII, Part two, 1971.

## VI MISCELLANEOUS

### Unpublished theses

- Heatherton, M.D. "History of English Influence on Educational Thought and Practice in New Zealand," Canterbury University, 1931
- Jenkins, D.R. "Social, Civic, and Moral Attitudes in the New Zealand School Journal 1907-1937," Wellington University, 1937

### PUBLISHED MINUTES

The Reports of the Annual Meetings of the Council of the Institute 1889-1913. Held at the New Zealand Educational Institute, Wellington

### INTERVIEWS

Interview with Mr Stuart Billman, 12 November 1972 at 987 Beach Road, Torbay, Auckland, 7:00p.m.