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Counting the Cost:
The Impact of the South African War 1899-1902
on New Zealand Society

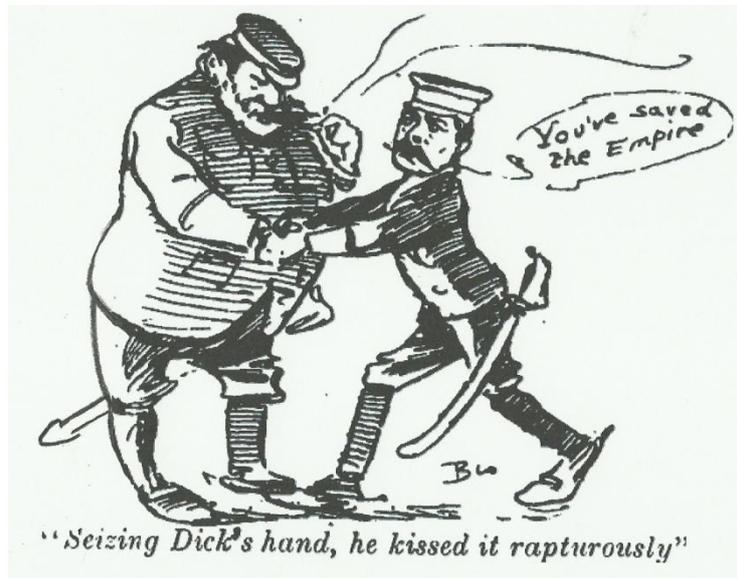


Fig. 1. Richard J. Seddon and Lord Kitchener.
Source: *Observer Christmas Annual*, 20 Dec 1902, p.8.

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Nigel Robson

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements		ii
Table of Contents		iii
Figures		iv
Abbreviations		ix
Introduction		1
Chapter 1	Contestation over the War	6
Chapter 2	Māori and the War	35
Chapter 3	News of the War	54
Chapter 4	The Human Cost of the War	83
Chapter 5	The Economic Impact of the War	105
Chapter 6	The War, Militarisation and the Myth of the ‘Natural’ New Zealand Soldier	135
Chapter 7	Conclusion	176
Bibliography		183

Figures

Fig. 1	Richard J. Seddon and Lord Kitchener.	i
Fig. 2	A New Testament that belonged to Private Harry Head of the Fifth Contingent. Head gave his religion as Church of England on his Attestation Form.	13
Fig. 3	Notice placed by Charlotte Bewicke in the <i>Auckland Star</i> in 1899.	25
Fig. 4	Notice placed by Charlotte Bewicke in the <i>Observer</i> in 1899 listing contributors to her ‘Sick and Wounded Boers’ Fund.	25
Figs. 5A-5B	<i>Observer</i> cartoons depicting Captain Jansen of the Salvation Army refusing to hoist the Union Jack on the flagpole of the Waihi Salvation Army barracks during celebrations for the relief of Mafeking, and then being assaulted with eggs when he opened the window to explain the situation to the angry crowd.	32
Fig. 6	Cartoon from the <i>Observer Christmas Annual</i> depicting James Carroll, the Minister of Native Affairs and MHR for Waiapu, and Sir Joseph Ward, Deputy Prime Minister and MHR for Awarua, reacting to news of the 1902 British victory.	36
Fig. 7	Airini Donnelly, the influential Ngāti Kahungunu who was one of the first women to actively support New Zealand’s military involvement in South Africa in 1899.	37
Fig. 8	Āhere Te Koari Hōhepa in his Volunteers’ uniform. Hōhepa, who served in the Jubilee contingent, enrolled in the Third Contingent under the name Arthur Joseph.	38
Fig. 9	A notice that appeared in the <i>Otago Daily Times</i> in December 1900 seeking applications for the Sixth Contingent.	42
Fig. 10	Farrier Sergeant William Thomson who served in both the Fourth and Ninth Contingents.	44
Fig. 11	The East Coast rangitira, Tuta Nihoniho, in his Ngāti Porou Rifles captain’s uniform.	46
Fig. 12	<i>Poverty Bay Herald</i> advertisement for the Grand Maori Carnival.	47

Fig. 13	Seated, left to right: Colonel Hanbury Williams, Sir Alfred Milner, Field Marshal Lord Roberts, General Ian Hamilton - Cape Town, December 1900.	48
Fig. 14	Porourangi, the mere gifted to Field Marshal Earl Roberts by Tuta Nihoniho following the death of Roberts' son in the battle of Colenso.	49
Fig. 15	A John Elder Moultray sketch that appeared in the <i>Otago Witness</i> depicting members of the First Contingent on board the <i>Waiwera</i> en route to South Africa.	56
Fig. 16	War correspondent James Arthur Shand.	57
Fig. 17	Trooper Claude Lockhart Jewell.	57
Fig. 18	Advertisement for a Wellington public meeting held to express support for the Imperial Government's actions in South Africa.	59
Fig. 19	Trooper Patrick Buckley Fitzherbert, Roberts' Horse.	62
Fig. 20	Sergeant-Major Duncan Blair, Second New Zealand Contingent.	63
Fig. 21	Corporal Joseph Robinson Orford, Fourth New Zealand Contingent.	64
Fig. 22	Lieutenant John Eglinton Montgomerie, Second New Zealand Contingent.	64
Fig. 23	The envelope of a June 1901 letter sent by Private Robert Lawrence of the Seventh Contingent to George Scott in Dunedin. The envelope was posted in Standerton in Transvaal and bears a 'Passed by Censor Johannesburg' stamp.	70
Fig. 24	A postcard sent by Trooper Bert Stevens to his father. The card took forty-one days to reach New Zealand.	70
Fig. 25	A John Elder Moultray sketch depicting members of the First Contingent reading a newspaper following their arrival in South Africa. Soldiers' letters often mentioned the men receiving New Zealand newspapers.	74
Fig. 26	Cover of William Francis Aitken's 1900 book, <i>Baden-Powell, the Hero of Mafeking</i> .	77
Fig. 27	Edward Jollie, British South African Police.	79

Fig. 28	Captain John Allen Harvey, No.3341, New Zealand Fourth Contingent. John Harvey was thirty-one years old when he was killed.	83
Fig. 29	A <i>Colonist</i> article about Alan Saunders who was probably the youngest New Zealander to serve in the South African War.	85
Fig. 30	Trooper Leslie Seton Melville, Border Mounted Rifles.	87
Fig. 31	Hugh Melville, Border Mounted Rifles.	88
Fig. 32	Trooper Patrick Lee.	95
Fig. 33	Rupert Vivian Hosking, Protectorate Regiment.	96
Fig. 34	Private Edward Moore.	100
Fig. 35	Lieutenant Piers Tudor.	100
Fig. 36	Private Bertie Willis.	100
Fig. 37	John Evelyn Duigan.	101
Fig. 38	Friedlander Bros Ltd advertisement for oats to fill an Imperial Government contract.	108
Fig. 39	‘Tons upon tons of oats for Tommy’s faithful friends, at De Aar, S. Africa.’	112
Fig. 40A	Graph showing the top five New Zealand export products to Cape Town and Natal by value -1899.	113
Fig. 40B	Graph showing the top five New Zealand export products to Cape Town and Natal by value – 1900.	113
Fig. 40C	Graph showing the top five New Zealand export products to Cape Town and Natal by value -1901.	113
Fig. 40D	Graph showing the top five New Zealand export products to Cape Town and Natal by value -1902.	113
Fig. 41	Graph showing total foreign exports from the ports of Invercargill and Bluff from 1898 to 1910, and exports to South Africa shipped from the same ports during this period.	115

Fig. 42	Department of Agriculture advertisement seeking horses for the First Contingent.	116
Fig. 43	Graph comparing the value of goods exported from ports in the North Island and South Island of New Zealand to Cape Colony and Natal from 1899-1910. The figures include exports to Orange River Colony and Transvaal Colony following the reannexation of these regions in 1902.	120
Fig. 44	Graph showing the value of goods exported from New Zealand to Cape Colony and Natal during the fifteen year period from 1896-1910.	122
Fig. 45	<i>An Evening Post</i> advertisement for the Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' Depot in Wellington.	123
Fig. 46	A 1½ d postage stamp produced by the Post and Telegraph Department in 1900 in recognition of New Zealand's contribution to the war effort.	126
Fig. 47	<i>A Souvenir of New Zealand's Response to the Empire's Call</i> , a publication produced by Malcolm Ross in 1900.	128
Fig. 48	Net issues in pounds sterling from the Consolidated Fund for the South Africa Contingents for the financial years from 1900-1903.	129
Fig. 49	Summary showing the number of adult Volunteers who qualified for capitulation, 1897-1903.	138
Fig. 50	The 138 boys of the First and Second Companies of the Wanganui Collegiate Cadet Corps photographed at the rifle range butts in 1902.	140
Fig. 51	Members of the Parnell Lady Cadets in 1901.	141
Fig. 52	A cartoon featuring Major Loveday that appeared in the <i>Observer</i> in 1908.	143
Fig. 53	A 1901 <i>Auckland Weekly News</i> photo of the Marsden Mounted Rifles, including women members, some of whom may be Māori.	144
Fig. 54	A 1902 photo of Trooper Bert Stevens, No. 5118, A Squadron, Eighth New Zealand Mounted Rifles Contingent, probably with his mother, Delia Stevens, and his younger brother, Howard Waldo Stevens.	145
Fig. 55	Trooper Conrad Gordon Saxby.	150

Fig. 56	Members of a Boer commando outside the Town Hall in York Street, Newcastle, Natal.	154
Fig. 57	The Cape Colony town of Worcester.	156
Fig. 58	Trooper William George Lammas, Seventh Contingent.	168
Fig. 59	The logo of the South African War Veterans' Association.	169
Fig. 60	Delegates representing branches of the South African War Veterans' Association at their annual conference in Wellington, July 1937.	170
Fig. 61	Louisa Jane Seddon, with her husband, Prime Minister Richard John Seddon, laying a foundation stone for the South African War memorial in Ross, West Coast. Photograph taken circa 1903.	171
Fig. 62	South African War memorial tablet in the entrance hall of the Ranfurly Veterans' Home, Auckland.	171
Fig. 63	Memorial window in the original Wanganui Collegiate chapel commemorating Leslie Seton Melville, Walter Douglas Armstrong and Campbell Parkinson 'who died in the discharge of their duty'. The window was unveiled by the Bishop of Wellington on 25 November 1901.	172

Abbreviations

<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand</i>
ANZ	Archives New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand
AWMM	Auckland War Memorial Museum
DIA NZBDM	Department of Internal Affairs, New Zealand Births, Deaths, and Marriages
HL	Hocken Library
KAB	Cape Town Archives Repository
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
NAM NZ	National Army Museum, New Zealand
NAM UK	National Army Museum, London, United Kingdom
NCW	National Council of Women
NZDFPR	New Zealand Defence Force Personnel Records
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
<i>NZOYB</i>	<i>New Zealand Official Year-book</i>
<i>NZPD</i>	<i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</i>
UPA	United Press Association
<i>SCNZ</i>	<i>Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand</i>

Introduction

Nowadays one hears Jingo and Jingoism used mostly as terms of reproach or contempt by anti-Imperialist news papers, who profess to see in every action that does not square with the gospel of the Little Englanders the feverish excited species of patriotism that finds its chief expression in music-hall songs and “Mafficking.”¹

This thesis seeks to address the question, ‘In what manner and to what extent did the South African War of 1899 to 1902 impact on New Zealand society?’ It will explore New Zealand’s reaction to the South African War while examining the influence the conflict exerted over the country. Though the war was not the first time New Zealanders had fought in southern Africa,² it was the first time the New Zealand Government had committed soldiers to a foreign conflict. Consequently, it is perhaps not surprising that there has been a tendency, with notable exceptions, for historians to focus primarily on the military perspective and the actions of New Zealand troops in the field. While several historians have turned their attention to facets of the domestic reaction, there has been no broader, more inclusive study of the influence of the war on the New Zealand populace, and this thesis seeks to address this imbalance.

The 1899-1902 South African War has often been viewed as the historical poor relation of the First and Second World Wars that followed it. These larger conflicts exacted a far greater toll, both in economic and social terms, and thus had an exponentially greater impact on New Zealand society, relegating the South African War to the undercard of the main events of 1914 and 1939. As Keith Sinclair has observed, ‘the effect of the South African War upon New Zealand opinion has been underestimated and obscured by the greater influence of the First World War’.³ Nevertheless, the South African War’s influence on New

¹ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 26 Jun 1901, p.4. Text as in original.

² Nominal Roll of the Jameson Raiders, National Archives, Kew, UK, CO 179/193; Henry Drummond Jackson, AABK 18805 W5515 0006366, ANZ NZDFPR, p.4. At least four New Zealanders took part in the 1895-1896 Jameson Raid on Transvaal, while Captain Henry Jackson, who served in the Fifth Contingent and commanded the Ninth Contingent, had fought in the 1879 Zulu War.

³ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand’s Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd, 1986, p.125.

Zealand society was profound, while for many of the individuals involved, its effects were no less enduring than the larger conflicts that followed.

Certain themes recur in the analyses of historians who have examined the war and its impact. One is the formation of the myth of the New Zealand male as a natural warrior.⁴ Several historians have maintained the war contributed greatly to the development of a sense of national unity and social cohesion.⁵ Others have argued that with this unity came a climate of pronounced intolerance towards expressions of dissent.⁶ Ellis, Hutching and Rogers have highlighted the importance of women in the conflict, and their emergence as ‘an active force’⁷, both in support and opposition.⁸ Gould and Hogan have also discussed the significant levels of Māori support that existed during the war.⁹ Phillips, King, Sinclair and Crawford also

⁴ Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country?: The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History*, rev. ed., Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 1987, pp.144-152; J.O.C. Phillips, ‘Rugby, War and the Mythology of the New Zealand Male’, *NZJH*, 18:2 (1984), pp.85-89; Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp.130-138; John Crawford, ‘The Impact of the War on New Zealand Military Forces and Society’, in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.207; John Crawford with Ellen Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War 1899-1902*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1999, p.92; Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Group (NZ), 2003, p.292; Paul Goldstone, ‘The Imperialist Movement and National Defence 1900-1909’, Master of Arts thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1993, pp.28-29; James Robert Burns, ‘“New Zealanders” at War? The Mythology of the New Zealand Soldier and the Beliefs of the New Zealand Soldiers of the South African War, 1899-1902’, Master of Arts thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996, p.196; Blair Nicholson, ‘Viewpoints on the Veldt: Attitudes and Opinions of New Zealand Soldiers during the South African War, 1899-1902’, Master of Arts thesis, University of Waikato, 2011; Ian McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand 1840-1915*, Wellington: GP Books, 1991, pp.154-155.

⁵ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp.140-141; Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p.138; King, *The Penguin History*, p.290; Christopher Pugsley with Laurie Barber, Buddy Mikaere, Nigel Prickett and Rose Young, *Kiwis in Conflict: 200 Years of New Zealanders at War*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2008, p.51.

⁶ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.126; Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p.142; Crawford with Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire*, p.94; Ian McGibbon (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.59, 61; Pugsley, *Kiwis*, p.50; King, *The Penguin History*, p.290; Megan Hutching, ‘New Zealand Women’s Opposition to the South African War’, in *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.52-56; Megan Hutching, ‘“Mothers of the World”: Women, Peace and Arbitration in Early Twentieth-Century New Zealand’, *NZJH*, 27:2 (1993), p.177; Malcolm McKinnon, ‘Opposition to the War in New Zealand’, in *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.40-42; Philippa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.118.

⁷ Ellen Ellis, ‘New Zealand Women and the War’ in *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.148.

⁸ *Ibid*, pp.128-148; Ellen Ellis, *Teachers for South Africa: New Zealand Women at the South African War Concentration Camps*, Paekakariki: Hanorah Books, 2010, p.170; Megan Hutching, ‘New Zealand’, pp.46-56; Hutching, ‘Mothers’, pp.173-178; Anna Rogers, *While You're Away: New Zealand Nurses at War 1899-1948*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.12-31.

⁹ Ashley Gould, ‘“Different Race, Same Queen”: Maori and the War’ in *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.119-126; Helen M. Hogan, *Hikurangi Ki Homburg: Henare Kohere and Terei Ngatai with the Maori Contingent 1902*, Christchurch: Clerestory Press, 1997, pp.9-11.

consider the war represented a significant step towards the development of a sense of New Zealand identity (albeit a predominantly male-oriented one).¹⁰

Another widely discussed impact of the war has been the boost it gave New Zealand defence with a surge in Volunteer and Cadet Corps numbers, heightened confidence in the nation's military capabilities, a desire to play a greater role in the Empire and concerns about New Zealand's security.¹¹ Several historians have also noted that New Zealand's involvement in the war resulted in widespread expressions of Imperial solidarity that often took the form of what Phillips terms 'a fervour of martial jingoism'.¹²

The body of this thesis begins with an examination of the explosion of patriotism that largely characterised public reaction to the conflict, while also discussing those individuals and groups who risked public vilification by voicing dissent. Chapter Two is an analysis of the significant role played by Māori during the war, not only from the perspective of strong Māori expressions of support combined with repeated requests to participate militarily, but also from the standpoint of largely-submerged expressions of Māori ambivalence and opposition. Chapter Three studies the dissemination of news and information during the conflict, the prominent roles played by both New Zealand soldiers and the press in this process, and the often discounted, though nonetheless significant role of censorship. The human cost of the war in terms of death, injury and sickness, with its attendant impact on soldiers and their families, coupled with their ongoing need for medical care, pensions and additional financial assistance is explored in Chapter Four. Chapter Five studies the economic impact of the war in terms of the Government's financial outlay, public fund-raising, and the conflict's influence on international trade returns for farmers, export agents and shipping companies, as well as its effect on other domestic businesses. This is followed by an

¹⁰ Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p.152; King, *The Penguin History*, p.290; Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp.125-126; Crawford, 'The Impact', pp.206-207; Crawford with Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire*, p.93.

¹¹ Crawford, 'The Impact', p.206; Crawford with Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire*, p.92; Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (rev. ed.), Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 2000, p.229; Gavin McLean and Ian McGibbon with Kynan Gentry (eds), *The Penguin Book of New Zealanders at War*, Auckland: Penguin Group (NZ), 2009, p.69; McGibbon, *The Path*, pp.153-154; Megan Hutching, "'Turn Back This Tide of Barbarism': New Zealand Women Who Were Opposed to War, 1896-1919", Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, 1990, p.59; King, *The Penguin History*, pp.292; Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp.141, 152; Goldstone, 'The Imperialist Movement', pp.23-32; Pugsley, *Kiwis*, p.62; D.O.W. Hall, *New Zealanders in South Africa, 1899-1902*, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, War History Branch, 1949, p.86; Simon Johnson, 'Sons of Empire: A Study of New Zealand Ideas and Opinions during the Boer War', BA Honours research exercise in History, Massey University, 1974, pp.55-59; W.H. Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand*, London: Faber and Faber, 1963, p.234; Colin McGeorge, 'Military Training in New Zealand Primary Schools 1900-1912', *Australia and New Zealand History of Education Society Journal*, 3:1 (1974), pp.2-3.

¹² Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp.137-138; Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, pp.126, 140; Crawford, 'The Impact', p.206; Hall, p.87; King, *The Penguin History*, p.289; Goldstone, 'The Imperialist Movement', p.18; Johnson pp.15-16, 33.

examination of the rampant militarisation that took place during the conflict, fluctuating levels of support for militarisation, and its longer-term significance, while also noting that the myth of the New Zealand soldier as the consummate law-abiding and self-disciplined warrior emerged despite the existence of ample evidence to the contrary.

As a Korean resident living far from relevant English-language sources, writing this thesis would have been impossible without recourse to the Internet. The ability to rapidly access material online and communicate with relevant individuals and organisations in several different countries has proved essential in conducting my research. In particular, the National Library of New Zealand's excellent Papers Past website featuring a wide range of contemporary New Zealand newspapers has been invaluable, while Archives New Zealand's outstanding online collection of South African War personnel files has also been a rich source of information. Waikato University's Māori Nuipepa Collection, which is available as part of the New Zealand Digital Library Project, allowed me to view Māori language newspaper coverage, while the New Zealand Births, Deaths and Marriages website of the Department of Internal Affairs also proved useful.

The capacity to communicate internationally through the Internet facilitated access to contemporary newspapers in Britain, Australia, the United States and South Africa, as well as to relevant material from both the National Archives and the National Army Museum in the United Kingdom. However, I could not have completed this research without examining a wealth of primary material that is not currently available online. From South Africa, I obtained copies of contemporary South African newspapers, as well as archival material from the Cape Supreme Court files and the Public Works Department files held at the Cape Archives Repository. Two visits to New Zealand enabled me to access diaries, letters and publications held in the collections of the New Zealand National Army Museum, the Alexander Turnbull Library, Archives New Zealand, the Hocken Library, Wanganui Collegiate Museum and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

Several historians have touched on the convergence of self-interest and self-sacrifice that combined to both shape and inform New Zealand perceptions of the nation's role within the British Empire.¹³ The coexistence within New Zealand of these occasionally conflicting perspectives during the South African War represents one of the more intriguing aspects of the conflict – a desire for New Zealand to play its part on the international stage as an integral,

¹³ Hall, p.86; Ian McGibbon, 'The Origins of New Zealand's South African War Contribution', in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.10; Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p.139; Sinclair, *A History*, p.232; Hogan, p.11.

loyal and trusted component of a 'Greater Britain', coupled with a desire, where possible, to advance its own agenda. Hall identifies the self-interest component as a need for security within the Imperial structure,¹⁴ but self-interest encompassed more than a desire for secure borders. As an agricultural nation with production exceeding domestic demand, the Government was actively encouraged to develop existing markets, while also seeking out new commercial opportunities. South Africa represented just that. While the fruits of South African trade accrued to a relatively small section of the New Zealand populace and profit was never the primary motivation for participation in the war, the fact remains that New Zealanders in a position to benefit from these opportunities slaked what Phillips calls 'the underlying capitalist thirst for markets'.¹⁵

However, the war's reach extended beyond the pursuit of pecuniary advantage. Although the intensity of their emotions fluctuated, large numbers of New Zealanders were carried along by the excitement and interest engendered by an event that had no precedent in their country's history. The intoxicating spectacle of the parades, decorations, patriotic meetings, fund-raising activities, send-offs and the adoption of military trappings at least for a period energised a nation raised on far more sedate fare. However, the war inevitably exacted a toll in terms of casualties, intolerance and social division. Whether involved directly or indirectly, few New Zealanders who lived through the conflict could claim to have escaped its influence.

¹⁴ Hall, p.86.

¹⁵ Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p.139.

Chapter One

Contestation over the War

When Parliament debated the dispatch of the First Contingent in 1899, Sir William Russell, the prominent opposition member, stated, 'It is not for me, sir, an Englishman, to enquire deeply into the origin of the quarrel in the Transvaal' - a view echoed by several other parliamentarians on both sides of the house.¹ To the majority of speakers who supported Seddon's resolution, the interests of New Zealand and the Empire were indivisible, and as McIver has noted, support was more about patriotic loyalty than moral justification.² William Rolleston, John Hutcheson, MacKay Mackenzie, Charles Mills, Walter Carncross, James Carroll, Sir William Stewart, John Graham, and Seddon all spoke of maternal ties to England, with Rolleston referring to bonds of 'kinship and affection' and Richard Monk, while concerned that New Zealand was being 'dragged into this matter by a spirit of emulation', nonetheless expressing his loyalty to the 'parent state'.³ Setting the mood that would prevail for much of the war, Carncross, in reference to soldiers who participated, said, 'Their patriotism will be increased, and their love will be greater for the little country they represented'.⁴

However, not all New Zealanders endorsed their country's involvement. Malcolm McKinnon suggests pacifism, opposition to capitalism, Gladstonian liberalism, Irish nationalism and, as the war progressed, war-weariness underpinned opposition to the conflict.⁵

¹ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Wellington: Government Printer, 110 (1899), pp.78, 83, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95. Russell seconded Seddon's resolution to send soldiers to South Africa, while MacKay John Scobie Mackenzie (Dunedin City), Thomas Duncan (Oamaru), James Carroll (Waiapu), Henry Brown (Taranaki), Richard Monk (Waitemata), Wī Pere (Eastern Māori) and Richard J. Seddon all expressed their belief that it was not New Zealand's place to examine too deeply the causes of the conflict. Similar views were expressed in a *Wanganui Chronicle* report claiming that the people who attended 'a great Patriotic Meeting' in January 1900 were 'not greatly concerned about the origin of the war, or the conduct of military operations, or the blundering of military authorities, or the unpreparedness of Governments. What the people felt was that the supremacy of the Empire was at stake'. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 Jan 1900, p.2.

² Ian McIver, 'New Zealand and the South African War of 1899-1902: A Study of New Zealand's Attitudes and Motives for Involvement and of the Effect of the War on New Zealand and on Her Relations with Britain.', Master of Arts thesis, Otago University, 1972, p.32.

³ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), pp.79, 81, 83, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95. In the Legislative Council, the Hon. Thomas Kelly expanded the parent-child analogy, saying it was 'the duty of children to assist their parents without being called upon to do so'. *Evening Post*, 30 Sep 1899, p.5.

⁴ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.90.

⁵ Malcom McKinnon, 'Opposition to the War in New Zealand', in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.28-37.

Of the five MHRs who voted against involvement, two spoke during the debate. Thomas Taylor and John Hutcheson said that while they did not oppose war per se, they felt the Empire's existence was not sufficiently threatened to warrant New Zealand's participation.⁶ Taylor went further, claiming it was a territorial war that was motivated by capitalism - a view that was also shared by John Rigg in the Legislative Council, though he supported an address expressing satisfaction at Seddon's resolution.⁷ In the Legislative Council, Henry Scotland was the only person who opposed the address, claiming that if the situation in Transvaal was resolved amicably it would disappoint 'a lot of larrikins and loafers who would be glad to get a trip to South Africa at the government's expense'.⁸ Michael Gilfedder, who voted against involvement, retained his Wallace seat in 1899, but lost it in 1902, while John Thomson, who also opposed dispatching the contingent, retained his Clutha seat in 1899 and 1902.⁹ In a move that was widely reported in New Zealand, and in at least one Australian paper, the Auckland Peace Association, a group formed in May 1899 including church figures and numbering around fifty in 1900, sent congratulatory letters to politicians who opposed New Zealand sending soldiers.¹⁰ Praising their stance, the Association observed that 'when the public mind is infected with the war-fever it requires no little courage to take the unpopular side'.¹¹

While noting similar expressions of opposition during the conflict, Simon Johnson observes the failure of these dissenters to coalesce and adopt a unified, organised stance.¹² Opposition to the war was expressed to some degree by parliamentarians, church members, union members, women's groups, and individuals, but their opinions never seriously

⁶ NZPD, 110 (1899), pp.81-82.

⁷ NZPD, 110 (1899), p.82; *Evening Post*, 30 Sep 1899, p.5. The *Evening Post* reported that Rigg had said that he 'could not say "May God defend the right," for in this particular instance the result would be inimical to the interests of our race'.

⁸ *Evening Post*, 30 Sep 1899, p.5. When the motion was passed in the Legislative Council, all the members with the exception of Scotland sang the National Anthem and gave three cheers. The *Evening Post* noted 'Mr. Scotland, seemingly forgetful that he was a British subject and a legislator who had sworn allegiance to Her Majesty, committed the unpardonable solecism of remaining seated during the singing of the Anthem.' During a June 1900 address, Scotland stated, 'Imperialism is in the air. Sir, I hate the very word "Imperialism" and the very name of "Empire."' Hutcheson had sensationally resigned his seat over another matter in July 1899, but stood as an Independent Liberal in the December 1899 election and was returned. NZPD, 111, p.20; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 6 Jul 1899, p.3; *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, Wellington: House of Representatives, 1906, H-14, p.7.

⁹ *AJHR*, 1900, H-26, p.3; *ibid.*, 1903, H-26, p.3.

¹⁰ Auckland Peace Association Minutes of Committee Meetings, 1899-1906, 26 Oct 1899, ATL MS-Papers-2530; *Evening Post*, 5 Oct 1899, p.5; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 5 Oct 1899, p.3; *West Coast Times*, 5 Oct 1899, p.3; *Star*, 5 Oct 1899, p.3; *Feilding Star*, 5 Oct 1899 (paper printed with incorrect day), p.2; *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 6 Oct 1899, p.5. The association included a religious element and a July 1899 meeting was held at the Curran Street home of Reverend A.H. Collins. The 1900 annual meeting of the association was held at the Y.M.C.A. and attendees were addressed by Reverend W.S. Potter who complained of seeing 'shallow, thoughtless people rejoice in the horrors of war'. *Auckland Star*, 8 Jun, 1900, p.6.

¹¹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 6 Oct 1899, p.3.

¹² Simon Johnson, 'Sons of Empire: A Study of New Zealand Ideas and Opinions during the Boer War', BA Honours research exercise in History, Massey University, 1974, p.52.

challenged the dominant narrative. This chapter will examine both the overwhelming public support for the conflict, and the isolated voices of those opposing it – voices that were largely eclipsed by the prevailing patriotic enthusiasm and jingoistic outpourings of the majority.

When war was declared, the *Evening Post* reported ‘a scene of unparalleled enthusiasm’ at the Karori military camp.¹³ At a packed 1900 meeting at Princess Theatre in Dunedin ‘coins rattled on the stage in a silver shower’.¹⁴ Even dogs carried the patriotic message, with some allegedly holding Union Jacks in their mouths, and others wrapped in the flag or painted red, white and blue.¹⁵ An estimated 13,000 people attended a Dunedin fund-raising floral fête, and when two soldiers returned to Waikouaiti they were met by ‘the largest crowd of residents ever gathered together’ in the town.¹⁶ Similar scenes occurred throughout the country during the war with papers documenting contributors and fund-raising events as towns vied to display their patriotism.¹⁷ Seddon even accepted a Great Barrier Pigeon Agency offer of ten homing pigeons to carry despatches in South Africa.¹⁸ There was a sense of collective ownership of the contingents, with frequent references in speeches, newspapers, advertising and correspondence to the activities of ‘our boys’ and ‘our sons’.¹⁹ When Jessie Whitehead’s brother died in the 1902 Potchefstroom train accident that killed several New Zealanders, she compiled a scrapbook documenting the incident. Her articles and photos related not only to her deceased brother, but also to the other soldiers involved.²⁰

Children were inextricably involved in New Zealand’s response to the conflict. Sharing their opinions and observations in newspapers, letters, and school writing, they took

¹³ *Thames Star*, 13 Oct 1899, p.2. The paper claimed ‘The men who had congregated in the mess tent for free and easy cheered themselves hoarse, and sang “God Save the Queen,” “Rule Britannia” and “Soldiers of the Queen.” Enthusiastic proceedings continued until the “lights out” sounded.’

¹⁴ *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.28. According to the paper, a total of £133 18s 2d was either collected or pledged during the concert.

¹⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1900, p.2.

¹⁶ *Thames Star*, 1 Mar 1900, p.2; *Otago Daily Times*, 17 Dec 1900, p.5. At Waikouaiti, the mayor and local MHR gave speeches at what a correspondent described as ‘the most enthusiastic demonstration ever seen’ in the town, and a procession accompanied returned soldiers through the streets.

¹⁷ *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, pp.26-27. The Palmerston correspondent of the *Otago Witness* reported that ‘The residents here do not intend to be behind other districts in the matter of contributing to the fourth contingent [sic] and remount fund.’

¹⁸ *Otago Witness*, 4 Jan 1900, p.27.

¹⁹ *Star*, 13 Feb 1902, p.1; *Daily Telegraph*, 17 Oct 1899, p.1; *Press*, 19 Feb, 1900, p.7; *Otago Witness*, 3 Jul 1901, p.30; *Evening Post*, 3 Feb 1902, p.5; *Otago Witness*, 10 May 1900, p.34; *Auckland Star*, 10 Feb 1902, p.2; F.R.W. Daw to Lieutenant-Colonel Banks, letter, 12 Feb 1900, Return showing quantities of gifts forwarded to South Africa, February 1900 – August 1901, ANZ AD34 4. In a 1900 letter, Daw, the General Manager of New Zealand Crown Mines Company Ltd., wrote, ‘Everyone here is delighted with the high compliments paid to the New Zealand contingents by General French, and feel certain that our boys will do their duty in the great battles that are yet to be fought. The world must by this time be looking on our army in Africa as one composed of heroes, as every soldier there is an upholder, by his conduct, of the best traditions of the great deeds that won the empire.’

²⁰ Diary of the Eighth Contingent Railway accident, Jessie Whitehead: Letters written by Corporal David Whitehead to his family & papers relating to his death, HL Misc-MS-1900.

an active interest in the contingents, and participated in parades and fund raising, while many, predominantly male, students served in school Cadet Corps. At a 1900 Auckland school ceremony, the chairman of the City Schools Committee reminded students that where the flag flew, ‘there reigned freedom and liberty, and woe be to the nation or individual who dared to insult it’.²¹ He noted that ‘it was to the public schools of the colony that they would have to look for the men of the future to go out and fight their country’s battles’. Although the nature and extent of their involvement was influenced by gender and location, the role of children during the conflict is noteworthy.

Throughout New Zealand children felt the influence of the war. When news of the surrender of a Boer general reached Riversdale, Otago, in March 1900, patriotic speeches were delivered, and lollies distributed.²² The principal of Otago Girls’ High School visited the Fourth Contingent camp with some of her students, while the children’s stand at the contingent’s send-off seated 1500 and ‘Sixty or 70 boys’ from Waitaki High School attended.²³ In Gisborne, a military demonstration apparently attracted one thousand school children who saluted the flag and sang the National Anthem.²⁴ In March 1900, when the siege of Ladysmith ended, the high school rector in Lawrence declared a holiday for the school as without one ‘no great national event can be considered complete’.²⁵ Similarly, Hokitika, Greymouth, Westport and Napier celebrated the relief with a holiday.²⁶ In Timaru, children who learned that classes were over because of Ladysmith’s relief rushed to witness the celebrations.²⁷

Children were also heavily involved in wartime fund-raising activities. The Otago and Taranaki Education Boards collaborated to establish the New Zealand Children’s Patriotic Fund, and Otago school children donated £2 8s to the Fourth Contingent, while ten students from Haka Valley School in South Canterbury donated £1.²⁸ Waiau children voted to decide

²¹ *Auckland Star*, 1 Nov 1900, p.3. The chairman who gave the address at Wellesley Street School was George Squirrell.

²² *Mataura Ensign*, 3 Mar 1900, p.2. The general was Piet Cronje who was captured after the battle of Paardeberg, which involved many New Zealanders. The *Mataura Ensign* reported an incident where a child returned home early, and after being questioned by his concerned mother regarding his reason for not being at school, apparently proclaimed ‘Cronje has been taken... isn’t Dick Seddon a dandy!’

²³ *Otago Daily Times*, 16 Mar 1900, p.5; *ibid.*, 9 Mar 1900, p.5; *ibid.*, 24 Mar 1900, p.7.

²⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 9 Mar 1900, p.5.

²⁵ *Tuapeka Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.3. The newspaper report stated that ‘Last night the band paraded the town and played some warlike selections amid the cheers, principally of Young Tuapeka, who is naturally at present in a fearfully and dangerously warlike mood, and incapable of feeding upon anything weaker or less blood-curdling than the “Boys of the bulldog breed,” or something analogous’.

²⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Taranaki Herald*, 11 Jan 1900, p.2; *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.28.

whether their contributions would go to the Patriotic Fund or the War Fund.²⁹ In 1900, Wanganui Collegiate students collected £10 9s for the More Men Fund, with the school magazine noting that £14 had been collected the previous term.³⁰ Some Māori children also took part in fund raising activities, with five ‘tiny tots’ performing poi dances during the patriotic Basin Reserve Māori Carnival.³¹ One child reported the burning of the South African Republic’s president in effigy, while a Canterbury boy erected his own and by charging ‘three shies a penny’ raised 3s 6d for the War Fund.³² Though rural children also staged patriotic performances, location affected their experience of the war.³³ A child writing to the *Otago Witness* from rural Southland mentioned the Mafeking celebrations in Dunedin, but added ‘There were a few flags flying here, but there were no other demonstrations, as the people live too far apart.’³⁴

The church also proved largely supportive of the war effort. Voices opposing the conflict were in the minority and expressions of support for Britain were relatively multi-denominational. While decrying the horrors of war in a sermon shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, Reverend Coates of the Holy Trinity Anglican church in Christchurch noted, ‘nations were occasionally justified in going to war, and Britain was so justified on the present occasion.’³⁵ At Lyttelton’s Methodist Church, Reverend McNicol prayed that if war could not be avoided, its result might benefit mankind and further God’s cause.³⁶ The senior chaplain for the permanent forces, Reverend Chambers, acknowledged the claims of other nations regarding Britain’s ‘territory-grasping proclivities’, but noted that in this case she was ‘defending her own and protecting the weak’.³⁷ At St Saviour’s in Sydenham and St John’s in Christchurch the National Anthem was sung after hostilities commenced and the Anglican minister, Reverend E.A. Scott, claimed that while the war had been largely forced on Britain, it ‘would doubtless prove for the best in the end’. The Anglican Reverend Watson at St John’s claimed that only ‘absolute necessity could justify war’, but added that the British cause was just, while Reverend Bull of the Methodist East Belt Wesley Church lauded both

²⁹ *Star*, 12 Feb 1900, p.3. The children unanimously chose to give their £1 2s 6d to the War Fund.

³⁰ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 52, Apr 1900, p.3.

³¹ *Evening Post*, 29 Mar 1900, p.5.

³² *Otago Witness*, 12 Sep 1900, p.65; *Observer*, 3 Mar 1900, p.14. A child using the name ‘Glencoe’ described the effigy of President Kruger filled with crackers being burnt when Mafeking was relieved. ‘Glencoe’ added that ‘when any of the towns in the Transvaal are set free it is very exciting’.

³³ *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.38.

³⁴ *Otago Witness*, 21 Jun 1900, p.62.

³⁵ *Star*, 16 Oct 1899, p.1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Chambers made the claim at St. Saviour’s Anglican church in Lyttelton.

Britain's forbearance and its efforts to find a peaceful solution.³⁸ At a Dunedin patriotic meeting, a list of apologies included Mr Chodowski, a Jewish rabbi.³⁹

The position of these clergymen was mirrored across most of New Zealand as spiritual leaders sought to legitimize the conflict and reconcile their religious beliefs with the apparent contradiction of sanctioning warfare. Although the Anglican Bishop of Wellington, Frederic Wallis, initially had reservations about the war, in November 1899 he said he believed the war was God's cause.⁴⁰ Bishop Wallis claimed New Zealand contingent volunteers were fighting for 'justice and truth' and Second Contingent officers dined with him before their departure.⁴¹ At a Fourth Contingent camp church parade, Reverend Dr Dunlop said he regretted being too old to accompany the contingent.⁴²

Shortly after the declaration of war, the *Wanganui Chronicle* reported that a special prayer composed for the occasion by the Bishop of Christchurch, Churchill Julius, was used in all Anglican churches, while at St Matthew's in Dunedin, the vicar adapted a prayer to include the line, 'Our Victory at Glencoe, Saves Africa from woe'.⁴³ Combining the spiritual and the temporal, the Salvation Army in Wanganui broke into 'God Save the Queen' followed by 'Rule Britannia' and 'God Bless Our Army Brave' when hostilities commenced.⁴⁴ Some saw the war as a mysterious extension of God's work, and in Timaru, Archdeacon Harper argued it was 'directed by Divine Providence for good purposes, which would yet appear'.⁴⁵

Possibly reflecting political tensions in Ireland and suggestions that Irish volunteers would fight alongside the Boers, the enthusiasm shown by the Catholic Church for the war seems to have been more subdued than other major faiths, though at a Dunedin Patriotic Fund meeting, Father O'Neill noted that 'Irishmen and Catholics, when the British flag was in distress and in danger, were ready to shed their hearts' blood for it'.⁴⁶ Patrick O'Regan, the MHR for Buller, vehemently denied in parliament the 'malicious slander' that Irishmen were

³⁸ *Star*, 16 Oct 1899, p.1.

³⁹ *Otago Witness*, 28 Dec 1899, p.20.

⁴⁰ *Evening Post*, 18 Nov 1899, p.5.

⁴¹ *Star*, 16 Oct 1899, p.1; *Otago Daily Times*, 6 Jan 1900, p.5.

⁴² *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.28.

⁴³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 Oct 1899, p.2; *Otago Daily Times*, 23 Oct 1899, p.6. He had composed the original prayer for Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

⁴⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 13 Oct 1899, p.2.

⁴⁵ *Otago Witness*, 22 May 1901, p.25. Archdeacon Harper was an Anglican minister.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 28 Dec 1899, p.21.

assisting the Boers.⁴⁷ At a St Joseph's Cathedral service, Father J. Ryan noted the number of Irish names among the Fourth Contingent members, observing that 'so long as liberty and civil and religious equality are recognised under the British flag, there will be found no more devoted and faithful subjects than the sons and daughters of Ireland.'⁴⁸ The Catholic *New Zealand Tablet* claimed that, excluding officers, of the five hundred South Island men in the Tenth Contingent, one hundred and fifty were Catholics, and during an inspection of the 'Rough Riders' Fourth Contingent, Lord Ranfurly made a point of speaking with men who 'hailed from the Emerald Isle'.⁴⁹

While acknowledging the Irish contribution, an article in *The Outlook* was critical of Irish clergy, who, it maintained, 'with some honourable exceptions, are both anti-national and anti-patriotic'.⁵⁰ Highlighting sectarian mistrust, *The Outlook* claimed: 'the natural trend of the Romish Church may be judged from the disloyal attitude of its official organ'. Commenting on Irish fighting with the Boers, a trooper noted, 'if we had been but one hour earlier, we should have had the whole of the Irish Brigade & no doubt they would have regretted the day that they turned renegades.'⁵¹ Despite these tensions, the Catholic clergy participated in patriotic events alongside churchmen of other denominations.⁵²

Other clergy also expressed reservations. Following a Thorndon Wesleyan Church address by Reverend Frank Isitt, some of the congregation allegedly 'went home with the conviction that he must be a pro-Boer'.⁵³ Isitt and his brother Leonard were also accused of

⁴⁷ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.89. In fact, although the Irish Brigade commanded by General Hart fought with distinction alongside British forces, an Irish unit did fight with the Boers. *Otago Daily Times*, 27 Feb 1900, p.5; *ibid.*, 2 Mar 1900, p.2. Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War*, London: Abacus, 1992, p.106.

⁴⁸ *New Zealand Tablet*, 29 Mar 1900, p.20. Whether Ryan considered 'liberty' to include Home Rule is unclear. Members of New Zealand's Irish community did serve in South Africa. Catholics who served in South Africa included Lieutenant Robert Collins, of the Fourth Contingent, who was wounded at Ottoshoop; Private Denis Hickey, who was born in Ireland and served in the Fifth Contingent; Peter Fletcher, a Seventh Contingent twenty-year-old who was killed at Langverwacht and John Considine, also of the Seventh Contingent, whose spinal column was severed by a bullet that left him partially paralysed. Attestation Form, 17 Mar 1900, Robert Walter Gordon Collins, AABK 18805 W5515 0006267, ANZ NZDFPR, p.18; Attestation Form, 6 Apr 1900, Denis Hickey, AABK 18805 W5515 0002544, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; Certificate of Discharge, Denis Hickey, *ibid.*, p.18; Attestation Form, 3 Apr 1901, Peter Fletcher, AABK 18805 W5515 0001831, ANZ NZDFPR, p.14, Secretary, Council of Defence to Kate Fletcher, letter, 4 Nov 1907, *ibid.*, p.7; Attestation Form, 3 Apr 1901, John Considine, AABK 18805 W5515 001135, ANZ NZDFPR, p.17; Medical Report, 26 Jan 1903, *ibid.*, p.20; *Otago Witness*, 12 Mar 1902, p.28.

⁴⁹ *New Zealand Tablet*, 24 Apr 1902, p.4; *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.27.

⁵⁰ *The Outlook*, 24 Mar 1900, p.5.

⁵¹ Trooper named Arthur to his parents, letter, 8 Jun 1900, NAM NZ 1999.2002.

⁵² Father O'Neill took part in a patriotic meeting in Lawrence with the Anglican Venerable Archdeacon Beaumont and Reverend J.G.W. Ellis, where £30 was raised, and O'Neill also attended an event in aid of the Patriotic Fund in Kaitangata where the Reverend Fairmaid was also present. *Clutha Leader*, 19 Jan 1900, p.5; *Otago Witness*, 25 Jan 1900, p.18.

⁵³ *Free Lance*, 5 Jan 1901, p.18.

circulating pro-Boer literature in 1902.⁵⁴ Critics maintained they had distributed a publication titled ‘Stop the War’ – charges Frank Isitt personally denied. However, he observed that ‘the churches sometimes seemed to him to speak on this subject as though their whole souls were not bathed in sorrow at the necessity for human bloodshed’.⁵⁵



Fig. 2. A New Testament that belonged to Private Harry Head of the Fifth Contingent. Head gave his religion as Church of England on his Attestation Form.⁵⁶
Source: NAM, NZ, 1996.1700.

Despite doubts regarding the conflict’s legitimacy, funds were raised at several churches to provide religious publications for the men (fig. 2).⁵⁷ The Otago and Southland members of the Fourth Contingent received copies of the New Testament bound in khaki.⁵⁸ Soldiers were also given a khaki-covered *Soldiers’ Text Book* containing hymns and prayers.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Allan K. Davidson. ‘Isitt, Leonard Monk – Biography’, from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3i2/1>; *Otago Witness*, 12 Mar 1902, p.27-28. Leonard Isitt was a Methodist clergyman.

⁵⁵ *Otago Witness*, 12 Mar 1902, p.27-28.

⁵⁶ Attestation Form, 28 Mar 1900, Harry Head, AABK 18805 W5515 0002454, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5.

⁵⁷ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 14 Apr 1902, p.3. The congregation of St Peter’s Church in Wellington raised £7 5s 10d ‘for the purchase of prayer-books, etc., for members of the Tenth’.

⁵⁸ *The Outlook*, 17 Feb 1900, p.5. The Testaments had the words ‘New Zealand Contingent. Transvaal. 1900’ in gold on the cover and the motto ‘For God and the Right’ appeared in the centre. When the personal effects of deceased Catholic Trooper Peter Fletcher of the Seventh Contingent were returned to New Zealand, they consisted of only two items: a bottle of Chlorodyne and a Testament. Chlorodyne was a painkiller containing chloroform, laudanum, and tincture of cannabis. Under-Secretary for Defence to William Fletcher, copy of letter, 25 Jun 1902, Peter Fletcher, AABK 18805 W5515 0001831, ANZ NZDFPR, p.10; Major H. Pilcher to the Under-Secretary for Defence, copy of letter, 7 May 1902, *ibid.*, p.11; Attestation Form, 3 Apr 1901, *ibid.*, p.14.

⁵⁹ *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.28; *The Outlook*, 17 Feb 1900, p.5. Additionally, Father Dean distributed ‘prayer books, rosaries and other articles of piety’ to Catholic members of the Tenth Contingent at Addington. *New Zealand Tablet*, 24 April 1902, p.4.

The Bible and Tract society sold a transcript of a lecture called ‘The Righteousness of the British Cause in South Africa’ that *The Outlook* described as ‘a vigorous and eloquent defence’ of the British position.⁶⁰

The issue of clergymen accompanying the contingents was a fraught one and attempts to include a chaplain were initially blocked by the Government. A deputation from the Otago Presbytery offered to supply a horse and pay the passage of a chaplain to go with the Fourth Contingent, and the son of Reverend Tennent volunteered, though the *Auckland Star* noted that ‘The Premier’s telegram to the Mayor did not appear to give much hope that [Tennent] would be accepted’ and the offer was declined.⁶¹ The Presbytery again offered to send a chaplain with the Eighth Contingent in 1902.⁶²

In a letter to *The Outlook*, Reverend Tennent claimed that, of the colonies, New Zealand alone lacked its own chaplain, and threatened political consequences: ‘If the Government will not do it, mark it up against the next elections.’⁶³ Attempts to send a chaplain appear to have increased national cooperation between Presbyterians. The week before the war, *The Outlook* applauded Reverend P.B. Fraser’s suggestion that ‘Presbyterians north and south unite together to send a chaplain’, rather ambiguously adding ‘We hope, however, that the necessity will not arise’.⁶⁴ Seddon finally relented in 1902 when Arthur Compton of Wellington was appointed as Brigade Captain Chaplain of the Eighth Contingent.⁶⁵ Compton was followed by Daniel Bates, an Anglican from Invercargill, and Daniel Dutton, a Presbyterian from Dunedin, who were appointed to the North and South Island Regiments of the Ninth Contingent respectively as Honorary Captain Chaplains, and Sydney Hawthorne, an Anglican from Devonport, and John Aldred Luxford, a Wesleyan from Lyttelton, who served as chaplains in the North and South Island Regiments of the Tenth Contingent.⁶⁶

Major events like the relief of Mafeking drew large congregations to churches. In Auckland, Roman Catholic and Anglican church bells rang, Reverend Ready eulogised Lord

⁶⁰ *The Outlook*, 24 Mar 1900, p.5. The lecture was given by Reverend Clarke of Palmerston North and the publication sold for 6d.

⁶¹ *Auckland Star*, 7 Mar 1900, p.5. Three hundred khaki New Testaments were to be sent to Africa with Tennent, and money raised through the sale of additional copies by the Bible and Tract Society in Dunedin was intended to fund his outfit; *The Outlook*, 17 Feb 1900, p.5.

⁶² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 Jan 1902, p.3.

⁶³ *The Outlook*, 1 Feb 1902, p.35.

⁶⁴ *The Outlook*, 7 Oct 1899, p.5.

⁶⁵ *AJHR*, 1902, H-6, p.1.

⁶⁶ *AJHR*, 1902, H-6A, p.15; *The Outlook*, 8 Mar 1902, p.1; 19 Apr 1902, p.28; *AJHR*, 1902, H-6A, p.1; *ibid.*, 1902, H-6B, pp.1, 14. *The Outlook* noted Dutton would require a portable organ, hymn books, Bibles and stationery to distribute to the soldiers. Bates later joined the Civil Service and was appointed Government Meteorologist in 1909. *The Outlook*, 8 Mar 1902, p.5; *Auckland Star*, 22 Jun 1909, p.4; *AJHR*, 1909, C-12, p.2.

Roberts and the congregation sang the National Anthem at the Wesleyan Church, the National Anthem was played on the organ at the Baptist Tabernacle and sung by the congregation at St Luke's in Remuera, St David's, St Matthew's and All Saints' in Ponsonby.⁶⁷ Similar outpourings took place after Ladysmith and Kimberley were relieved. In Dunedin, all church bells were rung following Kimberley's relief, and Rabbi Chodowski interrupted his synagogue service to ask the congregation to pray.⁶⁸ Indeed, prayers were regularly offered in churches and at meetings across the nation. In 1899, a Wanganui volunteer church parade was so well attended that seats had to be placed in the aisles.⁶⁹ Following the Seventh Contingent sustaining heavy losses at Langverwacht, prayers were said in Christchurch at Holy Trinity Church, St Saviour's in Lyttelton, St John's and at the Wesleyan Church.⁷⁰ Despite these religious displays for their benefit, some of the soldiers regarded them with indifference. In Auckland, the Wesleyan Reverend W. Ready noted with disapproval that during prayers at the formal farewell of the Sixth Contingent, soldiers were passing around beer.⁷¹

Whether the war directly affected the soldiers' piety is difficult to ascertain, though many attended church relatively regularly, both through compulsion and of their own volition. It did, however, affect their worship practices. Occasionally, circumstances meant that men who wished to participate in religious services were obliged to attend other denominations' services, while at other times rituals were combined. During the voyage to South Africa, Dutton noted that he conducted 'part of the Anglical [sic] ritual, [rather] than to divide the men, for I thus got the chance of speaking to them all, except the Roman Catholics'.⁷² Dutton said that every evening some men would speak with him, though he added that, 'There are many good lads among them, but with a sprinkling among them of men of a different stamp'.

The men serving in earlier contingents relied on clergy of other nationalities. John Burnett of the Fifth Contingent mentioned enjoying a Presbyterian service conducted by two British officers.⁷³ Matthew Kirkbride recorded a compulsory church parade on Christmas Eve, and also mentioned going to a 'C of E' church in Heilbron.⁷⁴ Frank Perham noted that a

⁶⁷ *Auckland Star*, 21 May 1900, p.2.

⁶⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, 19 Feb 1900, p.5. When news of the relief of Ladysmith reached Napier, church, school and fire station bells were rung, while in Rangiora special sermons on the war were preached at the Southbrook Methodist Church and the Rangiora Church. *Daily Telegraph*, 2 Mar 1900, p.5; *Star*, 5 Mar 1900, p.3.

⁶⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 31 Oct 1899, p.2.

⁷⁰ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 28 Feb 1902, p.2; *Star*, 3 Mar 1902, p.4.

⁷¹ *Northern Advocate*, 9 Feb 1901, p.6.

⁷² *The Outlook*, 19 Apr 1902, p.29.

⁷³ John Edward Thomas Burnett, transcript of diary, 9 Jun 1900, NAM NZ 2009.549.

⁷⁴ Matthew Bruce Kirkbride, diary, 24 Dec 1899; *ibid.*, 24 Jun 1900, NAM NZ 1998.2570; Attestation Form, n.d., Matthew Bruce Kirkbride, AABK 18805 W5515 0003051, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5.

church in South Africa was ‘packed with Kharki [sic]’.⁷⁵ Perham, who was Anglican, mentioned attempting to attend another service at the Worcester ‘Dutch and German’ church, but was ‘not wanted’, so went to the English church, which was again ‘crammed with khaki’.⁷⁶ The following month he attended both Wesleyan and Presbyterian services.⁷⁷

Opposition to the war on religious grounds appears to have been based more on personal convictions than a denominational stance.⁷⁸ On 7 October 1899, Reverend Rutherford Waddell, the editor of *The Outlook*, posed the question, ‘What is drifting us into this conflict? And what do we hope to gain from it?’⁷⁹ Though others, including fellow Presbyterians, opposed his outspoken views regarding the causes of the conflict, Waddell blamed the capitalist intrigues of the South African Chartered Company and Joseph Chamberlain.⁸⁰ He maintained they were driven by an ‘insatiable greed of gain and lust for power’. *The Outlook* claimed Chamberlain had ‘jockeyed the nation into an unnecessary war’, and that the colonies had an obligation to consider the morality of the issue rather than unquestioningly following Britain into an unjust conflict.⁸¹ Nonetheless, *The Outlook* also observed that there were other clergymen who supported the move to armed aggression without apparent reservation.⁸²

In 1900 Waddell declared that ‘the flame of patriotism has burst forth and is burning up everything else’.⁸³ He soon experienced its heat. In a relatively accurate prediction of what was to follow, Waddell observed that ‘He who takes the unpopular side must not expect to receive polite attention. For the crowd is rarely mannerly, and when it is on the war path it is sometimes brutal.’⁸⁴ Several letters to *The Outlook* and other publications vilified Waddell. ‘Veritas’ claimed many readers would feel a sense of indignation at *The Outlook*’s comments on the war, while the *Southland Times* expressed a hope that the Presbyterian organ would ‘step into line’.⁸⁵ The *Tuapeka Times*’ ‘own correspondent’ accused Waddell of slander for suggesting Cecil Rhodes and Chamberlain orchestrated the conflict.⁸⁶ After Waddell described Baden-Powell’s tactics at Mafeking as ‘atrocious’, P.B. Fraser wrote that

⁷⁵ Frank Perham, diary, 3 Mar 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736.

⁷⁶ Frank Perham, diary, 18-19 May 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 5, 21 Apr 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736. Perham also mentions regularly attending voluntary church services aboard the *Tagus* during the voyage back to New Zealand. *Ibid.*, 16, 23 Jun 1901.

⁷⁸ Johnson, p. 52.

⁷⁹ *The Outlook*, 7 Oct, 1899, p.4.

⁸⁰ *The Outlook*, 28 Oct 1899, p.4.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 21 Oct, 1899, p.1; 7 Oct, 1899, pp.4-5.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 28 Oct 1899, p.4.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 6 Jan 1900, p.4.

⁸⁴ *The Outlook*, 21 Oct 1899, p.1.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 28 Oct 1899, p.28; 11 Nov 1899, p.19.

⁸⁶ *Tuapeka Times*, 5 May 1900, p.3.

‘Sentimental gush that does injustice to the generals defending our Empire is not a bit more respectable than the Jingoist cry for the unjust extension of it’.⁸⁷ Other anonymous writers objected to Waddell’s comments criticising Chamberlain, a view echoed by ‘Briton’, who added, ‘I notice that in your reply to “Veritas” that you imply that his remarks are in the way of “a veiled threat.” I fear if you write much more in the same vein you may find that it will no longer be a veiled, but an unveiled one.’⁸⁸

Malcolm McKinnon has suggested Waddell may have been a pacifist, but as Simon Johnson has noted, though he viewed the South African War as unjust, Waddell did not seem to oppose war *per se*.⁸⁹ Indeed, it appears Waddell considered the patriotic fervour it generated laudable:

What money will be lavished to obtain news of the battles, and how eager and multitudinous will be the numbers who will watch the progress of the fight! We are not complaining of this: far from it. It is a right and proper thing.⁹⁰

The Outlook also answered one of its own questions by identifying the gains in terms of ‘rousing the manhood of the nation’ and imbuing New Zealanders with a ‘high spirit of patriotism’.⁹¹

Despite criticism, Waddell found some support within the Presbyterian synod, though this centred more on his right to freedom of speech than shared attitudes regarding the morality of the conflict. At a synod meeting, a motion expressing regret at Waddell’s comments was seconded by Reverend Davidson, who claimed that many were outraged by Waddell’s stance.⁹² However, an amendment commended Waddell on his independence of opinion and willingness to publish views that ran counter to his own. Seventeen members voted for the motion, while seventy-three supported Reverend Hewitson’s amendment. The synod reached a consensus when it unanimously carried another motion expressing appreciation of ‘the patriotism of our colonists; and especially of our soldiers who have

⁸⁷ *The Outlook*, 28 Oct 1899, p.4; *ibid.*, 4 Nov 1899, p.26. Baden-Powell had feigned retreat to draw Boer forces over Lyddite mines.

⁸⁸ *The Outlook*, 4 Nov 1899, p.27; *Ibid.*, p.28.

⁸⁹ Malcolm McKinnon, ‘Opposition’, p.29; Johnson, pp. 42-44.

⁹⁰ *The Outlook*, 21 Oct 1899, p.4. Waddell later wrote that ‘There was apparently no other entrance into those sentiments that lift us above the level of animals than through the red gates of war.’ *The Outlook*, 6 Jan, 1900, p.4.

⁹¹ *The Outlook*, 10 Mar 1900, p.19; 7 Oct 1899, p.4. *The Outlook* also noted that participation showed the rest of the world ‘the oneness of the Briton’.

⁹² *Otago Daily Times*, 4 Nov 1899, p.6; *The Outlook*, 11 Nov 1899, pp.18-19. The motion was moved by Dr. Copeland on 3 Nov 1899 at a synod meeting in Dunedin.

proceeded to the Transvaal'.⁹³ Far from recanting, Waddell pointed out that the *London Spectator* had called Rhodes 'the most dangerous enemy of the Empire'.⁹⁴ Despite his convictions, Waddell published letters criticising his position: 'Briton' claimed 'it is monstrous to suggest such sordidness as the hastening of the war for pecuniary gain'.⁹⁵

Other contributors to *The Outlook* admired Waddell's courage, while some shared his views.⁹⁶ Describing Waddell's arguments as 'clear, strong and convincing', a writer said that if asked whether war could have been avoided, 'The answer seems to be an emphatic YES'. Another contributor noted: 'If the missiles hurled by your correspondents were as deadly in their effects as those used by the belligerents in South Africa, I should tremble for you'.⁹⁷ The *New Zealand Tablet* noted that 'War and religion never made good bedfellows' and claimed capitalist and conservative elements had been among the loudest voices rejecting diplomacy and calling for 'this avoidable and unnecessary campaign'.⁹⁸ It added that the financial cost of the war would ultimately be borne by the working classes.⁹⁹ Anglican Reverend Canon Bates claimed 'If there had been no gold mines there would have been no war' while Reverend James Gibb, the Presbyterian minister at Dunedin's First Church, said that his uncertainty regarding the causes of the war restrained his level of support.¹⁰⁰ Gibb identified protecting national rights and alleviating the suffering of the down-trodden as 'just incentives to war', but doubted whether either of these phenomena existed in South Africa. Though initially critical of the martial fervour engulfing New Zealand, Gibb displayed an apparent change of heart in 1902: '[Britain] had, here in God's house let it be said with the utmost emphasis, she HAD to draw the sword, and fling the scabbard afar.'¹⁰¹ Even Waddell acknowledged the need for victory once fighting had commenced.¹⁰²

In January 1902, *The Outlook's* temporary editor, William Hutchison, wrote expressing regret that the year should start with 'the weary wasteful war in South Africa still dragging its slow length along'.¹⁰³ Noting the Imperial Government's claim the conflict was

⁹³ *Otago Daily Times*, 8 Nov 1899, p.7.

⁹⁴ *The Outlook*, 11 Nov 1899, p.19.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 1899, p.27.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.25.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 1899, p.26. The writer added that Waddell's critic 'thinks that because you express an opinion different to his own that, therefore, your sentiments are unpatriotic'.

⁹⁸ *New Zealand Tablet*, 19 Oct 1899, p.2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.17.

¹⁰⁰ *New Zealand Tablet*, 30 Nov 1899, p.6; *The Outlook*, 4 Nov 1899, p.19.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 22 Mar 1902, p.21.

¹⁰² *The Outlook*, 4 Nov 1899, pp.4-5. In November 1899 he claimed that 'The time has come to close the ranks, for it seems to us now that peace will only be possible through the subjugation of the Boers. And the more quickly that can be accomplished the better for all concerned.'

¹⁰³ *The Outlook*, 11 Jan 1902, p.1.

no longer a war, but rather ‘a series of guerrilla skirmishes’, Hutchison pointed out that Britain continued to seek Australasian assistance, adding that ‘the fighting, if not war, is at least costing precious lives’.¹⁰⁴ He described it as ‘a war of extermination’.¹⁰⁵ Hutchison also criticised the deaths of children in concentration camps as ‘a dark page in the history of the war’. Like Waddell’s earlier comments, Hutchison’s observations drew vociferous criticism, and accusations of pro-Boerism. In a *Star* article titled ‘A Pro-Boer Newspaper’, the paper reported ‘strong condemnation’ of Hutchison’s comments, while the Mataura Presbytery passed a resolution drawing the attention of *The Outlook*’s Publishing Committee to Hutchison’s ‘disloyal and anti-British’ sentiments.¹⁰⁶

In another article titled ‘A Pro-Boer Editor’, the *Star* reported Hutchison’s resignation.¹⁰⁷ *The Outlook* Publication Committee claimed the opinions he expressed were ‘antagonistic to the views of the Presbyterian and other churches represented by the paper’.¹⁰⁸ The Mayor of Dunedin, George Denniston, who the *Evening Post* described as ‘a staunch Presbyterian’, cancelled his subscription to *The Outlook* in protest at Hutchison’s comments.¹⁰⁹

While opposition also occurred within labour organisations, with individual unions criticising the conflict, they were undermined by equally strident union expressions of support. A 1901 Wellington Trades Council resolution condemning the despatch of further troops to ‘a hideous and unholy war of extermination’, which the authors claimed was begun ‘entirely in the interests of capitalists’, represented the strongest domestic condemnation of New Zealand’s involvement in the war by a labour organisation.¹¹⁰ However, neither divisive union opposition nor the nascent socialist parties that Barry Gustafson identifies as being formed during the conflict appear to have significantly influenced public attitudes.¹¹¹ As the twelve votes to ten margin indicated, union criticism of the dispatch of the Eighth Contingent was

¹⁰⁴ *The Outlook*, 11 Jan 1902, p.1.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁰⁶ *Star*, 15 Jan 1902, p.3; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 15 Jan 1902, p.2. The *Poverty Bay Herald* reported that the Reverend R. R. M. Sutherland of the Dunedin Presbytery moved a resolution stating ‘That the Presbytery have no sympathy with the veiled but unmistakable pro-Boerism of the acting editor of the Outlook, and express deep regret that he should abuse his position to write what he must have known would be an offence to his readers and misrepresent the churches whose organ the Outlook is.’

¹⁰⁷ *Star*, 29 Jan 1902, p.3.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Evening Post*, 13 Jan 1902, p.5.

¹¹⁰ *Evening Post*, 20 Dec 1901, p.5.

¹¹¹ Barry Gustafson, *Labour’s Path to Political Independence: The Origins and Establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party 1900-19*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1980, p.24. Gustafson notes that Socialist parties were formed in Wellington in July 1901, Petone in August 1901 and Christchurch in January 1902.

hardly unanimous, with several unions supporting the Government's actions.¹¹² After the resolution's passage, Trades Council President William Naughton resigned in protest, claiming it didn't reflect 'Labour Party' views, or those of the vast majority of unionists.¹¹³ A number of other unions expressed similar attitudes.¹¹⁴

The Bakers' Union and the Timber Yards Workers' Union went further, stating their continued affiliation with the council depended on it rescinding the resolution, while the United Furniture Trades Union described it as 'ill-timed and viciously worded'. Another delegate claimed the Carpenters' Union was behind the resolution, and said it had been passed during a poorly-attended meeting. Following the rescinding of the resolution shortly after its passage, the Wellington Typographical Union 'carried with enthusiasm' its own version: 'That this union has no sympathy with any disloyal sentiments in connection with the Boer War'.¹¹⁵

Nonetheless, the original resolution had supporters. When it was passed, the Operative Sausage Case and Skin-makers' Union expressed its 'pleasure', while other union delegates spoke in its favour.¹¹⁶ Wellington unionist T. Lynch claimed that 'war was not in the real interest of the workers', while another delegate claimed that Naughton was simply agreeing with Seddon's sentiments. Two delegates who played a prominent part in the passage of the anti-war resolution were from the Wellington Amalgamated Society of Painters and Decorators' Union and when their union later voted to overturn the resolution they resigned both as Trades Council delegates and as members of their union's management committee.¹¹⁷ When the Wellington Typographical Union also voted to rescind the Trades Council resolution, the only one of its delegates who had originally supported its passage did not seek re-election.¹¹⁸

Union participation in celebrations marking key events in the conflict suggests that at least initially a relatively widespread level of support for the war existed within the labour movement. In October 1899, there were patriotic displays supporting Britain's position during

¹¹² *Evening Post*, 20 Dec 1901, p.5; *ibid.*, 8 Jan 1902, p.5.

¹¹³ *Evening Post*, 20 Dec 1901, p.5.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 Jan 1902, p.2. The Operative Butchers' Union, United Furniture Trades Union, Timber Yards Workers' Union, Bakers' Union, Plumbers' Union, Tailors' Union, Saddlers' Union, and the Bookbinders and Paper-rulers' Union all expressed opposition to the resolution. *Evening Post*, 8 Jan 1902, p.5.

¹¹⁵ *Evening Post*, 20 Jan 1902, p.5.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 10 Jan 1902, p.2.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13 Jan 1902, p.5. The two delegates were Mr. Cole and Mr. Noot. Shortly after the original resolution was passed, the Wellington Amalgamated Society of Painters and Decorators' Union held a 'very acrimonious' meeting that lasted until 2am. Cole 'strongly protested' against the motion to rescind the anti-war resolution.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 Jan 1902, p.5.

the Wellington Labour Day parade.¹¹⁹ In Dunedin, the president of the Trades and Labour Council attended a crowded patriotic meeting that raised three thousand pounds for the war effort.¹²⁰ Wellington wharf workers immediately stopped work to celebrate when the relief of Ladysmith was announced, and in Christchurch employees from Addington Workshops, allegedly ‘numbering some hundreds’, paraded through the city, while Hillside Workshops’ workers and the Wharf Lumpers’ Union participated in the Dunedin parade for the relief of Mafeking.¹²¹ Tangible labour support for the war came from the Tailoresses’ Union, which made “‘hold-alls” and “housewives” for the [Rough Riders] contingent’, Dunedin wharf labourers who contributed to the Patriotic Fund, and Kaitangata Company employees who contributed 6d each per week.¹²²

When Alfred Barclay, MHR for Dunedin City, was vilified for describing Britain’s actions regarding the war as ‘infamous’, the Dunedin Workers’ Political Committee passed a resolution expressing its confidence in him.¹²³ However, employees at Hillside Workshops, eschewing the usual practice of inviting the Dunedin MHR to the railway workers’ annual picnic, deemed Barclay’s presence undesirable because of what they perceived as his pro-Boer views.¹²⁴ During a Dunedin meeting protesting against German press allegations of British excesses in South Africa, sections of the audience reportedly sang ‘We’ll hang old Barclay on a sour apple tree’ and gave ‘three groans for Barclay’.¹²⁵ At the meeting’s end, when the president of the Trades and Labour Council seconded a motion dismissing the German claims, he noted that ‘as among the soldiers reflected upon were a number of the workers, it was only his duty to repudiate the slanders’.¹²⁶ When Barclay later addressed a Hillside Workshops meeting, he was confronted by workers carrying the Union Jack, who sang the National Anthem and passed a resolution denouncing his ‘traitorous utterances’, while the *Nelson*

¹¹⁹ *Evening Post*, 11 Oct 1899, p.6. Seddon apologized to workers who had continued alterations to the *Waiwera* during Labour Day so the vessel could transport the First Contingent. Seddon added that ‘These men were only doing their duty as the young New Zealanders would do when they got to the Transvaal.’ *Colonist*, 12 Oct 1899, p.3.

¹²⁰ *Otago Witness*, 28 Dec 1899, p.20.

¹²¹ *Timaru Herald*, 3 Mar 1900, p.3; *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1900, p.2. The *Otago Daily Times* reported ‘about one hundred’ members of Wharf Lumpers’ Union carried banners in the parade reading ‘God Save the Queen’, ‘Hurrah for Baden-Powell[,] the Empire’s Greatest Hero’ and ‘When Duty Calls Zealandia’s Sons Obey’.

¹²² *Wanganui Herald*, 9 Feb 1900, p.2; *Otago Daily Times*, 9 Mar 1900, p.5; *Clutha Leader*, 19 Jan 1900, p.5.

¹²³ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 31 May 1900, p.4.

¹²⁴ *Star*, 15 Jan 1902, p.3.

¹²⁵ *Otago Witness*, 22 Jan, 1902, p.16. The tune was an adaptation of the American song ‘John Brown’s Body’. The use of ‘three groans’ as a form of censure had been employed for many years, and as early as 1844 a crowd had called for ‘three groans for the Maori Governor’. *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian*, 12 Oct 1844, p.3.

¹²⁶ *Otago Witness*, 22 Jan, 1902, p.17.

Evening Mail claimed Barclay's labour support base had evaporated.¹²⁷ Barclay denied being pro-Boer, though conceded he was 'anti-jingo'.¹²⁸ Legislative Council member, Henry Scotland, also expressed his distaste for the jingoism engendered by the conflict: 'It is painful to see how people are persecuted, and their loyalty questioned, because they express condemnation of this war.'¹²⁹

The position of politicians who either voted against participation or voiced opposition did not necessarily sound the death knell of their parliamentary careers. John Hutcheson won the Wellington City seat with a 733 majority in the 1899 election.¹³⁰ Although Alfred Barclay was ousted from his City of Dunedin seat the same year, and came a distant fourth in the 1902 election, he resurrected his political career by winning the Dunedin North seat in 1905.¹³¹ After losing his Christchurch City seat in 1899, largely due to his stance regarding the war, Thomas Taylor was re-elected in 1902 before losing his seat again while standing for Christchurch North in 1905, though another dissenter, James Kelly, also lost his Invercargill seat in 1899, and did not run in either the 1902 or 1905 election.¹³²

As Ellen Ellis and Anna Rogers have shown, New Zealand women were far more than passive observers of the war.¹³³ Apart from often being the mothers, wives and sweethearts of soldiers, they were heavily involved in fund-raising activities, and providing home comforts to the troops, while several also played a direct role in the war as nurses and teachers. However, Megan Hutching has shown that women were also at the forefront of opposition to the conflict.¹³⁴ A 1900 Dunedin meeting of the National Council of Women (NCW) provided a controversial forum for the expression of anti-war sentiments. Although NCW president, Kate Sheppard, later claimed she had suggested speakers avoid specific reference to the war in their peace and arbitration discussions, a paper delivered by Wilhelmina Sherriff Bain criticising British actions in South Africa angered the editor of the *Otago Daily Times*, assorted members of the Otago community, and the mayor of Dunedin, Robert Chisholm,

¹²⁷ *Grey River Argus*, 28 Jan 1902, p.4; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 16 Jan 1902, p.2.

¹²⁸ *Marlborough Express*, 28 Sep 1901, p.4.

¹²⁹ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.20.

¹³⁰ *AJHR*, 1900, H-26, p.2.

¹³¹ *AJHR*, 1900, H-26, p.2; *ibid.*, 1903, H-26, p.3; *ibid.*, 1906, H-25, p.5.

¹³² *AJHR*, 1900, H-26, p.2,3; *ibid.*, 1903, H-26, p.2-3; *ibid.*, 1906, H-25, p.4-5. Gilbert Carson, who spoke during the debate, stated 'I cannot bring myself into agreement with this resolution'. Although he abstained from voting, he also lost his Wanganui seat in the 1899 General Election. *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.80; *AJHR*, 1900, H-26, p.2.

¹³³ Ellen Ellis, in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.128-148; Anna Rogers, *While You're Away*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.12-31.

¹³⁴ Megan Hutching, "'Mothers of the World': Women, Peace and Arbitration in Early Twentieth-Century New Zealand", *NZJH*, 27:2 (1993), pp.173-185.

who declined to chair the NCW conversazione following Bain's address.¹³⁵ Hutching notes that the driving forces behind the NCW's stance were Bain's unwavering support for peace and arbitration as a means of solving international disputes, combined with the NCW's belief that women had both an inherent right and a duty to be actively involved in promoting peaceful conflict resolution and shaping the political decision-making process.¹³⁶

Bain advocated the establishment of a Court of Arbitration to settle international disputes, decried the rise in militarism that transformed 'men into automatic killing machines' and abhorred New Zealand sending its young men 'to slay boys of 16 and old men of 70'.¹³⁷ Bain's motion supporting arbitration and rejecting militarism was seconded by Marianne Tasker, whose own son would serve in the Sixth Contingent, while she, in an apparent contradiction of her anti-militarist stance, would later serve on the Wellington 'Send-off Committee'.¹³⁸ After a newspaper editorial claimed that 'not a single protest (as distinct from an expression of difference of opinion) was entered against the attitude of the pro-Boer advocates' at the NCW meeting, Bain wrote to the paper stating that 'Beautiful as is the sentiment of patriotism, the solidarity of mankind is a still grander ideal'.¹³⁹

The NCW meeting did not, however, represent a unified stance of women's opposition to the war in the wider community. After Margaret Sievwright of the Gisborne Women's Political Association (GWPA) echoed the view that the war was the result of capitalist machinations, the Dunedin *Evening Star* printed an article titled 'Hats off to the Women of Gisborne', featuring a letter from the GWPA that applauded the mayor of Dunedin's refusal to chair the conversazione 'on account of the pro-Boer utterances and disloyalty of a number of the members of the Women's National Council'.¹⁴⁰ Agnes Scott, the letter's author, distanced the GWPA from Sievwright's position, claiming Sievwright did not represent the association, and added, 'We are loyal to our Queen, flag and country'.¹⁴¹ Other women were also disdainful of the NCW's position. Florence Brewer declined to sing at the NCW conversazione due to the 'unpatriotic and disparaging remarks made by members', while 'An

¹³⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, 12 May 1900, pp.3,6,8; Megan Hutching. 'Bain, Wilhelmina Sherriff - Biography', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 27-Sep-10, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/bibliographies/3b3>.

¹³⁶ Hutching, 'Mothers', pp.175-176.

¹³⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, 11 May 1900, p.2.

¹³⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, 11 May 1900, p.2; Attestation Form, 25 Jan 1901, Charles Borland Tasker, AABK 18805 W5515 0005468, ANZ NZDFPR, p.24; *Evening Post*, 11 Jan 1902, p.5.

¹³⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, 12 May 1900, p.6; *ibid.*, 14 May 1900, p.2

¹⁴⁰ Elspeth M. Simpson. 'Siewwright, Margaret Home' in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 27-Sep-10, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/bibliographies/2s24>; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 13 Jun, 1900, p.2.

¹⁴¹ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 13 Jun, 1900, p.2.

English Married Woman' who had planned to attend the NCW meeting claimed she changed her mind as 'my true British patriotism could never tolerate the atmosphere of so many (apparently) she pro-Boers'.¹⁴²

One newspaper claimed the only person who 'displayed a grasp of the situation' was NCW member Margaret Bullock, who said if England 'had not declared war when she did, her prestige would have gone for ever'.¹⁴³ Even among the NCW members who were criticised in the press, there were apparent contradictions. Jessie Williamson, an Irishwoman and NCW vice-president, who spoke supporting arbitration and opposing war, noted that she had been the only woman on the first Transvaal Refugees' Fund Committee, adding she had been on the Wanganui General Committee for raising troops, had assisted in the contingent send-off, and was 'proud to belong to such a country that had sent her sons to the war in the way New Zealand had done'.¹⁴⁴

Women expressing opposition to the war were not confined to the NWC. In a letter to the *Auckland Star* titled 'In Defence of the Boers', Charlotte Bewicke wrote, 'I am glad and thankful to see there are a few, at least, who take a right view of these much-abused Dutch farmers'.¹⁴⁵ Bewicke offered to accept contributions 'on behalf of Sick and Wounded Boers' and started the fund with her own £5 contribution (fig. 3). She repeatedly advertised her fund and detailed contributors in the personal columns of the *Auckland Star* and the *Observer* (fig. 4) over a four month period, before announcing in April 1900 that she had 'received, acknowledged and forwarded the sum of £21'.¹⁴⁶ The *Observer* noted that while the paper was unable to agree with Bewicke's opinion that 'England intervened simply because she coveted the Transvaal', it nonetheless admired 'Miss Bewicke for having the courage to think for

¹⁴² *Otago Daily Times*, 12 May 1900, p.3; *ibid.*, 14 May 1900, p.2.

¹⁴³ *Otago Daily Times*, 12 May 1900, p.6; *ibid.*, 11 May 1900, p.2. Text as in original.

¹⁴⁴ Bronwyn Labrum, 'Williamson, Jessie Marguerite' in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2w25/1>; *Otago Daily Times*, 12 May 1900, p.8; *ibid.*, 14 May 1900, p.2; *ibid.*, 11 May 1900, p.2; Hutching notes that other women's organisations like the Women's Christian Temperance Union, while advocating arbitration as a means of preventing war, actively supported the government's stance in World War One once hostilities commenced. Hutching, 'Mothers', p.182.

¹⁴⁵ *Auckland Star*, 27 Oct 1899, p.2.

¹⁴⁶ *Auckland Star*, 28 Oct 1899, p.8; *ibid.*, 2 Nov 1899, p.1; 4 Nov 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 6 Nov 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 9 Nov 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 13 Nov 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 14 Nov 1899, p.8; *ibid.*, 15 Nov 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 16 Nov 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 25 Nov 1899, p.8; *ibid.*, 27 Nov 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 29 Nov 1899, p.4; *ibid.*, 30 Nov 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 2 Dec 1899, p.8; *ibid.*, 8 Dec 1899, p.4; *ibid.*, 12 Dec 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 13 Dec 1899, p.4; *ibid.*, 14 Dec 1899, p.8; *ibid.*, 16 Dec 1899, p.8; *ibid.*, 27 Dec 1899, p.1; *ibid.*, 28 Dec 1899, p.8; *Observer*, 9 Dec 1899, p.20; *ibid.*, 28 Dec 1899, p.2; *ibid.*, 20 Jan 1900, p.10; *ibid.*, 27 Jan 1900, p.20; *ibid.*, 14 Apr 1900, p.20. On 6 Nov 1899, Bewicke's advertisement appeared in the same column as the following advertisement for Flora Soap: 'The Transvaal [sic] impending struggle with the Boers is assuming alarming proportions. The British have been very patient and forbearing, and no doubt intend wiping them out like FLORA SOAP wipes dirt out.' *Auckland Star*, 6 Nov 1899, p.1.

herself'.¹⁴⁷ Bewicke's activities were reported in Australian papers, with the *West Australian Sunday Times* declaring, 'She's right – it's the Boers who'll want aid the most'.¹⁴⁸

SUBSCRIPTIONS are earnestly requested on behalf of the sick and wounded Boers. All donations, however small, received and acknowledged by Miss Bewicke, Transbrook, Lake Takapuna. References: Bank of Australasia.

Fig. 3. Notice placed by Charlotte Bewicke in the *Auckland Star* in 1899. Source: *Auckland Star*, 13 Dec 1899, p.4.

RECEIVED ON BEHALF OF THE 'SICK AND WOUNDED BOERS.'

	£.	s.	d.
C. Bewicke	5	0	0
J. W. Wilkie	2	2	0
E. F. Furguson		10	0
E. Coyle		10	0
W. Whittaker		10	0
C. Brunn		10	0
'Justice'		2	6
A friend		1	0
A sympathiser		2	6
C. Currie	1	0	0
A sympathiser		2	6

Further donations are most earnestly requested, and will be received and acknowledged by Miss Bewicke, 'Transbrooke,' Lake Takapuna.

Fig. 4. Notice placed by Charlotte Bewicke in the *Observer* in 1899 listing contributors to her 'Sick and Wounded Boers' Fund. Source: *Observer*, 25 Nov 1899, p.5.

Nonetheless, the level of female support exhibited for the soldiers in South Africa through participation in patriotic activities suggests women like Bewicke were in the minority. Responding to claims made in the German press of British wartime excesses, 'No.1 Ladies Loyal Orange Lodge No Surrender' passed a resolution supporting Seddon's decision to

¹⁴⁷ *Observer*, 25 Nov 1899, p.16.

¹⁴⁸ *West Australian Sunday Times*, 24 Dec 1899, p.1. The *Observer* reported that Bewicke was also mentioned in the *Sydney Truth*. *Observer*, 30 Dec 1899, p.8.

dispatch more contingents.¹⁴⁹ People unable to enter a packed Wellington patriotic meeting protesting the German statements gathered around the General Post Office steps where a resolution was carried protesting against ‘the slanderous statement which has been made, reflecting upon the honour of our sons and husbands and the sons and husbands of the Mother Land who have fought for the Empire’.¹⁵⁰ The resolution was seconded by ‘Miss Seddon’ who claimed that the women of the colony were ‘prepared to sacrifice their brothers and their sweethearts for the good of the Empire’.¹⁵¹ In Kumara, a woman returned her purchases after a shopkeeper made a comment supporting the Boers, while a mother allegedly wrote to the *Dunedin Star* asking why women were exempt from the fighting.¹⁵² Papers reported that she claimed her daughter ‘is very anxious to enlist if there is the slightest chance’.¹⁵³

Many women played key roles in patriotic activities and wartime fundraising. The *Tuapeka Times* noted women’s involvement in a large Dunedin floral fête that allegedly raised £1,100 for the Rough Riders Contingent; £16 was collected by young ladies at Wilsher Bay sports for the Patriotic Fund and female medical students and hospital nurses ‘manifested their loyalty and enthusiasm’ during a procession following the relief of Mafeking.¹⁵⁴ Women in the Maudeville area sent comforts to the soldiers, the Ladies Club of Wanganui sent clothing worth £30, ‘the ladies of Riverdale’ sent two boxes of comforts, Jessie Bodle sent medical supplies, servant girls in Dunedin contributed funds for a horse and Alice St Claire-Inglis also sent clothing.¹⁵⁵ The ladies of Springburn raised £24 for ‘the New Zealand Boys in South Africa’ through a patriotic concert and dance at Staveley Hall that was so crowded many had to stand outside, and in Dunedin the Ladies’ Committee raised £60 11s 3d to purchase band instruments for the Ninth Contingent.¹⁵⁶ Penelope and Leonie Farquharson followed the war with interest and regularly corresponded with their brother serving in South Africa, while Flo

¹⁴⁹ M. J. Mitchell to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 27 Jan 1902, in IA1 845 General Inwards Correspondence to the Colonial Secretary, ATL 1902/788.

¹⁵⁰ *Evening Post*, 18 Jan 1902, p.2.

¹⁵¹ *Evening Post*, 18 Jan 1902, p.2. Mary Seddon, Richard Seddon’s daughter, held the rank of lieutenant in the ‘Young Ladies’ Khaki Contingent’ that performed military drills while dressed in khaki uniforms at fund raising events during the war. *Evening Post*, 17 May 1900, p.5.

¹⁵² *Observer*, 3 Mar 1900, p.15.

¹⁵³ *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 25 Mar 1902, p.2; *Marlborough Express*, 27 Mar 1902, p.3.

¹⁵⁴ *Tuapeka Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.3; *Clutha Leader*, 19 Jan 1900, p.4; *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1900, p.2. The official programme of the 1900 Floral Fete for the Otago and Southland Contingent Fund listed seventy-six women on the Ladies’ General Committee. Otago and Southland Contingent Fund, *Floral Fete at Forbury Park: Official Programme. Wednesday, Feb. 28th 1900*, Dunedin: Cherrie & McIndoe, Printers, 1900, n.p..

¹⁵⁵ W.R. Overton to Major Robin, letter, 24 Mar 1900, Return showing quantities of gifts forwarded to South Africa, Feb 1900 – Aug 1901, ANZ AD34 4; H.L. Cameron to Major Robin, letter, 22 Mar 1900, *ibid.*; Jean Donald to Major Robin, letter, 23 Mar 1900, *ibid.*; Jessie Bodle to Major Robin, letter, 8 Jan 1900, *ibid.*; *Wanganui Herald*, 9 Feb 1900, p.2; Alice St Claire-Inglis to Major Robin, letter, 29 Apr 1900, Return showing quantities of gifts forwarded to South Africa, Feb 1900 – Aug 1901, ANZ AD34 4.

¹⁵⁶ *Ashburton Guardian*, 6 Apr 1900, p.2; *Tuapeka Times*, 12 Mar 1902, p.3.

and Hettie Tansley from Dannevirke had first-hand experience of the war as they were touring South Africa in 1899 and sailed from Durban to Cape Town with Transvaal refugees and a wounded soldier.¹⁵⁷

Even before the First Contingent sailed, numbers of nurses and the Red Cross Brigade offered their services, though these and similar offers shortly after hostilities commenced were initially declined by Seddon.¹⁵⁸ The *Ashburton Guardian* reported Wairau Hospital nurses Neville and Hewitt volunteering the day after war broke out, while Melita Jones and Margaret White followed suit a few months later.¹⁵⁹ The *Press* reported that Doctor Robert Bakewell, who had served during the Crimean War with Florence Nightingale, strongly opposed sending nurses and ‘the ladies of the Red Cross Brigade’, but in January 1900 papers claimed Seddon had consented to four nurses and a dresser going to Africa.¹⁶⁰ Most of the nurses who travelled to South Africa were supported by patriotic organisations like the Canterbury Nurses’ Committee, though Mabel Brooke-Smith and Constance Geraldine Jeffreys sailed to South Africa at their own expense, and Lord Ranfurly later noted that ‘a number of nurses from this colony have been employed in the Army Nursing Service Reserve’.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Penelope Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 1 Feb 1900, NAM 1998.11; ‘Lonnie’ to William Farquharson, 2 Jan 1901, *ibid.*; *Evening Post*, 19 Dec 1899, p.5.

¹⁵⁸ *Star*, 10 Oct 1899, p.3; *Otago Daily Times*, 10 Oct 1899, p.5; *Star* 23 Dec 1899, p.6. Seddon sent a telegram to the St John Ambulance Society informing them that ‘present intention is not to send an ambulance corps’.

¹⁵⁹ *Ashburton Guardian*, 13 Oct 1899, p.2; *Auckland Star*, 3 Feb 1900, p.5.

¹⁶⁰ *Press*, 19 Oct 1899, p.4-5; *ibid.*, 12 Jan 1900, p.6. Bakewell claimed nurses were either ‘gushing enthusiasts who don’t know what they are about, or hard-headed, intensely practical women, who go because there is money in it, and a possible husband to be picked up, of a rank or position much above their own’. It appears the soldiers in South Africa disagreed. Though critical of field hospitals, Trooper William Saunders praised the nurses, while Trooper Joseph Culling defended the treatment he had received in hospital. Both Saunders and Culling were invalided home after being crushed by horses. The *Press* claimed that Bakewell’s views were ‘misogyny run mad’ and stated that it believed his claims were ‘utterly untrue of the majority of volunteer nurses’. Bakewell served in the Ninth Contingent and appears to have been the oldest NZ contingent member. Despite playing a limited role in the conflict, Bakewell received £200 for his services in the Ninth Contingent. The *Star* reported that the dresser was a Mr. Pierson. *Star*, 24 Jul 1900, p.1; *Otago Daily Times*, 23 Jul 1900, p.2; *ibid.*, 25 Jul 1900, p.2; Attestation Form, 20 Mar 1902, Robert Hall Bakewell, AABK 18805 W5515 0000220, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; William Alfred Saunders, AABK 18805 W5515 0006459, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6; Medical Board Report, 7 Jul 1900, Joseph Thomas Culling, AABK 18805 W5515 0001308, ANZ NZDFPR, p.32; *Auckland Star*, 27 Jul 1905, p.3; *Star* 15 Jan 1900, p.3.

¹⁶¹ S.D. Barker to Sir Arthur Douglas, letter, 19 Sep 1900, Appointment of nurses, Mar 1900 – Feb 1957, ANZ A34 2; Sherayl Kendall & David Corbett, *New Zealand Military Nursing: A History of the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps Boer War to Present Day*, Sherayl Kendall & David Corbett, 1990, p.6; Lord Ranfurly to Joseph Chamberlain, 23 Apr 1902, *AJHR*, 1903 A-1, p.2. Ranfurly reported that the ‘colonial’ nurses Mabel ‘Brooksmith’ and Geraldine ‘Jefferies’ had served for nearly two years in the Royal Army Medical Corps. He added that ‘On applying for the bounty given to the English nurses they state they were informed that colonial nurses were not entitled to it’. Ranfurly appears to have been referring to Mabel Ethelind Brooke-Smith and Constance Geraldine Jeffreys. The rolls for the Queen’s South Africa medal list an M.E. Brooke Smith and a C.G. Jeffreys as ‘Civilian Nurses’ who served in South Africa, while a Constance Geraldine Jeffreys was born in New Zealand in 1875. Rogers, *While You’re Away*, p.21; National Archives, Kew, UK, WO 100/229, p.207; Constance Geraldine Jeffreys, DIA NZBDM 1875/4812.

A degree of regional competitiveness seems to have accompanied the dispatch of nurses, and a group of Dunedin women visited Seddon to enquire about the way nurses had been sent from other areas.¹⁶² Seddon stated that the Imperial Government had agreed to accept nurses providing groups of at least six went and the cost of their 'passage, outfit and salary while on service' was met by a patriotic committee. These terms seem to have been modified as the nurses apparently received Imperial pay, as well as a salary of £16 5s for three months from their Organising Committee.¹⁶³ The Otago and Southland Nurses' Fund raised £1,208 14s 11d to send seven nurses, and in 1902 'Experienced Nurse' wrote to the *Auckland Star* advocating giving inexperienced 'girls a chance to do their duty' nursing in South Africa.¹⁶⁴

While nurses were praised by the soldiers, some men were critical of the general standard of military medical care in field hospitals. A widely published report from the *New Zealand Times* 'special correspondent' documented the allegedly poor treatment of Trooper John Saxon, who died of what was officially reported as 'malarial fever'.¹⁶⁵ The reporter, who appears to have been Alf C. Morton, claimed that Saxon was not provided with adequate food and water and said 'If the poor man had been a common criminal he could not have been treated in a more brutal manner'.¹⁶⁶

In March 1902 several papers reported an Imperial authorities' request for twenty female teachers to work in the British concentration camps on a £100 yearly salary.¹⁶⁷ An Education Department call for applications received a rapid response and Lord Ranfurly noted there had been a total of 222 applicants for twenty positions.¹⁶⁸ Dubbed 'the Learned

¹⁶² *Otago Daily Times*, 5 Feb 1900, p.5.

¹⁶³ Dunedin Organising Committee to Herbert Pilcher, letter, 6 Sep 1900, Appointment of nurses, Mar 1900 – Feb 1957, ANZ A34 2, pp.1-2.

¹⁶⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 1 Aug 1900, p.3; *Evening Post*, 14 Jul 1900, p.5; *Auckland Star*, 29 Mar 1902, p.5.

¹⁶⁵ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 3 Oct 1900, p.3; *Wanganui Herald*, 4 Oct 1900, p.2; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 16 Oct 1900, p.4; *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A, p.5. The 'special reporter' incorrectly identified Saxon as 'G.F. Saxon'. He claimed to have visited Saxon in hospital and found him lying gravely ill in filthy conditions: 'My feelings on entering the building may be more easily imagined than described when to my surprise I found one solitary occupant, the emaciated Trooper G.F. [sic] Saxon, once a fine strong, young fellow whose acquaintance I had made during the voyage. There, on the dirty floor, in the midst of swarms of flies, fragments of some decomposed food and dirty utensils, the poor fellow lay as helpless as a child, with nothing but this filthy chaos and the dirty, dismal walls of the building and complete solitude to cheer his rapidly expiring spirits.' In a report regarding Saxon, Surgeon Captain James Watt denied Saxon was neglected and requested 'a public contradiction of the report'. Surgeon Captain James Watt to Commanding Officer 4th N.Z. Regiment, letter, 25 Nov 1900, John Frederick Hyde Saxon, AABK 18805 W5515 0004960, ANZ NZDFPR, p.8.

¹⁶⁶ William James Hardman to Surgeon Captain James Watt, letter, 25 Nov 1900, John Frederick Hyde Saxon, AABK 18805 W5515 0004960, ANZ NZDFPR, p.9; *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 3 Oct 1900, p.3.

¹⁶⁷ *Evening Post*, 10 Mar 1902, p.4; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 18 Mar 1902, p.3.

¹⁶⁸ *Evening Post*, 15 Mar 1902, p.4; *Wanganui Chronicle*, 18 Mar 1902 p.3; Lord Ranfurly to Joseph Chamberlain, 7 May 1902, *AJHR*, 1903 A-1, p.3.

Eleventh', the successful applicants' photographs appeared in the *Otago Witness*.¹⁶⁹ Concerns were expressed regarding the depletion of New Zealand's teachers, with a correspondent to the *Press* claiming women teachers were too scarce and hoping 'the needs of our own children are not being sacrificed in vain'.¹⁷⁰ The Imperial Government paid £1,381 1s 2d for the teachers' passages to South Africa and the understanding was that the teachers would 'follow their profession generally' when the camps were closed.¹⁷¹

Though an 'ardent imperialist',¹⁷² William Pember Reeves, the New Zealand Agent-General in London, was subjected to public intolerance after his dispatches appeared in several papers, resulting in objections to their content and accusations that Reeves was pro-Boer. The Mayor of Gisborne cabled Seddon, expressing his disapproval of Reeves, and a correspondent to the *Otago Daily Times* wrote that Reeves's sympathies were 'transparently with the enemies of his Queen and country'.¹⁷³ In a detailed rebuttal tabled in parliament, Reeves noted 'New Zealand newspaper intelligence goes through very careful subediting, a considerable process of expansion, and some literary embellishment', adding the public were 'misled by inflated and inaccurate newspaper telegrams'.¹⁷⁴ Noting the expense of sending cables, Reeves claimed it was his business 'to tell his Government the driest facts in the briefest and plainest words'.¹⁷⁵ In a later editorial vindicating Reeves, the *Tuapeka Times* claimed he had fallen victim to a 'patriotic heresy hunt', adding 'he was denounced with all

¹⁶⁹ *Marlborough Express*, 5 May 1902, p.1; *Otago Witness*, 14 May 1902, p.41. The *Marlborough Express* claimed Joseph Ward gave them their nickname. The *Otago Witness* featured photos of the entire group as well as the teachers from Otago and the S.S. *Westralia*, the vessel that carried them to South Africa.

¹⁷⁰ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 22 Mar 1902, p.2; *Press*, 18 Mar 1902, p.2. The editor of the *Manawatu Evening Standard* was critical of these reservations, stating 'We have no sympathy with that narrow spirit which seems to think that we should confine the energies of young New Zealand to our own colony, for we believe that the New Zealander can hold his own in any part of the world'. However, the editor described the salary as 'miserly', and when Seddon was questioned by a female teacher in New Plymouth about the Imperial teaching positions he said he would not advise women to apply if their New Zealand salary was higher than that offered in South Africa. *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 24 Mar 1902, p.2. The N.Z. National Library note that this paper was printed with an incorrect date.

¹⁷¹ *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1902, p.291; *Southland Times*, 10 Mar 1902, p.2.

¹⁷² Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves: New Zealand Fabian*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, p.258. Sinclair notes that while Reeves saw the Empire as 'a force for good in the world', he was ambivalent toward the monarchy.

¹⁷³ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.210; *Otago Daily Times*, 28 Feb 1900, p.2.

¹⁷⁴ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.210.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Reeves noted that it cost 3s 11d per word to send cables from London to New Zealand. In July 1902 the Australasian manager of the Eastern Extension, Australasia and China Telegraph Company advised the Secretary of the New Zealand General Post Office that 'in view of the cessation of military operations in South Africa and China, [the Eastern Extension Company] have decided to discontinue all special rates and arrangements for troop messages to and from both countries from the 1st October next'. Foreign telegram and cablegram costs for the Colonial Secretary's Department rose from £2,209 1s 9d in 1897-1898 to £9,749 14s 9d in 1900-1901, while in 1899-1900 payments to Reuter's Telegram Company for special telegrams totalled £271 19s. *AJHR*, 1903, F-8, p.4; *ibid.*, 1898, B-1, p.43; *ibid.*, 1901, B-1, p.45; *ibid.*, 1900, B-1, p.45.

the wild extravagance of speech and insulting epithet in the armory [sic] of the frenzied Jingo'.¹⁷⁶ Commenting on Reeves's defence of his despatches, the *Otago Daily Times* reported he had 'the unique distinction of being burned in effigy and disclaimed as an anti-patriot'.¹⁷⁷

Another controversy concerned the journalist and Hansard chief, James Grattan Grey. Grey wrote an article critical of the war for the *New York Times* that attracted publicity in New Zealand and beyond.¹⁷⁸ When confronted by Seddon after extracts appeared in the *Dunedin Evening Star*, Grey, who was Irish and a member of the Peace and Humanity Society of Victoria, readily admitted writing the article and refused to recant, noting that it was not the first time the paper had attacked him.¹⁷⁹ Grey said he had become 'a staunch adherent of the humane and enlightened policy of England's greatest Commoner, Mr. Gladstone' and added 'the greed of unscrupulous capitalists is in truth the real *raison d'être* of the present deplorable conflict'.¹⁸⁰ Seddon referred the matter to the Reporting Debates and Printing Committee, which, after questioning Grey, recommended his dismissal, claiming he had flouted an earlier committee recommendation that 'Hansard staff should not actively participate in New Zealand politics by writing articles for publication or otherwise'.¹⁸¹

In his article, titled 'Jingoism in Australasia', Grey claimed that 'the immorality of the principle that might is right is completely disregarded in this wave of imperialism' and observed:

To outside nations it will appear not a little odd that self-governing colonies 7,000 miles away from the scene of strife should send off bodies of men to do battle against people they have had no quarrel with, or that they should think it necessary to assist in the subjugation of a people who claim the right of self-government the same as they do; but the jingoistic spirit at the Antipodes is too

¹⁷⁶ *Tuapeka Times*, 21 Jul 1900, p.2.

¹⁷⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, 24 Nov 1900, p.2.

¹⁷⁸ *New York Times*, New York, 26 Nov 1899, p.21; *ibid.*, 10 Jun 1900, p.3; *ibid.*, 2 Sep 1900, p.15.

¹⁷⁹ *AJHR*, 1900, H-29, p.2; *New York Times*, New York, 26 Nov 1899, p.21.

¹⁸⁰ *AJHR*, 1900, H-29, p.2. In a pamphlet Grey wrote and circulated titled *Freedom of Thought & Speech in New Zealand*, he included several letters to New Zealand newspapers from individuals that supported his views regarding the war. Grattan Grey, *Freedom of Thought & Speech in New Zealand. A Serious Menace to Liberty. The Story of the Boers. Things Worth Knowing and Facts Hitherto Suppressed*, Wellington: Wright & Genside, 1900.

¹⁸¹ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.159; *AJHR*, 1900, I-8, p.2. Grey appeared before seven of the ten members of the Reporting Debates and Printing Committee on 17 July 1900. During his examination he said that he did 'not withdraw one-thousandth part of an inch from the position I have taken up'. *AJHR*, 1900, I-8, p.2-3.

inflamed just now to care anything about the rights or wrongs of the question.¹⁸²

When Grey's fate was decided following a lengthy parliamentary debate, Seddon claimed to have 'no personal feeling in this matter' and avoided making a direct connection between the content of Grey's article and his dismissal, instead framing his offence as defiance of a parliamentary committee.¹⁸³ MHR John Hutcheson opposed Grey's dismissal, claiming Grey was contractually permitted to write for other publications and asserting that had Grey's article been on a less contentious subject he would not have faced parliamentary censure.¹⁸⁴ Hutcheson's claim that the content of Grey's article had coloured the committee's recommendation was refuted by the MHR for Taieri and committee member, Walter Carncross. As Johnson notes, some parliamentarians who opposed sending the First Contingent supported Grey's dismissal, while others who supported New Zealand's participation either felt Grey had not breached his employment contract, or saw his dismissal as a challenge to freedom of thought and opposed it.¹⁸⁵ William Collins, the MHR for Christchurch City, claimed he was ashamed at the content of Grey's *New York Times* article, but opposed his dismissal, seeing it as an attack on 'the very basis of Liberalism'.¹⁸⁶ Grey's termination of employment was ultimately supported by a majority of thirty-six.¹⁸⁷ A *New York Times* article titled 'Driven from New Zealand' discussed Grey's treatment and claimed New Zealand was 'far more jingoistic than any of the other colonies at the Antipodes and [had] a spirit of intolerance arising such as could not be believed possible in any country calling itself a democracy'.¹⁸⁸ It also alleged that Grey had been threatened with physical violence at Kimberley, Ladysmith and Mafeking celebrations.

Grey received support from W.T. Stead, the editor of the British journal *The Review of Reviews*, who was also vilified in the New Zealand press for his opposition to the war and was referred to as 'that arch-traitor' in the *Evening Post*.¹⁸⁹ Stead commended Grey for his stance 'in the midst of the semi-delirious sentiment which has submerged common sense, reason,

¹⁸² *New York Times*, New York, 26 Nov 1899, p.21.

¹⁸³ *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.15.

¹⁸⁴ *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.16.

¹⁸⁵ Johnson, pp.50-51. J.W. Thomson and Michael Gilfedder, who voted against sending the First Contingent, supported Grey's dismissal. Others, like Frederic Lang, William Russell and Frederick Pirani, who supported New Zealand's participation in the war, opposed the move to remove Grey. *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.96; *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.53.

¹⁸⁶ *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.23.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.53.

¹⁸⁸ *New York Times*, New York, 2 Sep 1900, p.15.

¹⁸⁹ *New York Times*, New York, 2 Sep 1900, p.15; *Manawatu Herald*, 20 Mar 1900, p.2; *Grey River Argus*, 23 Mar 1900, p.2; *Evening Post*, 11 Jan 1902, p.5.

justice and humanity'.¹⁹⁰ Stead also communicated with other New Zealanders. In reply to a letter from J.G. Cox in Gisborne, Stead said he was aware of the level of jingoism in New Zealand, but was glad to hear from Cox and others 'that there are a good many colonists who think differently'.¹⁹¹ When it was suggested that Boer prisoners be placed on the Chatham Islands, the editor of the *Ashburton Guardian* suggested that pro-Boers including Alfred Barclay, William Hutchison and W.T. Stead should be deported with them in the hope that 'pro-Boers and traitors would get their just deserts'.¹⁹² Grey's supporters held a function in his honour when he left New Zealand following his dismissal and gave him a purse of sovereigns.¹⁹³ The estimated eighty people in attendance included Charlotte Bewicke and Mrs Sayers of the Salvation Army.

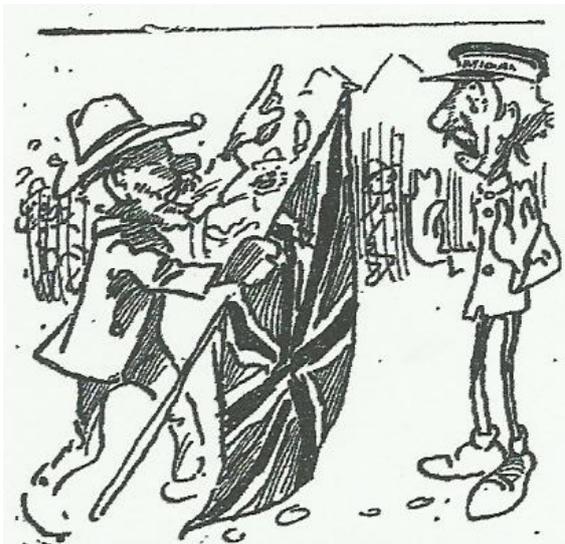


Fig. 5A



Fig. 5B

Figs 5A-5B. *Observer* cartoons depicting Captain Jansen of the Salvation Army refusing to hoist the Union Jack on the flagpole of the Waihi Salvation Army barracks during celebrations for the relief of Mafeking, and then being assaulted with eggs when he opened the window to explain the situation to the angry crowd. Source: *Observer*, 9 Jun 1900, p.14.

¹⁹⁰ *New York Times*, New York, 2 Sep 1900, p.15.

¹⁹¹ W.T. Stead to J.G. Cox, letter, 27 Aug 1900, ATL MS Papers 3245.

¹⁹² *Ashburton Guardian*, 11 Feb 1902, p.2; *West Coast Times*, 7 Feb 1902, p.2-3; *Bay of Plenty Times*, 3 Feb 1902, p.2.

¹⁹³ *Observer*, 8 Sep 1900, p.22. The paper noted that 'The speakers dwelt forcibly on the outrageous action of the Premier in dismissing Mr Grey because of his writings in condemnation of the South African war, and deplored that the result of the action of the Premier and Parliament was to drive Mr Grey out of the land of his adoption. Such action in what should be a free country had brought discredit upon New Zealand.'

The Salvation Army itself came under attack in Waihi during celebrations for the relief of Mafeking. When Captain Jansen of the Salvation Army, allegedly acting under orders, refused to raise a flag at the local barracks during the celebrations, he was pelted with rotten eggs, and his attempts to address the crowd were drowned out by derisive hoots (figs. 5A-5B).¹⁹⁴

As the war progressed, the level of support that had existed in 1899 was undermined by some who doubted the need for further commitment. The *New Zealand Tablet* joined others in questioning both the war's conduct and the need for additional troops. It claimed Seddon's actions in offering a Tenth Contingent prior to a formal Imperial Government request were 'most high-handed and objectionable'.¹⁹⁵ A *Nelson Evening Mail* editorial claimed, 'Not only is the drain on the population becoming almost more than it can stand, but we think enough has been done in the cause of Imperialism and patriotism without further wrenching the hearts of mothers.'¹⁹⁶

The enthusiasm of some politicians who had initially supported the war also waned. When Seddon sought the opinion of parliamentarians regarding additional contingents, Richard Monk, the MHR for Waitemata, whose son was one of at least four New Zealanders who had taken part in the Jameson Raid, said he did not consider the situation warranted the despatch of the Ninth and Tenth Contingents.¹⁹⁷ William Massey said unless requested to do

¹⁹⁴ *Auckland Star*, 28 May 1900, p.4; *ibid.*, 29 May 1900, p.2. In an article titled 'Patriotic Waihi' the *Auckland Star* claimed the Salvation Army was hooted from street corners and with some members of the public refusing to give donations. 'Another Briton', a Waihi resident, wrote to the *Auckland Star* referring to 'Waihi larrikins' and saying 'I feel very grieved to see such bad conduct'. The *Observer* claimed that the majority of the Salvation Army members were 'of the fair sex'. *Auckland Star*, 8 Jun 1900, p.3. *Observer*, 9 Jun 1900, p.14.

¹⁹⁵ *New Zealand Tablet*, 8 May 1902, p.2.

¹⁹⁶ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 1 Mar 1901, p.2. Noting the imminent departure of the Seventh Contingent, the editorial claimed, 'It is hoped that this will be the last occasion when it will be necessary to say farewell to the pick of the young manhood of the district – a sentiment that is growing in strength all over the colony.'

¹⁹⁷ *Auckland Star*, 10 Oct 1899, p.5; Nominal Roll of the Jameson Raiders, National Archives, Kew, UK, CO 179/193; *Wanganui Herald*, 22 Jan 1902, p.1; *Colonist*, 18 Mar 1902, p.2. Though Monk has supported the initial military commitment, by 1902 he was critical of Seddon's choice of officers for the Tenth Contingent. The *Colonist* quoted him as saying, 'I cannot congratulate you on some of the officers you have lately pitched into service, and fear that in the hour of peril some may either blunder or run away. Patriotism appreciates only fitness.' At least four New Zealanders took part in Dr Leader Starr Jameson's ill-fated attempt to invade the Transvaal in 1895-96: Ernest Wieland Monk, Charles James Kirk, Frank Vivian Holloway and Richard Thomson. Kirk, who also served in the Matabele War under Baden-Powell, later served as a Lieutenant in the Takaka Mounted Rifles. He attempted to join the Canterbury Rough Riders in 1900, but it appears he was unsuccessful. A medical report for Sergeant-Major Thomas Richard Porter, who served in the Seventh Contingent, and who was the son of Lieutenant-Colonel T.W. Porter of the Defence Office, indicates he also took part in the Jameson Raid, though his name does not appear on the Nominal Roll of the Jameson Raiders. *Colonist*, 20 Jun 1900, p.2; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 30 Jan 1900, p.4; Richard Stowers, *Rough Riders at War: History of New Zealand in the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 and Bibliographical Information on all Members of the Ten New Zealand Contingents*, 6th ed., Hamilton: Richard Stowers, 2009, p.184; Medical History of Invalid, n.d., Thomas Richard Porter, AABK 18805 W5515 0004538, ANZ NZDFPR, p.15; Nominal Roll of the Seventh Contingent, *AJHR*, 1901, H-6A, p.4.

so by the Imperial Government he could not agree as New Zealand had ‘already done more in proportion to [its] population than any other Colony’, and the MHR for Bruce, James Allen, said he saw ‘no necessity’.¹⁹⁸ The Wellington Peace and Humanity Society reportedly passed a resolution that was sent to Seddon opposing the dispatch of further contingents and also declared that New Zealand had done enough.¹⁹⁹

However, these voices do not appear to have reflected popular opinion. One paper claimed that military service would satisfy the soldier’s ‘craving for change and adventure’ and maintained additional contingents could be raised without ‘trying, in any way, the patience and patriotism of the people’.²⁰⁰ When the South Island Battalion of the Ninth Contingent sailed in March 1902, the *Otago Witness* devoted several pages to the contingent and its send-off, observing that ‘the great depth of patriotic feeling has in nowise abated’.²⁰¹ While acknowledging that the pomp and ceremony that accompanied earlier departures were largely absent, it claimed they had been replaced by ‘grim determination’, noting ‘It was a feeling that augured ill for anyone expressing Pro-Boer sentiments, and it would not have been well with the Wellington “Peace and Humanity” Society, or any other narrow-minded organisation, to have been on the scene.’²⁰²

While it represented a relatively diverse amalgam of New Zealand society, opposition to the war remained fractured, largely disorganised and comparatively small. It is impossible to determine the extent of opposition among those who left no historical trace amid the heady atmosphere of overwhelming patriotic and jingoistic fervour that characterised the period, but those who publicly expressed their objections risked censure, ridicule, and in extreme cases either violence or the threat of it. Even though in the later years of the conflict some would question its conduct and the need for further military commitment, in the contemporary narrative the dominant voices always remained those of New Zealanders who supported Britain’s actions and remained loyal to ‘Queen, flag and country’.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ *Colonist*, 18 Mar 1902, p.2; Ian McGibbon, ‘Allen, James – Biography’ from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3a12/1>, p.1; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 14 Mar 1902, p.2.

¹⁹⁹ *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 25 Mar 1902, p.2.

²⁰⁰ *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 24 Jan 1902, p.2. The paper added ‘New Zealand is prepared and willing to equip and send a ninth contingent, and – if required – a tenth’. Text as in original.

²⁰¹ *Otago Witness*, 19 Mar 1902, pp.26, 27, 28, 29.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p.26. The paper claimed ‘We may weep for our brave who are gone, but we pay the cost gladly. It is the sense of our grief for those of our sons who sleep beneath the veldt that bids our hearts leap with patriotic fervour. It is no lip service, no ostentatious display: we will fight till the bitter end, and we do not care to say much about it. The feeling has become too deep to be satisfied with flowery perorations from would-be orators.’

²⁰³ *Daily Telegraph*, 15 Jun 1900, p.4.

Chapter Two

Māori and the War

E nui ana te aroha o to iwi Maori mo te-hinganga o taau tama marohirohi i roto o te whawhai. Toku hiahia nui hoki kia tae atu ahau me tou iwi Maori ki tena whawhai hei huruhuru mou wae wae a hei whakapuru hoki mo taau tama kite waha o te mate. Heoi ra mate Atu koe e tiaki.¹

Great indeed is the sympathy of your Maori friends for you on the death of your son who died so gallantly fighting in the war. It has ever been my wish that I & your Maori friends should join you in the war in which you are involved, to be attached to your feet & to have the honour of being in the jaws of death even though we suffer as did your son.²

As the prospect of war loomed in September 1899, Māori political representatives were among the first to express their patriotic support for the Imperial Government's position, and when hostilities finally commenced, individual Māori were also prompt in offering tangible assistance. Despite the Crown declining Māori offers of men to fight, sections of the Māori population seem to have remained largely supportive of the war effort, exhibiting this through active fund raising, repeatedly stressing their desire to participate in the fighting and through expressions of solidarity. In parliament, when Seddon first mooted the idea of sending a contingent, all four representatives of the Māori constituencies registered their support, as did James Carroll, the MHR for Waiapu (fig.6).³

¹ Tuta Nihoniho to Field Marshal Earl Roberts (transcript in Māori), 1901, NAM UK, 1971-01-25-5.

² Tuta Nihoniho to Field Marshal Earl Roberts (English translation), 1901, NAM UK, 1971-01-25-5. While this version was received by Roberts, several New Zealand newspapers printed a different translation of the letter, including the passage: 'It has always been, and still is, my strongest feeling that I and your Maori fellow-subjects should join you, if only to ornament your feet, or to accompany your dear son in his journey to that "country from whose bourne no traveller ever returns."' *Otago Witness*, 12 Apr 1900, p.25.

³ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Wellington: Government Printer, 110 (1899), p.96.

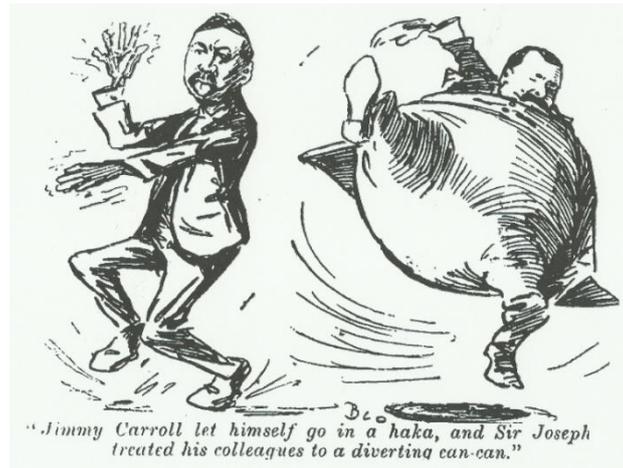


Fig. 6. Cartoon from the *Observer Christmas Annual* depicting James Carroll, the Minister of Native Affairs and MHR for Waiapu, and Sir Joseph Ward, Deputy Prime Minister and MHR for Awarua, reacting to news of the 1902 British victory.
Source: *Observer Christmas Annual*, 20 Dec 1902, p.8, National Library of New Zealand.

However, as Ashley Gould has observed, Māori support for the war was not universal.⁴ Furthermore, the support that was voiced was not entirely unequivocal. Although by 1902 the North Island Main Trunk railway extended into the King Country, as late as 1907 a government report noted that due to the Waikato and Taranaki wars tribes in the area had formed separate factions, some of which remained suspicious of ‘pakeha law and justice’.⁵ Wī Pere, the MHR for Eastern Māori, acknowledged that ‘it may be said that the cause of this trouble is wrongful’ and noted England had acted unjustly in the past.⁶ He claimed that the Imperial authorities had forced the Boers into a corner that left them little option other than to fight. Despite these reservations, Pere obliquely referred to other European powers that might cast covetous eyes on New Zealand if England was defeated in South Africa. To avert this, he felt it necessary to support the resolution and offered to lead a detachment himself: ‘If the European population of this country is not willing that the proposed contingent should be sent, I say “Hand the matter over to me, and let me take a contingent of five hundred Maoris there, and I will go to the assistance of my protector.”’ Representing the Ngāpuhi and Te Rarawa

⁴ Ashley Gould, ““Different Race, Same Queen”: Maori and the War’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.120.

⁵ *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, Wellington: House of Representatives, 1902, D-1, pp.v, vi; *ibid.*, 1907, G-1B, pp.6-7. A Ngāti Raukawa representative made it clear that they ‘merely desired to be left alone and to live in the old style’.

⁶ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.95.

people, Hōne Heke Rankin, the MHR for Northern Māori, observed that differences had periodically occurred between the Imperial Government and Māori since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁷ Nonetheless, Rankin saw Māori support for the British Crown as their duty ‘on this or any other occasion when they may be called upon for assistance’, and a group of Ngāpuhi women who wore military-style uniforms and bullet bandoliers that resembled those of the contingent soldiers formed a nursing group that raised funds to aid the contingents.⁸

Carroll also believed Māori should participate in the fighting. Pointing to the performance of the Māori members of New Zealand’s contingent sent to England for Queen Victoria’s 1897 Jubilee, Carroll stated, ‘the Maori race of this colony should not be overlooked. I know there is a yearning in their hearts, induced by loyalty, to add whatever they can towards holding up the military glory of the Empire’.⁹ Carroll added that he believed Māori were well suited to military service. While neither Tame Parata, the MHR for Southern Māori, nor the MHR for Western Māori, Hēnare Kaihau, addressed parliament during the debate, they nonetheless voted in support of sending the First Contingent.¹⁰



Fig. 7. Airini Donnelly, the influential Ngāti Kahungunu who was one of the first women to actively support New Zealand’s military involvement in South Africa in 1899. Source: Photograph by Samuel Carnell, Alexander Turnbull Library, Samuel Carnell Collection (PAColl-3979), Reference: 1/4-022134- G.

⁷ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.80.

⁸ John Crawford with Ellen Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1999, p.32.

⁹ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), pp.90-91.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.96.

Among the strongest Māori supporters of the Imperial Government's stance in South Africa were the Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou, who had assisted the Imperial Government during the New Zealand Land Wars, and in its attempts to apprehend Te Kooti. On the day war was announced, prominent Ngāti Kahungunu, including Airini Donnelly (fig. 7), and the Wairarapa rangitira, Tamahau Mahupuku, offered two horses each for the contingents.¹¹ They were not alone. The *Star* reported several other Māori offering horses, including the son of Tame Parata and the son-in-law of Wī Pere, while the *Evening Post* noted the Māori of Kaiapoi also offered horses.¹² When Seddon sought the opinions of both branches of the Legislature regarding the dispatch of a second contingent in 1900, and equipping a Hotchkiss Battery offered by Armstrong-Elswick Company, Hēnare Tomoana, the Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Te Whatu-i-apiti leader who had fought against Te Kooti, cabled in reply 'Accept the propositions. Very great sympathy for our boys in Transvaal. If well, I will take Maori contingent myself to front to help Imperial force at once.'¹³



Fig. 8. Āhere Te Koari Hōhepa in his Volunteers' uniform. Hōhepa, who served in the Jubilee Contingent, enrolled in the Third Contingent under the name Arthur Joseph. Source: Kiwi North Museum, Whangarei Collection, 1535.353.

¹¹ *Bush Advocate*, 12 Oct 1899, p.2; *Evening Post*, 12 Oct 1899, p.5. Taiāwhio Te Tau, a prominent Ngāi Tumapuhiarangi leader, also gave two horses.

¹² *Star*, 11 Oct 1899, p.1; *Evening Post*, 22 Dec 1899, p.5.

¹³ *AJHR*, 1900, H-61, p.9.

Pere and Tomoana were not the only Māori to offer direct military assistance. Tamahau Mahupuku also offered to raise and fund a Māori force to serve in South Africa in 1901, while the *Otago Witness* noted ‘a number of the Ngatiporo [sic] have offered their services, but the offer had to be declined’.¹⁴ Kuku Karaitiana, who had been in the Jubilee Contingent, also expressed a willingness to serve.¹⁵ The *Otago Witness* claimed ‘Arohi Hohepa’ was one of the best riders and shots in the Hawke’s Bay Contingent, but he was declined as he was a ‘full Māori’ and ‘the Imperial Government [was] refusing any but Europeans’. This claim was presumably incorrect as Āhere Te Koari Hōhepa, who was also in the Jubilee Contingent, did serve in South Africa with the Third Contingent, enrolling as Arthur Joseph (fig. 8).¹⁶

In January 1902, newspapers reported Māori who had gained admission to the contingents being obliged to leave camp:

Several Maoris and half-caste Maoris who got into the Eighth Contingent are very much mortified at being told at the last moment that they could not be allowed, in obedience to Imperial instructions, to go to Africa. It is a delicate question, and the Maoris are a high race. The leading chiefs are sure to protest.¹⁷

The *Manawatu Evening Standard* reported that a Māori sent out of the camp at Trentham ‘was classed amongst the smartest drill-sergeants’.¹⁸ The paper noted some visitors’ astonishment at seeing a ‘coloured man in charge of a squad of Europeans’, though an officer defended him as ‘a dashed smart non-com., any way, and well worth his stripes!’.

When asked whether he supported the inclusion of Māori in the contingents, Seddon noted that ‘the Maoris are naturally a little aggrieved by their exclusion’ and said that he would strongly recommend Māori ‘should be accepted or held in reserve. The Maori are among Her Majesty’s most devoted subjects, and it is hard to make them understand that their

¹⁴ Claudia Orange, (ed.), *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Volume Two, 1870-1900*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs, 1993, p.306; *Otago Witness*, 28 Dec 1899, p.25.

¹⁵ *Evening Post*, 29 Sep 1899, p.5.

¹⁶ Statement of Service of Arthur Joseph in the South African War of 1899-1902, 1 Dec 1936, Arthur Joseph, AABK 18805 W5515 0002931, ANZ, NZDFPR, p.7; Richard Stowers, *Rough Riders at War: History of New Zealand in the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 and Bibliographical Information on all Members of the Ten New Zealand Contingents*, 6th ed., Hamilton: Richard Stowers, 2009, p.180.

¹⁷ *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 24 Jan 1902, p.2. Thomas Richard Porter (Tāmami Poata), the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas William Porter (who commanded the Seventh Contingent in which his son served) and Herewaka Porourangi Potai, the daughter of Tama-i-whakanehua-i-te-rangi, a Ngāti Porou leader, also served in South Africa. J.A.B. Crawford, ‘Porter, Thomas William – Biography’, in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10,

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2p26/1>, *Auckland Star*, 30 Nov 1929, p.10.

¹⁸ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 23 Jan 1902, p.2.

loyalty must not be submitted to the supreme test'.¹⁹ Seddon added that the 'color line' had been removed in New Zealand by the Treaty of Waitangi, and that several influential Māori regretted that their young men couldn't fight for their Queen. Sarah Hawdon notes that despite attempts to include Māori 'it was to be a White Man's War'.²⁰ When the Fifth Contingent departed, the *Evening Post* reported Māori again offering assistance in the form of two thousand warriors, with Seddon claiming 'The young Maori warriors were as eager to be at the front as their Pakeha brothers.'²¹ The Seddon Government's offer of places in the Sixth Contingent to Māori was criticised by the *Otago Daily Times* as the Imperial Government was 'not prepared to accept their services.'²² The paper suggested Māori should have been spared the disappointment of refusal, and noted that the Imperial Government's decision not to employ the services of Māori was in keeping with its policy regarding the conduct of the war: 'That policy, deliberately adopted from the outset, was that this was to be a white man's war.' Addressing Māori at the Basin Reserve, Carroll told them that 'they must not grumble because their services had not been accepted. It was an order from England'.²³

Seddon continued to advocate the inclusion of Māori, and noted in 1900 that 'all [Māori], I am happy to say, are desirous of upholding the *mana* of our gracious Sovereign, and were *pouri* (sorrowful) at not being allowed to go with our sons in the contingents to South Africa'.²⁴ Speaking at Mokihinui, Seddon said that he disagreed with the Imperial authorities' position regarding Māori participation in the contingents and the 'rash promises' made by the Crown to the Boers that only white soldiers would be employed.²⁵ He believed that had Māori been included they would quickly have shown their worth and 'rendered great service to the British cause in South Africa'. Prior to his visit to England in 1902, Seddon attended a function at Pāpāwai where he stated that he would ask the Imperial authorities 'not to again

¹⁹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 26 Feb 1900, p.3.

²⁰ A New Zealander (Sarah Elizabeth Hawdon), *New Zealanders and the Boer War, or, Soldiers from the Land of Moa*, Christchurch: Gordon & Gotch, [1906], p.258. At the 1902 London conference of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and leaders of the self-governing British colonies, certain 'general principles were outlined: '(a) The main burden of a great struggle between the British Empire and one or more States of European race or descent must be borne by the white subjects of the King. (b) Military contingents, therefore, of other than men of European descent need not be considered with regard to this particular problem, although the great value of the Indian army and the usefulness of the African and other Native forces are fully recognised.' *AJHR*, 1903, A-7, p.34.

²¹ *Evening Post*, 31 Mar 1900, p.5.

²² *Otago Daily Times*, 31 Dec 1900, p.6.

²³ *Evening Post*, 30 Mar 1900, p.5.

²⁴ *AJHR*, 1900, H-19A, pp.1-2.

²⁵ *Auckland Star*, 22 Feb 1902, p.5.

refuse the offer of Maori volunteers to fight for the Empire' and suggested Māori exclusion breached the Treaty of Waitangi.²⁶

Several Māori who possessed European names that concealed their racial background on official documents did serve in the contingents. John Walter Callaway managed to successfully enrol and fight in South Africa. Callaway, who served with distinction and rose from Private to Lieutenant, also composed a Māori war cry for the First Contingent.²⁷ Bernard Reed, who gave his Māori mother's family name as Tūrei on his World War One Attestation Form, made no mention of his Māori heritage when he enlisted in the Eighth Contingent, instead giving an aunt with a European name as his next of kin.²⁸

Although Chamberlain suggested that had Māori been discretely sent to Africa with the contingents, no real objection would have been made,²⁹ in December 1900 he cabled the New Zealand Government stating that 'political considerations peculiar to South Africa render [Māori military service] impossible'.³⁰ In February 1902 the *Auckland Star* reported another despatch from Chamberlain to Seddon reiterating the Crown's official position regarding Māori offers of assistance:

The Governor has received a cable from the Secretary of State for the Colonies informing him that His Majesty's Government received with extreme gratification the offer of the Maoris to serve in any part of the Empire, and they warmly appreciate the splendid loyalty and patriotism which has inspired it. They much regret that the service so freely offered cannot at present be made available in South Africa or elsewhere.³¹

²⁶ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 5 Apr 1902, p.4; *Evening Post*, 5 Apr 1902, p.5.

²⁷ F. Burton Mabin, Imperial Pay Branch, to Paymaster General, Memorandum, 16 Jun 1904, John Walter Callaway, AABK 18805 W5515 0000799, ANZ NZDFPR, p.12; *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 20 Oct 1899, p.3.

²⁸ Attestation Form, 12 Jan 1917, Bernard Reed AABK 18805 W5515 0004667, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6; Attestation Form, 6 Jan 1902, *ibid.*, p.14.

²⁹ Gould, 'Different Race', p.121.

³⁰ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 31 Dec 1900, p.2.

³¹ *Auckland Star*, 22 Feb 1902, p.5. Māori were not the only non-Europeans to have their offer of military support rebuffed. Chamberlain's despatch noted that 'the peculiar circumstances which have compelled the Imperial Government to refuse' the Māori offer had resulted in Indian troops also being declined. In an enclosure sent by Chamberlain to Lord Ranfurly in October 1899, Lord Landsdowne, the Secretary of State for War, expressed his appreciation of the 'signal exhibition of the patriotic spirit by which Her Majesty's colonial subjects are animated' but he 'did not see his way' to accepting offers of troops from Hong Kong and the Malay States.³¹ An offer of three hundred Haúsas from Lagos was also politely declined. The reason given for declining the offer of Malay States' troops was that their absence would weaken the Singapore garrison. *AJHR*, 1900, H-27B, p.1; War Office to the Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 2 Oct 1899, *AJHR*, 1900, H-6K, p.2.

introducing the coloured element into the war'.³⁴ Similarly, the *Manawatu Evening Standard* claimed that offering Māori troops would be awkward for the Imperial authorities and stated that Seddon's position had 'aroused a storm of indignation throughout the country'.³⁵ The paper continued:

Not that there is any intention to belittle the Natives or to cast a slur upon the fact that they could not in any sense of the term be called white troops, but because it would be a highly improper thing to raise the question of the employment of aboriginals in a war between white races.³⁶

A correspondent to the *Marlborough Express* was equally critical of Seddon's actions and claimed 'From its inception this has been recognised as a white man's war'.³⁷ These expressions of opposition did not prevent notices announcing the eligibility of Māori who could meet the enrolment conditions appearing in several papers.³⁸ However, the idea of Māori inclusion in the Sixth Contingent proved short-lived as once again Chamberlain rejected the offer and repeated his earlier position that unspecified political considerations made Māori involvement impossible.³⁹

The Imperial Government's repeated refusals apparently did little to dampen the support of many Māori for the war. Although this support came primarily from tribes with a history of loyalty to the Crown, like Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou, more widespread expressions of solidarity with the Imperial Government occurred in January 1902. Claims in German newspapers that colonial ardour for the war was waning led to several Māori tribal groups submitting resolutions expressing their support for the Crown. These included Māori of Hurunuiorangi, the East Coast and West Coast tribes, the Hāmua tribes of the Wairarapa, the Kurahaupō tribes, Hauraki Māori, the Arawa, Ngāi Te Rangī, and Ngāti Porou, the chiefs and people of the Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Aute College, Taranaki Māori Council, Takitimu Māori Council, Te Oreore Māori Council, and the Horouta Māori Council.⁴⁰ As Helen Hogan notes, in one such resolution passed at Hurunuiorangi on 20 January 1902, Wairarapa Māori expressed their 'unswerving devotion and loyalty to King Edward VII' and only regretted that

³⁴ *Evening Post*, 27 Dec 1900, p.4.

³⁵ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 29 Dec 1900, p.4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Marlborough Express*, 28 Dec 1900, p.2.

³⁸ *Evening Post*, 29 Dec 1900, p.6; *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 31 Dec 1900, p.5; *Free Lance*, 5 Jan 1901, p.4; *Free Lance*, 12 Jan 1901, p.9; *Otago Daily Times*, 28 Dec 1900, p.6; *Press*, 28 Dec 1900, p.3

³⁹ *Evening Post*, 29 Dec 1900, p.5.

⁴⁰ *AJHR*, 1902, A-1, p.30.

‘their young sons had not been permitted to fight in [the Empire’s] cause’.⁴¹ At least one Waikato Māori fought in South Africa. William Thomson (fig, 10), a Kihikihi blacksmith, served in both the Fourth and Ninth Contingents, rising to the rank of Farrier Sergeant.⁴²

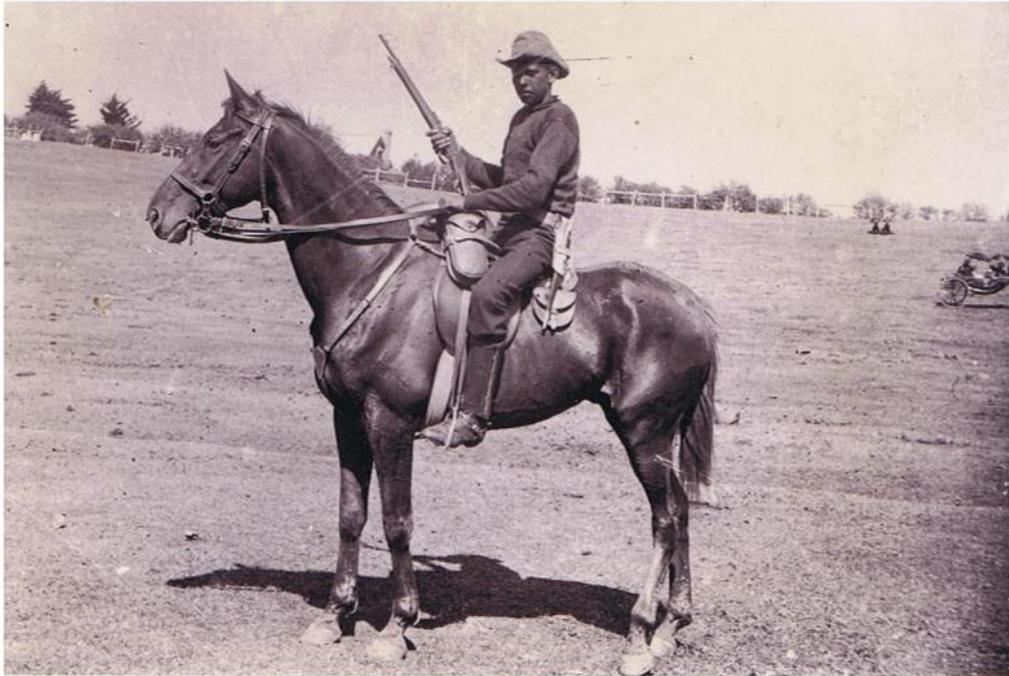


Fig. 10. Farrier Sergeant William Thomson who served in both the Fourth and Ninth Contingents. Source: Thomson family collection.

Although precisely quantifying Māori support for Imperial actions in South Africa, or opposition to them, is impossible, the geographical locations of the tribes that passed these resolutions indicate support was relatively widespread. They included the King Country Ngāti Maniapoto, who had previously opposed many of the Crown’s actions.⁴³ The *Nelson Evening Mail* reported that pro-Boer literature had been circulated in the King Country, but claimed, ‘The chiefs to whom the parcels of literature were sent, however, took very little notice of them.’⁴⁴ In a despatch, Lord Ranfurly noted a degree of support for the Boers among Māori in Hokianga, which he attributed to German and Dutch clergy in the area, and although not specifically referring to Māori, in March 1900 Whangarei’s *Northern Advocate* reported

⁴¹ Helen M. Hogan, *Hikurangi Ki Homburg: Henare Kohere and Terei Ngatai with the Maori Coronation Contingent 1902*, Christchurch: Clerestory Press, 1997, p.10.

⁴² Fourth New Zealand Regiment, National Archives, Kew, UK, WO 100/294, p.99; Ninth New Zealand Mounted Rifles, National Archives, Kew, UK, WO 100/295, p.138; Attestation Form, 11 Mar 1900, William Thomson, AABK 18805 W5515 0005583, ANZ NZDFPR, p.7.

⁴³ *Thames Star*, 29 May 1901, p.2.

⁴⁴ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 3 Jun 1902, p.3.

receiving letters from two correspondents complaining of ‘strong anti-British sentiments which (as they allege) are being expressed by a minister of religion in this neighbourhood’.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, even among Māori who neither supported the war nor sought direct participation, there appears to have been a degree of interest. During a visit to Maungatapu, the King movement and Ngāti Hauā leader, Tupu Atanatiu Taingākawa, who would later oppose Māori military service in World War One, specifically requested information about the South African conflict.⁴⁶ The *Auckland Star* reported that the ‘Maori Premier’ had sought information about “‘The Boer War,’ ‘Liquid Air,’ and ‘Wireless Telegraphy.’” Tui Gilling’s claim that ‘The only place where Maori were opposed to the war was in the Hokianga area’, is incorrect as the conflict was contentious within other sections of Māori society.⁴⁷ An 1899 newspaper report alleged a large group of Māori had gathered in the Strand in Tauranga: ‘the most general topic among them was undoubtedly the “Boer war,” some sympathizing with the British, while an equal number stuck up for the Boers’.⁴⁸

Some Māori language newspapers also featured articles detailing the progress of the war. Issues of *He Kupu Whakamarama*, which was published in Gisborne, featured reports on the sieges of Ladysmith, Mafeking and Kimberley and the battles of Modder River and Belmont.⁴⁹ When Cecil Rhodes died, the paper lauded the man that Waddell and a member of the Auckland Peace Association blamed for the conflict as one of the world’s greatest leaders.⁵⁰ *Te Tiupiri*, which was published in Wanganui, also reported events in the war, attributing British victories to their faith.⁵¹

One of the most vocal Māori supporters of British actions in South Africa was the Ngāti Porou rangitira, Tuta (Matutaera) Nihoniho (fig. 11), though his support for the Empire pre-dated the war. Nihoniho had written to Seddon in 1898 urging him to raise and train a

⁴⁵ Lord Ranfurly to Joseph Chamberlain, Quarterly Report, 4 Apr 1900, Public Record Office, London, CO 209/260; *Northern Advocate*, 3 Mar 1900, p.2.

⁴⁶ Angela Ballara, ‘Te Waharoa, Tupu Atanatiu Taingākawa – Biography’, in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t22/1>; *Auckland Star*, 3 Nov 1899, p.4.

⁴⁷ Tui Gilling, ‘On Active Service: New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902’, Postgraduate Diploma of Arts research exercise, University of Otago, 1990, p.27.

⁴⁸ *Auckland Star*, 3 Nov 1899, p.4. The debate allegedly ended in violence between two members of the group. The Tauranga *Herald* reported that ‘A gentleman resident of our township, whose sympathy, we regret to say, is very much with Kruger, attempted to stop the altercation and separate the natives with his stick. Blood, however, was thicker than water, and before our friend knew where he are, [sic] he was hors de combat.’

⁴⁹ *He Kupu Whakamarama*, No.21, Nov 1899, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, No.22, Dec 1899, pp.2-3. *He Kupu Whakamarama* was produced by H.W. Williams, Te Rau Press, Gisborne. *He Kupu Whakamarama*, No.21, Nov 1899, p.12.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, No.51, May 1902, p.2; *Auckland Star*, 20 Nov 1899, p.2.

⁵¹ *Te Tiupiri*, 3:79, 5 Jul 1900, p.3. *Te Tiupiri* was ‘published by Waata Wiremu Hipango under the authority of the General Maori Committee of Wanganui’. *Te Tiupiri*, 3:79, 5 Jul 1900, cover.

force of three to four thousand Māori ‘in view of the European troubles’.⁵² In Britain, Nihoniho’s patriotism did not go unnoticed. London’s *Morning Post* reported Nihoniho’s belief that ‘the Maoris will not stand idly by while their mother, the Queen, is beset by many enemies’.⁵³ In 1899, Nihoniho, who like Tomoana had been involved in the pursuit of Te Kooti, sent a petition to Wī Pere offering five hundred Māori warriors to fight with the English troops ‘as a spectacle for other nations’.⁵⁴



Fig. 11. The East Coast rangitira, Tuta Nihoniho, in his Ngāti Porou Rifles captain’s uniform.
Source: Reproduction from *Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast (Nga Pakanga Ki Te Tai Rawhiti) 1865-71: with a Monograph on Bush Fighting (Me Nga Korero Mo Uenuku)*, by Tuta Nihoniho, of Ngāti-Porou, Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1913; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

⁵² *Colonist*, 3 Jun 1898, p.4.

⁵³ *Morning Post*, London, 9 Jul 1898, p.2.

⁵⁴ Tuta Nihoniho, *Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast (Nga Pakanga Ki Te Tai Rawhiti) 1865-71, with a Monograph on Bush Fighting (Me Nga Korero Mo Uenuku)*, Wellington: John MacKay, 1913, p.45.

T H E A T R E R O Y A L.
 WEDNESDAY, MAY 30TH.
Grand Maori Carnival,
 In Aid of
INDIAN FAMINE AND
SOUTH AFRICAN WAR FUNDS.
HAKAS — POI DANCES — PATRIOTIC
SONGS.
50 OVER 50 PERFORMERS 50
 Doors open 7.30 ; performance at 8.
ADMISSION.
 Front Seats..Two Shillings.
 Back Seats.....One Shilling.
 Children.....Half-price.
TUCKER'S PADDOCK.
THURSDAY AFTERNOON NEXT.
—Carnival—
 By about 100 Native Performers,
 In Aid of the above Funds,
 Commencing at 2.30.
ADMISSION—ONE SHILLING.
TUTA NIHONIHO, Chairman.
557 C. FERRIS, Hon. Sec.

Fig. 12. *Poverty Bay Herald* advertisement for the Grand Maori Carnival.
 Source: *Poverty Bay Herald*, 26 May 1900, p.3. National Library of New Zealand.

Following his unsuccessful attempts to have Ngāti Porou play a direct role in the fighting, Nihoniho became active in fundraising in support of the war. When Mafeking was relieved, Nihoniho, dressed as a captain in the Ngāti Porou Rifles, and with his sword drawn led a group of Māori in a parade in Gisborne.⁵⁵ He was also chairman of the Grand Maori Carnival held in Gisborne's Theatre Royal, which promised over fifty Māori performing hakas, poi dances and 'patriotic songs' to raise money for the Indian Famine and South African War funds (fig 12).⁵⁶ Commenting on a performance by young Māori girls from Tikitiki, who sang songs they had composed for the carnival, the *Poverty Bay Herald* noted: 'Some were

⁵⁵ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 22 May 1900, p.4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 26 May 1900, p.3. Admission to the carnival was 2s for front seats, 1s for back seats and children charged half-price.

of our country, if called upon to do so, side by side with our soldiers'.⁶⁰ This was not the first occasion on which Nihoniho had observed the traditional Māori practice of giving taonga as a sign of respect. In 1883, he gave the then Governor, Sir William Jervois, a greenstone patu that had been in his family for twenty generations and was valued at £100.⁶¹



Fig. 14. Porourangi, the mere gifted to Field Marshal Earl Roberts by Tuta Nihoniho following the death of Roberts' son in the battle of Colenso.
Source: National Army Museum, UK, NAM. 1971-01-25-4-1.

The gift of Porourangi (fig. 14), and its patriotic significance, received favourable coverage in several British newspapers. The *Reading Mercury* briefly mentioned it, while the *Times* and the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* gave more detailed accounts and described Kahukuranui as the 'native Duke of Wellington'.⁶² Reporting Lord Roberts' written response, *The Times* claimed that 'Mr. Reeves will transmit the letter to the colony, where no doubt it

⁶⁰ Field Marshal Earl Roberts to M. H. Tuta Nihoniho, transcript of letter, 5 Feb 1901, NAM UK, 1971-01-25-5-1.

⁶¹ *Grey River Argus*, 31 May 1883, p.2.

⁶² *Reading Mercury*, Reading, 16 Feb 1901, p.10; *The Times*, London, 30 Jan 1901, p.6; *The Times*, London, 9 Feb 1901, p.14; *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, Sheffield, 31 Jan 1901, p.9.

will be treasured as was the *meré*, which was handed down through 19 generations of chiefs.’⁶³

During a farewell speech to the East Coast members of the Sixth Contingent in 1902, Nihoniho again voiced his dissatisfaction with the continued refusal of the Imperial Government to accept Māori military assistance:

Great was the love for you and the grief for ourselves the Maoris, because the native people were not permitted to go with you to the assistance of our Mother England[.] Now, O my children, this is a new thing to me under the sun - namely, having two children, one white and the other brown, that when trouble overtakes me, their parent, that I should forbid my brown child to come to my assistance and invite my white child to die with me.⁶⁴

This translation of Nihoniho’s speech was published in several New Zealand newspapers and in the Exeter *Western Times* in England.⁶⁵ Though he did not indicate which he personally thought was true, Nihoniho noted that the Imperial Government’s response could be interpreted in two ways: ‘(1) a loving regard lest harm should befall a much-loved child; or (2) a feeling that the child is despised as being incapable of accomplishing any great deed’.⁶⁶ However, the *Star* observed that the enrolment distinction drawn between Māori and European amounted to a virtual abrogation of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁶⁷

Possibly the largest display of Māori support for the war occurred at the Maori Carnival held at Wellington’s Basin Reserve on 28 and 29 March 1900, which raised over £525 for the Transvaal War Fund.⁶⁸ The *Evening Post* titled an article on the event ‘The Maori Carnival. Native Customs and Patriotism’ and noted it involved Māori from the lower half of the North Island, including representatives of the Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa, and the Ngāti Kāwhata.⁶⁹ The *Evening Post* estimated ten thousand spectators witnessed the performances which included a haka titled ‘Kiki te Poa’ (Kick the Boer).⁷⁰ Māori women were heavily involved, including Katherine Te Rongokahira Parata, who

⁶³ *The Times*, London, 9 Feb 1901, p.14. This claim does not appear to be correct as according to the record that accompanied Porourangi to England, Nihoniho’s wife was the eighteenth generation to possess the mere. History of the Mere, transcript copy, NAM UK, NAM.1971-01-25-5-1.

⁶⁴ *Otago Witness*, 5 Feb 1902, p.73.

⁶⁵ *Western Times*, Exeter, 3 Apr 1902, p.6.

⁶⁶ *Otago Witness*, 5 Feb 1902, p.73.

⁶⁷ *Star*, 30 Jan 1902, p.1.

⁶⁸ *Evening Post*, 29 Mar 1900, p.5; *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 2 Apr 1900, p.4. The *Evening Post* claimed that ‘Never in the history of the Basin Reserve had there been a crowd of equal proportions.’

⁶⁹ *Evening Post*, 28 Mar 1900, p.6; 29 Mar 1900, p.5.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 29 Mar 1900, p.5.

helped organise the carnival.⁷¹ The event, attended by chiefs including ‘Tamahau Mahupuku (Ngatikahungunu), Pene te Ua Mairangi (Hastings), Te Huke (Taueru), Manihera Maka (Te Ore Ore), and Tangmuru [sic] (Takapau)’, as well as ‘several chieftainesses of high degree’, offered the population of Wellington and surrounding areas the chance to experience Māori culture at first-hand: ‘Such interesting sights have seldom, if ever, been seen outside of the radius of the native pahs as those afforded city folks yesterday.’⁷²

A Māori spokesman addressing the crowd at a Gisborne fund-raising event observed:

The Natives would have liked to have fought for the old flag, but being debarred from doing so, they had sought to show their loyalty in another direction. (Cheers.) They were all proud of the Union Jack. (Cheers.) Europeans were at a disadvantage in knowing the feelings of Maoris, because they did not read their writings. They had their own Maori paper, and in that they expressed their feelings. Quite recently they had published articles in the Maori paper against any pro-Boerism among the Natives. (Cheers.)⁷³

The *Hawke’s Bay Herald* reported that another ‘native festival’ held at Pāpāwai raised an additional £500.⁷⁴ The money helped fund the Fifth Contingent, part of which sailed to South Africa aboard the *Maori*. Ironically, few, if any, Māori were aboard.

Both John Crawford and Ian McGibbon have noted the role the war played in developing and strengthening New Zealander’s sense of national identity.⁷⁵ As Gilling has noted, despite Māori exclusion from combat, the use of elements of Māori language and culture became one of the defining components of this identity, both in South Africa and in New Zealand.⁷⁶ When Mafeking was relieved, union members carried a banner in the Dunedin parade that read ‘Ka whawhai tonu maton [sic] ake, ake, ake’, while ‘a Maori warrior, in full war-paint, mere in hand’ rode beside a skeleton in the Otago University medical students’

⁷¹ Angela Ballara, ‘Parata, Katherine Te Rongokahira – Biography’, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, undated 1-Sep-10.

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p6/1>.

⁷² *Evening Post*, 28 Mar 1900, p.6; 29 Mar 1900, p.5.

⁷³ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 5 Jun 1900, p.4.

⁷⁴ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 2 Apr 1900, p.4.

⁷⁵ John Crawford, ‘Impact of the War on New Zealand Military Forces and New Zealand’, in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.209; Ian McGibbon (ed): *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000, p.63.

⁷⁶ Gilling, p.104.

drag.⁷⁷ Walter Callaway's First Contingent war cry was taken up by some other units and the *Taranaki Herald* noted that 'All hands in camp are busy acquiring the Maori phrases'.⁷⁸ Reporting on the departure of the First Contingent, the *Otago Daily Times* noted the war cry's inclusion: 'Then, led by a half-caste member of the contingent, they gave the Maori war cry composed for them. This was replied to with even more vigour by another Native battle cry from a country corps.'⁷⁹ When a Gore woman forwarded a cake to a contingent in South Africa, the *Otago Daily Times* noted that 'its exterior is lavishly adorned with a Union Jack, patriotic inscriptions, and the contingent's war cry'.⁸⁰ In a 1903 letter from South Africa to a former contingent member in New Zealand, James Christie, who had settled in Transvaal, described attending a concert at the New Zealand Club that concluded with the war cry.⁸¹ Callaway's war cry was not the only version employed. The Wanganui members of Third Contingent had their own, Private John Burnett recorded the Fifth Contingent giving a different Māori war cry as their vessel sailed, and the *Otago Witness* reported that Henry Stowell, a 'Maori interpreter', was consulted by non-commissioned officers about an appropriate war cry for the Ninth Contingent.⁸²

Mr Stowell said the best war-cry he could suggest was "Whanga reia! Tu Karirie!" ("Steady charge! War-god rages!") This, though not a difficult expression to learn, was considered rather too long, and Mr Stowell then suggested the words "E Tama reia!" ("Charge, lads!"), which his interviewers accepted as a short and appropriate battle-cry for the ninth.⁸³

⁷⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1900, p.2. This was presumably a reference to Rewi Manga Maniapoto's reply when asked to surrender at Orākau in 1864 when he said, 'Ka whawhai tonu mātou, Ake! Ake! Ake!' (We will fight on for ever and ever!). The Mayor of Wanganui gave each of the city's fifty Rough Riders Contingent members a pencil case made from .303 cartridges and engraved with the Māori phrase, 'Ake, Ake Kia Kaha'. Manuka Henare, 'Maiapoto, Rewi Manga' in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Sep-10, URL:<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m8/1>; *Wanganui Herald*, 9 Feb 1900, p.2.

⁷⁸ *Taranaki Herald*, 20 Oct 1899, p.2.

⁷⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, 23 Oct 1899, p.6.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 18 Jan 1900, p.5.

⁸¹ Jim Christie to Jack Christie, transcript of letter, 10 May. 1903, NAM NZ 1991.2451.

⁸² Crawford with Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire*, p.26; John Edward Thomas Burnett, diary, 31 Mar 1900, NAM NZ 2004.549; *Otago Witness*, 12 Mar 1902, p.28. The typed transcript of Burnett's diary held at the National Army Museum in N.Z. records the Fifth Contingent haka: 'E rimo, hai tangata, ko kiri hai mati hi ha'.

⁸³ *Otago Witness*, 12 Mar 1902, p.28. Citing a Wanganui report, the *Auckland Star* claimed that Native Land Purchase Commissioner W.E. Goffe suggested a battle cry for the Third Contingent: "Tenei te riri nei, te riri nei, tenei te toa nei, te tea nei, ka whati kau ana te Bea ki Pitoria; kia mau Niu Tireni kia mau; ake ake kia kaha' [sic] The interpretation is:- "Now we fight, we fight; here is the warrior, the warrior; the Boers they flee to Pretoria; hold fast, New Zealand, hold fast; for ever and ever be strong!". *Auckland Star* 10 Feb 1900, p.12.

Annie Lee Rees, one of the teachers who travelled to South Africa, described passing a train of soldiers and greeting them in Māori in an attempt to ascertain if they were New Zealanders, while another teacher, Mary Parker, wrote ‘I heard a yell of “Capai [ka pai] New Zealand” and found a train full of our Ninth Contingent.’⁸⁴ Describing the dwellings on the veldt, Lieutenant Charles Lewin wrote, ‘The houses as a rule are whares of sod, sundried brick, or stone.’⁸⁵ New Zealand parliamentarians also used the Māori language in reference to the war. As well as Seddon’s reference to mana, the Napier MHR, Alfred Fraser, wrote of volunteers for the contingents being ‘keen to fight for the old flag and have *utu* for their brother’s blood’.⁸⁶

Despite these cultural associations and significant Māori support for the war, coupled with declarations of loyalty to both the monarch and the Empire, most Māori continued to be denied an active role in the fighting. In a 1900 editorial criticizing Great Britain’s creation of a ‘colour line’, the *Ashburton Guardian* noted the willingness of ‘Maoris, Ghoorkas, Sikhs and other coloured subjects of the Queen’ to fight in defence of the Empire, and accurately predicted, ‘A time may come, and that before very long, when necessity will override sentiment, and Britain will be only too glad to accept the services of all her sons – be their colour what it may.’⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Ellen Ellis, *Teachers for South Africa: New Zealand Women at the South African War Concentration Camps*, Paekakariki: Hanorah Books, 2010, p.125.

⁸⁵ *Star*, 20 Aug 1900, p.4.

⁸⁶ *AJHR*, 1900, H-61, p.3.

⁸⁷ *Ashburton Guardian*, 29 Dec 1900, p.2.

Chapter Three

News of the War

New Zealand's distance from South Africa and the attendant difficulties in transmitting details of the conflict to a waiting populace limited the passage of information. Conduits for war-related information included newspapers; politicians' statements; parliamentary reports and debates; official despatches; letters from soldiers (and their observations on returning home); photographic images; lectures; books; and, in the case of children, letters and school curricula. This chapter examines these sources and their impact on both the New Zealand public and New Zealand troops in South Africa.

Comparing war coverage in Canada and Australasia, Simon Potter claims that following the relief of Ladysmith, 'the Montreal *Star* published six pages of war news, compared to the one or two columns printed by the Australian and New Zealand papers'.¹ However, the suggestion that war coverage in New Zealand was so limited is incorrect. When reports of the relief of Ladysmith reached New Zealand, the *Evening Post* featured eight columns of war news, the *Press* featured almost seven columns and the *Otago Daily Times* devoted more than a page to Ladysmith celebrations in New Zealand, while its war coverage filled almost nine columns.² Even a smaller provincial paper like the *Poverty Bay Herald* featured more than four columns of war news.³

For most New Zealanders, newspapers were the primary source of war information. The press recorded the government debates, civil service activities, local military preparations, patriotic speeches, concerts and other fund-raising events, lectures, send-offs and welcome-home celebrations that took place on an unprecedented scale and characterized New Zealand's domestic response to the conflict. Papers also reported the progress of the war, including military successes, defeats and the rising casualty toll. As Keith Sinclair notes, the press plays a central role in 'stimulating national sentiment', and this was particularly true during the South African War.⁴ New Zealand newspapers both shaped and reflected the views of the majority, while also providing a forum for less popular opinions. While largely supportive of

¹ Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.49.

² *Evening Post*, 2 Mar 1900, pp.2, 4-6; *The Press*, 3 Mar 1900, pp.4, 6-7; *Otago Daily Times*, 3 Mar 1900, pp.2, 3, 7, 8. This combined coverage excludes other news relating to New Zealand's contribution to the war effort.

³ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 2 Mar 1900, pp.2-4.

⁴ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd, 1986, p.138.

the war effort, newspapers also occasionally reported questionable behaviour by New Zealand troops. Seddon claimed in parliament that the nation's newspapers obviously agreed with New Zealand's involvement.⁵ Suggesting that commercial interests rather than moral principles lay behind recent British wars, the *New Zealand Tablet* claimed in October 1899, 'on the Press lies the chief responsibility of raising the popular temperature to the fever heat'.⁶ It was a responsibility newspapers did not shirk.

A thirst for war news may have stimulated a temporary increase in registered newspapers in New Zealand, which rose from 208 in March 1899 to 219 in January 1900.⁷ When the siege of Ladysmith ended, people 'flocked to the newspaper offices for confirmation',⁸ while rumours of the relief of Mafeking again saw crowds besieging Christchurch newspaper offices.⁹ The war proved a boon for newspapers' circulation, with the *Poverty Bay Herald* claiming 'for war papers of any kind there is an endless demand'.¹⁰ However, the demand for war news raised concerns about the financial outlay of covering the conflict, a fact an Ashburton Publishing Company newspaper notice stressed:

The attention of Subscribers and Clients is again directed to the Accounts lately sent out from this Office, for it is scarcely necessary to say that the very heavy additional expenditure incurred since the commencement of the War, in cables, &c,

⁵ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Wellington: Government Printer, 110 (1899), p.77. During an 1899 parliamentary address, Seddon said, 'Take the Press of this colony, and all those who have read what appears therein must come to the conclusion that they are with us in the movement now taking place'.

⁶ *New Zealand Tablet*, 19 Oct 1899, p.17.

⁷ *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1899, pp.59-65; *ibid.*, 1900, pp.64-70; *ibid.*, 1901, pp.75-81; *ibid.*, 1902, pp.76-82. The number of registered papers fluctuated during the war, with 208 in March 1899, 219 in January 1900, 207 in January 1901, and 211 in January 1902. While it seems unlikely that any New Zealand papers owed their existence entirely to the conflict, the increase of eleven new papers in 1900 may have reflected the nation's appetite for war news, and the *Trade Review and Farmers' Gazette*, a Dunedin weekly that appeared in 1900, may have benefitted from increased trade with South Africa from the Otago and Southland region.

⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 2 Mar 1900, p.8

⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1900, p.3.

¹⁰ Potter, p.47; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 13 Jun 1900, p.2. The *Poverty Bay Herald* editorial stated, 'Of course there has been a good demand for books on South Africa and the new works on the war. The boom in the periodical market has been in newspapers and in illustrated weeklies dealing with the war. Most illustrated weeklies have gone up at least 25 per cent; many daily papers have enormously increased their circulation.' However, continuing to discuss war papers, the editorial added, 'The best of these, like the daily papers, find their expenses so largely increased by the war that the extra sales do not recoup the outlay. To a metropolitan paper (says the Daily Mail) a great war is a curse. It means vast expense, a disarrangement of routine, and a greatly increased strain on the workers'. The circulation of the Christchurch *Weekly Press* rose to 40,000 by the end of 1899, making it the largest selling New Zealand newspaper at the time. Christchurch Press Company, *The Press, 1861-1961: The Story of a Newspaper*, Christchurch: Christchurch Press Company Ltd, 1963, p.122-123.

renders it *absolutely necessary* that Money should be got in without delay.¹¹

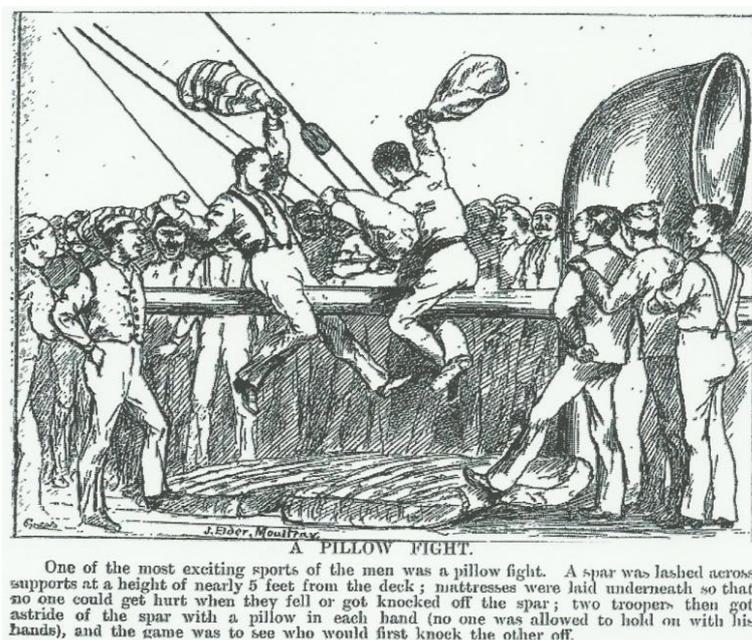


Fig. 15. A John Elder Moultray sketch that appeared in the *Otago Witness* depicting members of the First Contingent on board the *Waiwera* en route to South Africa. Source: *Otago Witness*, 11 Jan 1900, p.33, National Library of New Zealand.

To ensure the public received coverage of the contingents' actions (and to minimize costs), one source widely employed by newspapers was the soldiers themselves. Soldiers recounted their emotions, opinions, activities and experiences in letters to families and friends in New Zealand, many of which were forwarded to newspapers. At least three soldiers who served in the contingents - Claude Jewell, William Saunders and George Wilson - were journalists.¹² John Elder Moultray, a Dunedin artist, accompanied the *Otago Daily Times* 'Second War Correspondent', James Arthur Shand (fig. 16), and contributed drawings (fig. 15) and articles to several papers, while the Otaki photographer, Alf C. Morton, was a war correspondent and artist for the *New Zealand Times* who acted as editor of the *Gymeric Times*, a newspaper printed on board the Fourth Contingent troopship, the *Gymeric*.¹³ W.D.

¹¹ *Ashburton Guardian*, 1 Mar 1900, p.2. Emphasis and text as in original.

¹² Description of Discharge, 20 Feb 1901, Claude Lockhart Jewell, AABK 18805 W5515 0002836, ANZ NZDFPR, p.25; Attestation Form n.d., William Alfred Saunders, AABK 18805 W5515 0006459, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6; Attestation Form, Apr 1902, George Wilson, AABK 18805 W5515 0006076, ANZ NZDFPR, p.3. A 1919 *Evening Post* report noted Jewell had served as the editor of the First New Zealand Mounted Rifles' Association *Bulletin* since 1902 and was currently the editor of the *Auckland Observer*. *Evening Post*, 20 Oct 1919, p.7.

¹³ Richard Stowers, *Rough Riders at War: History of New Zealand in the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902 and Bibliographical Information on all Members of the Ten New Zealand Contingents*, 6th ed., Hamilton: Richard Stowers, 2009, pp.216, 248; *Otago Daily Times*, 7 Feb 1900, p.5; *Evening Post*, 6 Feb 1900, p.5; *Manawatu*

Campbell of Timaru also claimed to ‘represent New Zealand newspapers in South Africa as a bona-fide correspondent’.¹⁴



Fig. 16. War correspondent James Arthur Shand.¹⁵



61—TROOPER C. L. JEWELL.

Fig. 17. Trooper Claude Lockhart Jewell.¹⁶

Moultray was invalided home in January 1900, but wrote retrospective articles regarding the war.¹⁷ Jewell (fig. 17) gave his occupation as ‘law clerk’ when he enrolled, but his discharge papers stated he was a journalist, while Wilson worked for the *Waimate Advertiser* prior to the war.¹⁸ While Jewell and Wilson do not seem to have acted as formal

Evening Standard, 22 Mar 1900, p.3; *Daily Telegraph*, 16 Jun 1900, p.8. Moultray was described variously as a ‘Special Artist’, ‘Our War Correspondent’ and, on his return to New Zealand, ‘Our Late Special Correspondent’. Trooper John Edward Thomas Burnett met Morton in South Africa and claimed Morton was ‘taking photos for N.Z., Australian and home papers’. Burnett claimed he paid Morton 15s 6d to send papers to his family in New Zealand featuring photos of New Zealand men. *Otago Daily Times*, 7 Feb 1900, p.5; *Otago Witness*, 1 Feb 1900, p.28; *Evening Post*, 20 Mar 1900, p.2; John Edward Thomas Burnett, diary, 2 Jul 1900, NAM NZ 2004.543; *ibid.*, 27 Jul 1900.

¹⁴ *Press*, 5 Feb 1901, p.2.

¹⁵ Alice St. Clair, *A Souvenir of the First New Zealand Contingent for South Africa, 1899-1901*, Auckland: Arthur Cleave & Co. (printers), 1902, p.61.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.55.

¹⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, 6 Jan 1900, p.2; *Evening Post*, 20 Mar 1900, p.2. On his return, Moultray claimed that some mail sent to him in South Africa had not arrived and that some letters ‘had been ripped open and the contents stolen’ after leaving New Zealand, a charge denied by the Secretary to the Post Office. *Ashburton Guardian*, 3 Apr 1900, p.2; *Timaru Herald*, 5 Apr 1900, p.3.

¹⁸ Attestation Form n.d., Claude Lockhart Jewell, AABK 18805 W5515 0002836, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; Certificate of Discharge, 5 May 1902, *ibid.*, p.11; Attestation Form, Apr 1902, George Wilson, AABK 18805 W5515 0006076, ANZ NZDFPR, p.3. Jewell’s Personnel Record features letters giving his address care of the *New Zealand Observer*, the *Star* in Auckland and the *Free Lance* in Wellington. Under Secretary of Defence to C. L. Jewell, letter, 14 Mar 1901, Claude Lockhart Jewell, AABK 18805 W5515 0002836, ANZ NZDFPR, p.16;

war correspondents, their letters appeared in newspapers, and in an attempt to address the paucity of cable news directly relating to New Zealand troops, the United Press Association (UPA) arranged for Major Madocks to send letters covering contingent activities, though this arrangement was discontinued.¹⁹ Madocks' situation seems to have differed from that in Victoria, Australia, where the military commander reportedly forbade Australian contingent members acting as correspondents as 'It was found that to allow military men with troops to act as correspondents was not only productive of mischief but of breaches of discipline.'²⁰ In a letter that appeared in the *Star*, Saunders claimed Cape Colony papers were minimizing British casualties, and he later admitted writing a *Cape Argus* article critical of military hospital management.²¹ The *Press* appeared to suggest that Saunders acted as a 'special correspondent' for the *Cape Times* during the war after a similar article written by 'a Volunteer who has come over 8000 miles to help the Imperial forces' appeared in that paper.²²

Like Moultray, Jewell continued to write about the war after his return. A piece he wrote criticizing his British officers and detailing his capture was serialized in the *Auckland Star*.²³ Shand, who dressed like a contingent member, wrote lengthy accounts from South Africa where he accompanied the New Zealanders on patrol. His reports were sometimes spread over more than one edition, and occasionally appeared in the *Otago Witness*, which printed similar, though sometimes truncated, versions several days after the *Otago Daily Times* published them.²⁴ Shand's articles appeared in the Otago papers approximately one month after he had written them, but as he focused on New Zealand soldiers, their content

A. P. Penton to C.L. Jewell, copy of letter, 14 Feb 1901, *ibid.*, p.19; Claude L. Jewell to Under Secretary for Defence, letter, 24 Jan 1901, *ibid.*, p.20.

¹⁹ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 3 Feb, 1900, p.3; *ibid.*, 22 Feb 1901, p.2; Potter, p.47; Allison Oosterman, 'New Zealand War Correspondence before 1915', *Pacific Journalism Review*, 16:1(2010), p.142. Wilson also wrote about the war for his father's paper, the *Waimate Advertiser*, on his return to New Zealand. *Otago Witness*, 10 Sep 1902, p.27.

²⁰ *Evening Post*, 13 Oct 1899, p.5. The paper reported that Australian newspaper correspondents' cable messages would be sent through the 'military officer acting as a Press censor'. The commander of the Victorian Military Forces in Australia was Sir C. Holled-Smith.

²¹ *Star*, 17 Jan 1900, p.1; *Press*, 24 Jul 1900, p.6.

²² *Press*, 24 Jul 1900, p.6. An interview with Saunders, in which he repeated his criticism of military hospitals in South Africa, appeared in the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Canterbury Star*. After being invalided home to New Zealand, Saunders' photo appeared in the *Otago Witness*. His uncle was the editor of the *Lyttelton Times*. *Otago Daily Times*, 23 Jul 1900, p.2; *Star*, 24 Jul 1900, p.1; *Otago Witness*, 26 Jul 1900, p.26; *Colonist*, 11 Apr 1900, p.3.

²³ *Auckland Star*, 2 Feb 1901, supplement p.1; 9 Feb 1901, supplement p.1; 16 Feb 1901, supplement p.1. In the article, Jewell was openly critical of upper class British officers wearing 'the absurd monocle'. He held his British commanding officer responsible for the defeat at Sanna's Post and accused him of stupidity and incompetence, which the journalist claimed had resulted in his own capture and ten week incarceration at Waterval.

²⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 6 Feb 1900, p.5; *ibid.*, 7 Feb 1900, p.5; *ibid.*, 6 Jun 1900, p.5; *Otago Witness*, 15 Feb 1900, p.67. *Otago Daily Times*, 6 Jun 1900, p.5.

often differed from the largely uniform UPA cable reports that were forwarded from England and appeared in most papers.²⁵ Although it is unclear whether he wrote for the paper while on active service, James Christie, who paid his own way to South Africa and served in the Bushveldt Carbineers, was the editor of the *Bruce Herald* after the war.²⁶ UPA reports relied heavily on South African papers, which forwarded news selections to England, portions of which were then cabled from England to New Zealand via the Wakapuaka Cable Station.²⁷

TO THE CITIZENS OF WELLINGTON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN--In response to the Deputation which waited on me this morning, I hereby convene a Public Meeting to be held at the Theatre Royal on **FRIDAY AFTERNOON**, the 17th inst., at 3.30 p.m., to pass Resolutions upholding the action of the Home Government in reference to the South African War.

JOHN G. W. AITKEN,
Mayor of Wellington.

15th January, 1902.

Fig. 18. Advertisement for a Wellington public meeting held to express support for the Imperial Government's actions in South Africa.
Source: *Evening Post*, 15 Jan 1902, p.6.

Newspaper accounts could change the mood of the populace. The *Star* claimed that Wellingtonians depressed by news of the British defeat at Magersfontein were then buoyed by newspaper reports of the 'rumoured relief' of Ladysmith.²⁸ 1902 newspaper reports of German allegations that British troops raped Boer women and children resulted in public meetings (fig. 18), resolutions condemning the accusations and increased public support for further contingents.²⁹ Newspapers reported Seddon's opposition to an 'un-British' retaliatory boycott

²⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, 23 Jan, 1900, p.5; *ibid.*, 24 Feb 1900, p.2; Potter, p.46.

²⁶ James Christie to H.D. Tuson, letter, 9 Jul, 1909, James Christie, AABK 18805 W5515 0001009, ANZ, NZDFPR, pp.13-20

²⁷ Potter, pp.45-47. The extra cost of transmission to New Zealand and Australia resulted in a reduced volume of war news sent from England, while the completion of the Ascension-St. Vincent section of a new cable from Cape Colony in February 1900 established a third cable connection between Great Britain and South Africa to meet the increased demand for war news. The Wakapuaka cable link with Australia had been established in February 1876. *Otago Daily Times*, 23 Feb 1900, p.4; *Star*, 26 Feb 1876, p.2.

²⁸ *Star*, 16 Dec 1899, p.6. These reports posted in newspaper offices proved false. News that the siege of Ladysmith had been lifted reached New Zealand on 2 March 1900. *Daily Telegraph*, 2 Mar 1900, p.8.

²⁹ *Evening Post*, 4 Jan 1902, p.5; *Hawera and Normanby Star* supplement, 1 Mar 1902, p.3; *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, Wellington: House of Representatives, 1902, A-1,

of German goods, but noted he discussed the idea of imposing tariffs on German imports.³⁰ Despite flagging parliamentary support for the despatch of additional contingents, when newspapers reported further German ‘calumnies’ from the *Tägliche Rundschau*, accusing the British Army of forcing Boer women and girls into prostitution, public indignation was once again inflamed.³¹

There was an awareness of the ability of literature to influence public opinion regarding the war. George Fisher, MHR for City of Wellington, drew parliament’s attention to the ‘insidious power’ of an American pamphlet in circulation critical of British actions in South Africa and recommended issuing two pro-British publications as ‘an antidote’.³² Fisher’s parliamentary comments were reported in several papers with the *Auckland Star* claiming Seddon felt Fisher’s actions in publicising the American pamphlet would be sufficient to counter its influence.³³

John Crawford has noted the way newspapers tended to depict the conflict in heroic terms while largely avoiding unpleasant reality.³⁴ Accounts of New Zealand’s heavy losses at Langverwacht shocked the country, though reports focused on the men’s bravery, alleging they were outnumbered eight to one.³⁵ When Sergeant Peterson escaped from Boer captivity, papers reported the incident using titles like ‘Thrilling Experiences of Escapees: New Zealanders Distinguish Themselves’, ‘A Plucky New Zealander’ and ‘Trooper Peterson’s Adventures: A Thrilling Escape’.³⁶ However, while the press remained largely supportive of

p.30; *Evening Post*, 18 Jan 1902, p.2; John Crawford with Ellen Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1999, p.84.

³⁰ *Evening Post*, 15 Jan 1902, p.4. Despite Seddon’s opposition to ‘un-British’ trade embargos, in early February 1902 the *Otago Witness* claimed ‘The German boycott has already commenced here. In several instances travellers soliciting orders for German firms have been told they can go elsewhere, while many people state they will not now purchase German-made articles if they can possibly avoid doing so.’ *Otago Witness*, 5 Feb 1902, p.14.

³¹ *Star*, 24 Feb 1902, p.1; *Hawera and Normanby Star* supplement, 1 Mar 1902, p.3; *Press*, 4 Mar 1902, p.5. Malcolm McKinnon has noted that in March 1902 ten members of parliament opposed sending the Tenth Contingent when asked by Seddon for their opinion. McKinnon, ‘Opposition’, p.37.

³² *NZPD*, 119 (1901), pp.312-313. The pamphlet was allegedly titled ‘An American View of the South African Situation: How Australasia might help Great Britain’. Fisher recommended government publication of two other pamphlets, ‘The British Case Against the Boer Republics’ and ‘Real Causes of the War, and Some of the Elements of the Final Settlement’.

³³ *Press*, 9 Oct 1901, p.7; *Evening Post*, 11 Oct 1901, p.5; *Auckland Star*, 11 Oct 1901, p.2.

³⁴ John Crawford, ‘The Impact of the War on the New Zealand Military Forces’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.210.

³⁵ *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 1 Mar 1902, p.2. The paper reported that 800 Boers attacked a New Zealand force of 100. In the battle, twenty-four New Zealanders died and a further forty sustained wounds. Pakenham, *One Flag*, p.69.

³⁶ *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 21 Aug 1900, p.2; *Wanganui Herald*, 21 Aug 1900, p.2; *Auckland Star*, 21 Aug 1900, p.5. The *Hawera and Normanby Star* reported that when Sergeant Andrew Gearheart Petersen, who served in the Third and Seventh Contingents, approached British lines, he was shot and ‘slightly wounded’ by a

the war, and also played a more direct role in supporting the contingents through organisations like ‘The Press More Men Fund’, brutally frank accounts of combat and the more distasteful aspects of warfare appeared in some papers and school magazines.³⁷ Although the culpability of the soldiers involved was downplayed in some New Zealand newspaper reports (and completely excised from British newspapers), a serious case of ill-discipline involving New Zealand soldiers in Worcester during the war did receive mention in some papers, while a fight that allegedly took place between New Zealand and Imperial troops following the end of hostilities was sensationalised and received widespread coverage.³⁸

Gruesome accounts of warfare also appeared in several papers. Under the title ‘Shot and Bayonet Wounds’, the *Thames Star* reported ‘Several of our men have been shot by dum-dum bullets, and the wounds in every case were horrible beyond belief’.³⁹ An even more alarming report appeared in the *Tuapeka Times*: ‘Helmets were lying side by side with the Boer felt hats, full of blood and brains.’⁴⁰ The *Evening Post* ran an article appropriately titled ‘The Horrors of War’ in which it reported the aftermath of a battle: ‘One poor fellow had his thigh shaved away so that the white sinews were exposed in strings. Another lay in the ambulance with his left leg a blackened bleeding pulp from hip to knee.’⁴¹

Twenty-year-old Trooper Patrick Fitzherbert’s (fig. 19) lurid account of battle appeared in the *Wanganui Collegian*:

I shall never forget the sight of the killed and wounded Boers after the surrender of Cronje. Hundreds lay about the bed of the river, mingled with dead horses, cattle and mules. Most of the killed were killed by our shells, which simply blew them to pieces. All more or less mutilated, with eyes swollen to abnormal size (by the heat) bulging from their sockets – heads missing, limbs missing! Some blown clean in two. Then the burying! Men and horses thrown into their rifle pits

British sentry. Reference Papers, Andrew Gearheart Peterson, AABK 18805 W5515 0004459 ANZ NZDFPR, p.3.

³⁷ W.H. Triggs to Major Robin, letter, 16 Feb 1900, ANZ AD34 4. ‘The Press More Men Fund’ sent parcels containing chocolates, socks, tobacco and an autographed card from Lady Ranfurly to soldiers in the First Contingent.

³⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 Jul 1901, p.3; *Feilding Star*, 22 Jul 1901, p.2; *Evening Telegraph*, Dundee, U.K., 7 Jun 1901, p.4; *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, Sheffield, U.K., 7 Jun 1901, p.5; *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, Sunderland, U.K., 7 Jun 1901, p.6; *Gloucester Citizen*, Gloucester, U.K., 7 Jun 1901, p.3; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 4 Sep 1902, p.2; *Wanganui Herald*, 4 Sep 1902, p.3; *Taranaki Herald*, 4 Sep 1902, p.2; *Star*, 4 Sep 1902, p.3.

³⁹ *Thames Star*, 1 Mar 1900, p.4.

⁴⁰ *Tuapeka Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.4.

⁴¹ *Evening Post*, 15 Dec 1899, p.2.

and covered over. My God, it's awful, and I never wish to see the like scene again. *It really does seem like murder.*⁴²

Whether such harrowing accounts gave children borne along by the tide of patriotism pause for thought is not recorded. Although Fitzherbert also acknowledged the interesting sights he had seen, and getting 'his first taste of plunder', he clearly did not view war as a glorious enterprise: 'Yes, I will be a strong supporter of the disarmament scheme after this. And I say this, that never mind how ardent a military spirit a man may have, let him see a sickening sight like that and his ardour will be quenched forever.' Nonetheless, on his return, Fitzherbert was 'heartily welcomed' at Wanganui Collegiate and addressed the school.⁴³

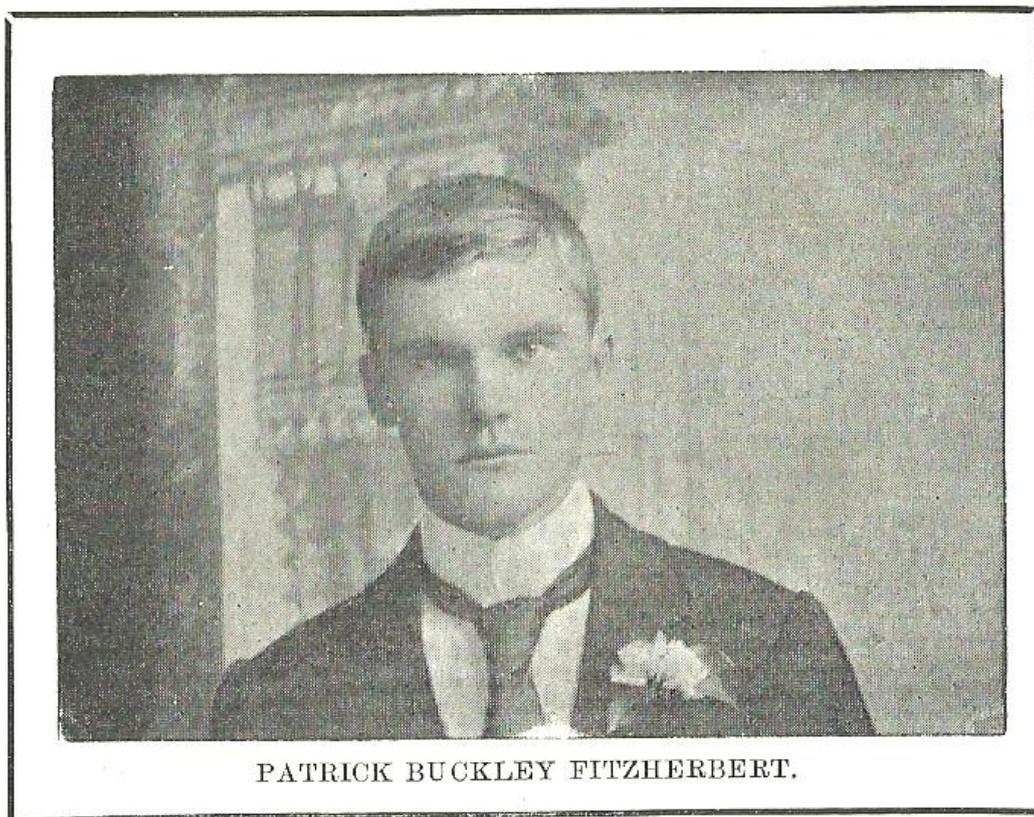


Fig. 19. Trooper Patrick Buckley Fitzherbert, Roberts' Horse.
Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

Sergeant Duncan Blair (fig. 20) was equally explicit when he referred to Private Luke Perham's death: 'Perham, also of the Thirds, was killed by an expanding bullet blowing the brains out at the top of his head.'⁴⁴ An Old Boy's letter to the *Christ's College Register* was

⁴² *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 52, Apr 1900, p.13. Emphasis as in original.

⁴³ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 54, Dec 1900, p.7.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.14.

no less graphic. H. Hill wrote: ‘The man next to me got two shots through his head, and another through the jaw. The poor fellow turned over and over, shrieking horribly, and then died’.⁴⁵ Some soldiers’ letters were more encouraging. A letter from C.N.B. Williams to the *Wanganui Collegian* showed he relished army life: ‘If anyone at School is doubtful about trying it, please add my little word in favour.’⁴⁶

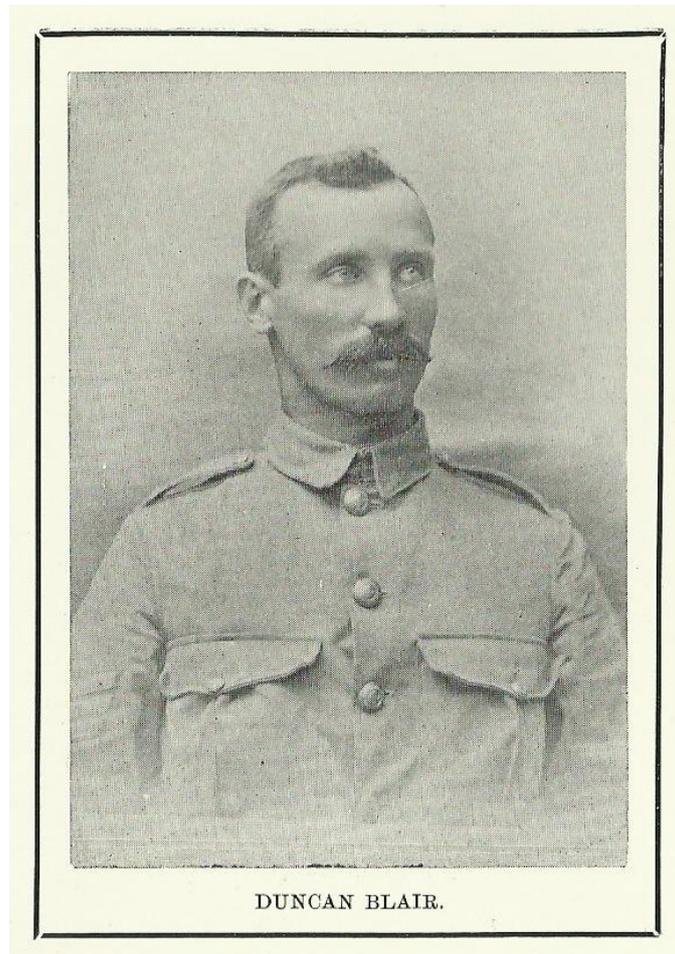


Fig. 20. Sergeant-Major Duncan Blair, Second New Zealand Contingent.
Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*,
Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

Other unsavoury aspects of the war were also mentioned in school magazines. Joseph Orford (fig. 21), a former Wanganui Collegiate school master serving in South Africa, expressed his dissatisfaction with Lord Kitchener’s policy of destroying Boer homes when he wrote ‘we are all dead sick of making war on women and chickens’, while Lieutenant John Montgomerie (fig. 22) alluded to participating in burning houses when he wrote ‘the women

⁴⁵ *Christ’s College Register*, No. 43, Aug 1900, p.396.

⁴⁶ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 60, Dec 1902, p.11.

and children were left weeping over the wrecks'.⁴⁷ Orford's account hardly fulfilled the school's hope that he would return 'covered with glory'.⁴⁸

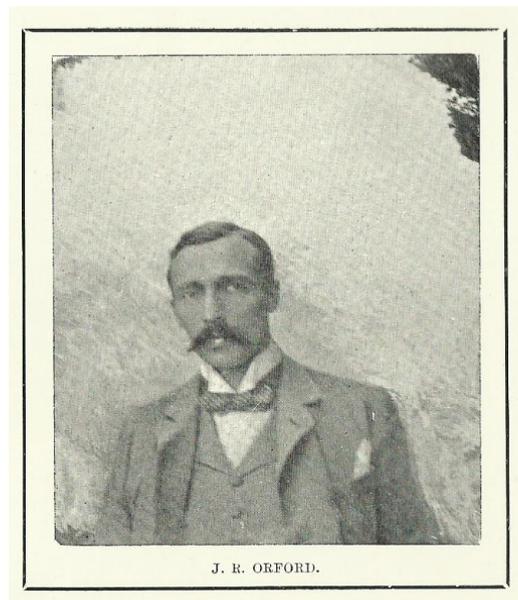


Fig. 21. Corporal Joseph Robinson Orford, Fourth New Zealand Contingent. Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

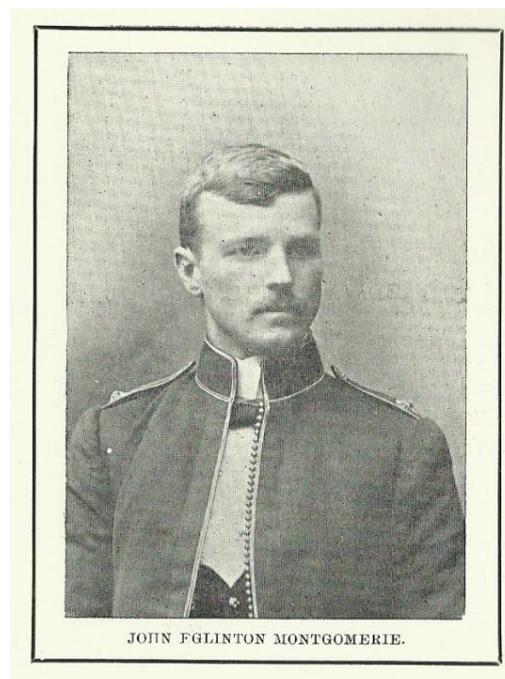


Fig. 22. Lieutenant John Eglinton Montgomerie, Second New Zealand Contingent. Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

⁴⁷ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 55, Apr 1901, p.22; *ibid.*, No. 54, Dec 1900, p.15.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 52, Apr 1900, p.4.

Frank accounts of battle like those of Fitzherbert, Blair and Hill that specifically referred to New Zealanders seldom appeared in soldiers' letters printed in newspapers, and it seems that on occasion the soldiers themselves sanitised material. The *Auckland Star* and the *Press* alleged that a report from Major Robin claimed Luke Perham had been shot 'through the body' rather than the head, as Duncan Blair claimed.⁴⁹ There were also suggestions that New Zealand papers censored content regarding the conflict. The *Free Lance* and *Ohinemuri Gazette* claimed that the Wellington Peace and Humanity Society intended to produce its own paper to 'print matter (presumably dealing with the war, although the Society doesn't say so) which has been rejected by other papers'.⁵⁰ Some newspapers lauded the objectivity of their war coverage, but this veneer of impartiality largely disappeared when portraying the Boers or recording domestic opposition to the war.⁵¹ While it periodically called the conflict the 'Boer War', the *Marlborough Express* was one of the few papers that frequently referred to the 'Anglo-Boer War' – a nominal recognition of Britain's part in the conflict.⁵²

Sinclair notes the majority of references to 'the Empire' appeared in newspapers and political speeches rather than soldiers' correspondence.⁵³ Salient extracts from official despatches sent between Lord Ranfurly and Joseph Chamberlain were occasionally printed in newspapers. When Ranfurly reported a New Zealand contingent offer, Chamberlain's reply commended the country's 'patriotic enthusiasm' in defence of 'Imperial interests in South Africa'.⁵⁴ Despite these rousing sentiments, newspaper reports sourced through the UPA or official channels often contradicted views expressed in soldiers' letters. This was particularly true of depictions of the enemy. Though occasionally noting Boer bravery, papers frequently

⁴⁹ *Auckland Star*, 15 Oct 1900, p.5; *Press*, 15 Oct 1900, p.5. Lance-Corporal Ryan's account of Perham's death, which appeared in the *Press*, said that Perham 'pitched out of his saddle close by me, stone dead' but gave no further details of injuries, and an *Ashburton Guardian* account claimed 'Perham was shot, and died immediately'. *Press*, 20 Oct 1900, p.5; *Ashburton Guardian*, 21 Dec 1900, p.2.

⁵⁰ *Free Lance*, 12 Apr 1902, p.8; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 16 Apr 1902, p.3. The articles sarcastically claimed that 'It will be seen at once that the United Press Association, through which organisation the whole of the official war news comes to New Zealand, will be shamed into silence by a truthful organisation of which only the Peace and Humanity Society knows anything. How the local Society is to gauge the truth or otherwise of any cabled reports is extremely hard to determine.' The *Ohinemuri Gazette* added, 'The Press of New Zealand has exhibited a tolerance, during the continuance of the war, in keeping with its best traditions. It has been very ready to rebuke Briton and Boer when the conduct of either demanded it, but, of course, it hasn't printed all the tommyrot submitted to it by people who want to conduct modern warfare from behind a desk with a very small bore-pen [sic] for a weapon.'

⁵¹ *West Coast Times*, 18 Apr 1902, p.3. The *West Coast Times* titled an article about the passage of an Auckland Peace Association resolution opposing the war 'Pro-Boer Cranks'.

⁵² *Marlborough Express*, 16 Feb 1900, p.4; *ibid.*, 1 May, p.2.

⁵³ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.137. There were occasional references to the Empire in soldiers' letters. In a letter from Rupert Hosking that appeared in the *Wanganui Collegian* prior to him being seriously wounded at Mafeking, he wrote, 'Everyone is willing to do another five months such as those just gone, if by doing it the Empire will derive benefit therefrom.' *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.19.

⁵⁴ *Press*, 1 Jan 1900, p.6.

characterized the Boer as a cowardly, treacherous and brutal enemy who routinely abused the white flag, fired on Red Cross wagons and employed poisoned and dum-dum bullets.⁵⁵ *The Outlook* noted this trend:

Our attitude towards the Boers, as adopted by the newspapers and more specially the colonial newspapers, whose very headlines are meant to be insults, is an exception to the British rule of treating an enemy with courtesy. Rarely is there even the briefest reference to their chivalry.⁵⁶

Occasionally, soldiers' letters also included negative depictions of the enemy, with Trooper O'Shea of Nelson referring to the Boers as a 'lazy tribe'.⁵⁷ Some soldiers' letters published in papers documented alleged Boer atrocities: Frederick Knox of the Fifth Contingent claimed that the Boers had cut the throat of a wounded soldier.⁵⁸

However, Jewell noted he had been treated courteously when captured, and claimed 'it is only the strict discipline of the army that keeps [Tommy Atkins] from worse atrocities than the much maligned Dutch farmer', adding 'I will be mistaken for a pro-Boer if I go on in this strain – I must desist'.⁵⁹ A wounded trooper from the Fourth Contingent also praised the treatment he had received when captured and claimed the New Zealanders respected the Boer commanders, Botha and De La Rey.⁶⁰ Shortly after the war, *The Outlook* published extracts from a sermon that noted 'When our sons wrote from the front that the Boers were no cowards, but the bravest of the brave, we grumbled that they were pro-Boers'.⁶¹

⁵⁵ *Evening Post*, 19 Jun 1901, p.5; *Thames Star*, 15 Jun 1900, p.2; *Southland Times*, 19 Sep 1900, p.2; *Feilding Star*, 4 Sep 1900, p.2; *Thames Star*, 31 Jan 1901, p.2; *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 30 May 1900, p.3; *Grey River Argus*, 10 Oct 1899, p.4; *Evening Post*, 20 Feb 1901, p.5; *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 10 Oct 1899, p.3; *Thames Star*, 28 Nov 1899, p.2; *Marlborough Express*, 10 May 1900, p.3; *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 7 Mar 1900, p.3; *Star*, 27 Nov 1899, p.3; *Wanganui Herald*, 6 Dec 1899, p.2; *Otago Daily Times*, 27 Feb 1900, p.5. A *Southland Times* report of a 1900 Invercargill Kinematograph Syndicate exhibition noted that 'a representation of white flag treachery showed the cowardly tricks of the Boers to perfection'. In a *Hawke's Bay Herald* article, J. Elder Moultray, the New Zealand war correspondent, also claimed that the Boers used Red Cross wagons to transport healthy soldiers during battles, but added that 'we have ourselves to blame' for Boers firing on British Red Cross wagons due to the 'pockethandkerchief' size of the Red Cross flags they flew. *Southland Times*, 16 Aug 1900, p.2.

⁵⁶ *The Outlook*, 11 Jan 1902, p.4.

⁵⁷ *Evening Post*, 14 Jul 1900, p.5.

⁵⁸ *Ashburton Guardian*, 26 Feb 1901, p.2.

⁵⁹ *Auckland Star*, 29 Aug 1900, p.5; *Daily Telegraph*, 3 Sep 1900, p.3; *New Zealand Tablet*, 20 Sep 1900, p.15; *Otago Daily Times*, 10 Sep 1900, p.2.

⁶⁰ *Wanganui Herald*, 6 Mar 1901, p.2. However, the author claimed that the soldiers 'detested De Wet', a Boer commander who reportedly ill-treated prisoners. The paper referred to the writer as 'Wallace, a Wellingtonian', but it appears the only Wallace in the Fourth Contingent was Albert Inglis Wallace who, though he was born near Wellington, lived in Shannon. Wallace contracted malarial fever, dysentery and enteric in South Africa, and was invalided home with a 'slight swelling of [the] right testicle.' *Ashburton Guardian*, 25 Feb 1901, p.2; Attestation Form, 11 Mar 1900, Albert Inglis Wallace, AABK 18805 W5515 0005782, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6; Certificate of Discharge, 11 Aug 1902, *ibid.*, p.15; Proceeding of Medical Board, 11 Mar 1901, *ibid.*, p.18.

⁶¹ *The Outlook*, 28 Jun 1902, p.23. The sermon was delivered by Reverend Alex Whyte in Havelock North.

Gavin McLean has stated that ‘Censorship was not an issue during the South African War because the Boers had no navy to threaten the lines of communications’, and *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* supports this, stating ‘Prior to the First World War there was no censorship of war news’.⁶² Additionally, Allison Oosterman makes no direct reference to censorship during the South African War in her examination of New Zealand war correspondence prior to 1915.⁶³ However, censorship was an issue and the Boers did disrupt communications. While soldiers mentioned vessel names, locations and military units in letters, and the Boers never threatened shipping, they did interfere with mail en route to coastal ports.⁶⁴ During an attack on Roodewal, General Christian De Wet intercepted 2000 mail bags, which he then allegedly burnt.⁶⁵ In November 1899, the *Star* published an article titled ‘Censorship of War News’, which noted that ‘if the cable news from the seat of war is not always as consistent, as accurate, or as full as could be desired, the responsibility does not wholly rest with the newspapers or their correspondents’.⁶⁶ W.D. Campbell, himself a correspondent, claimed he was under pressure ‘to suppress matters which have nevertheless leaked out’, and a *New York Times* article claimed that J. Grattan Grey had issued a pamphlet that contained ‘the literature of the peace party of Great Britain, which was sent out to the colonies for publication, but was suppressed’.⁶⁷

⁶² Gavin McLean & Ian McGibbon with Kynan Gentry (eds.), *The Penguin Book of New Zealanders at War*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2009, p.21; ‘Censorship’ in Ian McGibbon (ed.) with the assistance of Paul Goldstone, *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000, p.80.

⁶³ Oosterman, ‘New Zealand War’, pp.133-152.

⁶⁴ A letter allegedly written by James F. Dunn, an American serving with the Boer forces, was printed in the *Otago Daily Times* and mentioned British censorship of Boer mail: ‘This letter will reach you by way of Lorenzo Marques, by the German mail line. No letter can go out of the Boer Republics through British sources, as the letters are opened, read and destroyed. The English control the cables, and I have no doubt, from what we hear in our camps, that the real condition of things never reaches the outside world.’ *Otago Daily Times*, 2 Mar 1900, p.2

⁶⁵ Luke Perham to his mother, letter, 28 Jun 1900, NAM NZ 2003.7, p.3; *Otago Daily Times*, 11 Aug 1900, p.2; Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War*, London: Abacus, 1992, pp.435-436. In an article titled ‘De Wet’s Swoops [sic]: Burning the Mail’, the *Otago Daily Times* reported the incident occurring at ‘Roodeval’. Pakenham claims that De Wet allowed British prisoners to loot the mail prior to leaving Roodewal, while Perham mentions General De Wet burning ‘all our mails’.

⁶⁶ *Star*, 14 Nov 1899, p.1. The *Nelson Evening Mail* printed the same article under the title, ‘The Press Censorship: Why the Cables are Unsatisfactory’. In a letter home, a Sixth Contingent soldier stated that over one hundred members of his unit were captured by the Boers, and claimed the incident was kept secret for a period. *Nelson Evening Mail*, 15 Nov 1899, p.2; *Bush Advocate*, 14 Apr 1902, p.2.

⁶⁷ *Press*, 5 Feb 1901, p.2; *New York Times*, New York, 10 Jun 1900, p.3. Campbell was responding to criticism from Captain Norman Smith in the *Press* regarding the veracity of articles written by New Zealand war correspondents. The *Press* claimed Smith had ‘an undisguised loathing’ for the news sent by correspondents ‘and others’ to the newspapers when the writers were far from the events they described. While conceding that ‘I, in common with many other colonial correspondents who were expected to chronicle the whole advance, frequently described the actions of New Zealanders which I never saw, and the facts of which were given to me by some officers’, Campbell claimed that correspondents were pressured to ‘make reputations for men who are

Although newspapers printed opposing views regarding the conflict and occasionally featured graphic battlefield accounts, censorship affected content.⁶⁸ Seddon stated that information not in the 'public interest' should be excised from military despatches before being forwarded to the press, and papers reported that military censorship limited their ability to cover the war, claiming it was stricter than in any previous conflict.⁶⁹ When a New Zealand trooper was court-martialled and imprisoned in England, the War Office reluctantly accepted pleas for clemency from his parents and Seddon.⁷⁰ William Pember Reeves assured the Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies that he had 'asked the London correspondents of the New Zealand newspapers to say as little as possible' about the soldier's release and many papers confined their initial coverage to a single sentence.⁷¹ When Leolin Arden was found dead with a gunshot wound to the head in June 1902, a Court of Enquiry found that he had either been hit by a stray round, or murdered.⁷² However, in a memorandum from Lord

not above reviling their benefactors' and observed that many articles that appeared in New Zealand papers under the title 'From our special correspondent' were written by officers and men 'in violation of service regulations'. Campbell also claimed that reports regarding 'the praises that the New Zealanders have won from their Imperial comrades in arms' were often exaggerated. *Press*, 31 Jan 1901, p.6.

⁶⁸ *Tuapeka Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.4; *Evening Post*, 15 Dec 1899, p.2. An *Evening Post* article titled 'The Horrors of War' featured lurid descriptions of battlefield injuries. Potter notes that the British military monitored and censored cable communications during the war. Potter, *News and the British World*, p.192.

⁶⁹ *NZPD*, 113 (1900), p.640; *New Zealand Herald*, 21 Jan 1901, p.4; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 16 Dec 1899, p.3. Days after the war commenced, the *New Zealand Tablet* referred to 'the sharp eye and merciless hand of the military censor' in Pretoria, while the *Star* reported that the 'Cape of Good Hope Administration' had suspended all cable messages sent in cypher. Describing war news, the *New Zealand Herald* said, 'Scanty as it is, owing to the military censorship, the news from South Africa comes too continuously to enable any very marked changes in the situation to be often noted'. In July 1902, the *Natal Advertiser* noted that the Durban Press Censor had lifted the prohibition on the 'sale and circulation' of certain newspapers, including 'a number of English as well as colonial newspapers'. *New Zealand Tablet*, 19 Oct 1899, p.18; *Star*, 16 Oct 1899, p.1; *Natal Advertiser*, Durban, 7 Jul 1902, p.4.

⁷⁰ W.P. Reeves to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 13 Dec 1901, Charles Borland Tasker, AABK 18805 W5515 0005468, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.11-12. Reeves sought the release of Charles Tasker prior to Christmas 1901 'as an act of grace', but was informed that 'the Commander in Chief felt precluded from ordering the young man's release at an earlier date the 11th January'. Reeves added that when he first broached the subject with the Adjutant General of the Forces he was 'met with a decided refusal, in fact there was a very evident indisposition to discuss the matter'.

⁷¹ W.P. Reeves to Sir Montagu Ommanney, letter, 18 Dec 1901, Charles Borland Tasker, AABK 18805 W5515 0005468, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.26-27; Sir Montagu Ommanney to W.P. Reeves, letter, 17 Dec 1901, *ibid.*, p.26; *Evening Post*, 19 Dec 1901, p.5; *Bay of Plenty Times*, 20 Dec 1901, p.2; *Auckland Star*, 19 Dec 1901, p.5; *Feilding Star*, 19 Dec 1901, p.2; *Evening Post*, 11 Jan 1902, p.5; *Evening Post*, 29 Jan 1902, p.7. Confirming Tasker's release in a letter to Reeves, Sir Montagu Ommanney wrote that 'this case is a very exceptional one and that His Majesty's Government have [sic] been influenced by their anxiety to show how warmly they appreciate the many proofs which New Zealand has given of its patriotism and devotion to the interests of the Empire'. The *Evening Post* gave much more detailed accounts of Tasker's release in January 1902.

⁷² Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry, 29 Jun 1902, Leolin (Leolin) Hamar Arden, AABK 18805 W5515 0000127, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.30-34. During the inquiry, fellow Wanganui Collegiate Old Boy, Edward Broughton gave evidence that the night before he was killed Arden had shown him a money belt containing 'two complete sets of Kruger coins'. On the night of his death Arden allegedly informed Broughton that he was going to buy a rifle, which he intended to take back to New Zealand in pieces. Broughton said that when Arden left, the deceased did not have a rifle. The court ruled that Arden 'met his death during the night of the 27th June either from a chance shot fired from some distance behind him or was deliberately murdered by some person unknown'. A report on

Ranfurly to the Acting Premier, Ranfurly stated that he had received a telegram saying Arden's death was from an 'accidental gun shot [sic] wound' and this version was distributed to the press.⁷³ Only after the *Wanganui Collegian* published an obituary suggesting Arden, a Collegiate Old Boy, may have been robbed and murdered did newspapers report this version.⁷⁴

Following an editorial in *The Outlook* by William Hutchison criticizing the war, the formation of an Otago Synod committee was mooted to censor the paper's content and 'actively interfere in regard to its recent attitude regarding the Boer war'.⁷⁵ Military censorship seems to have influenced some private correspondence and definitely affected cables, with some papers criticizing the censors' actions.⁷⁶ A *Star* article reported that 'trouble has already been caused by the publication of letters and interviews from soldiers'.⁷⁷ *The Outlook* referred to letters from Johannesburg being 'subjected to a strict censorship', and the envelope of a letter sent by Private Robert Lawrence of the Seventh Contingent to George Scott in Dunedin clearly bears a Johannesburg censor's stamp (fig. 23).⁷⁸ Private letters from soldiers were also occasionally edited by family members before being submitted to newspapers, while in some cases soldiers requested that their letters not be published.⁷⁹ In a 1900 letter, Trooper Amos McKegg emphasised that he said 'a great deal more in my letters to [his brother] than what I would care to have published'.⁸⁰

the Court of Inquiry proceedings claimed that when Arden's body was found, 'one pocket appeared to have been turnedinside [sic] out'. The report added that a British Lee Enfield was found near Arden's body: 'This points to the fact that he had visited some camp and obtained the rifle and was on his way back to camp when he was killed'. Ibid., pp.32, 34; ? to Major O'Brien, 1 Jul 1902, ibid., p.44.

⁷³ Lord Ranfurly to the Acting Premier, Memorandum, 1 Jul 1902, Levlin (Leolin) Hamar Arden, AABK 18805 W5515 0000127, ANZ NZDFPR, p.38. Ranfurly's memorandum includes a pencil annotation: 'Press and relations advise'. In a letter to Arden's stepmother, Major-General J.M. Babington, Commandant of the New Zealand Forces said 'your Stepson lost his life for the good of the Empire of which we are all so proud'. Ibid, Major General Babington to Fanny Arden, letter, 30 Dec 1903, p.8.

⁷⁴ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 59, Aug 1902, p.7; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 30 Aug 1902, p.3; *Press*, 30 Aug 1902, p.7; *Otago Witness*, 3 Sep 1902, p.9. It is possible that the *Wanganui Collegian* got its information from Broughton, who had a letter from South Africa published in the magazine and who was acquainted with many of the details of the case.

⁷⁵ *Evening Post*, 13 Jan 1902, p.5.

⁷⁶ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 4 Sep 1901, p.2; *Auckland Star*, 27 Aug 1901, p.8. The *Auckland Star* correspondent in London, reporting on the disagreement between Kitchener's press censors and the *Daily Mail*, claimed 'The old saying that there are three classes of liars to wit, "Liars – liars, and 'mining experts," will have to be revised. The new version will read: "Liars, war scribes, and military censors."'

⁷⁷ *Star* 24 Jul 1900, p.1.

⁷⁸ *The Outlook*, 11 Jan 1902, p.1. The envelope of a letter sent from South Africa by Lieutenant George Leece also appears to bear a censor's stamp. ATL MS-Papers-8464-07.

⁷⁹ Mr. Farquharson to William Farquharson, 3 Dec 1900, NAM NZ 1998.11; Hobart Cother Tennent to Katherine Jessie Tennent, transcript of letter, 3 Jun 1901, NAM NZ 2001.1057; Hobart Cother Tennent, 1883/13674, DIA NZBDM.

⁸⁰ Amos McKegg to his brother, 1 Jul 1900, McKegg, Amos, papers, AWMM, MS 934.

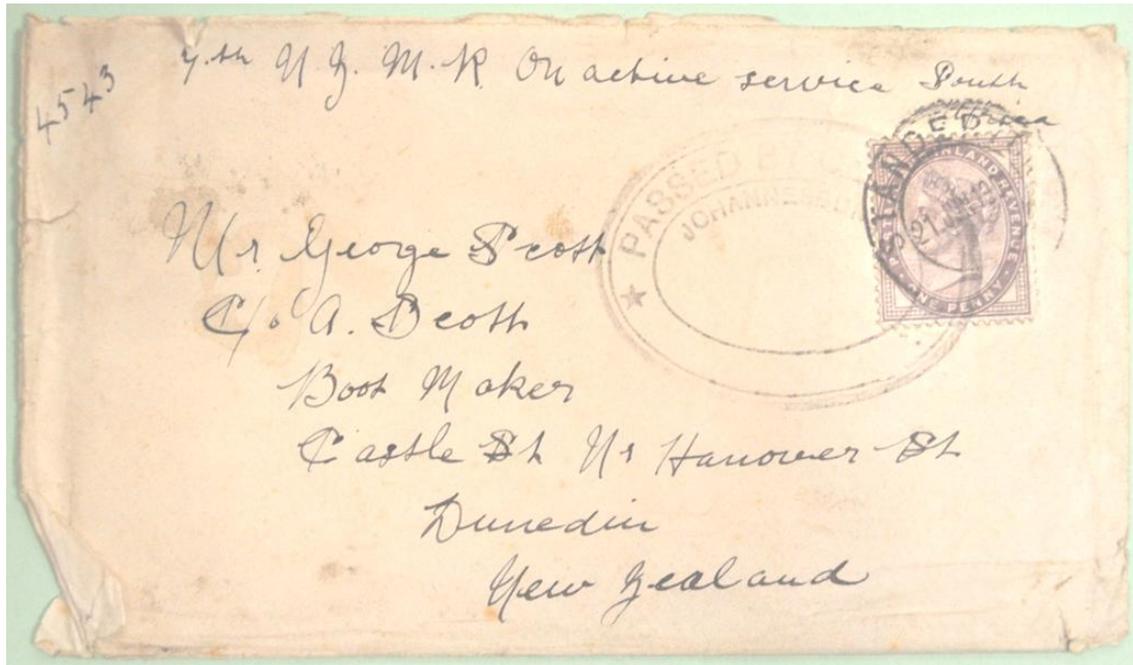


Fig. 23. The envelope of a June 1901 letter sent by Private Robert Lawrence of the Seventh Contingent to George Scott in Dunedin. The envelope was posted in Standerton in Transvaal and bears a 'Passed by Censor Johannesburg' stamp.
Source: HL Misc-MS-0987.



Fig. 24. A postcard sent by Trooper Bert Stevens to his father. The card took forty-one days to reach New Zealand.
Source: NAM NZ 1999.3239.

The *Otago Daily Times* war correspondent outlined the difficulties of getting news to New Zealand: ‘I was compelled to telegraph (through the censor) to Cape-town’.⁸¹ While there is no record of them being censored, three officers and two sergeant-majors made phonographic recordings, which they sent from South Africa aboard the *Waiwera*.⁸² Soldiers’ letters to family and newspapers often arrived too late to contain current news (fig. 24). The *Ashburton Guardian* reported that a ‘delayed’ letter from Trooper Alex Wilkie took sixty-nine days to reach the paper, though added it had not been opened as ‘others are stated to have been’.⁸³ Lieutenant Henry Heywood sent his father puzzles and a toy ambulance made by a Boer prisoner.⁸⁴ They were displayed in a Wellington shop window and all allegedly bore the censor’s stamp, while in a letter home, William McFarlane claimed that ‘all the civil letters are opened and read by the Press censor’.⁸⁵

Although editors like Rutherford Waddell and William Hutchison were temporarily assured a platform for their outspoken opposition, others like Dunedin City MHR, Alfred Barclay, became press targets. Criticising attacks made on him in the Dunedin *Evening Star*, Barclay noted its Jewish editor was from a race ‘which has suffered from persecution, from fanaticism, and from bigotry’, but claimed, ‘The Spanish Inquisition was a mild thing compared with the *Evening Star*’.⁸⁶ Like Waddell, Hutchison and Barclay, individuals or groups who voiced opposition to the war were often accused of being pro-Boer in the press and risked public vilification. After being charged with threatening behaviour in a public place, Thomas Wilkinson said ‘It was all over the Boer War’.⁸⁷ In two cases, this allegedly went further. A paper claimed ‘a Wanganui pro-Boer received a “hammering”’ for agreeing with German critics of the war, and the *Tuapeka Times* claimed a drunken foreign sailor in Lyttelton who ‘loudly proclaimed himself a pro-Boer’ and challenged onlookers to fight was

⁸¹ *Otago Daily Times*, 6 Feb 1900, p.5. J.A. Shand, the *Otago Daily Times* correspondent, noted that the postal and telegraph departments were ‘under military control’.

⁸² *Otago Witness*, 25 Jan 1900, p.26. The paper claimed Major Robin, Captain Madocks, Captain Davies, Sergeant-Major Cardale and Sergeant-Major Bird made recordings. ‘Mr Turnbull’ of Wellington (presumably Alexander Horsburgh Turnbull) forwarded Major Robin’s and Captain Madock’s recordings to their respective fathers.

⁸³ *Ashburton Guardian*, 6 Apr 1900, p.2. This probably referred to a letter from Alexander Herbert Wilkie whose mother lived in Ashburton. Before the war Wilkie worked as a clerk in the Invercargill Defence Office, and then served in the First Contingent as a Private. He received a Lieutenant’s commission in the Ninth Contingent in 1902 and was promoted to the rank of Major in the First World War. Attestation Form, n.d., Alexander Herbert Wilkie, AABK 18805 W5515 0005995, ANZ NZDFPR, p.22; Attestation Form, *ibid.*, p. 23; Alexander Herbert Wilkie’s Lieutenant and Quarter-Master’s Commission in the Ninth Contingent, *ibid.*, p.21; Enquiry Re Major Alexander Wilkey [sic], 10 Aug 1959, *ibid.*, p.13.

⁸⁴ *Evening Post*, 29 Nov 1901, p.4.

⁸⁵ W. J. McFarlane to Frank McFarlane, 18 May 1902, NAM 1991.2451.

⁸⁶ *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.215.

⁸⁷ *Evening Post*, 15 Mar 1902, p.4. Wilkinson was fined 10s, or sentenced to forty-eight hours imprisonment if he defaulted.

severely beaten and then arrested, though later released without charge.⁸⁸ D. Fleming, a self-confessed pro-Boer and outspoken critic of the Imperial Government who claimed to have lived in South Africa prior to the outbreak of hostilities, alleged that during the war he had been branded a traitor and that the *Wanganui Chronicle*'s 'columns were closed against him'.⁸⁹

In Auckland, Frederick Ewington exchanged vitriolic letters with 'C.B.', and W. Whittaker in the press regarding the conflict.⁹⁰ Ewington's strident support for the war was a reversal of his earlier stance when he wrote an article titled 'Britain's Mistakes in South Africa', alluding to 'Britain's cruel and insane policy'.⁹¹ While Ewington's later pro-British views attracted supporters, other contributors opposed Ewington's support for the conflict, and the war itself.⁹² 'Devonport' wrote that Ewington had 'again taken up his pen, and this time it is dipped in blood', while J. Peckover, a member of the Auckland Peace Association who had lived in South Africa, claimed that 'but for the ambitious Cecil Rhodes, [and] the Jamieson [sic] Raid – for which he is, many think, responsible – I believe this horrible war, [u]rged on by the vested interests of capitalists and militarism, might have been avoided.'⁹³

Though delivery was sporadic, and the news was dated on arrival, soldiers in South Africa received New Zealand newspapers sent by family, acquaintances, and businesses, while some families in New Zealand regularly received South African papers.⁹⁴ In 1900, New

⁸⁸ *Free Lance*, 15 Mar 1902, p.22; *Tuapeka Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.2. On several occasions the *Free Lance* derided the Wellington Peace and Humanity Society. *Free Lance*, 12 Apr 1902, p.8; *ibid.*, 29 Mar 1902, p.12.

⁸⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 25 Nov 1903, p.7. Fleming's claim was not entirely true as he contributed letters to the *Wanganui Chronicle* in 1901, though not referring directly to the legitimacy of the conflict, as a letter in 1899 had done. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 Oct 1899, p.2; *ibid.*, 9 Aug 1901, p.2.

⁹⁰ *Auckland Star*, 11 Dec 1899, p.2; *ibid.*, 15 Dec 1899, p.2; *ibid.*, 30 Dec 1899, p.6; *ibid.*, 5 Jan 1900, p.2; *ibid.*, 21 Nov 1901, p.2; *Observer*, 23 Dec 1899, p.7. The *Observer* suggested that 'W.W.' (Whittaker's pen name in some of his letters) was William Whittaker of the Stock Exchange. In November 1900 Ewington gave a lecture on the war in Trinity Hall in Devonport that featured 'limelight views of battles and sieges' and ended with 'the singing of the National Anthem, and three cheers for the troops at the front'. *Auckland Star*, 23 Nov 1900, p.2.

⁹¹ *Bruce Herald*, 22 Sep 1899, p.8. In the article, Ewington was openly critical of Britain's actions in Africa and claimed 'The flattering delusion that "The British flag can never float over a slave," belied by the fact that Britain tolerated slavery in Zanzibar until 1890, leads some to conclude that the Boers deserved no fairplay [sic] in the liberation of slaves. Bah! Some of the Boers' slaves were quite as well off as some of the white slaves in Auckland are now.'

⁹² *Auckland Star*, 9 Jan 1900, p.2. Ewington's supporters included J.F. Montague who wrote in the *Auckland Star*, 'Let [Ewington] not be discouraged by such cavilling triflers as "C.B.," "W.W.," and the others'.

⁹³ *Auckland Star*, 5 Sep 1899, p.8; Auckland Peace Association Minutes of Committee Meetings, 1899-1906, 26 Oct 1899, ATL MS-Papers-2530; *Auckland Star*, 20 Nov 1899, p.2. Peckover was probably the owner of 'J. Peckover and Co.', the Estate and Business Agents who regularly advertised in the *Auckland Star* and the *Poverty Bay Herald* during the war. *Auckland Star*, 5 Aug 1899, p.1; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 2 Jul 1901, p.3.

⁹⁴ Frank Perham, diary, 14 Mar 1901 (Wednesday, 13 Mar 1901), NAM NZ 2000.736; Hobart Tennent to Katherine Jessie Tennent, transcript of letter, 17 Jul 1901, NAM NZ 2001.1057; Mr Farquharson to William Farquharson, 6 Jul 1900, NAM NZ 1998.11. William Farquharson's father mentioned regularly receiving copies of the 'Capetown Times'. The *Press* claimed, 'Some of the proprietors of our illustrated New Zealand papers have conferred a great boon on our men by forwarding bundles of papers. Nothing is more welcome to our men,

Zealand papers were sent to the contingents from England. The *Monowai* carried a case containing newspapers to South Africa including those sent by ‘Miss Bing’ to Prosper Berland; and S.G. Styche to Colin Flavell, while Rachel Tubman sent William Tubman copies of the *New Zealand Graphic*.⁹⁵ William Saunders said he had seen the *Otago Daily Times* while in Bloemfontein, Frank Twisleton read ‘the rantings of the “pro-Boers”’ in newspapers in Africa, and Frank Perham wrote that he had received ‘7 letters & a pile of papers’, then referred to receiving five letters and six papers a month later.⁹⁶ Although papers were well received (fig. 25), soldiers often claimed that the New Zealand public was more informed about the war than they were.⁹⁷

Accounts of conditions in British concentration camps received frequent mention in newspapers. The *New Zealand Tablet* and *The Outlook* drew attention to the plight of the Boer women and children held in the camps, with the former alleging that the starvation of Boer women was ‘systematic, deliberate and unnecessary’, and the latter calling the camps ‘a most painful subject’.⁹⁸ The initial high mortality rate in these camps proved controversial, with papers featuring articles both supporting and criticising the Imperial authorities.⁹⁹ Several

unless some philanthropic tobacconist were to send a consignment of cigarettes and cigarette papers’. *Press*, 10 Aug 1901, p.5.

⁹⁵ Walter Kennaway to Major Robin, letter, 9 Mar 1900, ANZ AD34 4; ‘List of contents of three (3) cases shipped from Southampton March 7th 1900, by the S.S. “Kildonan Castle” addressed “The Officer Commanding the New Zealand Contingent – Field Force South Africa”’, *ibid.*; ‘List of contents of cases shipped per S.S. “Monowai” to Messrs Divine Gates & Co., Cape Town for distribution to members of the First and Second New Zealand Contingents’, 23 Mar 1900, pp.1, 4, 6, ANZ AD34 4; Attestation Form 1899, Colin Herbert Flavell, AABK 18805 W5515 0001821, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6; Attestation Form 1899, William Tubman, AABK 18805 W5515 0005651, ANZ NZDFPR, p.8. The papers from London were sent by A.S. Rathbone Esq., Ludgate Circus, and C. RousMarten [sic], Fleet Street. Charles Rous-Marten was the London Correspondent of the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Otago Witness*. *Otago Daily Times*, 23 Aug 1893, p.2; *Otago Witness*, 15 Jul 1908, p.53.

⁹⁶ *Star*, 24 Jul 1900, p.1; F. Twisleton, *With the New Zealanders at the Front: A Story of Twelve Months Campaigning in South Africa*, Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, [1902], p.185; Frank Perham, diary, 14 Mar 1901 (actually Wednesday, 13 Mar 1901), NAM NZ 2000.736; *ibid.*, 18 Apr 1901; *ibid.*, 19 Apr 1901.

⁹⁷ Hobart Cother Tennent to Katherine Jessie Tennent, transcript of letter, 17 Jul 1901, NAM NZ 2001.1057; Luke Perham to Mrs. Perham, 28 Jun 1900, NAM NZ 2003.7; *Otago Daily Times*, 25 Jul 1900, p.5; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.19; George Leece to Bert, 24 Sep 1900, ATL MS-Papers-8464-05. Luke Perham told his mother ‘There is not much news to write about except war news and yo [sic] see more of that than we do, we haven’t seen a paper except a few press and Canterbury times from NZ in Months. At Home you know a lot more about how things are going than we do’ (text as in original). In a letter that appeared in the *Otago Daily Times*, Lieutenant John Russell MacDonald complained of receiving no mail, adding ‘We see no papers and no news. You know far more of the progress of the war in New Zealand to-day than we do.’ In a 1900 letter, Private John Montgomerie claimed ‘You would be astonished what a little we know of the war. I may say we know nothing except that the British are still advancing. It is you in New Zealand that get all the news.’ George Leece, who had considered acting as a war correspondent for the *East Coast Guardian*, expressed similar sentiments: ‘It is no good attempting to give you any war news as you will know far more than I do.’ George Leece to Hayward, Sep 1900, ATL MS-Papers-8464-05.

⁹⁸ *New Zealand Tablet*, 14 Mar 1901, p.19; *The Outlook*, 11 Jan 1902, p.4.

⁹⁹ *Evening Post*, 19 Jun 1901, p.5; *The Outlook*, 11 Jan 1902, p.4; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 24 Jan 1902, p.2; *Southland Times*, 15 Jan 1902, p.2; *Otago Witness*, 19 Mar 1902, p.20. In 1901 the *Evening Post* reported that the British were holding 37,738 Boers and ‘natives’ in Transvaal concentration camps. The *Nelson Evening Mail* reported a resolution from Alfred Barclay’s constituents demanding his resignation for describing the Imperial

papers simply recorded the death toll without comment.¹⁰⁰ New Zealand soldiers' letters and diaries often referred to their involvement in the removal of Boer families from operational areas, and Hobart Tennant claimed in a letter to his mother that many Boer women were glad to be relocated to the camps.¹⁰¹ Some soldiers appeared indifferent to the plight of Boer civilians, while others were reluctant to be involved in operations against them.¹⁰² Charles Tasker appeared more interested in loot than the fate of Boer families: 'Sent out strong patrol & wagons for refugees & burnt many houses down, living high and cooking all day 4 fowls & pig & 2 sheep'.¹⁰³

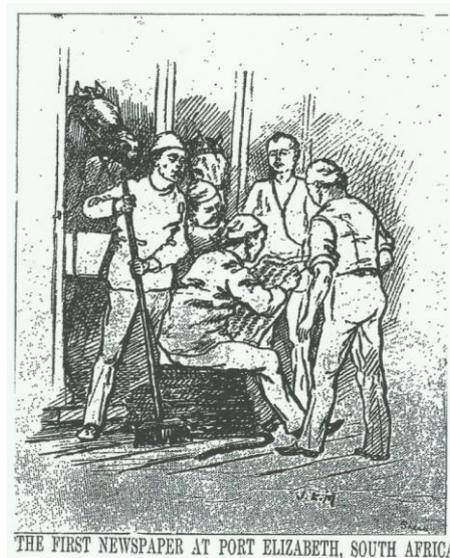


Fig. 25. A John Elder Moultray sketch depicting members of the First Contingent reading a newspaper following their arrival in South Africa. Soldiers' letters often mentioned the men receiving New Zealand newspapers.¹⁰⁴

Source: *Otago Witness*, 11 Jan 1900, p.33, National Library of New Zealand.

government's treatment of Boers in concentration camps as 'infamous'. The *Southland Times* reported a meeting of the Dunedin Presbytery where a claim by the acting editor of *The Outlook* that Boer women and children had been 'ill-used' was rejected. During the meeting, E.B. Cargill stated that 'These were false charges: if there was one thing more than another that shone out brightly in our conduct of the war, distinguishing it from wars generally, it was the establishing of camps of refuge.'

¹⁰⁰ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 18 Dec 1901, p.2. The *Bay of Plenty Times* reported the concentration camp mortality rate of 298 men, 761 women and 4904 children for October and November 1901 without elaborating.

¹⁰¹ Hobart Cother Tennant to Katherine Jessie Tennent, transcript of letter, 3 Jun 1901, NAM NZ 2001.1057. As Iain Smith and Andreas Stucki note 'Many surrendered Boers initially supported the policy of concentrating the women and children in camps in their home districts, where they allegedly could be protected and fed by the British.' Iain Smith & Andreas Stucki, 'The Colonial Development of Concentration Camps (1868-1902)', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39:3 (2011), p.426.

¹⁰² Frank Perham, diary, 28, 30 Jan 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736; Hobart Cother Tennant to 'Oswald', 20 Jun 1901, NAM NZ 2001.1057; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 55, Apr 1901, p.22.

¹⁰³ Charles Borland Tasker, transcript of diary, 22 Jun 1901, NAM NZ 1991.1956.

¹⁰⁴ The men in the contingents also occasionally received New Zealand news from South African papers. Frank Perham wrote in his diary that he had read in the *Diamond Field Advertiser* that 'a 7th Contingt was leaving N.Z. to relieve time expired troops'. Frank Perham, diary, 12 Feb 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736.

Other New Zealanders seem to have resisted what J. Grattan Grey referred to as a ‘wave of jingoistic hysteria’ and exhibited less enthusiasm for the war.¹⁰⁵ Margaret Buist notes the waning interest of some New Zealanders as the war progressed.¹⁰⁶ The *Observer* reported a degree of indifference to the return of Walter Callaway: ‘Two campaigns, wounded several times under exceptional circumstances, returning with a drilled lung and a distinguished order and not even a cheer to welcome the hero home.’¹⁰⁷ Newspapers also noted the cautious response in Dunedin and Gisborne after rumours of the relief of Ladysmith circulated, and the *Ohinemuri Gazette* claimed there was ‘comparatively little enthusiasm’ shown at a welcome for three returning troopers in Auckland.¹⁰⁸ The *Tuapeka Times* commented on the ‘utter lack of interest’ displayed by the audience in members of the Fourth Contingent during an Orchestral Society concert in Dunedin where they were guests, while a correspondent to the *Otago Witness*, describing a medal presentation for two returned troopers, said ‘I think these welcome home socials and presentations are a downright piece of nonsense.’¹⁰⁹

Both in and out of the classroom, children were kept relatively well-informed about the progress of the war, and the names of its main protagonists. A Southland child wrote to the *Mataura Ensign* regarding a rumour that New Zealanders had been captured.¹¹⁰ She explained that she knew a trooper serving in South Africa and ‘took a great interest in the war and the men who are going to it’. Another young girl wrote ‘Nearly everywhere I go I hear people talking about the Transvaal War. I wish it would stop soon.’¹¹¹ Of thirty youthful correspondents to the ‘Letters from the Little Folk’ column of the *Otago Witness* on 21 June 1900, fifteen referred to the relief of Mafeking.¹¹²

In another edition, a child using the pseudonym ‘Lord Roberts’ asked ‘are not the Boer and Chinese wars terrible?’, while others wrote under the names ‘Kimber Lee’ and ‘Fighting Mac’, the latter being the nickname of Major-General Hector MacDonald.¹¹³ ‘Mary’ also

¹⁰⁵ *AJHR*, 1900, H-29, p.2.

¹⁰⁶ Margaret Buist, ‘Reaction in New Zealand to the Boer War with Particular Reference to Canterbury and Marlborough.’, Master of Arts thesis, University of Otago, 1970, pp.31-32.

¹⁰⁷ *Observer*, 18 Jan 1902, p.20.

¹⁰⁸ *Evening Post*, 19 May 1900, p.6; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 18 May 1900, p.2; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 8 Aug 1900, p.3.

¹⁰⁹ *Tuapeka Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.3; *Otago Witness*, 16 Jul 1902, p.82.

¹¹⁰ *Mataura Ensign*, 12 Apr 1900, p.4.

¹¹¹ *Mataura Ensign*, 25 Jan 1900, p.3.

¹¹² *Otago Witness*, 21 Jun 1900, pp.61-63. Others mentioned contingent members and relatives fighting in South Africa.

¹¹³ *Otago Witness*, 12 Sep 1900, pp.65-66; *ibid.*, 17 Oct 1900, p.66; Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p.313. MacDonald was afforded hero status in the New Zealand press, and in 1901 a full page article, complete with

expressed her hope that the war would soon end and ‘not let any more of our poor fellows lose their lives’.¹¹⁴ Revealing the same awareness of the Boxer Rebellion as ‘Lord Roberts’, ‘Poppy’ wrote ‘There does not seem anything fresh about the Boers just now. I think all the people are more concerned about affairs in China.’ Two youthful correspondents to the *Mataura Ensign* used the pseudonyms ‘Kruger’ and ‘Cronje’ (the former assuring the paper he was not a Pro-Boer), while another discussed the respective merits of the British generals, Buller and Roberts.¹¹⁵ Children also commented on the war in publications like the *New Zealand Farmer*.¹¹⁶ As well as writing to newspapers in New Zealand, some children also wrote directly to soldiers in South Africa.¹¹⁷ The *Otago Witness* reported the children of Waitahuna School visiting the Rough Rider’s camp and noted that ‘It would be difficult to imagine a better lesson for any school, and the patriot’s duty in going out to fight for his country is forcibly impressed on the juvenile mind’.¹¹⁸

Though Malcolm McKinnon has noted the relative lack of references to the war in New Zealand university histories, Wanganui Collegiate students debated the war on several occasions.¹¹⁹ In 1900, the school’s Parliamentary Union met to debate the motion that ‘the conduct of the British Army, as a whole, in the present War is more deserving of censure than praise.’¹²⁰ The motion was opposed 117-24. On 21 June 1902 a further debate discussed the motion ‘That there is no more important fact in British History than the share which the Colonies have taken in the recent war.’¹²¹ Again, the motion was denied, though by a narrower margin of 81-14. The school magazine noted one student’s prophetic query ‘If Colonies sent so many men to South Africa, how many would they send in case of Empire-shaking war?’¹²² Other signs of Wanganui Collegiate patriotism included pictures of the leading British commanders being hung in the ‘Big School’, while the magazine noted that

photo, documenting his life appeared in the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*. *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, 1 Nov 1901, p.83.

¹¹⁴ *Otago Witness*, 12 Sep 1900, p.65.

¹¹⁵ *Mataura Ensign*, 13 Sep 1900, p.4.

¹¹⁶ Christopher Pugsley and others, *Kiwis in Conflict: 200 Years of New Zealanders at War*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2008, p.48.

¹¹⁷ James Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 10 Mar 1901, NAM NZ 1998.11.

¹¹⁸ *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.27.

¹¹⁹ Malcolm McKinnon, ‘Opposition to the War in New Zealand’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.37.

¹²⁰ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, pp.2-3.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 59 Aug 1902, pp.1-2. The Wanganui Collegiate Parliamentary Union also debated the motion ‘That in the opinion of this House some measure of independence should be left to the two Boer Republics after the War’ on 2 June 1900. The motion was rejected 97-61. On 21 July 1902, they debated the motion ‘That England ought not to restock and rebuild the Boers’ farms’. This motion was carried 39-20. *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, pp.1-2; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 59, Aug 1902, p.5.

¹²² *Ibid.*, No. 59, Aug 1902, p.2.

‘Letters from Old Boys in the Transvaal are eagerly looked forward to’.¹²³ Similarly, Otago Boys’ High School had a ‘special interest’ in the departure of the First Contingent as Major Robin was an Old Boy.¹²⁴ While addressing the boys, the school’s Rector observed that ‘the boys would be unworthy of their race if they did not feel a deep interest and pride in this incident in [the colony’s] history’.¹²⁵

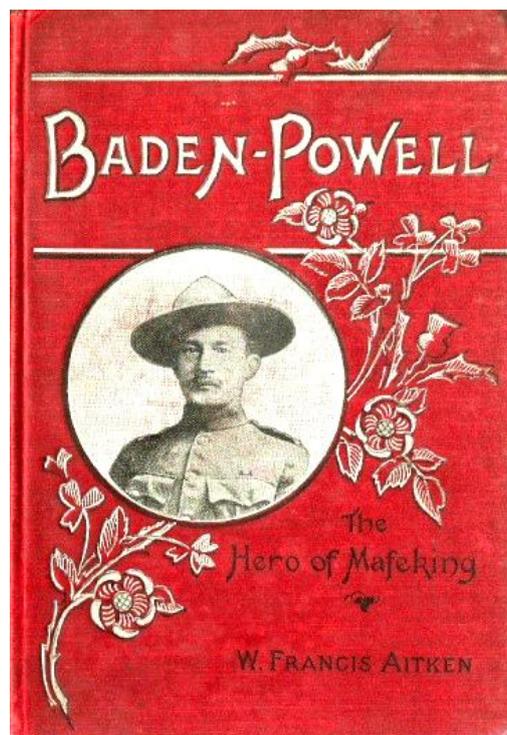


Fig. 26. Cover of William Francis Aitken’s 1900 book, *Baden-Powell, the Hero of Mafeking*.
Source: W. Francis Aitken, *Baden-Powell, the Hero of Mafeking*, London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1900.

Various forms of public entertainment containing themes connected with the conflict proved extremely popular. An exhibition of waxworks featured ‘Transvaal Celebrities’, including the president of the South African Republic, Paul Kruger; the leader of the failed 1895-1896 Jameson Raid, Dr Leander Starr Jameson; and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain.¹²⁶ It had a three-month season in Wellington, and proved

¹²³ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.5.

¹²⁴ *Otago Witness*, 26 Oct 1899, p.24.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Southland Times*, 19 May 1900, p.3; *Evening Post*, 20 Dec 1899, p.6. A later exhibition in Wairarapa by Rowley’s Waxworks and London Company featured likenesses of ‘South African Heroes’ Baden-Powell, Lord Kitchener and Lord Roberts, as well as the Boer leaders, Kruger, Cronje and De Wet. *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 23 Apr 1902, p.1.

popular in Dunedin the following year.¹²⁷ In Wellington, Northcote's Kinematograph and Unique Specialty Company, showed '34 ABSOLUTE AND ACTUAL WAR FILMS', while at the Wellington Opera House a lecture was given on modern explosives in which explosives were 'made, explained and exploded before the audience'.¹²⁸ In Gisborne, a myriorama and kinematograph show at the Theatre Royal drew a 'crowded house'.¹²⁹ During the show, images of the British commander in South Africa, Lord Roberts; Colonel Baden-Powell; and the New Zealand officer, Captain Robin, were applauded, while a picture of President Kruger received 'a hostile reception'.

Raymond Sibbald has discussed the myth-making process surrounding Major-General Baden-Powell, 'The Defender of Mafeking', and newspapers' disinclination to print references that tarnished his image.¹³⁰ John Crawford has also noted the apparent contradiction between crafted newspaper accounts of the war, and soldiers' first-hand experiences.¹³¹ The New Zealand press elevated Baden-Powell to hero status while largely avoiding mention of his policy of starving black Africans in Mafeking.¹³² Books sold in New Zealand, like *Baden-Powell, the Hero of Mafeking*, added to his aura (fig. 26).¹³³ Reviewing the book, the *Evening Post* claimed 'People naturally wish to know all about the man who is the hero of the day'.¹³⁴ Students in Greymouth sent Baden-Powell a 15-carat gold matchbox with an engraved dedication: 'To Major-General R.S.S. Baden-Powell, from the pupils of the Greymouth High School, in recognition of his heroic defence of Mafeking'.¹³⁵

Although stopping short of blaming Baden-Powell for the Africans' plight, a letter by Edward Jollie (fig. 27) published in the *Wanganui Collegian* described the terrible condition of Mafeking's black African population.¹³⁶ His account belied the dispatch quoted in William Aitken's book that claimed stories of starvation among the Africans were greatly exaggerated:

¹²⁷ *Evening Post*, 20 Dec 1899, p.6; Penelope Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 25 Jun 1900, NAM NZ 1998.11.

¹²⁸ *Evening Post*, 10 Feb 1900, p.6. The Opera House lecture, delivered by Professor Easterfield of Victoria College, and including demonstrations of Lyddite, Nitro-Glycerine and Guncotton, raised funds for the More Men Fund. Another Northcote's advertisement promised 'for the first time in N.Z. The only Kinematograph Record of AN ACTUAL BATTLE, Showing the Glories as well as the Horrors of War'. *Evening Post*, 18 Dec 1899, p.6.

¹²⁹ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 13 Jun 1900, p.2. The owner charged adults one shilling admittance and half price for children.

¹³⁰ Raymond Sibbald, *The War Correspondents: The Boer War*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1993, p.150.

¹³¹ John Crawford, 'The Impact', pp.210-211.

¹³² *Feilding Star*, 4 Dec 1900, p.2; *Mataura Ensign*, 25 Jan 1900, p.3; *Southland Times*, 19 May 1900, p.3.

¹³³ W. Francis Aitken, *Baden-Powell, the Hero of Mafeking*, London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1900.

¹³⁴ *Evening Post* (supplement), 21 Jul 1900, p.3.

¹³⁵ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 Apr 1901, p.2.

¹³⁶ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 54, Dec 1900, pp.13-14. An Old Boy of Wanganui Collegiate, Edward Jollie served in the British South African Police during the siege of Mafeking.

The natives had a bad time, and were very skeletons. Often when I was paying them, one or two would drop down simply from weakness. I have seen them pick up old boots, half burn the soles and heels, and eat that. They were eating dogs, and horses that had died of horse sickness, which either killed the Kaffir that ate it, or else made his body swell up to huge proportions, when he cheated himself into the belief that he was getting fat once more. Baden-Powell is gone to Pretoria, and expected back in a day or two, to give out the Queen's Chocolate.¹³⁷

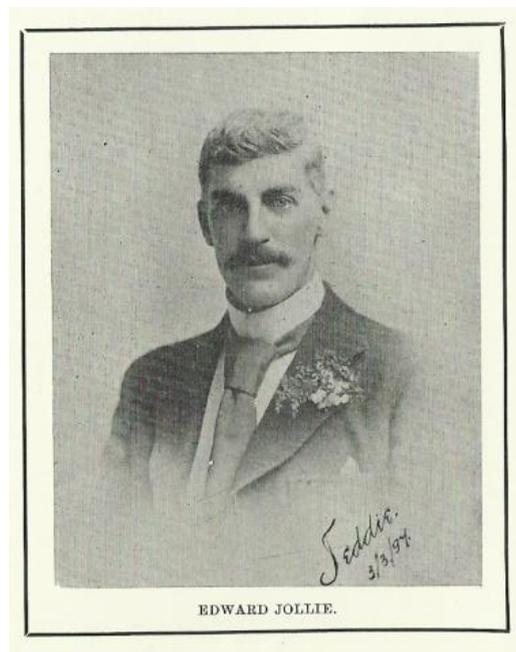


Fig. 27. Edward Jollie, British South African Police.
Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

Some papers featured war-related images, often including New Zealander officers and men, while more affluent schools published booklets and magazines featuring photos of Old Boys serving in South Africa.¹³⁸ Photos and accounts in newspapers, books and magazines had the power to influence young readers. In 1899, the story of Trumpeter Sherlock (allegedly a fourteen-year-old) who shot three Boers during the battle of Elandsplaagte, appeared in

¹³⁷ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 54, Dec 1900, pp.13-14. Writing before the siege had ended, and without first-hand experience of conditions in Mafeking, William Francis Aitken noted that 'A despatch dated March 25th declares "the tales of natives dying of starvation are gross exaggerations"'. Aitken, *Baden-Powell*, p.145.

¹³⁸ *Otago Witness*, 28 Nov 1900, p.25; *Christ's College Register*, No. 46, Apr 1901, p.40; *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p.; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 58, Apr 1902, p.9; Shortly after the war ended Wanganui Collegiate's school magazine included photos of various scenes involving the contingents serving in South Africa. *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 60, Dec 1902, p.9.

several New Zealand papers. Most papers focused on heroism, claiming his ‘fame had resounded through the world’.¹³⁹ The *Mataura Ensign* published a story titled ‘Bugler Sherlock’s Example’ about a twelve-year-old English boy who had run away from home leaving a note saying he was ‘going to be a soldier and shoot Boers with a revolver, like the boy Sherlock did’.¹⁴⁰ The *Otago Witness* went further and reproduced a large and suitably heroic engraving of the incident from the *Illustrated London News*.¹⁴¹ It appears the *Nelson Evening Mail* was one of the few papers to give a fuller account, largely omitting heroic references, giving Sherlock’s age as 16, and adding ‘The poor lad has now gone out of his mind’.¹⁴²

As the war progressed, with rising casualties and calls for more contingents, some papers’ support for the conflict became less unequivocal. The editor of the *Taranaki Herald* noted the ‘almost ridiculous lengths to which khaki fever is carrying the colony’ and warned that support for the war was ‘in danger of degenerating into a spurious kind of patriotism.’¹⁴³ In 1902 the *Auckland Star* claimed additional contingents were unwarranted and suggested that ‘our colony has done more than its share’, while a *Thames Star* editorial, expressing concern at rumours of a Ninth Contingent, claimed that ‘not one in a hundred’ returning soldiers would settle down, and suggested they would instead seek ‘special attention at the hands of the State, pensions, or easy billets in State departments’.¹⁴⁴

The war also directly influenced school curricula. In his report to the Wellington Education Board for 1899, the Chief Inspector of Schools, Robert Lee, discussed the essay section of the English examination and noted that:

Nearly 80 per cent. of the compositions were on the “Boers,” and, as might be expected, were characterised by patriotism of a distinctly perfervid kind. In fact there seemed a comforting consensus of opinion

¹³⁹ *Evening Post*, 12 Dec 1899, p.5

¹⁴⁰ *Mataura Ensign*, 13 Mar 1900, p.4.

¹⁴¹ *Otago Witness*, 25 Jan 1900, p.33.

¹⁴² *Nelson Evening Mail*, 17 Jan 1900, p.2. Several papers printed accounts of a young Boer that were in stark contrast to most portrayals of Sherlock. The six-year-old Boer boy approached a group of Dragoon Guards and fired a revolver, fatally injuring one. The *Wanganui Herald* report was titled ‘A Treacherous Boer Boy.’ The child’s fate was not mentioned. *Wanganui Herald*, 25 Jan 1902, p.2.

¹⁴³ *Taranaki Herald*, 13 Feb 1901, p.2.

¹⁴⁴ *Auckland Star*, 14 Mar 1902, p.4; *Thames Star*, 28 Nov 1901, p.2. There was some truth to this claim. The *Evening Post* noted that Trooper Wilkie had been appointed clerk in the Defence Office in Invercargill (though this was a job he held prior to the war), Sergeant Morgan had been appointed Staff Sergeant-Major, Sergeant Grant was in the Permanent Artillery in Dunedin, Trooper ‘Mander’ was rabbit-poisoning for the Government, Trooper Ross and Trooper Gestro were working for the Post Office and Trooper Fordham was employed at the Addington Railway Workshops. In 1903, William Morgan and Alexander Wilkie’s yearly salaries were £177 15s and £156 10s respectively. *Evening Post*, 29 Apr 1901, p.6; Attestation Form, n.d., Alexander Herbert Wilkie, AABK 18805 W5515 0005995, ANZ NZDFPR, p.23; *AJHR*, 1903, H-19A, pp.13-14.

among those who wrote on this subject, that the arrival of the New Zealand Contingent would result in a speedy termination of the war.¹⁴⁵

In other sections students were required to correct the sentence ‘More than one man volunteered to find his own horse and pay his own expenses’, and were asked to spell ‘besiegers’.¹⁴⁶ In the Geography paper, one option asked students to draw a map of Africa south of the Zambesi, inserting Mafeking, De Aar, Beira, and Laing’s Nek, as well as the Tugela, Vaal and Orange rivers – all significant wartime locations.¹⁴⁷ The 1899 Pupil Teachers’ Examination gave prospective teachers the option of writing an essay on ‘The New Zealand Contingent for the present war in the Transvaal’.¹⁴⁸

Questions either directly or indirectly relating to the conflict featured in subsequent examinations. In a possible reflection of the high number of troops who contracted typhoid, the Scholarship Examination in 1900 asked students to correct the sentence ‘Our men dreaded the hospitals more than the Boer shells’, while the sentence ‘It was reported that a number of men neither could ride or shoot’ also required correction.¹⁴⁹ Indicating an expectation that teachers would keep abreast of the conflict, the Pupil Teachers’ Examination featured essay topics on ‘British rule in South Africa’ and ‘The Boer war now going on.’¹⁵⁰ In recognition of the political changes brought about by the war, a 1901 question required students to identify British possessions in South Africa and indicate which were self-governing.¹⁵¹

Despite the constraints imposed by expense, location, subjective reporting and censorship, the New Zealand public were relatively well informed regarding the conflict. Demand for news relating to New Zealand soldiers obliged newspapers to adapt and draw on the accounts of contingent members. This relationship proved symbiotic. Though the delivery of New Zealand mail and newspapers to South Africa was sporadic, the troops in South Africa also received both news from home and details regarding the war’s progress through letters and papers sent from the colony. In a country saturated with war information from a diverse range of sources (albeit occasionally dated and inaccurate), the Headmaster of Wanganui Collegiate spoke for much of New Zealand when he observed that the effect of the

¹⁴⁵ *School Reports, Scholarship Report*, Feb 1900, p.2, ANZ, ADEX 16413 EB W9 12. Text as in original. In the exam, students were required to write an essay of 150 to 160 words on one of five topics.

¹⁴⁶ *School Reports, Scholarship Report*, Feb 1900, pp.8-9, ANZ, ADEX 16413 EB W9 12.

¹⁴⁷ *School Reports, Scholarship Report*, Feb 1900, p.12, ANZ, ADEX 16413 EB W9 12.

¹⁴⁸ *School Reports, Pupil Teachers’ Examination*, Dec 1899, p.6, ANZ, ADEX 16413 EB-W9 12.

¹⁴⁹ *School Reports, Scholarship Report*, Nov 1900, p.7, ANZ, ADEX 16413 EB W9 13. Soldiers’ trepidation regarding hospitals in South Africa was well recorded. A letter written by a Wanganui Collegiate Old Boy hospitalised in Pretoria noted ‘We left New Zealand 260 strong! There are over 50 men in this Hospital alone!’ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 55, Apr 1901, pp.22-23.

¹⁵⁰ *School Reports, Pupil Teachers’ Examination*, Dec 1900, p.9, ANZ, ADEX 16413 EB W9 13.

¹⁵¹ *School Reports, Scholarship Report*, Nov 1901, p.8, ANZ, ADEX 16413 EB W9 14.

war 'upon the Empire has been so tremendous, and we ourselves in our own small way have been so intimately connected with it'.¹⁵²

¹⁵² *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 55, Apr 1901, p.2.

Chapter Four

The Human Cost of the War

It is with deep regret that I have to inform you of the receipt of a cablegram from the High Commissioner to the effect that your brother Captain Harvey (fig. 28) was killed at Ottoshoop on the 16th. I am not communicating direct with your Mother but leave it to you to break the sad intelligence to her. You and your Mother have my sincerest sympathy in the sad & irreparable loss you have suffered.

R. Seddon¹

It is some consolation to us, in our great grief, to know that he died for the Flag and that he and his men upheld the honor of the Colony they represented. - Again thanking you

Yours Sincerely

C.W. Harvey²

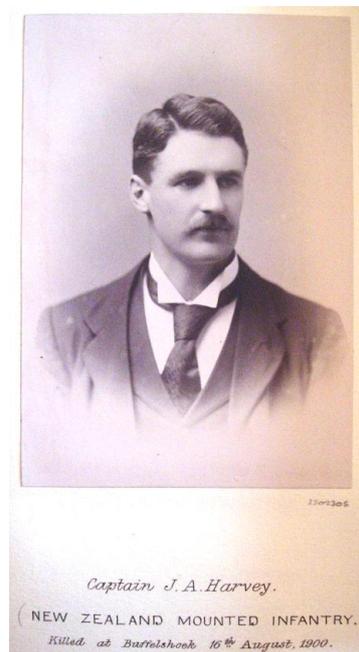


Fig. 28. Captain John Allen Harvey, No.3341, New Zealand Fourth Contingent. John Harvey was thirty-one years old when he was killed. Source: The Royal Collection © HM Queen Elizabeth II, 2011. RCIN 2502305.

¹ Richard J. Seddon to C.W. Harvey, Telegram, 20 Aug 1900. John Allen Harvey, AABK 18805 W5515 0002406, ANZ NZDFPR, p.18.

² C.W. Harvey to Richard Seddon, letter, 23 Aug 1900, *ibid.*, p.22. Text as in original.

For New Zealand, the human costs of the South African War were diverse, and in many cases profound. Often the impact of deaths, serious injuries, and the debilitating effects of disease were ongoing, but the conflict's undesirable legacy extended further. Families deprived of sons, husbands, siblings, and breadwinners struggled to deal with their loss, as did those whose members returned either sick or injured. As an *Observer* editorial noted shortly after the war, 'Many of the troopers who set out from our shores during the last few years in full flush of young manhood's strength have returned to us maimed, crippled and completely broken in health'.³ Reflecting the psychological impact of the conflict, a number of soldiers experienced difficulties after hostilities ended. In some cases returned soldiers were involved in violence and alcohol-related incidents. Others appear to have struggled to accept the prospect of civilian life in New Zealand, with a number immigrating to other countries, returning to South Africa or remaining there when the war ended. In some cases a 1901 prediction that appeared in the *Ashburton Guardian* titled 'The Effect of Militarism' rang true: 'Even if the men did come back, it will be a long time before they settle down to ordinary work after the excitement of war.'⁴

Among the civilians worst affected by the conflict were the widows of men who had lost their lives. Charlotte Berry, the widow of Lieutenant William John Berry, and the first woman to receive a widows' pension under the Military Pensions Extension to Contingents Act, 1900, was one of the more tragic cases.⁵ Her husband died of pneumonia in 1900, leaving her with young children.⁶ Seddon had initially said that the Commander of Forces had indicated only single men between the ages of twenty-three and forty would be eligible.⁷ However, William Berry's attestation form lists his wife, Charlotte, as next of kin, and records two children: William, born in 1898; and Mona, born in 1896.⁸ There appears to have been

³ *The Observer*, 7 Jun 1902, p.2.

⁴ *Ashburton Guardian*, 25 Feb 1901, p.2.

⁵ *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, Wellington: House of Representatives, 1901, B-1, p.37.

⁶ Attestation Form, 10 Feb 1900, William John Berry, AABK 18805 W5515 0000368, ANZ NZDFPR, p.4; A. Penton to Under Secretary of State for War, copy of letter, 7 Sep 1900, *ibid.*, p.50. Catherine Francis, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Wyatt Francis, was another widow left with children. She was awarded a pension of £120 per annum for herself and £20 per annum for each of her four children following the death of her husband. Similarly, Emily McKeich, wife of Lieutenant Robert McKeitch who died in a confrontation with Boers after the war had ended, received £60 per annum with a gratuity of £273 15s for herself and £91 5s for each of her three children. *AJHR*, 1903, H-6, pp.3-4.

⁷ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Wellington: Government Printer, 110 (1899), p.185.

⁸ Attestation Form, 10 Feb 1900, William John Berry, AABK 18805 W5515 0000368, ANZ NZDFPR, p.4; William Fletcher Berry, 1898/14155, DIA NZBDM; Mona Gwendoline Mabel Berry, 1896/2479, DIA NZBDM.

considerable selection flexibility regarding marital status, as Berry and several other soldiers were accepted for service despite being married.⁹

A YOUNG VOLUNTEER.

Master Allan Saunders, a lad of 15, second son of Mr S. Saunders, editor of the 'Lyttelton Times,' who acted as doctor's assistant throughout the voyage to South Africa of the second contingent, was, shortly after arrival at Capetown, appointed assistant hospital orderly, and has gone to the front with the contingent. He is no doubt the youngest New Zealander serving in the war. His cousin, Trooper W. A. Saunders, son of Mr W. Saunders, of Invercargill, is a member of the first contingent.

Fig. 29. A *Colonist* article about Alan Saunders who was probably the youngest New Zealander to serve in the South African War. Saunders' given name is spelt incorrectly in the article.

Source: *Colonist*, 11 Apr 1900, p.3, National Library of New Zealand.

A degree of flexibility also extended to the minimum age as several soldiers gave their ages as twenty, twenty-one and twenty-two.¹⁰ During a luncheon prior to the departure of the Tenth Contingent, the *Wairarapa Daily Times* reported Seddon observing that:

Every one was supposed to be over twenty, but if the speaker told every one who was under twenty to stand up a great many would have to rise to their feet, if they told the truth. He thought that when there was fighting to be done the boys of New Zealand were like the ladies – they would not tell their age.¹¹

Seddon mentioned meeting one youthful soldier in camp who admitted he was only nineteen. The paper claimed Seddon could not consent to him going with his contingent, but circumvented regulations by 'putting him in the draft for the Ninth Contingent, where the age

⁹ Attestation Form, 20 Mar 1902, Robert Hall Bakewell, AABK 18805 W5515 0000220, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5. Robert Bakewell listed his next-of-kin as 'Arabella Bakewell (wife)'.
¹⁰ Attestation Form, 8 Apr 1901, Albert Rosanowski, AABK 18805 W5515 0004831, ANZ NZDFPR, p.9; Attestation Form, 3 Apr 1901, William Roddick, AABK 18805 W5515 0004808, ANZ NZDFPR, p.10; Attestation Form, 1 Feb 1902, Alfred Edward Pearson, AABK 18805 W5515 0004423, ANZ NZDFPR, p.18.

¹¹ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 14 Apr 1902, p.3. Text as in original.

limit was 19 instead of 20'.¹² The youngest soldier to serve appears to have been Alan Saunders (fig. 29). When he enlisted in the Second Contingent he gave his age as sixteen and when he was discharged from the Sixth Contingent in 1902 he was still only seventeen.¹³

Although his motivation is unclear, Sergeant-Major Daniel Joseph Love, who was later killed in action at Vereeniging, avoided all reference to his marriage on his attestation form. When Love enlisted in April 1901, he gave his mother as his next of kin, omitting his wife, Georgina; their two and four-year-old daughters; and their one-year-old son.¹⁴ A month after Love's death, J. Kennedy Elliott of the Kent Terrace Presbyterian Church in Wellington wrote to the Defence Department stating that Georgina Love was destitute, and noting that 'She was solely dependent on her husband[']s pay.'¹⁵ Love subsequently received a gratuity of £164 5s (one year of her husband's wages), a New Zealand pension of £36 per annum, and £10 per annum for each of her children, though she supplemented this with employment.¹⁶ In a 1908 letter seeking further government assistance, she noted 'I managed very well with what work I did, till I was taken ill with Pleurisy, and I find I am unable to meet all the demands made on me.'¹⁷

¹² *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 14 Apr 1902, p.3. This was not the only instance in which Seddon allegedly intervened. The *Otago Witness* reported the case of a young recruit who failed to meet the contingent's height limit. At a Heretaunga Mounted Rifles send-off for men leaving for South Africa that Seddon attended, the recruit's case was brought to his attention. The young recruit allegedly stood while his predicament was explained by Major Loveday. Seddon is reported to have said "Major Loveday, that young man has grown half an inch while you were speaking" and then indicated that if the recruit visited him the following day Seddon would personally enrol him. *Otago Witness* 5 Feb 1902, p.14.

¹³ Attestation Form, 13 Jan 1901, Alan Bruce Saunders, AABK 18805 W5515 0004951, ANZ NZDFPR, p.11; Certificate of Discharge, May 1902, *ibid.*, p.27. In a 1900 article titled 'A Young Volunteer', the *Colonist* claimed (correctly) that Saunders was fifteen when he sailed with the Second Contingent as Surgeon-Captain Percival Clennell Fenwick's assistant. Saundser's First World War History Sheet gives his birth date as 5 March 1884, and his South African War Attestation Form and Certificate of Discharge show that he attested in Wellington on 13 January 1901 when he was sixteen. His character was listed as 'Exemplary'. A summary of his war service indicates he left New Zealand on 21 January 1900 and returned in July 1900 (the extract states he 'did not receive any pay'). It then shows he was a Private in the Sixth Contingent for one year and twenty-seven days. Saunders was referred to as 'A Plucky Boy' in a *Manawatu Evening Standard* article, while the *Press* claimed he was 'the youngest colonial soldier', and noted he wanted to go to China. *Colonist*, 11 Apr 1900, p.3; History Sheet, Alan Bruce Saunders, AABK 18805 W5515 0004951, ANZ NZDFPR, p.3; Certificate of Discharge, May 1902, *ibid.*, p.27; Extract from Department Records, n.d., *ibid.*, p.23.; *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 6 Apr 1900, p.2; *Press*, 28 Jul 1900, p.5.

¹⁴ Attestation Form, 4 Apr 1901, Daniel Joseph Love, AABK 18805 W5515 0003272, ANZ NZDFPR, p.104; Widows' Pension and Allowances declaration by Georgina Love, 6 Mar 1903, *ibid.*, p.45. Sergeant-Major Love of the 7th Contingent was killed at Vereeniging on 24 Aug 1901.

¹⁵ J. Kennedy Elliott to Defence Department, letter, 20 Sep 1901, *ibid.*, p.112.

¹⁶ Under-Secretary of Defence to Georgina Love, 4 Oct 1901, *ibid.*, p.113.

¹⁷ Georgina Love to the Minister of Lands and Agriculture, letter, 22 Jul 1908, Daniel Joseph Love, AABK 18805 W5515 0003272, ANZ NZDFPR, p.30. Love also received an Imperial pension, though the conditions could influence recipients' lifestyles. Widows like Georgina Love could be disqualified from entitlement for a minimum of twelve months for 'unworthy conduct', including 'conduct of a character to create public scandal, such as birth of an illegitimate child, co-habitation with a man to whom the widow is not married [and] disorderly habits leading to neglect of children'. Lord Onslow (for the Secretary of State) to Lord Ranfurly, letter, 12 Dec 1902, *ibid.*, pp.96-98.

Husbands and fathers were not the only family breadwinners serving in South Africa. John Graham, the MHR for Nelson City, noted this during the First Contingent parliamentary debate: ‘there are mothers, sisters, and other relatives who are dependent on many of the single men in the colony’.¹⁸ Twenty-three-year-old Trooper John Aitken-Connell, who was killed in action at Rensburg in January 1900, allocated £1 per week from his pay to support his mother.¹⁹ In a letter to Seddon seeking assistance from the Patriotic Fund, John’s brother Arnold, who later served as a lieutenant in both the Seventh and Ninth Contingents before immigrating with his mother to South Africa, noted that he and his brother were their mother’s sole source of financial support.²⁰ John Aitken-Connell’s mother, Mary Aitken-Connell, was subsequently awarded a pension of £26 per annum.²¹

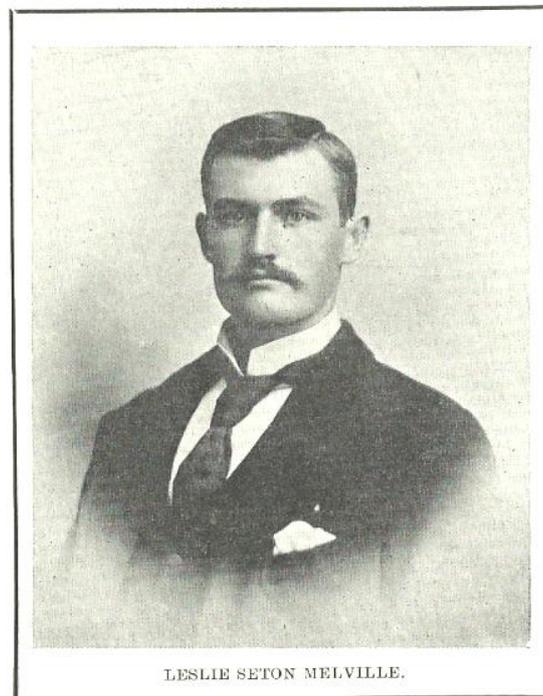


Fig. 30. Trooper Leslie Seton Melville, Border Mounted Rifles. Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

¹⁸ *NZPD*, 110 (1899) p.94.

¹⁹ Arnold Aitken-Connell to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 8 Feb 1900, John Vaille Aitken-Connell, AABK 18805 W5515 0000034, ANZ NZDFPR, p.19.

²⁰ A. D. Aitken-Connell to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 8 Feb 1900, *ibid.*, pp.19-20; Attestation Form, 3 Apr 1901, Arnold Douglas Aitken-Connell, AABK 18805 W5515 0000033, Archives New Zealand, NZDFPR, p.17; Form acknowledging receipt of clasps for South Africa 1901 and South Africa 1902 medals, 19 Jan 1909, *ibid.*, p.9; George Inglis to Captain Seddon, letter, 5 Dec 1908, *ibid.*, p.10.

²¹ *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1901, p.330. Mary Aitken-Connell incorrectly appears on the Annual Pensions list as ‘Connel, Mrs. M. A.’

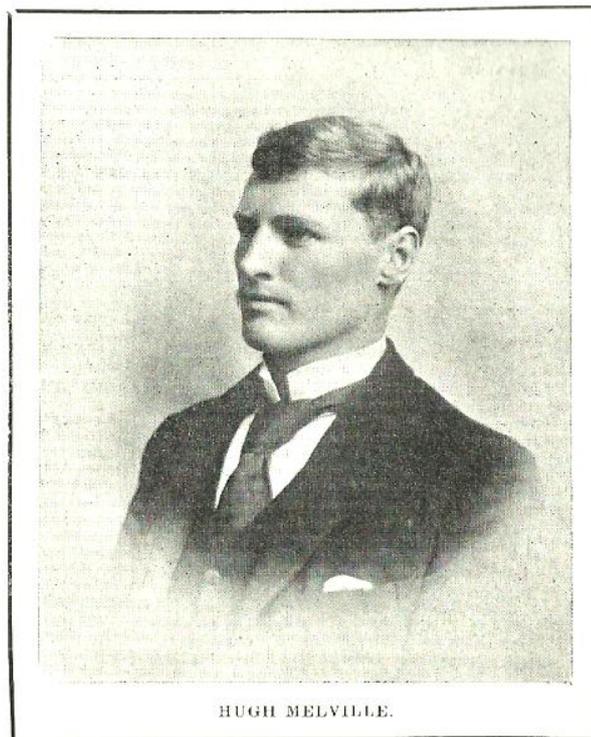


Fig. 31. Hugh Melville, Border Mounted Rifles.
 Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

Newspaper articles detailing combat injuries and disease hardly assuaged the worries of family and friends - worries that increased when more than one family member served in South Africa. As Colin McGeorge has shown, there were several instances of brothers fighting in the war, either in separate units or together.²² In the case of the Gray and the Retter families, three brothers from each fought in New Zealand contingents.²³ However, it appears that no single New Zealand family contributed more sons to the conflict than the Melvilles. David and Louisa Melville had six children and four of their five sons, Leslie (fig. 30), Hugh (fig. 31), Alex and Hamilton served together in the Border Mounted Rifles.²⁴ In a

²² Colin McGeorge, 'The Social and Geographical Composition of the New Zealand Contingents' in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.114, 115.

²³ *Ibid.*; Attestation Form, 16 Mar 1900, Hector Claude Retter, AABK 18805 W5515 0004775, ANZ NZDFPR, p.18; Attestation Form, 3 Apr 1901, Darcy Harold Retter, AABK 18805 W5515 0004800, ANZ NZDFPR, p.11; Attestation Form, 3 Apr 1901, Leonard Greenwood Retter, AABK 18805 W5515 0004776, ANZ NZDFPR, p.14. Hector Retter served in the Fourth Contingent, while Leonard and Darcy enlisted on the same day, received consecutive service numbers and joined the Seventh Contingent.

²⁴ Rowan Melville, 1881/13146, DIA NZBDM; Hamilton Melville, 1879/13775, DIA NZBDM; Ida Melville, 1877/13152, DIA NZBDM; Alec Melville, 1875/4994, DIA NZBDM; Hugh Melville, 1875/4995, DIA NZBDM; Leslie Seton Melville, 28 Aug 1874, 1874015008, DIA NZBDM; Roll of individuals entitled to the South African Medal and clasps. Border Mounted Rifles, n.d., National Archives, Kew, UK, WO 100/260, p.66. Leslie

letter from Natal, Hugh Hamilton reported that his 'right lung was shot through' at Elandsplaagte, and that 'my youngest brother Hamilton is an invalid'.²⁵ Both Hamilton and Leslie Melville contracted enteric fever during the siege of Ladysmith, where all four brothers were invested, and Leslie died in Intombi Spruit Hospital shortly before the siege was lifted.²⁶

Twenty-one-year-old Lance Corporal Albert Rosanowski of the Seventh Contingent gave his occupation as 'miner' on his attestation papers.²⁷ After sustaining a gunshot wound at Botha's Kop in 1902, his left arm was amputated and his medical evaluation noted that the disability would 'prevent his earning a full livelihood to the extent of ¼ for the rest of his life'.²⁸ Rosanowski received £30 from the Otago Patriotic Committee and a pension of 2s 3d per diem, though he obtained work as a messenger for the New Zealand Defence Forces in Wellington, where he was paid 7s a day.²⁹ He required a further operation in 1907, and despite being twenty-six years old, his doctor observed, 'He is not in good health at present & the loss of his arm renders it more difficult to look after himself away from home'.³⁰ Lance Corporal William Roddick, a Temuka labourer who served in the Seventh Contingent, was killed on the same day as Rosanowski received his injuries.³¹ Helena Roddick received a yearly pension of £26 for the loss of her twenty-one-year-old son.³² Surgeon Captain Robert Bakewell, who joined the Ninth Contingent at the advanced age of seventy, promptly fell sick aboard the troopship *Devon* and was judged 'almost incapable' of earning a livelihood, with the Medical Board recommending a pension of £150 per annum.³³

Trooper Michael Canavan was another whose life changed dramatically. The twenty-seven-year old Canavan, who was shot in the head at Ottoshoop in 1900, received a pension

and twin brothers Hugh and Alec, had consecutive service numbers, suggesting they enlisted together soon after their younger brother, Hamilton. The four brothers' service numbers in the Border Mounted Rifles were 330, 385, 386, and 387.

²⁵ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.18.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.7, 18.

²⁷ Attestation Form, 8 Apr 1901, Albert Rosanowski, AABK 18805 W5515 0004831, ANZ NZDFPR, p.9.

²⁸ Medical History of an Invalid, 21 May 1902, *ibid.*, p.16-17. Rosanowski also sustained a less serious gunshot wound to the side of the head in the same action.

²⁹ Memorandum from Defence Minister, 8 Dec 1903, Albert Rosanowski, AABK 18805 W5515 0004831, ANZ NZDFPR, p.18; Government Life Insurance Memorandum, 5 May 1905, *ibid.*, p.23; A. Rosanowski to the Chief Staff Officer, letter, 29 Aug 1906, *ibid.*, p.25; *SCNZ*, 1903, p.356.

³⁰ Albert Rosanowski to W.E. Butler, letter, 5 Jan 1907, Albert Rosanowski, AABK 18805 W5515 0004831, ANZ NZDFPR, p.28; Medical report by Dr N. E. Herbert regarding Albert Rosanowski, 9 Feb 1907, *ibid.*, p.30.

³¹ South African Contingents: (Deaths of Members of) In South Africa and Since Leaving South Africa, and Particulars as to Locality, etc., of Graves, *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A p.9; Medical History of Invalid, 21 May 1902, Albert Rosanowski, AABK 18805 W5515 0004831, ANZ NZDFPR, p.17.

³² *SCNZ*, 1902, p.345.

³³ Attestation Form, 20 Mar 1902, Robert Hall Bakewell, AABK 18805 W5515 0000220, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; Proceedings of Medical Board, 6 Feb 1904, *ibid.*, p.11. Although initially recommended for one, it appears Bakewell was ineligible for a pension under the Military Pensions Act, 1866 as he was never in action in South Africa. He was hospitalised in Natal on arrival and returned aboard the *Britannic*. Military Pension Report, *ibid.*, p.22.

of 2s per diem.³⁴ In a letter to Seddon seeking employment as a parliamentary messenger, Canavan explained that the effects of his injury were ‘such as to prevent me working at my former occupation as Horse Trainer.’³⁵ Despite a supporting letter from the MHR for Auckland City, Joseph Witheford, Seddon informed Witheford, ‘I regret to inform you that there is no vacancy at present in which Mr Canavan’s services could be utilized’.³⁶

As Anna Rogers and Ellen Ellis have noted, the high incidence of enteric fever in South Africa was especially alarming.³⁷ In a letter home that was published in the *Star*, Bessie Teape, a New Zealand nurse stationed in Bloemfontein Hospital, expressed her concerns: ‘We lose a lot of patients from the dreaded enteric, not less than thirteen to fifteen deaths every day. Fifty of our New Zealanders are in the hospital with it at present, and six of our nurses are also very bad, and we are always wondering whose turn will come next.’³⁸ The enteric issue was raised in parliament on 29 June 1900, with Seddon indicating that if necessary the Government was prepared to send nurses, and pay for private hospital accommodation to combat it.³⁹ The following day the brother-in-law of Mary Warmington, another New Zealand nurse, wrote to Seddon saying he had received a letter stating Warmington had contracted typhoid in Bloemfontein Hospital.⁴⁰ He requested the Prime Minister make enquiries as he and his wife were ‘very anxious’. *The Outlook* also printed a letter from Janet Williamson in Bloemfontein. In her letter, Williamson wrote ‘fancy having 40 enterics to look after, fearful cases usually!’ and commented that the nurses were ‘in the very thick of the worst forms of enteric’.⁴¹

³⁴ Summary of data regarding Private M. Canavan, 4th Contingent, n.d., Michael Canavan, AABK 18805 W5515 0000921, ANZ NZDFPR, p.14; *SCNZ*, 1903 p.356.

³⁵ Michael Canavan to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 19 Jul 1901, Michael Canavan, AABK 18805 W5515 0000921, ANZ NZDFPR, p.23.

³⁶ J.H. Witheford to the Minister for Defence, letter, 19 Jun 1903, *ibid.*, p.19; Richard J. Seddon to J. H. Witheford, letter, 9 Jul 1903, *ibid.*, p.18.

³⁷ Anna Rogers, *While You're Away: New Zealand Nurses at War 1899-1948*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.13, 18-19; Ellen Ellis, ‘New Zealand Women And The War’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.131, 133.

³⁸ *Star*, 16 Jun 1900, p.7.

³⁹ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.159.

⁴⁰ C.A. Durie to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 30 Jul 1900, Appointment of Nurses, Mar 1900 – Feb 1957, ANZ AD34 2. Warmington was invalided home in March 1901 and wrote to the authorities from Wanganui on 12 Jun 1901 enquiring about her entitlement to ‘a War Medal’. M.E. Warmington to Officer in Command, Wellington Military District, letter, 12 Jun 1901, *ibid.*, ANZ AD 34 2.

⁴¹ *The Outlook*, 4 Aug 1900, p.10.

Malcolm McKinnon identifies enteric fever deaths as one of the factors influencing ‘war weariness’ in New Zealand.⁴² An awareness of the toll disease could take existed in the earliest days of the conflict, while during the parliamentary debate about dispatching a contingent, the MHR for Taranaki, Henry Brown, claimed ‘There is not more misery in war than in time of peace. There is more misery due to diseases and other causes’.⁴³ While Brown was referring to peacetime, the editor of the Catholic *New Zealand Tablet*, commenting on ‘this avoidable and unnecessary campaign’ in 1899, noted:

The enormous cost of war in our day, the fearful destructiveness of modern weapons, the world of untold suffering from mere disease, are considerations which should make either statesmen or journalists slow about raising the howl for blood – without taking into account the tears of the widow and the orphan.⁴⁴

Letters to soldiers in South Africa also expressed concern. Writing to her brother William, Penelope Farquharson mentioned reading Teape’s letter and commented that ‘The fever seems to be far more plentiful than wounded or killed’, while in another letter William’s brother noted ‘It is a good job you are escaping the fever’.⁴⁵ One of the youngest soldiers to serve, Trooper Douglas Corson, was less fortunate. The seventeen-year-old lied about his age in order to enrol and died of typhoid on 25 February 1901.⁴⁶ A parliamentary return tabled in 1903 indicated that sixty-nine soldiers had been killed in action or died of wounds, and seventy-four had died of enteric fever, for a total, including soldiers who either died after leaving South Africa or after their discharge, of two hundred and thirty-two.⁴⁷

⁴² Malcolm McKinnon, ‘Opposition to the War in New Zealand’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.36.

⁴³ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.92.

⁴⁴ *New Zealand Tablet*, 19 Oct 1899, p17.

⁴⁵ Penelope Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, Jul 1900, NAM NZ 1998.11; Alex Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 17 Sep 1900, *ibid*.

⁴⁶ Penelope Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 11 Feb 1900, NAM NZ 1998.11; Attestation Form, 22 Mar 1900, Douglas Malcolm Corson, AABK 18805 W5515 0001198, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; Death Report, 25 Feb 1901, *ibid.*, p.9. Douglas Malcolm Corsan claimed to be twenty-one on his attestation form and enrolled using the name ‘Corson’. However, his birth certificate records his surname as ‘Corsan’. David Robert Corson, whose mother’s name was also Helen, is incorrectly recorded as having died at Krugersdorp in a parliamentary report recording casualties. In the report, David is given Douglas’s service number (1062) instead of his own (1014). Malcolm Douglas Corsan, 4 Aug 1882, 1882016875, DIA NZBDM; South African Contingents: (Deaths of Members of) In South Africa and Since Leaving South Africa, and Particulars as to Locality, etc., of Graves, *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A p.11.

⁴⁷ South African Contingents: (Deaths of Members of) In South Africa and Since Leaving South Africa, and Particulars as to Locality, etc., of Graves, *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A pp.1-15. Other causes of death included pneumonia, gangrene, malarial fever, dysentery, pernicious fever, chloroform poisoning, brain tumour, suicide and the accidental shooting or murder of Leolin Arden. Proceedings of Court of Enquiry, 29 Jun 1902, Levlin (Leolin) Hamar Arden, AABK 18805 W5515 0000127, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.30-34.

The death of twenty-two-year-old Private Frederick Broome from the disease deeply affected his elderly mother, with her doctor noting, ‘Her health entirely broke down soon after the receipt of the news of the death of her only son’.⁴⁸ He added, ‘she has been dangerously ill and at present is a complete invalid requiring most constant care – Her recovery to good health is doubtful’. A letter from Colonel Penton, the Commander of New Zealand Forces, to the Chairman of the Wellington Mayor’s Patriotic Fund Committee noted that while Mrs. Broome’s three daughters were ‘just able to earn sufficient money to keep themselves’, their brother, Private Broome, ‘was the support of his father and mother’.⁴⁹ Broome’s parents only received official confirmation of his death in a telegram from Seddon on 27 September 1900 - three months after his demise in Johannesburg on 23 June, and more than two months after it had been reported in the *Nelson Evening Mail*.⁵⁰ Seddon apologized for the delay, stating that ‘the report was only received at the Cape on the day it was sent’, and added ‘I’m sorry you have been kept in suspense so long - please accept my heartfelt sympathy’. However, the telegram was noticeably less personal than that sent to the brother of Captain Harvey.

Whether it indicates class prejudice is debatable, but there was an awareness within New Zealand of the possibility of class divisions affecting the military. Newspapers criticized ‘paltry pensions’ and the disparity between the sums paid to officers and those of non-commissioned officers and men.⁵¹ The *Wanganui Chronicle* compared the £54 per annum received by Sergeant-Major Lockett, whose arm was amputated due to a gunshot wound received through ‘gallant conduct’, to the ‘very handsome’ sum paid to a less seriously wounded Wellington lieutenant.⁵² The Wellington officer was almost certainly Lieutenant Robert Walter Gordon Collins of Kilbirnie who served in the 4th Rough Riders Contingent, was shot through the wrist on 16 August 1900, and named his Wellington home ‘Ottoshoop’ after the battle where he sustained his wound.⁵³ Collins, whose father was Lieutenant-Colonel

⁴⁸ Medical report by Dr H. Potter, 9 Apr 1901, Frederick Saville Broome, AABK 18805 W5515 0000596, ANZ NZDFPR, p.26.

⁴⁹ Colonel A.P. Penton to His Worship the Mayor of Wellington, 9 Aug 1900, *ibid.*, p.18.

⁵⁰ Richard J. Seddon to C.S. Broome, Telegram, 27 Sep 1900, *ibid.*, p.19; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 24 Jul 1900, p.2. The *Nelson Evening Mail* reported that Seddon had received a telegram from Major Cradock in South Africa informing him of Broome’s death of enteric fever on 23 Jul.

⁵¹ *The Observer*, 7 Jun 1902, p.2.

⁵² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 10 Apr 1902, p.3. The *Wanganui Chronicle* claimed the issue of pension disparities was raised in the First New Zealand Mounted Rifles Association *Bulletin*.

⁵³ Proceedings of Medical Board, 15 Oct 1900, Robert Walter Gordon Collins, AABK 18805 W5515 0006267, ANZ NZDFPR, p.40; Attestation Form, 17 Mar 1900, *ibid.*, p.18; Robert W. Collins to Paymaster General, *ibid.*, p.20; *Evening Post*, 25 Oct 1904, p.1.

Robert Joseph Collins, received a £100 per annum pension under the 1900 Act.⁵⁴ The paper observed that ‘both officers and men of the New Zealand Contingents are frequently recruited from the same class’. Criticizing the Military Pensions Bill in parliament, the MHR for Palmerston North, Frederick Pirani, claimed that ‘This was class legislation. One thing for the “fat man” we hear so much of from the Government’s supporters – that was, the officer – and another thing for the poor man – the trooper.’⁵⁵

A number of fatalities among New Zealand soldiers occurred either after they had left South Africa or after hostilities had ended. In 1902 one of the few Māori soldiers to serve in South Africa, Lieutenant Callaway, was suspected of having smallpox while returning aboard the *Orient*, and an outbreak of measles on the same sailing resulted in troopers being quarantined on Somes Island in Wellington Harbour.⁵⁶ Although Callaway recovered, thirteen men died on the island without seeing their families or landing on mainland New Zealand.⁵⁷ Speaking in parliament, the Acting-Premier, Joseph Ward, defended the quarantine, saying ‘it was absolutely necessary that the men should be landed on Somes Island at the earliest opportunity, in order to prevent the spread of small-pox, or epidemic pneumonia, which had caused so many deaths among the troopers of the “Britannic”’.⁵⁸

Twenty-year-old Private John Lund of the Tenth Contingent only spent two months in Africa, but contracted bronchitis on board the *Montrose* while returning to New Zealand.⁵⁹ In 1905 Walter Lund wrote ‘my son John Lund [d]ied the 26 of October 1904. [H]e was very ill since he came back from affrica [sic]’.⁶⁰ John Lund was one of eleven children, and his brother, Frederick Lund, served in the South African Light Horse.⁶¹ When John Lund died at the age of twenty-two in ‘Omaru’ Hospital, his father sought government assistance to pay the £3 5s the railways charged to return the body to Pleasant Point.⁶² On several occasions,

⁵⁴ Attestation Form, 17 Mar 1900, Robert Walter Gordon Collins, AABK 18805 W5515 0006267, ANZ NZDFPR, p.18; SCNZ 1903, p.356.

⁵⁵ NZPD, 122 (1902), p.933.

⁵⁶ *Auckland Star*, 15 Aug 1902, p.5. The *Auckland Star* incorrectly spelt his name ‘Calloway’.

⁵⁷ Mike Dwight, *Walter Callaway: A Maori Warrior of the Boer War*, Thames: Mike Dwight, 2010, pp.83-84; *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A, pp.13, 14.

⁵⁸ NZPD, 121 (1902), p.379. Several soldiers suffering from pneumonia either died aboard the troopship *Britannic*, or after its return to New Zealand. These included Private William Lawrence and Corporal Tyrell Lushington Delabrosse who, along with others, were buried at sea. *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A pp.12, 14.

⁵⁹ Attestation Form, 14 Apr 1902, John Lund, AABK 18805 W5515 0003297, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6; Medical Report, 16 Jan 1903, *ibid.*, p.15.

⁶⁰ Walter Lund to District Office, N.Z. Defence Forces, letter, 15 May 1905, John Lund, AABK 18805 W5515 0003297, ANZ NZDFPR, p.8.

⁶¹ Report of Constable T. Barrett concerning W. Lund, 20 Nov 1904, John Lund, AABK 18805 W5515 0003297, ANZ NZDFPR, p.12.

⁶² Frederick Lund, New Zealand Military Forces, South African War, n.d., Frederick Lund, AABK 18805 W5515 0003296, ANZ NZDFPR, p.9; Walter Lund to Mr. Platman, 3 Nov 1904, John Lund, AABK 18805 W5515 0003297, ANZ NZDFPR, p.22.

the Defence Office instructed the police to make confidential enquiries regarding returned troopers or their families before distributing funds, and Walter Lund was investigated after requesting help with the cost of his son's funeral.⁶³

Not all medical conditions resulted from combat or disease. Trooper Henry Stephens and Sergeant Arthur Coleman sustained serious injuries when on separate occasions they were struck by lightning.⁶⁴ The Medical Board recommended Stephens undergo prolonged treatment at the government sanatorium in Rotorua.⁶⁵ However, the thirty-eight-year-old Stephens, who had also contracted enteric fever in South Africa and suffered peripheral neuritis from the lightning strike, was obliged to return to Wellington due to a 'scarcity of funds'.⁶⁶ Coleman, a former carpenter, was still receiving treatment as an in-patient at both Queen Mary Hospital at Hanmer and Christchurch Hospital in the early 1920s as a result of partial paralysis caused by the lightning.⁶⁷

One of the largest losses of life from a single wartime incident occurred in 1902 in a train accident near Potchefstroom that killed thirteen soldiers and seriously injured several more, including thirty-year-old Trooper Patrick Lee (fig. 32), who lost his leg.⁶⁸ Lee received a £50 compassionate allowance from the Lloyds' Patriotic Fund, £35 from the Otago Patriotic Fund, an Imperial Pension of 2s 6d per diem, and 2s per diem from the Government for a fixed period, after which he was to be reassessed.⁶⁹ In 1903 Lee sought further financial assistance. Noting the size of his Imperial Government pension, he complained in a letter to Joseph Ward that 'the N.Z. Government has not treated me quite so liberally'.⁷⁰ Lee claimed

⁶³ Acting Under-Secretary for Defence to Inspector of Police, memorandum, 14 Nov 1904, John Lund, AABK 18805 W5515 0003297, ANZ NZDFPR, p.13; Acting Under-Secretary of Defence Memorandum, 28 Nov 1904, *ibid.*, p.10.

⁶⁴ *Evening Post*, 20 Jan 1902, p.5. The *Evening Post* featured a report from Lance-Corporal Percy Nation in which he described a 'thunder storm appalling in its intensity. The sky was streaked with fire, and the reports that followed terrified the bravest'. Nation claimed that 'Ten men were on a kopje, one was killed outright and the others paralysed by an electric flash'. Nation was subsequently killed at Langverwacht. D.H. Webb to Charles Nation, letter, 18 Oct 1907, Percy Nation, AABK 18805 W5515 0004139, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5.

⁶⁵ Proceedings of Medical Board, 26 Jul 1901, Henry Alexander Stephens, AABK 18805 W5515 0005318, ANZ NZDFPR, p.18.

⁶⁶ Attestation Form, 11 Mar 1900, Henry Alexander Stephens, AABK 18805 W5515 0005318, ANZ NZDFPR, p.25; Proceedings of Medical Board 15 Feb 1901, *ibid.*, p.22; Proceedings of Medical Board, 26 Jul 1901, *ibid.*, p.18; Henry Stephens to Major Owen, 22 Apr 1900, *ibid.*, p.21.

⁶⁷ Certificate of Discharge, 15 Sep 1902, Arthur George Coleman, AABK 18805 W5515 0001072, ANZ NZDFPR, p.21; NZ Expeditionary Force medical treatment authorisation, 11 Nov 1921, *ibid.*, p.16; NZ Expeditionary Force medical treatment authorisation, 8 Dec 1921, *ibid.*, p.13.

⁶⁸ *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A pp.10, 12.

⁶⁹ Patrick Lee to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 1 Nov 1905, Patrick William Lee, AABK 18805 W5515 0003165, ANZ NZDFPR, p.31; Patrick Lee to Joseph Ward, letter, 26 Jul 1903, Patrick William Lee, AABK 18805 W5515 0003165, ANZ NZDFPR, p.54; J. Grey for the Under Secretary of Defence to the Secretary of the Southland Patriotic Relief Fund, 13 Jun 1904, *ibid.*, p.34.

⁷⁰ Patrick Lee to Joseph Ward, letter, 26 Jul 1903, Patrick William Lee, AABK 18805 W5515 0003165, ANZ NZDFPR, p.54.

his injury was classed as third degree. He informed Ward that injuries of the third degree were deemed to cause ‘temporary disablement’, adding ‘I consider this a great injustice, as the loss of my right leg, which was amputated five inches above the knee, [is] rather more than a slight or temporary disablement.’



Fig. 32. Trooper Patrick Lee.
Source: *Otago Witness*, 7 May 1902, p.36.

Although harder to gauge accurately, the war inevitably took a psychological toll on participants. As the majority of the New Zealanders had little or no experience of the harsh realities of modern warfare, the combined effects of combat and its aftermath had a lasting effect on many of the soldiers. As one trooper observed, ‘some of the sights that I have seen have made my blood run cold, & to tell the truth I have had my rest disturbed, as one is unable to deface the awful sights from one’s mind’.⁷¹ Though military reports later claimed he ‘fell overboard’, a Board of Inquiry found Trooper John Salter jumped from H.M.T. *Orient* on 29 December 1900 on its voyage back to New Zealand.⁷² Newspaper accounts of

⁷¹ Trooper named Arthur to his mother and father, 8 Jun 1900, NAM NZ 1999.2002.

⁷² T.W. Porter to the Officer Commanding Otago District, letter, 12 Jan 1901, John Salter, AABK 18805 W5515 0004932, ANZ NZDFPR, p.11; Proceedings of Board of Inquiry into Salter’s death, 17 Dec 1900, *ibid.*, pp.25-26.

the incident also varied. While papers like the *Thames Star*, the *Southland Times* and the *Auckland Star* reported Salter had jumped overboard, adding he had suffered a brain injury after falling from his horse in South Africa, others portrayed his death as an unfortunate accident.⁷³ In his draft manuscript for ‘O’er Veldt and Kopje – The Official Account of the Operations of the New Zealand Contingents in the Boer War’, James Shand also recorded Salter’s death as accidental.⁷⁴ At the military enquiry into his death, Major Alfred Perkins noted Salter had been classified a ‘Lunatic’, and Salter’s medical diet sheet recorded his condition as ‘Melancholia’.⁷⁵

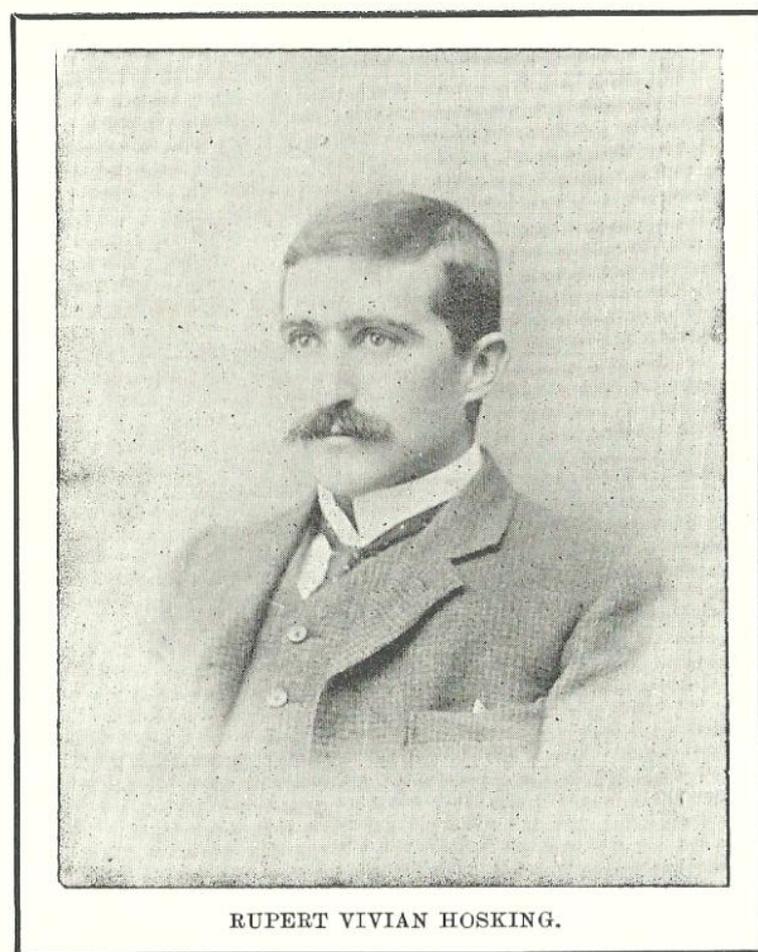


Fig. 33. Rupert Vivian Hosking, Protectorate Regiment.
Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui:
A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

⁷³ *Thames Star*, 2 Jan 1901, p.3; *Southland Times*, 3 Jan 1901, p.2; *Auckland Star*, 2 Jan 1901, p.5; *Wanganui Herald*, 31 Dec 1900, p.2; *Otago Daily Times*, 31 Dec 1900, p.7. The *Evening Post* titled an article reporting Salter’s death, ‘Suicide of a New Zealand Soldier’. *Evening Post*, 2 Jan 1901, p.6.

⁷⁴ James Arthur Shand, ‘O’er Veldt and Kopje – The Official Account of the Operations of the New Zealand Contingents in the Boer War’, [ca 1931], qMS-1790-1793, p.545.

⁷⁵ Evidence of Major Alfred Edwards Perkins at Board of Inquiry into Salter’s death, 17 Dec 1900, John Salter, AABK 18805 W5515 0004932, ANZ NZDFPR, p.19; Diet Sheet of Private Salter, *ibid.*, p.23.

On their return to New Zealand soldiers displayed varying degrees of willingness to relate their wartime exploits. While Trooper David Waldie, a Dunedin blacksmith, gave a speech to a large audience in the Garrison Hall, and Sergeant Matson addressed North East Valley School, others were disinclined to publicly revisit their South African experiences.⁷⁶ Possibly indicating the ongoing effects of the traumatic events he had lived through, nothing could induce Rupert Hosking (fig. 33), who had been seriously wounded by a shell fragment during the siege of Mafeking, to address Wanganui Collegiate on his return.⁷⁷ The *Collegian* also noted that he ‘proved obdurate to all requests that he would write some description of the Siege’ and ‘very particularly and strongly objects to be termed a hero’.⁷⁸ Hosking’s reticence contrasts with an earlier letter he sent from Mafeking prior to his injury: ‘Everyone is willing to do another five months such as those just gone, if by doing it the Empire will derive benefit therefrom.’⁷⁹ Lieutenant Michael Lindsay also refused to address Wanganui Collegiate during a 1900 visit, despite requests to do so.⁸⁰

Although it is impossible to prove conclusively their drinking was a reaction to traumatic events they may have experienced during the war, a number of soldiers and former soldiers were involved in often-violent incidents involving alcohol. Michael Sullivan, a returned trooper, was fined £20 and costs of £5 8s 6d for beating the licensee of the Mangamahu Hotel, using obscene language and refusing to leave the premises.⁸¹ When the judge offered to halve the fine if he behaved, Sullivan said he would ‘quit the country and the money could be given to charity’. Another incident involved a returned trooper who was fined £5 for a drunken assault on a restaurateur after he refused to pay for his meal.⁸²

Injuries that Private Alfred Davitt sustained in Africa appear to have adversely affected his later life. Davitt, whose character was assessed as ‘indifferent’ on his 1902 Certificate of Discharge from the Tenth Contingent, had earlier served in Brabant’s Light

⁷⁶ Attestation Form, n.d., David Hannibal Waldie, AABK 18805 W5515 0005753, ANZ NZDFPR, p.4; *Otago Witness*, 17 Apr 1901, p.54; Lonnie (nee) Farquharson to William Farquharson, 8 Mar 1901, NAM NZ 1998.11. The *Otago Witness* observed Waldie’s deficiencies as a public speaker. The paper reported that Waldie ‘spoke of a number of British killed and wounded being picked up and made as comfortable as possible’ and, while relating another event where troops had taken a farmer’s cattle, he claimed they ‘killed them, and then roasted them alive’.

⁷⁷ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.12; *ibid.*, No. 55 Apr 1901, p.19. Hosking’s father, William Henry Hosking, was a Masterton doctor who accompanied the Fourth Contingent aboard the *Gymeric* to South Africa, reportedly to gain information about his son who was invested in Mafeking. Rupert Vivian Hosking, DIA NZBDM 1878/15358; *Star*, 3 May 1900, p.1; *Southland Times*, 19 Sep 1900, p.2.

⁷⁸ *Wanganui Collegian.*, No. 54, Dec 1900, p.8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.19.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 54 Dec 1900, p.4.

⁸¹ *Feilding Star*, 10 Oct 1902, p.2.

⁸² *Wanganui Herald*, 29 Jan 1902, p.2.

Horse.⁸³ He was repeatedly arrested for alcohol-related offences after returning from South Africa, where he sustained a serious head injury. Giving evidence at one of Davitt's trials, Constable Shaw noted that Davitt 'had been shot in the head, and that since then drink made him lose control of himself'.⁸⁴ Despite being imprisoned in Mount Eden for a month in 1910 after facing charges of drunkenness and being a vagabond, Davitt served briefly overseas during World War One.⁸⁵ However, by 1937 his address was 'B Ward, Mental Hospital, Tokanui'.⁸⁶ Like Alfred Davitt, other soldiers had alcohol issues following the war. After his injury in the Potchefstroom train accident, the police were instructed to make confidential enquiries into Patrick Lee's 'mode of life'.⁸⁷ In his report, Constable A. Emerson noted that Lee had purchased a 200 acre farm, and built a small cottage, though he was not cultivating the land and was 'living on the allowance he receives through the Government'.⁸⁸ Emerson further noted that 'He gives way to the drink a good deal at times – otherwise he is of good character.'

If current or former soldiers faced civil criminal charges, newspapers regularly referred to their military status when reporting legal proceedings, though it appears that in several cases a degree of leniency was afforded soldiers in court. P.J. Gibbons refers to the 'unrelenting racial hatred' that existed towards Asians in New Zealand,⁸⁹ though Ellen Ellis notes that 'ethnicity was no bar to the expression of loyalty'.⁹⁰ Such expressions were not always reciprocal. Despite the Chinese community of Dunedin contributing £25 2s 6d to the Fourth Contingent Fund to purchase a horse called 'Canton', and Chinese in Auckland giving £20 for the Rough Riders' Contingent, Chinese became targets of soldiers' violence on more than one occasion.⁹¹ In April 1901, returned Trooper Theodore Casey was arrested for an unprovoked attack on Young She Sue in Wellington's Haining Street. Casey was alleged to have seized the Chinese by his pigtail, thrown him to ground and kicked him in the head and

⁸³ Certificate of Discharge, 1902, Alfred Davitt, AABK 18805 W5515 0001407, ANZ NZDFPR, p.13; *Auckland Star*, 27 Aug 1902, p.2.

⁸⁴ *Auckland Star*, 27 Aug 1902, p.2.

⁸⁵ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 3 Oct 1910, p.2; Statement of Service of Alfred Davitt in the South African War 1899-1902 and the war of 1914-1919, Alfred Davitt, AABK 18805 W5515 0001407, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6.

⁸⁶ Adjutant-General to Alfred Davitt, 26 Apr 1937, Alfred Davitt, AABK 18805 W5515 0001407, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5.

⁸⁷ Defence Office, Wellington to the Officer Commanding Otago Military District, memorandum, 27 Feb 1904, Patrick William Lee, AABK 18805 W5515 0003165, ANZ NZDFPR, p.37.

⁸⁸ Report of Mounted Constable Emerson, 12 Mar 1904, *ibid.*, p.38.

⁸⁹ P. J. Gibbons, 'The Climate of Opinion' in W.H. Oliver with B.R. Williams (eds), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981, p.304.

⁹⁰ Ellis, 'New Zealand Women', p.136.

⁹¹ *Tuapeka Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.2; *Otago Daily Times*, 23 Feb 1900, p.6; *Clutha Leader*, 2 Mar 1900, p.5. The *Clutha Leader* began a Fourth Contingent report with the story about the support the contingent had received from Dunedin's Chinese community.

body.⁹² At his trial, Casey admitted the assault, but denied kicking the victim.⁹³ Captain Coutts and Sergeant-Major Wilkinson (both of whom had fought with Casey in South Africa), attested to Casey's 'excellent fighting record' and blamed the assault on his drinking since returning from South Africa. Casey was fined £2 and £3 10s 6d expenses. However, violence against Chinese was neither uncommon nor limited to contingent members, with the judge in another case involving a trooper assaulting a Chinese noting 'There were some people who looked on them as fair sport'.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, in a similar case in 1903, the defendant, who had not served in South Africa, was sentenced to two weeks hard labour.⁹⁵

This was not the only instance where military service may have affected the outcome of a trial. In January 1902, twenty-two-year-old Bugler Leonard Noly Jacobs of the Eighth Contingent came to blows with a Chinese, Sue Har, again in Haining Street.⁹⁶ Returning later with two other troopers and a civilian, he allegedly tripped up another Chinese, dragging him by his pigtail, and inflicting 'serious injuries', including a deep cut to his head and a suspected ruptured spleen. The *Colonist* referred to the incident as a 'murderous assault'.⁹⁷ Jacobs was remanded on his own recognisance of £100 and another £100 security from Captain Polson of the Eighth Contingent, who appeared in court as Jacobs was in his company. At his trial, Jacobs wore the ribbon of the Fifth Contingent, in which he had earlier served.⁹⁸ He admitted he had been drinking, but alleged Sue Har had provoked him and that he had returned with twenty-one-year-old Sergeant Page and Trooper Raikes, a twenty-two-year-old school teacher, to 'fix the matter up if possible'.⁹⁹ He denied he had attacked Len Shing, claiming the Chinese had threatened him with an axe. Jacobs said he threw him to the ground in defence and 'Might have broken the Chinaman's ribs when closing with him.' Thomas Scholes, a farmer who witnessed the assault and allegedly made derogatory remarks about the troopers, gave evidence for the prosecution, but was accused by the defence of being a pro-Boer.¹⁰⁰ The *Evening Post* reported that the judge 'hoped the freedom we all had

⁹² *Evening Post*, 2 Apr 1901, p.4.

⁹³ *Evening Post*, 4 Apr 1901, p.4. Reporting on a First Contingent reunion in 1919, the *Evening Post* noted Casey ran a successful contracting business, but died during the 1918 influenza epidemic. *Evening Post*, 20 Oct 1919, p.7.

⁹⁴ *Evening Post*, 1 May 1902, p.5.

⁹⁵ *Auckland Star*, 27 Mar 1903, p.4.

⁹⁶ *Evening Post*, 27 Jan 1902, p.5; Attestation Form, 28 Mar 1900, Leonard Noly Jacobs, AABK 18805 W5515 0002799, ANZ NZDFPR, p.29.

⁹⁷ *Colonist*, 31 Jan 1902, p.4.

⁹⁸ *Evening Post*, 27 Jan 1902, p.5.

⁹⁹ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 30 Jan 1902, p.2; *Evening Post*, 2 May 1902, p.5; Attestation Form, 14 Jan 1902, Thomas Malcolm Page, AABK 18805 W5515 0004314, ANZ NZDFPR, p.8; Attestation Form, 7 Jan 1902, Francis Campbell Raikes, AABK 18805 W5515 0004631, ANZ NZDFPR, p.11.

¹⁰⁰ *Evening Post*, 1 May 1902, pp.5-6; *ibid.*, 2 May 1902, p.5.

was not going to be belied by punishing a man for any opinion he might hold about the war.¹⁰¹ The jury found that Jacobs acted in self defence and the Chief Justice dismissed all charges.¹⁰²

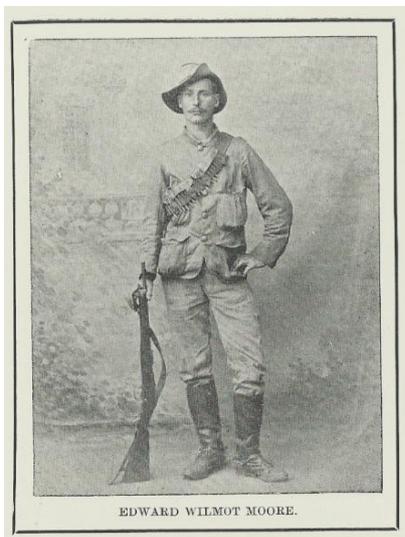


Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36

Figs. 34-36. Left to right: Private Edward Moore, Lieutenant Piers Tudor and Private Bertie Willis. All three of the former Wanganui Collegiate students served in the South African Police. Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

Another result of the war that caused concern in New Zealand and disrupted some families was that a number of soldiers either returned to South Africa or remained there. As Crawford and Ellis have noted, for some New Zealanders, remaining in South Africa represented an alluring opportunity.¹⁰³ This was in spite of a warning that appeared in the *Otago Witness* claiming conditions and wages in South Africa were often poor.¹⁰⁴ Voicing his concerns about New Zealand soldiers settling in South Africa, the MHR for Kaiapoi, David Buddo, drew attention to the Rhodesian Charter Company offering farms to Australian men as an inducement to settle in the country, while Frank Swanwick claimed colonials were being offered cash and 3000 acres if they remained in South Africa.¹⁰⁵ Joseph Ward acknowledged the importance of the issue and said that although he felt the Government should give men their discharges in Africa if they wished, ‘every endeavour should be made

¹⁰¹ *Evening Post*, 2 May 1902, p.5.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ John Crawford with Ellen Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1999, p.89.

¹⁰⁴ *Otago Witness*, 12 Feb 1902, p.29.

¹⁰⁵ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.604; *Tuapeka Times*, 29 Sep 1900, p.3.

to bring the men [to New Zealand] to settle after the war, for the colony was undoubtedly an infinitely better country to live in'.¹⁰⁶

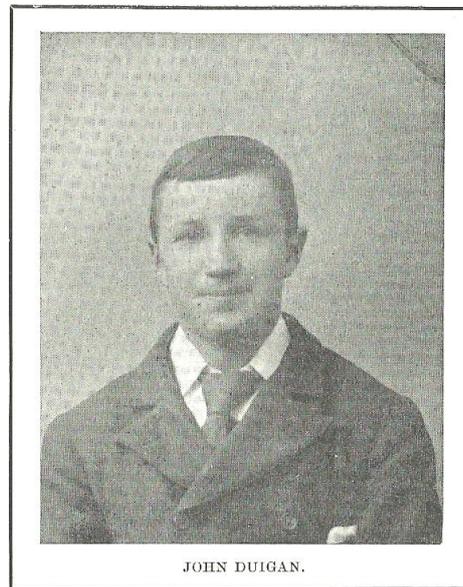


Fig. 37. John Evelyn Duigan.
Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*,
Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

Although they had to keep their own horses, enlisted men in the South African Police received 10s per day compared to the 4s of troopers, and when recruits were called for, many soldiers in the contingents enlisted, including Private Edward Moore (fig. 34), Lieutenant (later Captain) Piers Tudor (fig. 35) and Private Bertie Willis (fig. 36), the son of the MHR for Wanganui, Archibald Willis.¹⁰⁷ Archibald Willis noted in parliament that his son had ignored his wishes and enlisted in the police despite his own objections.¹⁰⁸ In a letter home, Ronald Saxby wrote that '137 of us jumped at the chance of joining the police, besides a good number who couldn't get in'.¹⁰⁹ Massey criticized these enrolments, saying that men would stay in South Africa instead of returning, and Seddon strongly opposed giving discharges in Africa, claiming soldiers who enlisted in the police violated their terms of service: 'my reply was distinctly "No"; they were there for the war and until the war is over we were not agreeable to give them their discharges'.¹¹⁰ In a letter sent from Johannesburg, Trooper Frederick Harcourt informed Seddon that reports of his decision to give soldiers their

¹⁰⁶ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.604.

¹⁰⁷ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.12; *NZPD*, 112 (1900), pp.145-146.

¹⁰⁸ *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.146.

¹⁰⁹ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.16.

¹¹⁰ *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.56, 145; 113 (1900), p.74.

discharges only in New Zealand were causing discontent among contingent members who wished to remain in South Africa.¹¹¹ Admitting he was tempted to join the police himself, Luke Perham claimed Major Robin had accused police recruits and other soldiers who had joined the railways of being ‘bullet shy’, while another trooper noted Robin accused police recruits of ‘desertion’.¹¹²

Other soldiers worried about their prospects in New Zealand, and some either returned to South Africa, or seriously considered doing so. Noting that he could get a ‘fair screw’ in the police, George Leece wrote to his mother: ‘though I wish to come back to you all more than anything else, I do dread not striking something to do.’¹¹³ Private Denis Hickey, formerly of the Fifth Contingent, wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart Newall in 1901, requesting his pay as he intended ‘to return to South Africa’.¹¹⁴ Despite his injuries, former trooper Joseph Culling stated: ‘I want to get back to South Africa & look for something to do’.¹¹⁵ Arthur Stuckey returned to Africa, where he fought during the Boer Rebellion of 1914 and in the German South-West African, and East African campaigns.¹¹⁶ In South Africa, Herbert Hart noted that ‘Landgrabbers’ in his camp from ‘nearly every overseas corps’ were awaiting land grants.¹¹⁷ Although Hart returned via the United Kingdom, he considered volunteering for service in Somaliland and during World War One became a Brigadier-General.¹¹⁸ Trooper Cooper, invalided home with malaria, intended returning to the Transvaal after securing employment in the prison at Pretoria, Ronald Saxby considered returning to the mines, and John Duigan (fig. 37), after recovering from injuries sustained at Wepener, returned to South Africa to rejoin another contingent.¹¹⁹ To soldiers like Duigan and Walter Borlase, the military life clearly appealed. Duigan later became Chief of the General Staff in the New Zealand Army while Borlase, who served in the Tenth Contingent and saw no active

¹¹¹ Frederick Harcourt to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 22 Oct 1900, Frederick Harcourt, AABK 18805 W5515 0002336, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.9-10. Harcourt claimed that many of the soldiers joined the contingent on the understanding that they could obtain their discharges in South Africa and had ‘thrown up good positions to come out here intending to remain out here & take advantage of the openings which would offer when peace should be declared’. Harcourt added, ‘Many of us can now see our way to good positions in the Mines, Railways, Police or trade but our hopes have been destroyed by your order’.

¹¹² Luke Perham to his mother, 28 Jun 1900, letter, NAM NZ 2003.7; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.17.

¹¹³ George Leece to his mother, letter, 15 Jul 1900, ATL MS-Papers-8464-05.

¹¹⁴ Denis Hickey to Stuart Newall, letter, 1 Sep 1901, Denis Hickey, AABK 18805 W5515 0002544, ANZ NZDFPR, p.13.

¹¹⁵ Joseph Culling to the Commandant N.Z. Forces, letter, 16 Sep 1901, Joseph Thomas Culling, AABK 18805 W5515 0001308, ANZ NZDFPR, p.15.

¹¹⁶ Record of Military Service, Arthur Stuckey, AABK 18805 W5515 0005399, ANZ NZDFPR, p.17.

¹¹⁷ Herbert Ernest Hart, diary, 22 Jul 1902, NAM NZ 1990.1024; *ibid.*, 8 Jul 1902.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24 Oct 1902; Ian McGibbon (ed): *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000, p.215.

¹¹⁹ *Otago Witness*, 6 Feb 1901, p.40; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.17.

in South Africa, took his discharge in England and became an officer in the 7th Royal Sussex Regiment.¹²⁰

Although in 1902 the *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser* called suggestions that many soldiers would remain in South Africa a ‘fallacy’, and claimed if a soldier ‘escaped death through bullet or the fever, he will be almost certain to find his way back to his Maoriland again’, men like Frederick Harcourt and Henry Heywood either remained or returned.¹²¹ In 1902 the Minister of Lands, Thomas Duncan, met a deputation of returned soldiers who enquired whether the Government would offer ‘special terms’ to settle them on land so they would stay in New Zealand rather than return to South Africa.¹²² Percy Cohen, a trooper in the Eighth Contingent, remained in South Africa after the war, while Prosper Rain Berland, a Quarter-Master Sergeant in the First Contingent, later returned to South Africa, took part in the occupation of German South West Africa, and died at Windhoek in 1930.¹²³

However, not all of them benefitted from the experience. While Moore, Willis and Duigan eventually returned to New Zealand, Tudor did not. After a few months in the police, he rejoined the Third Contingent, and subsequently served in the Sixth, Ninth and Tenth Contingents before taking up farming at Nylstrom, where he contracted enteric fever and died on 12 December 1902.¹²⁴ Other former troopers experienced difficulties. The Public Accounts for 1905-1906 show the Government paid £15 6s 6d for the passages from Cape Town to New Zealand of ‘three distressed ex-troopers of New Zealand Contingents’.¹²⁵ Nonetheless, at least one nurse and several teachers also remained in Africa. Nurse Gertrude Littlecott stayed in Durban, while Dora Webb taught at a school at Gezina.¹²⁶

Many relatives were traumatised by the death, injury, or illness of family members serving in South Africa, while those financially dependent on soldiers who became casualties

¹²⁰ McGeorge, ‘The Social’, p.112; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 60, Dec 1902, p.13; N.Z. High Commissioner to William Massey, memorandum, 27 Mar 1923, Walter John Borlase, AABK 18805 W5515 0000474, ANZ NZDFPR, p.8.

¹²¹ *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 24 Jan 1902, p.2; Defence Headquarters Office memorandum, 5 Mar 1901, Frederick Harcourt, AABK 18805 W5515 0002336, ANZ NZDFPR, p.8; Certificate of Discharge, 6 Aug 1901, Henry Godfrey Heywood, AABK 18805 W5515 0002541, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6.

¹²² *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 25 Sep 1902, p.2.

¹²³ Attestation Form, 15 Mar 1902, Percy Arthur Cohen, AABK 18805 W5515 0001064, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; *Evening Post*, 29 Aug 1930, p.11. Cohen was a steward with the Federal Steamship Company, and gave his address as Johannesburg in November 1903. Percy Arthur Cohen to the N.Z. Secretary of Defence, letter, 24 Nov 1903, Percy Arthur Cohen, AABK 18805 W5515 0001064, ANZ NZDFPR, p.7.

¹²⁴ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 61, Apr 1903, pp.18-19.

¹²⁵ *AJHR*, 1906, B-1, p.62.

¹²⁶ Sherayl Kendall & David Corbett, *New Zealand Military Nursing: A History of the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps Boer War to Present Day*, Auckland: Sherayl Kendall & David Corbett, 1990, p.6; Ellen Ellis, *Teachers for South Africa: New Zealand Women at the South African War Concentration Camps*, Paekakariki: Hanorah Books, 2010, pp.166-167.

often faced economic difficulties. Men who sustained serious wounds or contracted diseases frequently struggled on their return to New Zealand, and some experienced stress and alcohol-related issues, which occasionally had grave consequences. Families were dislocated during the conflict, and in cases where soldiers remained in South Africa, returned there or travelled further afield, these separations could become prolonged or permanent. As Colin McGeorge has shown, contingent members were drawn from ‘nearly every county’ in New Zealand and, to a greater or lesser degree, the adverse impact of the war was felt nationwide.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ McGeorge, ‘The Social’, p.102.

Chapter Five

The Economic Impact of the War

South African Trade

The report deals so fully with the steps taken by the chamber towards initiating this trade that I simply record the satisfaction of the committee that the matter has been taken up with earnestness, and the hope that ere we meet next year the large and dependent population of the Cape and inland adjacent countries may have discovered the excellence and suitability of our products – a discovery followed, let us hope, by a lucrative and permanent trade.¹

G.L. Denniston, who made these remarks in August 1899 as president of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce, was not alone in recognizing the economic opportunities that South African trade afforded New Zealand. In the House of Representatives on 26 September 1899, William Ferguson Massey asked whether Prime Minister Richard J. Seddon was aware of newspaper reports of sizeable orders for fodder placed by the British War Office with firms in Australia, and observed that supplies of forage could probably be obtained direct from New Zealand at a cheaper rate than in Victoria.² Regardless of whether Denniston saw war as inevitable, Massey's comments indicate that even prior to the outbreak of hostilities there was a recognition that New Zealand could profit financially from the conflict. However, these benefits were not solely limited to the export trade, and to a degree they were offset by the inevitable costs involved in sending over six thousand men to war in a distant land.

Though subsequent events suggest Seddon may well have been speaking with the benefit of prior knowledge, his reaction to Massey's suggestion that the British War Office be informed of New Zealand's ability to fill orders for forage was dismissive. He claimed such a move would be 'a reflection on the Imperial authorities' and rejected the idea that 'it should be necessary to let the Imperial authorities know there was such a place as New Zealand, and to remind them that we had oats and chaff! They knew that we had chaff in abundance.'³ Seddon was correct. The British Government was well aware of New Zealand as a possible source of fodder, and in the previous year New Zealand had exported 21,163 bushels of oats

¹ *Otago Witness*, 17 Aug 1899, p.23.

² *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Wellington: Government Printer, 109 (1899), p.570.

³ *NZPD*, 109 (1899), p.570.

to the United Kingdom.⁴ Three days after Massey addressed parliament, the Prime Minister announced that Imperial authorities had placed an order for 2,800 tons of oats.⁵ He also observed that most of a similar order placed in Victoria would in all likelihood be filled by oats sourced in New Zealand. Nine days later the *Feilding Star* reported ‘an excited market for oats’, and noted that ‘Messrs A.H. Turnbull and Co., of Christchurch have secured an order from the Imperial Government direct for 30,000 sacks of oats, which will be shipped at Lyttelton, Timaru and the Bluff by the steamer Vinebranch at an early date.’⁶

The more sanguinary aspects of the looming conflict appear to have been temporarily set aside as the approaching war presented the tantalizing prospect of an economic boon for the agricultural sector. Enthusiasm was expressed both in parliament and in regional newspapers regarding the commercial opportunities the war offered. When the September 1899 Imperial order for oats was made public, it generated interest in the House, while the day after war broke out the *Ashburton Guardian* reported that the Transvaal situation was already benefiting the New Zealand grain market.⁷ Although urged by the member for Patea, George Hutchison, to make any information he had regarding Imperial orders public, Seddon declined to reveal all the details, stating that a full disclosure might inflate prices.⁸ Nonetheless, New Zealand newspaper reports revealed an acute awareness of the commercial opportunities, and a desire on the part of politicians to ensure that, where possible, their constituencies benefited from them. Legislative Council member Henry Scotland, who had opposed sending the First Contingent, claimed, ‘These wars will always be popular in the colonies, as they are profitable.’⁹

Following Seddon’s announcement on 29 September that tenders had been called for the shipment of New Zealand produce to South Africa, the MHR for Ashley, Richard Meredith, pointed out that farmers in Canterbury could provide 200,000 tons of Derwent potatoes.¹⁰ When Meredith also asked if orders had been placed for breadstuffs and potted meats, Seddon replied that ‘Information of a very encouraging character had been received

⁴ *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1898, p.201.

⁵ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 30 Sep 1899, p.3.

⁶ *Feilding Star*, 9 Oct 1899, p.2. The *Feilding Star* reported that oats were fetching 1s 8d for A grade, 1s 7½ d for B grade and 1s 7d for C grade ‘f.o.b. Bluff, sacks in’. In 1902, the *Otago Witness* reported that ‘buyers are chasing growers all over the paddocks, and are offering 2s 1½ d to 2s 2d, according to sample, delivery second week in April. In face of the eagerness shown by buyers, the large growers are holding on. The yield of oats in the Otago district is excellent this year, and the mill has shown returns up to 97 bushels per acre.’ *Otago Witness*, 12 Mar 1902, p.7.

⁷ *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 Oct 1899, p.2.

⁸ *New Zealand Tablet*, 5 Oct 1899, p.31.

⁹ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.20.

¹⁰ *Star*, 30 Sep 1899, p.6.

from South Africa. Flour, wheat and tinned meat were especially required.’¹¹ Speaking about the Imperial oats order, Alfred Fraser, MRH for Napier, said he felt that ‘all the people should know about it, so that the farmers, and not merely the speculators, should have the advantage’, while Massey welcomed the news and enquired whether Imperial interest had been shown in other New Zealand fodder.¹² Indeed, interest in capitalising on the situation proved so great that the Shaw, Savill and Albion cargo steamer *Rangatira*, which was contracted in 1899 to carry a shipment of New Zealand products to South Africa, had to decline produce for want of space in her holds, and there was allegedly sufficient produce left over to load a second ship.¹³

While the imminent prospect of war heightened interest in trade with South Africa, an awareness of both a potential South African market for New Zealand produce, and the inherent problems with getting that produce to Africa, pre-dated 1899. In 1896, the *Otago Witness* observed ‘It would appear that there is an excellent field for a trade in New Zealand produce with South Africa if the facilities for shipping were better.’¹⁴ Quoting a letter from a Cape resident, the paper continued: ‘Your trouble would be to get the stuff over here, as there is no direct line of boats from New Zealand to Africa, and the Aberdeen line from Australia is crammed full every trip.’

For most of the war, these two issues - shipping and competition - would remain hurdles facing New Zealand attempts to profitably export products to South Africa. In his September 1899 address in the House, Seddon noted that the Government’s efforts to encourage an export trade to the South African colonies had been hampered by the lack of a regular shipping connection.¹⁵ However, the Government’s initial reluctance to assume any form of financial liability was evident when Seddon stressed that ‘the Government had not incurred the slightest responsibility in regard to [the *Rangatira*]’.¹⁶ While the Government was prepared to advertise that a vessel was available to carry produce to South Africa, Seddon felt that the actual shipping arrangements should remain up to the companies involved.¹⁷ This obvious reluctance to expose the Government to a potential financial loss placed the burden of liability on the shoulders of both the shipping companies and New Zealand exporters. It appears concerns regarding profitability were not entirely unfounded, as a December 1899 *Evening Post* report about the *Rangatira* noted:

¹¹ *New Zealand Tablet*, 5 Oct 1899, p.31.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Otago Witness*, 3 Sep 1896, p.14.

¹⁵ *NZPD*, 109 (1899), p.570.

¹⁶ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 30 Sep 1899, p.3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

So far as her general cargo is concerned everything has proved satisfactory, but the price of her meat cargo seems to have frightened the Afrikanders. They can get Australian meat so much cheaper, and do not as yet discriminate between the qualities. Therefore, some of the Rangatira's meat cargo may have to be brought on to England. In oats, however, as already stated, the Cape people admit that New Zealand "sweeps the board."¹⁸

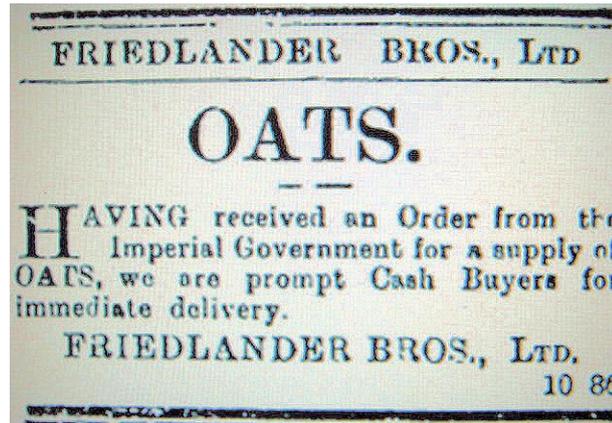


Fig. 38. Friedlander Bros Ltd advertisement for oats to fill an Imperial Government contract. Source: *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 Oct 1899, p.3, National Library of New Zealand.

During 1900, the Government was repeatedly urged by various commercial interests in New Zealand to take advantage of wartime trade opportunities by developing a direct steamer connection with South Africa that would bypass Australian ports.¹⁹ Though the *Otago Daily Times* reported that the Minister of Commerce and Industries, Joseph Ward, was attempting to establish a direct maritime link, progress proved desultory.²⁰ For the remainder of 1900 vessels carrying New Zealand produce often sailed to South Africa via Australian ports, thereby extending delivery schedules. Examples included the British Steamship Company steamer, the *Kilburn*, which loaded 45,000 sacks of oats at Oamaru, Timaru and Lyttelton for Friedlander Bros Ltd (fig. 38), then sailed for South Africa via Western Australia, and the *Longships*, which carried 96,000 sacks of Southland grain to the Cape via Melbourne.²¹

¹⁸ *Evening Post*, 15 Dec 1899, p.2. A letter that appeared in the *Thames Star* from a correspondent with the Tenth Contingent claimed that New Zealand oats were superior to those sourced in Canada: 'We are using Canadian oats, which are dirty and inferior to the worst sample of New Zealand.' *Thames Star*, 28 Jul 1902, p.4.

¹⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, 17 Jan 1900, p.4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Star*, 6 Sep 1900, p.3; *Marlborough Express*, 12 Sep 1900, p.4; *Otago Daily Times*, 8 Nov 1900, p.4. Quoting an article from the *Christchurch Press*, the *Marlborough Express* noted that two other steamers, the *Creda* and

Ward announced that the Government proposed to call for tenders from shipping companies prepared to provide a regular service to South Africa.²² The contract conditions would require vessels to call at five New Zealand ports, and at least three in South Africa. Quick to see the commercial benefits of such a move, the Wellington Chamber of Commerce applauded the Government's actions, and not surprisingly stated that Wellington should be one of the five ports stipulated in the agreement.²³ However, despite the air of optimism that accompanied the Government's announcement, no long-term, direct shipping service resulted.

In an apparent change of heart, the Government decided to delay the tendering process. Instead, Shaw, Savill and Albion, New Zealand Shipping and the Tyser Line established an ad hoc agreement to service South Africa jointly on a six-weekly basis, using vessels en route to the United Kingdom, though this too was considered less than satisfactory by shippers.²⁴ During subsequent negotiations, the Government and the shipping companies failed to reach agreement. Contentious issues included the amount of financial support the Government was prepared to provide, and the shipping companies' stipulation that their vessels could continue on to London with produce that could not be discharged in the South African colonies.²⁵ As Ward later informed parliament regarding the period in which the six-weekly service operated, 'During that time the Government held completely off, in order to see if private enterprise could in any way unsupported carry on the trade.'²⁶ In 1902 Seddon noted little improvement in the shipping connection with South Africa. He drew attention to the high subsidy sought by the shipping companies, and also noted the higher freight costs charged to New Zealand exporters compared with their Australian counterparts, a situation in which Seddon claimed, 'Small producers and traders have no chance whatsoever.'²⁷ As a result of the various obstacles affecting the profitability of their respective operations, the three companies eventually withdrew their vessels from the service.

Ward emphasised that 'no agreement of any kind existed' between the Government and the three shipping companies that carried New Zealand produce to South Africa while en route to the United Kingdom.²⁸ The MHR for Waihemo, Thomas Mackenzie, expressed his

the *Claverdon*, were loading a total of 70,000 sacks of oats for South Africa, while the *Auerley* was loading an additional 25,000 sacks. The paper added that 'a heavy business had been done in New Zealand oats, chiefly for transhipment at Melbourne'.

²² *Ashburton Guardian*, 23 Nov 1900, p.2.

²³ *Evening Post*, 6 Dec 1900, p.7.

²⁴ *NZPD*, 119 (1901), p.329.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 121 (1902), p.397.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.384.

²⁸ *NZPD*, 119 (1901), p.329.

concern that New Zealand lagged behind Australia in the establishment of reliable and regular shipping connections with South Africa, and mentioned the Tyser Line vessel *Indradevi* as an example of the problems New Zealand exporters faced.²⁹ Mackenzie claimed the vessel's agents had encouraged New Zealand shippers to find cargo, and these shippers had entered into agreements with factories to deliver produce to the South African colonies, only to find the *Indradevi*'s sailing schedule had been altered.³⁰ Reflecting the views expressed in provincial papers, Mackenzie advocated a government subsidy to address irregular shipping arrangements.

The importance of South Africa as an export market was boosted on 8 October 1901 when the Australian Commonwealth Government introduced a tariff on a wide range of imported goods. In an editorial that expressed some sympathy for Australia's position, and saw the tax as the penalty New Zealand had to pay for refusing to federate with Australia, the Christchurch *Star* nonetheless observed that 'Here, in New Zealand, it has created dismay in many quarters. The duties imposed on potatoes, onions, bacon and other products of the small farmer will effectually close the door of the Australian markets to New Zealand growers except in lean years.'³¹ In fact, while export growth to Australia failed to rise at the rate that New Zealand exporters hoped, in 1902 the total value of New Zealand exports there increased by 34.6% compared to 1901, and did not fall below the 1900 level until 1904.³² Despite increased dairy sales to some Australian colonies, a deputation of the major North Island dairy exporters met Seddon in mid January 1902 and reiterated the claim that the Australian market was largely denied to New Zealand farm exports.³³ They informed the Prime Minister that 'exporters looked to the Cape for an outlet.'

Prior to the introduction of the Australian federal tariff, the Government had already investigated trade opportunities in South Africa. On 17 August 1901, the Government Trade Commissioner, J. Graham Gow, was dispatched abroad with a wide-ranging brief to explore new export markets for New Zealand produce.³⁴ Prior to his departure, he toured New Zealand, gathering information from potential exporters and collecting product samples. He first investigated the South African market, where he sought to obtain 'by whatever means might be deemed advisable, lower freights, in order that New Zealand produce might compete

²⁹ *NZPD*, 119 (1901), p.329.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Star*, 10 Oct 1901, p.2.

³² *SCNZ*, 1901, p.253; *ibid.*, 1902, p. 258; *ibid.*, 1903, p.269; *ibid.*, 1904, p.282.

³³ *SCNZ*, 1901, pp.208-209; *ibid.*, 1902, pp.211-212; *Otago Witness*, 22 Jan 1902, p.9.

³⁴ *Evening Post*, 16 Aug 1901, p.6.

on equal terms with that of the other colonies'.³⁵ Gow's interim report sent from Durban was promising, and in it he claimed that South Africa 'offers an unlimited field for New Zealand enterprise'.³⁶ However, Gow, like so many others before him, also stressed the need to establish a direct, reliable shipping connection between New Zealand and the South African colonies, calling it a matter of 'precedent importance'.³⁷ This echoed an August 1901 debate in the House of Representatives, when William Herries said South African trade 'had been a burning point since the war began'.³⁸

During the January 1902 meeting with dairy exporters, Seddon announced that he hoped to establish the sought-after direct steamer link with South Africa within a month, though this estimate was to prove optimistic.³⁹ Tenders were finally invited on 25 January 1902 in newspapers in the UK, Australia and New Zealand for a three-year direct service from four New Zealand ports (reduced from the earlier five) to the South African ports of Durban, Port Elizabeth, and Table Bay.⁴⁰ In what could be seen as an acknowledgement of the failure of its earlier hands-off approach, the Government offered a yearly subsidy of £30,000, and fixed a scale of freight charges. The maximum charge for wheat and flour was 30s per ton, while the figure for oats was 35s per ton. Tenders were also called for an alternative service to South Africa via Western Australia, allowing vessels to discharge a fixed percentage of their cargo at Fremantle. Interested parties had until 14 February to lodge tenders.⁴¹

None of the established shipping companies that carried New Zealand produce directly to United Kingdom markets expressed an interest in the proposed service, but two parties did submit tenders: the South African Steamship Company and Harold C. Sleigh, operating under the title of the Blue Star Line.⁴² The former company could only provide vessels capable of nine to ten knots with third-class accommodation, while Sleigh's tender promised vessels capable of 11 knots with saloon passenger accommodation.⁴³ However, the Blue Star Line existed only on paper, as Sleigh did not actually have the necessary vessels and was attempting to use the £30,000 subsidy as an inducement to attract investors and float a

³⁵ *Evening Post*, 10 Jun 1901, p.6.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6 Dec 1901, p.6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *NZPD*, 121 (1902), p.384.

³⁹ *Otago Witness*, 22 Jan 1902, p.9.

⁴⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Jan 1902, p.20. Various conditions applied. The ships had to be suitable for carrying refrigerated produce as well as passengers, livestock and mail; they had to weigh between 2000 and 4000 tons; and they had to be capable of sailing at a minimum of 10 knots per hour.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *NZPD*, 121 (1902), p.384.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, On 6 March Sleigh informed the government he could increase the vessels' speed to thirteen knots.

company in the United Kingdom.⁴⁴ After several months of prevarication on Sleigh's part, contract negotiations lapsed in early August 1902, two months after the war had ended.⁴⁵



Fig. 39. 'Tons upon tons of oats for Tommy's faithful friends, at De Aar, S. Africa.'
Source: Richard Stowers Collection, Auckland War Memorial Museum, PH2002/1.

Despite the ongoing difficulties in establishing a direct shipping connection with South Africa, the urgent need for oats during the war played directly into the hands of those South Island farmers in a position to grow the crop. Pakenham notes the British realisation late in 1899 that 'the War Office had sent out the wrong sort of army to South Africa'.⁴⁶ British defeats at Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso in December led to an increased emphasis on mounted troopers. This resulted in a sizeable, though comparatively short-lived, financial windfall for some New Zealand farmers, particularly those engaged in growing oats (fig. 39). In 1898 no oats, wheat, horses, butter, mutton or frozen beef were exported to either Cape Colony or Natal.⁴⁷ Even New Zealand's tiny trade with Norfolk Island represented a bigger market for her oats than the South African colonies.⁴⁸ However, from 1899 oats became the overwhelmingly dominant New Zealand export to South Africa and remained so

⁴⁴ *NZPD*, 121 (1902), p.386.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.398.

⁴⁶ Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War*, London: Abacus, 1992, p.252.

⁴⁷ *SCNZ*, 1898, pp.188, 192, 201, 209.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.201. In 1898 New Zealand exported twenty-four bushels of oats to Norfolk Island.

for the duration of the war, while wheat, horses, butter, mutton and frozen beef periodically featured among the top five New Zealand export products to Natal and Cape Colony by value for the same period (figs 40A–40D).

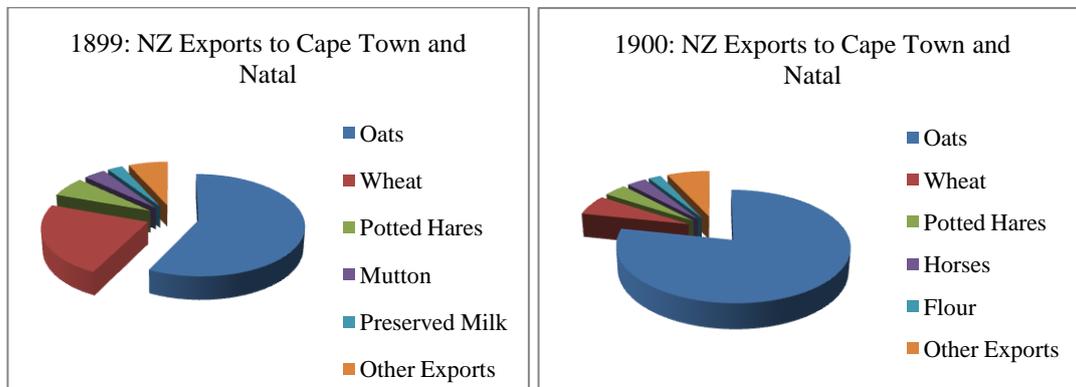


Fig. 40A

Fig. 40B

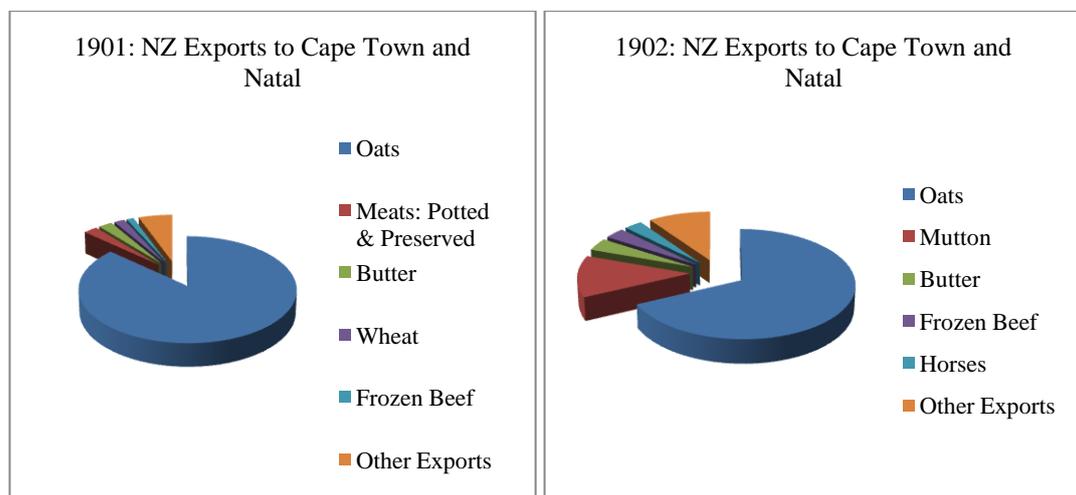


Fig. 40C

Fig.40D

Figs 40A-40D: Graphs showing the top five New Zealand export products to Cape Town and Natal by value from 1899 to 1902.

Sources: *SCNZ*, 1899, pp.206, 207, 215, 217, 243; *ibid.*, 1900, pp.196, 207, 210, 218, 247; *ibid.*, 1901, pp.208, 216, 217, 224, 226, 253; *ibid.*, 1902, pp.206, 211, 220, 228, 229, 258.

Demand for New Zealand oats surged and their export to South Africa was even greater than these graphs show as sales to Australia that Seddon noted are not included. While some of these sales were presumably destined for the Australian domestic market, it appears a sizeable portion was re-exported to the South African colonies as forage for the vast numbers of horses required to conduct a war against a mobile, mounted enemy reluctant to be drawn into set-piece battles. New Zealand exports of oats to the Australian colony of Victoria increased in volume by a massive 1000.86% between 1898 and 1900, while financial returns

from oats rose by 970% for the same period.⁴⁹ This phenomenal increase largely mirrored the growth in New Zealand exports of oats directly to the South African colonies.⁵⁰ The *Star* confirmed the role of some Australian buyers as middlemen when it reported in March 1900 that ‘Since the beginning of January South Africa has taken 140,000 bags of Victorian oats and 160,000 bags of New Zealand and Tasmanian, through Melbourne shippers’.⁵¹ Though in 1902 Seddon bemoaned the conditions of an Imperial oats contract, which he termed ‘an insult’, New Zealand oats were shipped to South Africa in large quantities.⁵²

Surprisingly, the heightened export demand did not result in the large price rises that concerned Seddon prior to the outbreak of war. Prices of New Zealand oats to Cape Colony and Natal experienced minor fluctuations during the first three years of the war, with a high of 2s per bushel in Cape Colony in 1900, and a low of 1s 8d for oats exported to the same destination in 1901.⁵³ The *Evening Post* noted that ‘Business in the oats market is dull, but the Imperial Government’s order for 5000 tons may give a fillip to values.’⁵⁴ There were also slight penny-per-bushel variations in 1900 and 1901, depending on whether the oats were destined for Cape Colony or Natal, but the price only exceeded 2s in 1902, when it reached 2s 6d per bushel in Cape Colony and 2s 7d in Natal.⁵⁵ The situation with exports to Australia was similar, with the price of oats experiencing a 27% decrease between 1898 and 1899, when the export price per bushel fell from 2s 2d to 1s 7d.⁵⁶ This increased 14.29% in 1900 to 1s 10d, and then fell 5.81% to 1s 9d in 1901.⁵⁷ Only in 1902 did prices exceed 1898 levels, when they rose 48.68% compared to 1901.⁵⁸

Of the South Island ports, Invercargill and Bluff experienced the largest percentage increase in exports to South Africa in relation to total foreign trade during the war. In 1898, exports to South Africa from these ports represented only 0.057 percent of their total foreign trade volume.⁵⁹ By 1901, this had risen to 31.87 percent, before falling slightly to 27.45 percent in 1902 (fig. 41).⁶⁰ It is hardly surprising that when Seddon sought parliamentary

⁴⁹ *SCNZ*, 1898, p. 201; *ibid.*, 1900, pp.209-210.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 201; *ibid.*, 1900, p. 210.

⁵¹ *Star*, 21 Mar 1900, p.3.

⁵² *Colonist*, 6 Feb 1902, pp.3-4.

⁵³ *SCNZ*, 1899, p.206; *ibid.*, 1900, p. 210; *ibid.*, 1901, p.216.

⁵⁴ *Evening Post*, 17 Nov 1900, p.4.

⁵⁵ *SCNZ*, 1900, p.210; *ibid.*, 1901, p.216; *ibid.*, 1902, p.220.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1898, p.201; *ibid.*, 1899, p.206.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1900, pp.209-210; *ibid.*, 1901, p.216.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1898, p.20; *ibid.*, 1902, p.220.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1898, p.234.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1901, p.251; *ibid.*, 1902, p.256. In 1898 Invercargill and Bluff exported £359 worth of goods to South Africa, but this figure rose to £320,448 in 1901. During the same period, total foreign exports from these ports increased by 159.65 percent, while exports to South Africa increased by 89,261.28 percent. Oamaru experienced

approval for the dispatch of the Second Contingent, the MHR for Invercargill, Josiah Hanan, replied, ‘I warmly support Government proposal’.⁶¹ However, the windfall was short lived. In the post-war years, trade to South Africa from the ports of Invercargill and Bluff plummeted, with no exports to South Africa in 1905, and South African trade representing a paltry 0.035 percent of total exports from these ports in 1910.⁶²

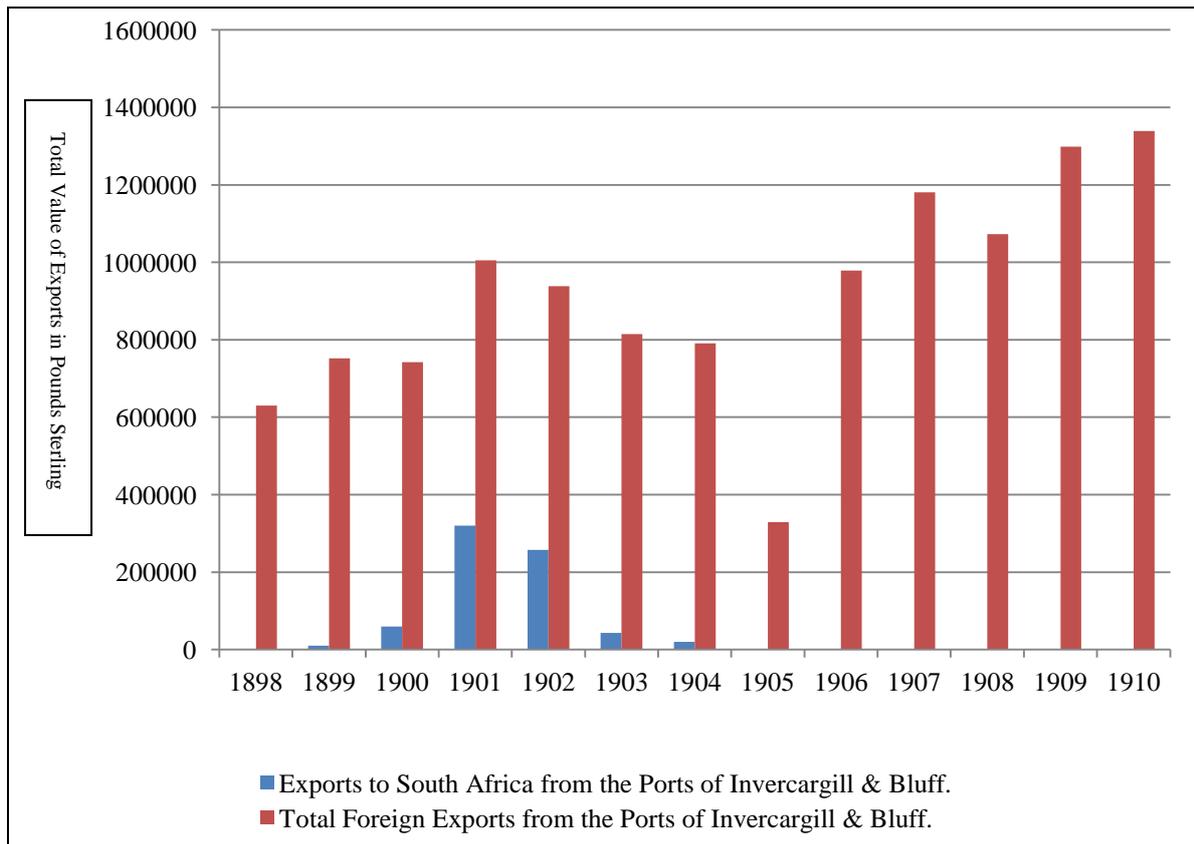


Fig. 41. Graph showing total foreign exports from the ports of Invercargill and Bluff from 1898 to 1910, and exports to South Africa shipped from the same ports during this period.

Source: *SCNZ*, 1898, p.234; *ibid.*, 1899, p.241; *ibid.*, 1900, p.245; *ibid.*, 1901, p.251; *ibid.*, 1902, p.256; *ibid.*, 1903, p.267; *ibid.*, 1904, p.280; *ibid.*, 1905, p.280; *ibid.*, 1906, p.286; *ibid.*, 1907, p.294; *ibid.*, 1908, p.196; *ibid.*, 1909, p.197; *ibid.*, 1910, pp.202-203.

Although oats dominated the export trade to South Africa during the war, other producers also benefitted (figs 40A–40D). Nonetheless, pricing vagaries, competition and availability issues often led to inconsistencies. For instance, wheat sales rose from a

a similar trend. In 1901, exports from Oamaru to South Africa represented 22.95 percent of the port’s total foreign exports. *SCNZ*, 1898, p.234.

⁶¹ *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, Wellington: House of Representatives, 1900, H-61, p.6.

⁶² *SCNZ*, 1905, p.280; *ibid.*, 1910, pp.202-203.

respectable £20,855 in 1899 to £23,940 in 1900, but then declined in 1901, before reaching a 1902 low point of £5,997.⁶³ Butter and cheese represented the only New Zealand exports to South Africa that enjoyed yearly growth for the entire war. Butter rose from a relatively insignificant £335 in 1899 to £27,963 in 1902.⁶⁴ Export sales of butter then jumped still higher in 1903 to £77,915, an increase of 179% on the previous year.⁶⁵ While cheese sales rose every year of the war, increases in cheese exports to the South African colonies were relatively modest. In June 1901 newspapers reported that the War Office had placed an order with the Agriculture Department for five tons of cheese ‘for consumption by the troops in South Africa’, which was sourced from the Kaupokonui factory in Taranaki.⁶⁶ The *Evening Post* claimed that if the quality and price proved satisfactory, a much larger order would result, and though exports did increase by 132% between 1899 and 1902, the trade’s value was only £2,096 at its peak in the final year of the war, and then fell to £1,714 in 1903.⁶⁷

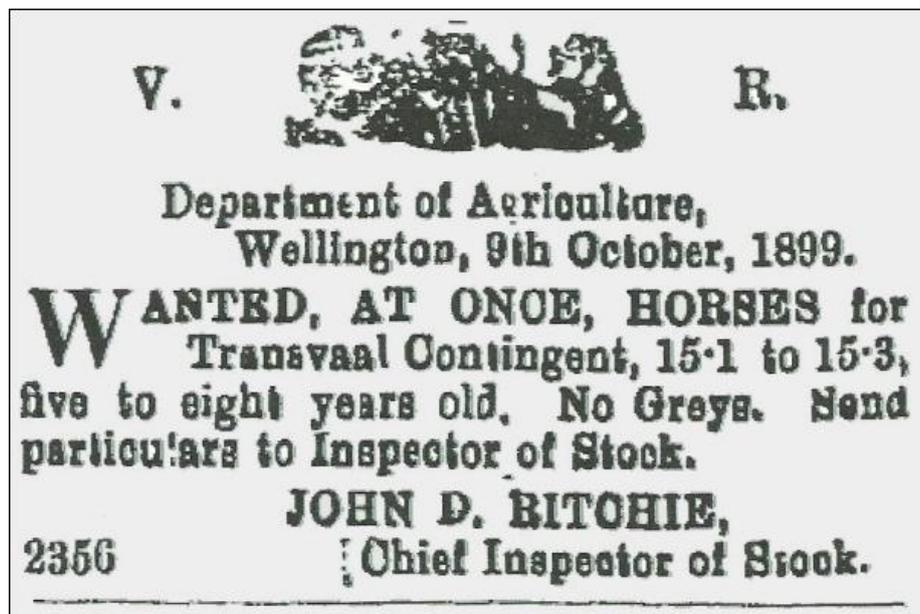


Fig. 42. Department of Agriculture advertisement seeking horses for the First Contingent
Source: *Colonist*, 12 Oct 1899, p.2, National Library of New Zealand.

Exports of horses varied considerably during the war, both in number and price. In 1899 only two horses were exported to South Africa for a combined price of £100, suggesting they were not destined for the troopers, as the maximum Defence Department price for

⁶³ *SCNZ*, 1899, p.207; *ibid.*, 1900, p.210; *ibid.*, 1901, p.217; *ibid.*, 1902, p.220.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1899, p.198; *ibid.*, 1902, p.211.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1902, p.211; *ibid.*, 1903, p.219.

⁶⁶ *Evening Post*, 3 Jun 1901, p.4; *Ashburton Guardian*, 3 Jun 1901, p.2.

⁶⁷ *Evening Post*, 3 Jun 1901, p.4; *SCNZ*, 1899, p.199; *ibid.*, 1900, p.202; *ibid.*, 1901, p.209; *ibid.*, 1902, p.212; *ibid.*, 1903, pp.220-221.

remounts was £25.⁶⁸ However, in 1900 the figure rose to 600 horses with a combined value of £12,900, equating to an average of £21 10s per animal.⁶⁹ 1901 government statistics indicate only two animals worth a total of £30 were sent to Cape Colony, while in 1902 exports once again surged to £21,913 for 1,031 horses exported to Natal - the highest number exported in a single year during the war.⁷⁰ While there were numerous cases of private individuals donating horses for the war effort, many horses sent to South Africa were either bought directly by the Government, or purchased using donations collected by patriotic groups like the Otago 'More Horses' fund (fig. 42).⁷¹ An example occurred in 1900 when the Otago fund and the Government each bought ten remounts for the New Zealand contingent.⁷²

Noting a shortage of horses for contingent members before their departure in 1899, Seddon urged his fellow parliamentarians 'who intended to show their patriotism by giving horses for the service to communicate with the Commander of the Forces'.⁷³ The War Office also despatched representatives directly in search of suitable mounts, as occurred in 1901 when two Imperial Remount Commissioners purchased 150 horses from Auckland.⁷⁴ As Imperial purchases continued and subsequent New Zealand contingents were dispatched, the demand for horses inevitably taxed the available supplies. Commenting on a 1901 Auckland military review, the *Evening Post* noted that 'the drain on our horse supplies for South Africa is beginning to tell its tale'.⁷⁵ Possibly reflecting the regional nature of the war's financial benefits, where Otago, Southland, and Canterbury profited most from oat sales, during the early stages of the conflict the *Otago Witness* considered the economic cost in things like horses to be of little consequence when compared to the promising economic situation:

It is not surprising that there are signs of unwonted prosperity all around us when our exportable commodities give us a million and three-quarters more to spend within nine months of the financial year, and we can well afford a few horses and a few thousand pounds for the Imperial exigencies of the war. A footnote to the statistics informs us, with a touch of unconscious humour, that the export returns "do

⁶⁸ *Evening Post*, 13 Oct 1899, p.5.

⁶⁹ *SCNZ*, 1900, p.196.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1901, p.203; *ibid.*, 1902, p.206.

⁷¹ *Evening Post*, 12 Oct 1899, p.5; *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.38. The *Otago Witness* and some other papers referred to the 'More Horse' fund.

⁷² *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.38.

⁷³ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.185.

⁷⁴ *Evening Post*, 3 Jun 1901, p.4

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 13 Jun 1901, p.5.

not include the value of horses, fodder, etc., sent per Waiwera.” These are, in fact, unconsidered trifles.⁷⁶

In an August 1900 address to parliament, Seddon lamented the short notice New Zealand suppliers had been given to fill a War Office order for 4000 tons of meadow hay, noting that the Agriculture Department had expressed doubt regarding New Zealand’s ability to supply so large a quantity.⁷⁷ Seddon observed that as New Zealand had already been forced to decline an earlier order, ‘it was, to a certain extent, belittling the colony to reply that an order like that could not be met’.⁷⁸ Despite the considerable increases in exports to South Africa that had occurred during in the first months of the war, Seddon expressed dissatisfaction with the division of Imperial war contracts. Revisiting his earlier concerns, Seddon felt that New Zealand was not receiving its fair share of direct orders, which he claimed were instead placed with other colonies that often sourced quantities of the produce from New Zealand through middlemen.⁷⁹

The 1899 Victorian oats contracts were not the only examples of this. In November 1901, the *Wanganui Herald* reported that an enterprising Sydney firm sought to purchase ‘all the poultry offering in this colony for shipment to South Africa’.⁸⁰ Possibly as a result of this, the following month the *Thames Star* reported that the Agriculture Department, acting on behalf of unnamed firms, had decided to ship around ‘3000 head of frozen poultry and several thousand eggs’ aboard the *Otarama*, which carried a diverse range of New Zealand produce to South Africa.⁸¹ New Zealand also faced direct competition for war contracts from Australia, which in the early years of the war dominated the South African meat trade; and Canada, which also exported oats to South Africa.⁸² The *Southland Times* even claimed Russia was ‘competing very hard for this South African business’.⁸³ The *Evening Post* observed that ‘Our products are known and appreciated in South Africa, but we have numerous competitors, and it is in waging war with these that we need to be careful’.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.4.

⁷⁷ *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.302.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.462.

⁸⁰ *Wanganui Herald*, 1 Nov 1901, p.3.

⁸¹ *Thames Star*, 3 Dec 1901, p.4; *Wanganui Herald*, 23 Dec 1901, p.2. The *Wanganui Herald* reported that the *Otarama* sailed with a cargo comprising ‘1046 boxes of butter, one case cheese, 321 crates of poultry, 648 sides of pork, 3 cases of eggs, 6 cases of turkeys, 20 sacks oatmeal, 90 crates of rabbits, 40 casks of cider, 25 sacks malt, 2500 sacks of oats, 492 cases of preserved meats, and 9 packages of sundries’.

⁸² *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 23 Oct 1901, p.2. In October 1901 the paper reported Canada shipping 500,000 bushels of oats to South Africa.

⁸³ *Southland Times*, 2 Oct 1901, p.2.

⁸⁴ *Evening Post*, 23 Nov 1900, p.4.

New Zealand beef sales to South Africa did, however, experience respectable growth after the first wartime exports occurred in 1901. They recorded a 145% increase between 1901 and 1902, and then increased a further 149% between 1902 and 1903.⁸⁵ Sales of lamb and mutton fluctuated, with no exports at all occurring in 1900, but both then exhibited respectable sales growth for the remainder of the conflict.⁸⁶ However, the issue of meat exports proved contentious after it was revealed in January 1902 that the War Office had placed meat orders destined for South Africa with Argentine suppliers, effectively adding Argentina to New Zealand's list of competitors.

In a reversal of his earlier comments regarding the Imperial authorities' awareness of New Zealand as a potential source of produce, Seddon railed against the perceived injustice of the War Office looking to Argentina to fill beef orders 'to the detriment of their own flesh and blood'.⁸⁷ While diplomatically avoiding names, he accused 'some in authority' of 'aiding and abetting foreign rivals to the prejudice of New Zealand'. He observed that 'If it had been said that Australia and New Zealand were unable to furnish the supply[,] the home authorities still needed to be woke up, and the colonies would have to shake them up to let them know with no uncertain voice'.⁸⁸ On the same day that the Government placed an advertisement calling for tenders for a direct shipping connection to Cape Colony and Natal, the *Evening Post* reported that Seddon had cabled the Imperial authorities noting that the Argentine contracts could jeopardize the proposed New Zealand-South Africa steamship trade.⁸⁹

Palenski claims that as the war progressed there was 'a sense that while the imperial motivation was strong, if it came to a choice – New Zealand or Britain – New Zealand must come first'.⁹⁰ However, Seddon gave the appearance of championing the imperial cause ahead of New Zealand interests on more than one occasion.⁹¹ Nonetheless, his indignation regarding Argentine beef proved popular in New Zealand. In a February 1902 despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Ranfurly included resolutions from the Canterbury, Auckland, Hawera, Wanganui, Patea, Westport, Feilding and Eltham Chambers of Commerce strongly

⁸⁵ *SCNZ*, 1901, p.222; *ibid.*, 1902, p.228; *ibid.*, 1903, p.238.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1899, p.215; *ibid.*, 1900, p.218; *ibid.*, 1901, pp.224-225; *ibid.*, 1902, p.229.

⁸⁷ *Colonist*, 6 Feb 1902, pp.3-4.

⁸⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Jan 1902, p.12.

⁸⁹ *Evening Post*, 25 Jan 1902, p.5.

⁹⁰ Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012, pp.199-200.

⁹¹ Both Seddon's reluctance to divulge the full details of Imperial contracts in 1899 out of concern they might inflate prices, and his comments regarding the Argentine beef sales when he claimed that 'if every ounce of meat for the troops in Africa went from Australia there would be no jealousy or heartburning on the part of the people of New Zealand' could be viewed in this context. *New Zealand Tablet*, 5 Oct 1899, p.31; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Jan 1902, p.12.

supporting Seddon's stance.⁹² The Wanganui resolution illustrated the strength of feeling the issue generated: 'This Chamber heartily supports you in the action you have taken, and trusts you will be successful in inducing [the] War Office to treat New Zealand in a fair spirit, which is due to us as members of the Empire.'⁹³

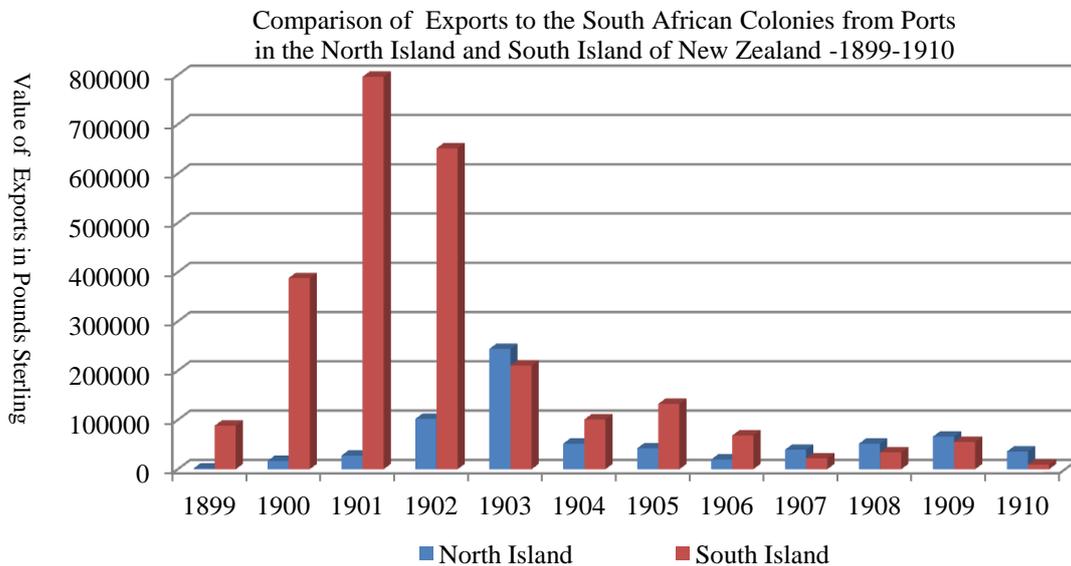


Fig. 43. Graph comparing the value of goods exported from ports in the North Island and South Island of New Zealand to Cape Colony and Natal from 1899-1910. The figures include exports to Orange River Colony and Transvaal Colony following the reannexation of these regions in 1902. Sources: *SCNZ*, 1899, pp.240-241; *ibid.*, 1900, pp.244-245; *ibid.*, 1901, pp.250-251; *ibid.*, 1902, pp.256-255; *ibid.*, 1903, pp.266-267; *ibid.*, 1904, pp.279-280; *ibid.*, 1905, pp.279-280; *ibid.*, 1906, pp.285-286; *ibid.*, 1907, pp.293-294; *ibid.*, 1908, pp.195-196; *ibid.*, 1909, pp.196-197; *ibid.*, 1910, p.202.

Simon Johnson has noted that the rural sector, which he asserts was usually insulated from national trends, was equally involved with its urban counterpart in the provision of troops for the war.⁹⁴ However, this equal division did not extend to the economic benefits of the conflict. The greater part of South African export profits went to South Island farmers, shipping companies, and their agents. This is illustrated by a comparison of the value of exports to South Africa shipped from North Island and South Island ports (fig. 43). Just as oats dominated these exports, so the South Island ports shipping them dominated the export trade for the duration of the war, and it was only in the post-war years that this situation changed. Reporting on two Imperial Government orders totalling approximately 27,000 tons

⁹² *AJHR*, 1902, A-1, p.31. The Auckland Chamber of Commerce resolution expressed the hope that Seddon would be successful 'in securing such conditions of contracting as will result in a large export from the colonies for army consumption'.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Simon Johnson, 'Sons of Empire: A Study of New Zealand Ideas and Opinions during the Boer War', BA Honours research exercise in History, Massey University, 1974, p.28.

of oats shipped on six vessels, the *Southland Times* noted that the first order was loaded at Bluff, and the remainder loaded at Lyttelton, Timaru, and Oamaru.⁹⁵

Not entirely surprisingly, a degree of competition and regionalism surfaced in relation to the war contracts. The MHR for Manawatu, John Stevens, asked the Minister of Agriculture to consider sourcing portions of the oats contracts from farmers in Rangitikei and Manawatu as ‘Hitherto, he understood the orders had been confined to the South Island.’⁹⁶ Such concerns were not limited to the North Island. In an 1899 letter to the *North Otago Times*, ‘Diligent Tom’ queried whether North Otago was getting its share of the oats contracts then being filled in Timaru and Lyttelton.⁹⁷ The significance of the South African oats market was recognised in primary growing areas. In 1900, a Southland correspondent reported that ‘Oats have eased off a little in value since harvesting commenced, and probably with the end of the war in measurable view’.⁹⁸ In fact, war-related oats exports during the period from 1901 to 1903 exceeded a million pounds sterling.⁹⁹

A contemporary awareness of the economic disparity that also existed between urban and rural areas regarding the war’s economic benefits is illustrated in a letter written in May 1900 by a Wellington resident to his niece in Australia, painting a very different picture to that presented by the *Otago Witness* at the same time:

[H]as the war done you any good? [I]n New Zealand the farmers and Cattle stations have been benefitted [sic] as many horses have been sold and cereals have brought good prices, but in the towns, it has made business generally very bad except for those few who secured government contracts for supplying the Contingents.¹⁰⁰

The Ashburton Woollen Factory was an example of this last phenomenon after it received an order for five thousand yards of shirting for the Seventh Contingent, but the war presented limited opportunities to a diverse range of businesses.¹⁰¹ Small-scale exports to South Africa of items completed unrelated to agricultural produce also occurred. For example, 96 decks of

⁹⁵ *Southland Times*, 2 Oct 1901, p.2. The newspaper quoted a parliamentary return that listed National Mortgage & Agency Co., N.Z. Loan & Mercantile Agency Co., Wright, Stephenson & Co., Tothill, Watson & Co., Henderson & Batger, Nichol Bros., and Friedlander and Stead as New Zealand firms that had filled Imperial oats orders.

⁹⁶ *NZPD*, 114 (1900), pp.103-104.

⁹⁷ *North Otago Times*, 23 Oct 1899, p.1.

⁹⁸ *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.38.

⁹⁹ Oats sales for the 1901, 1902 and 1903 periods totalled £1,345,234 compared to £369,221 for the 1899 and 1900 periods. *SCNZ*, 1899, p.206; *ibid.*, 1900, p.210; *ibid.*, 1901, p.216; *ibid.*, 1902, p.220; *ibid.*, 1903, p.229.

¹⁰⁰ George Dutton to his niece, Elizabeth Dutton, in Australia, letter, 20 May 1900, p.3, ANZ, Ref. 86-037. Text as in original.

¹⁰¹ *Colonist*, 1 Mar 1901, p.4.

playing cards valued at £2 were sent in 1899, followed by £58 of confectionery in 1900, and £73 of cigars in 1901.¹⁰² However, the placing of orders for contingent clothing caused some complaint. Vincenzo Almao, a Wellington hat maker, observed ‘with some indignation’ that the Defence Department order for the First Contingent’s slouch hats had gone entirely to Messrs. Hill and Son, a situation he described as neither ‘fair nor just’.¹⁰³

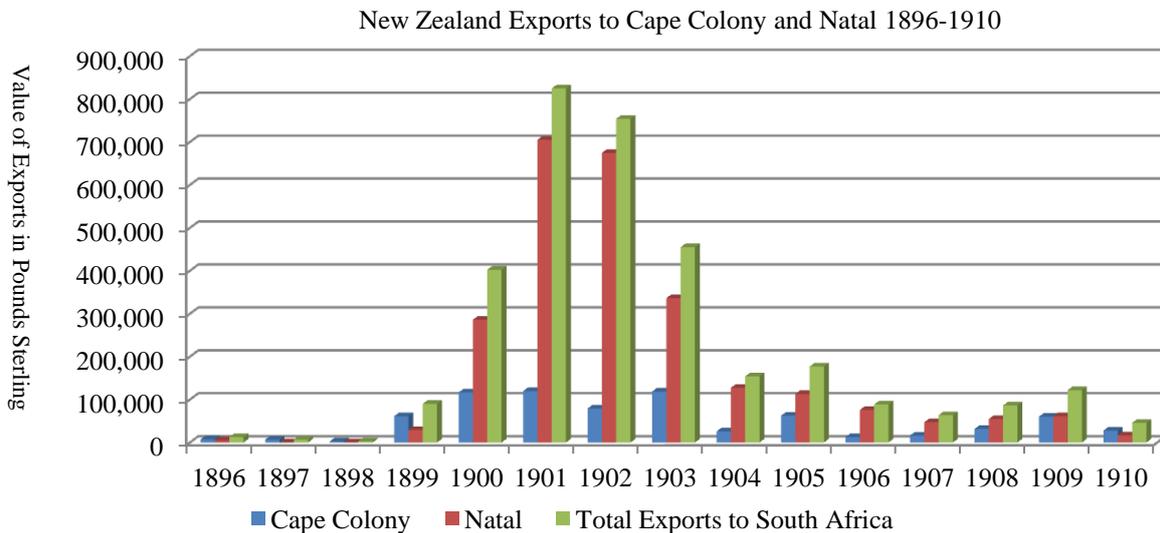


Fig. 44. Graph showing the value of goods exported from New Zealand to Cape Colony and Natal during the fifteen year period from 1896-1910.

Source: *SCNZ*, 1896, p.110; *ibid.*, 1897, p.235; *ibid.*, 1898, p.236; *ibid.*, 1899, p.243; *ibid.*, 1900, p.245; *ibid.*, 1901, p.253; *ibid.*, 1902, p.258; *ibid.*, 1903, p.269; *ibid.*, 1904, p.282; *ibid.*, 1905, p.286; *ibid.*, 1906, p.290; *ibid.*, 1907, p.298; *ibid.*, 1908, p.200; *ibid.*, 1909, p.201; *ibid.*, 1910, p.207.

Although in 1899 the bulk of New Zealand exports to South Africa went to Cape Colony, following the shift in military operations to the north after the occupation of Bloemfontein and Pretoria, Natal dominated the export trade, receiving 81.71% of exports by value in the period from April 1899 to March 1903 (fig. 44).¹⁰⁴ As much of the trade with South Africa was directly connected to military requirements, export levels inevitably declined in the post-war years. Exports fell dramatically in 1903, and then plummeted further in 1904. Nonetheless, exports to the South African colonies continued at considerably higher levels during the eight years after hostilities ended than at any time prior to the war, and this was its economic legacy. Even though trade volumes fell, many of the trade connections New Zealand established as a result of the war endured. Furthermore, while the direct shipping connection that the Government finally established in October 1902 through the New Zealand and African Steam Ship Company was greeted with an understandable degree of scepticism

¹⁰² *SCNZ*, 1899, p.198; *ibid.*, 1900, p.203; *ibid.*, 1901, p.240.

¹⁰³ *Evening Post*, 12 Oct 1899, p.2.

¹⁰⁴ *SCNZ*, 1899, p.243; *ibid.*, 1901, p.253; *ibid.*, 1902, p.258.

following the Blue Star Line debacle, it at least temporarily addressed the transport issues that had plagued the export trade during the war years.¹⁰⁵

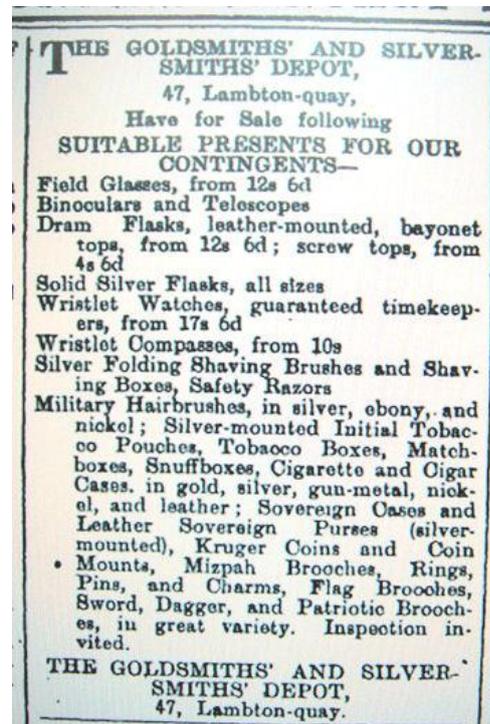


Fig. 45. An *Evening Post* advertisement for the Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' Depot in Wellington.

Source: *Evening Post*, 20 January 1902, p.7, National Library of New Zealand.

Contemporary newspaper reports and advertisements also illustrate the war's impact on smaller businesses and individual New Zealanders who sought to benefit, either directly or indirectly, from the conflict. Commerce of this nature tended to centre on domestic activities rather than the export trade, and the imminent departure of contingents presented numerous financial opportunities. Under the heading 'War, War, War', Northcote and Hefford's of Ashburton advertised contingent ties and hatbands, while Warnock and Adkin in Wellington boasted 'The Contingent Quality' men's underclothing.¹⁰⁶ H.W. Lloyd's of Lambton Quay advertised Eighth Contingent watches, and four shops away the Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' Depot advertised an assortment of 'Suitable Presents for our Contingents' including military

¹⁰⁵ *Evening Post*, 8 Oct 1902, p.4; *Evening Post*, 9 Jul 1906, p.5. In 1906 the *Evening Post* reported that the government was once again considering calling for tenders. The 1902 contract was discontinued after its three-year term expired - and after the government had spent £90,000 subsidizing it. Seddon was urged by 'an influential deputation' in Christchurch not to allow the maritime connection with South Africa to lapse. During the 1903-1904 financial year the South African steam service subsidy was £42,500. *AJHR*, 1904, B-7 p.18.

¹⁰⁶ *Ashburton Guardian*, 15 Feb 1900, p.3; *Evening Post*, 22 May 1900, p.3.

hairbrushes, Kruger coins, wristlet compasses, field glasses, telescopes, patriotic brooches and dram flasks (fig. 45).¹⁰⁷

Letters both to and from soldiers record the active collecting of African and military souvenirs.¹⁰⁸ Frank Perham sent photos, postage stamps, ostrich feathers and sjamboks to New Zealand¹⁰⁹ A Dunedin jeweller gilded South African cartridges cases and made them into pencil cases and pens, while William Farquharson's sister wanted 'kaffir bangles' and also asked for spent cartridges so she could make a brooch or buckle: 'Try and save one or two for me, especially ones you know have hit their mark.'¹¹⁰ Farquharson sent his father shell cases from Rhenoster Kop and leaves from a tree where William Earle's body was found.¹¹¹ James Farquharson repeatedly encouraged his son to get all the souvenirs he could.¹¹² Herbert Hart 'speculated 3// [sic] on Ostrich Feathers and Kaffer [sic] curios' and Richard Burnett took a revolver and a Mauser rifle from a prisoner 'to add to [his] other curios'.¹¹³ There was awareness among some soldiers that war collectables could be worth money. In a letter, Edward Jollie claimed that empty examples of the chocolate tins that Queen Victoria had distributed to the troops were selling for £5 in Kimberley, while a set of nineteen Mafeking siege stamps with a face value of 8s 6d were selling for £25.¹¹⁴ He added

¹⁰⁷ *Evening Post*, 20 Jan 1902, p.7.

¹⁰⁸ *Press*, 10 Aug 1901, p.5. The *Press* noted this trend: 'Some of our men have become great collectors of curios, coins, stamps, "pom-pom" shells, knob-kerries, assegais, Boer Bibles, books, horns etc. After the war New Zealand will have many relics of this campaign.' Frank Perham claimed that troopers wanted to retain their saddles: 'Our saddles were taken from us this morning & a receipt is to be given to us. We were rather disappointed as we wished to keep them as mementos of the war.' Frank Perham, diary, 5 May 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736.

¹⁰⁹ Frank Perham, diary, 7 Feb 1901, 14 Mar 1901, 25 Mar 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736.

¹¹⁰ Penelope Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, Jul 1900, 2 Dec 1900, NAM NZ 1998.11. In a letter home, George Leece said 'I will send you a top for a stick or a handle for your girl's parasol they [sic] are "all the rage" now.' George Leece to Edwin, letter, ATL MS-Papers-8464-06.

¹¹¹ James Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 10 Mar 1901, NAM NZ 1998.11. Frederick Russell was killed in action during the battle of Rhenoster Kop on 29 November 1900, and several New Zealanders were wounded, including John Borlase, James Anderson, and Robert Brown. William George Earle of Southland was killed in action at Bronkhorstspruit on 21 Jan 1901. W. Russell to Officer Commanding, New Zealand Forces, letter, 15 Aug 1902, Frederick Russell, AABK 18805 W5515 0004889, ANZ NZDFPR, p.9; Major Pilcher to Under Secretary for Defence, 29 Oct 1901, William George Earle, AABK 18805 W5515 0001638, ANZ NZDFPR, p.16; *West Coast Times*, 30 Mar 1901, p.3.

¹¹² James Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 6 Jul 1900, 15 Aug 1900, 10 Mar 1901, NAM NZ 1998.11. In July 1900, James Farquharson noted that Lieutenant George Crawshaw had 'scored' a Field Cornet's bandolier and added 'see if you can score some relics to bring back.' *Ibid.*, 6 Jul 1900.

¹¹³ Herbert Ernest Hart, diary, 1 Jul 1902, NAM 1990.1024; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 58, Apr 1902, p.15. After capturing General De Wet's guns, Burnett took the 'revolver (full of dum-dums) belonging to the captain of the guns - Captain Müller, Stats [sic] Artillery.' Edgar Richard Galpin brought 'a collection of Kruger Coins' back from South Africa that was placed in the Wanganui Collegiate museum. *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 55, Apr 1901, p.19.

¹¹⁴ *Wanganui Collegiate*, No.54, Dec 1900, p.14. Jollie also documented the value of Mafeking siege currency: 'The £1 notes, the paper for which I sensitised, are fetching here £8 each. A set of siege notes, £1, 10/, 3/-, 2/- and 1/-, are realizing £20 the set. I have two sets only.'

‘I have one set which I think I will sell. If you get my siege letters with siege stamps on, keep them, they will be more valuable still’.

When the Fourth Contingent left Dunedin, an ‘enterprising syndicate’ leased a rooftop vantage point for £5 and made £15 by charging spectators a half crown admittance fee, while the Tapanui *Courier* reported one hotel in the city taking £400 in a week from visitors in town for the send-off.¹¹⁵ In a reflection of more pragmatic concerns, a Hastings solicitor reported making out five wills for departing members of the Rough Riders contingent.¹¹⁶

Other businesses lacking any readily discernible connection to the war nonetheless sought to capitalize on it. Vanity Fair cigarettes offered a ‘beautiful art Portrait, in Bas-relief, of Roberts or Kitchener’ to customers who sent in labels from cigarette tins.¹¹⁷ The Thames Drapery and Clothing Co. advertised striped flannelettes, corsets and men’s regatta shirts under the banner ‘Patriotism to the Front!’, and concluded with the assurance that the business was ‘Like the British Troops – Always to the Front!’¹¹⁸ Similarly, Smith’s in Ashburton placed a large advertisement that screamed ‘War – War’, and proclaimed, ‘The anticipated WAR is making a Great Difference in the price of BREADSTUFFS, but the DRESSSTUFFS of the sale of Smiths Assigned Stock are cheaper than ever’, adding ‘We do not wish to BOER you with a price list’.¹¹⁹

What the editor of the *Tuapeka Times* termed a ‘mass of literature’ associated with the war also appeared.¹²⁰ More than a year prior to the conflict’s conclusion, H.I. Jones & Sons of Wanganui sold Conan Doyle’s *The Great Boer War* for 2s 6d (3s 6d bound in cloth).¹²¹ In Nelson, both H.D. Jackson’s and J.E. Hounsell’s bookstores sold copies of Stephen Norris’s *The South African War* for 2s 6d; in Wellington, Whitcombe and Tombs sold Bennet Burleigh’s *Natal Campaign* for 3s 6d, and *Towards Pretoria* by Juilan Ralph for 6s; while the *Tuapeka Times* advertised ‘The finest maps of South Africa published’ for 1s 6d, advising interested parties to be quick as numbers were limited.¹²² Featuring sections titled ‘New Zealand Shows Her Patriotism’ and ‘Intense Enthusiasm in Wellington’, Birch’s *History of the War in South Africa* ended with the occupation of Pretoria, which the author erroneously

¹¹⁵ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 2 Apr 1900, p.4; *Free Lance*, 18 May 1901, p.6.

¹¹⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, 16 Feb 1900, p.8.

¹¹⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, 1 Mar 1901, p.1.

¹¹⁸ *Thames Star*, 1 Mar 1900, p.3.

¹¹⁹ *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 Oct 1899, p.3.

¹²⁰ *Tuapeka Times*, 13 Jun 1900, p.2.

¹²¹ *Wanganui Herald*, 2 Mar 1901, p.1.

¹²² *Colonist*, 1 Mar 1901, p.4; *Evening Post* 21 Jun 1900, p.3; *Tuapeka Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.2.

considered to be the final event of the conflict.¹²³ This was not the only case of premature optimism. The sum of £1,250 was included in the 1900-1901 Consolidated Fund Services appropriations to produce school children's medals commemorating the end of the war.¹²⁴ A wide variety of commemorative medals and tokens associated with the contingents was also privately produced.¹²⁵



Fig. 46. A 1½ d postage stamp produced by the Post and Telegraph Department in 1900 in recognition of New Zealand's contribution to the war effort. Source: The Complete Stamp Company.¹²⁶

Noting the 'severe strain' on its operations caused in part by some of its employees joining the contingents, a 1901 Post and Telegraph Department report also recorded the establishment of a direct exchange of parcels with the South African colonies, and the 1900 introduction of the first New Zealand postage stamp commemorating a war (fig. 46): 'The stamp is khaki-coloured, and symbolizes New Zealand's response to the Empire's call for troops.'¹²⁷ Postcards relating to the war and featuring depictions of 'incidents &c., in

¹²³ James H. Birch, *History of the War in South Africa: Containing a Thrilling Account of the Great Struggle Between the British and the Boers*, Wellington: Milton Porter, [1900], p.596, Appendix pp.12-15.

¹²⁴ *AJHR*, 1900, B-7, p.15.

¹²⁵ Leon G. Morel, *Medallic Commemoratives of New Zealand, 1865-1940: A Detailed Listing of all Known Official and Private Issue of Numismatic Pieces Covering Historical and Commemorative Events in New Zealand, 1865-1940*, Christchurch: L.G. Morel, c1996, pp. 29-35, 40, 45.

¹²⁶ The Complete Stamp Company, <http://www.completestamp.co.nz/%28RoxenUserID=570ad489eab897d03c53fdd8e7ea8d85%29/stamp.html?id=224136>.

¹²⁷ *AJHR*, 1901, F-1, pp. iii, vi, xii; *Wanganui Chronicle*, 24 Nov 1900, p.3. The 1½ d stamps featured a picture of contingent members on the veldt and the words 'The Empire's Call'. The Post & Telegraph Department formed an infantry corps called the Post and Telegraph Rifles and eleven of the Department's officers had reportedly joined the contingents by March 1900. The men's positions were kept open and their seniority was preserved until the contingents returned to New Zealand. *AJHR*, 1900, F-1, p.iii.

connection with the departure of New Zealand contingents' also proved popular.¹²⁸

The Transvaal from Within, by J.P. Fitzpatrick, was also available in bookstores. An attempt to vindicate the role of the Johannesburg Reform Committee (of which Fitzpatrick had been a member) in the events leading to the Jameson Raid of 1895-1896, the book had been a best-seller in the United Kingdom when it was published in 1899.¹²⁹ In New Zealand, it received free publicity from an unlikely quarter when the MHR for Wellington City, John Hutcheson, alluded to it in parliament during an exchange with Seddon, and it was praised in at least one New Zealand editorial.¹³⁰

Fitzpatrick's book was also mentioned in *The British Case against the Boer Republics*, a pamphlet published by the Imperial South African Association, whose general committee included several peers, 59 British MPs, and Rudyard Kipling.¹³¹ The Association's pamphlet (with a price of 3d) was distributed to newspapers in New Zealand, and was also mentioned in the House when George Fisher, recommended the Government reprint and distribute additional copies.¹³²

Exhibiting entrepreneurial flair, Malcolm Ross produced a *Souvenir of New Zealand's Response to the Empire's Call*. Selling for 1s per copy, it contained engravings, photos, written accounts, and poetry relating to the war. Ross advertised the publication widely, enlisting the services of other family members to write poems like 'Soldiers of the Southern Cross', and noting that each 'breathes the patriotic feeling that is finding expression all the Empire over' (fig. 47).¹³³

When Seddon rose in parliament on 28 September 1899 to propose the dispatch of a contingent to South Africa, he acknowledged the financial burden that New Zealand's involvement would entail. As the offer of military support included not only providing the force, but also equipping and transporting it, Seddon observed that participation would inevitably involve 'a heavy expenditure'.¹³⁴ Exclusive of transportation charges, he estimated that the contingent would cost roughly £50 per day, though where possible troopers would

¹²⁸ *AJHR*, 1900, F-1, p.v.

¹²⁹ J.P. Fitzpatrick, *The Transvaal from Within; A Private Record of Public Affairs*, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1900; Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p.88.

¹³⁰ *NZPD* 119 (1901), p.314; *Grey River Argus*, 25 Aug 1900, p.2.

¹³¹ *The British Case against the Boer Republics*, London: The Imperial South African Association, 1900, inside front cover & pp.34-35.

¹³² *Thames Star*, 8 Jun 1900, p.2; *Ashburton Guardian*, 25 Sep 1900, p.4; *NZPD* 119 (1901), p.312.

¹³³ *Taranaki Herald* supplement, 8 Feb 1900, p.5.

¹³⁴ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.75. Seddon estimated that to send a force that included a 'commanding officer, two captains, six lieutenants, four sergeants-major, twelve sergeants, twelve corporals, four drummers and 168 privates' would cost £49 7s per day.

provide their own mounts. Seddon went on to say that the total cost to the taxpayer of maintaining the contingent for six months would be in the region of £20,000.

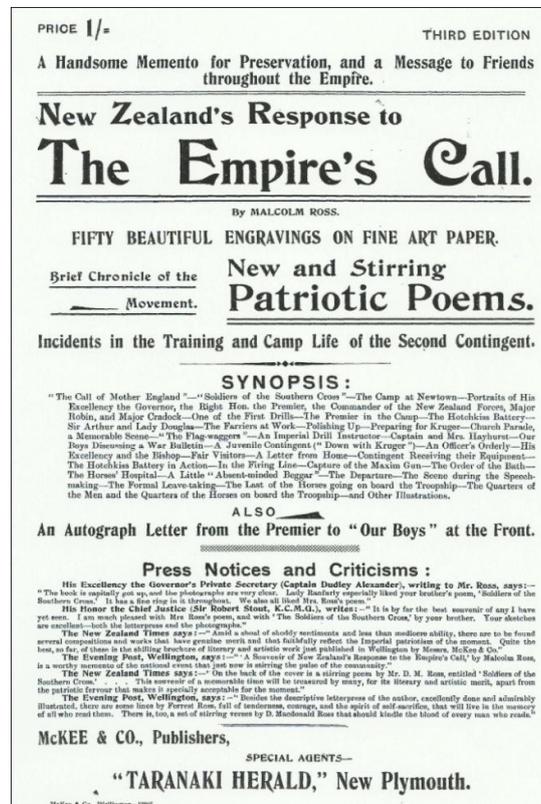


Fig. 47. A Souvenir of New Zealand's Response to the Empire's Call, a publication produced by Malcolm Ross in 1900. Source: Taranaki Herald supplement, 8 February 1900, p.5, National Library of New Zealand.

Apart from the earlier contingents, the Imperial Government met the majority of expenses associated with New Zealand's military contribution. Seddon claimed that apart from soldiers' pay while serving in South Africa, 'the cost of the First, Second and Third Contingents was borne by the New Zealand Government', but added that the Fourth and Fifth Contingents were entirely paid by the Imperial Government and were 'practically Imperial soldiers'.¹³⁵ For the duration of the war (and for several years after) Imperial funds were deposited with the New Zealand Government, which then drew them as required. In 1910, the Imperial Government was still making deposits to cover war-related expenses, and in 1911 a

¹³⁵ AJHR, 1901, B-6, p.xxi. Presumably Seddon was only referring to the soldiers' pay, as the Fourth Contingent was largely funded by the Otago and Southland region. Similarly, when he presented the Financial Statement on 16 August 1901, Seddon did not mention that the Third Contingent was almost entirely funded through public contributions. Colonial pay rates were higher than Imperial pay rates and Lord Ranfurly noted, 'The Imperial pay is deducted, and the difference alone paid by [New Zealand]'. Otago Daily Times, 2 Feb 1900, p.3; AJHR, 1900, A-1 p.10.

£7 expense was met from these funds.¹³⁶ In total, between 1899 and 1910 £1,143,807 was deposited by the British Government, and by 1911 £1,114,294 of these funds had been spent.¹³⁷ The expenditure was carefully audited by the Imperial authorities, and when Major Henry Jackson claimed £15 for ‘luncheon to residents of Albany, Australia, refreshments for bandsmen and dinner to Officers of S.S. “Kent”’ the payment was disallowed, as were the funeral expenses of Lieutenant McKeich, the last New Zealand soldier to die in the war.¹³⁸

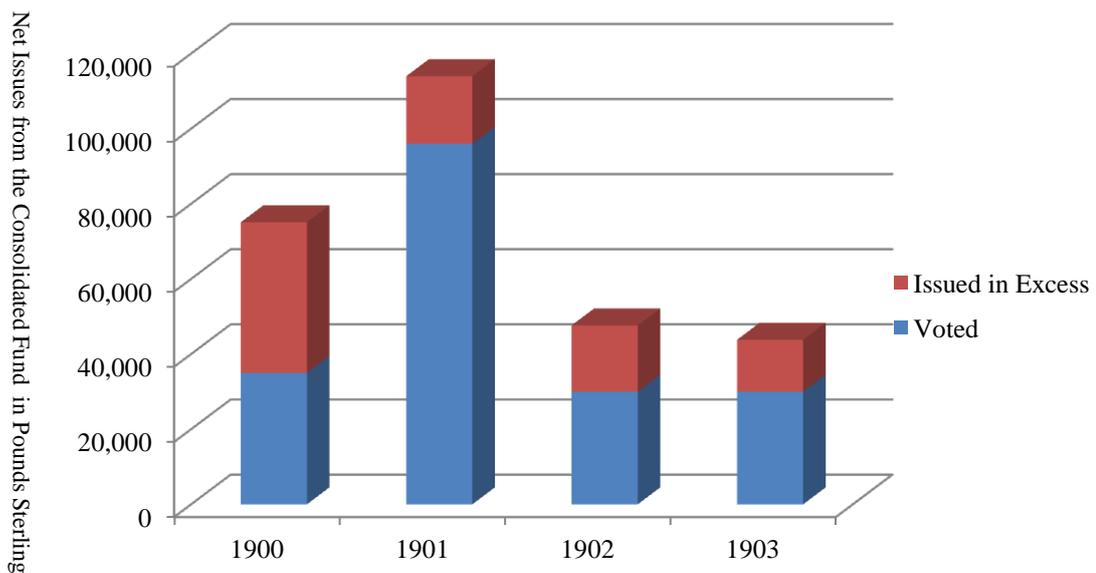


Fig. 48. Net issues in pounds sterling from the Consolidated Fund for the South Africa Contingents for the financial years from 1900-1903.
Sources: *AJHR*, 1900, B-1, p.42; *ibid.*, 1901, B-1, p.42; *ibid.*, 1902, B-1, p.42; *ibid.*, 1903, B-1, p.44.

Contingent costs fluctuated, but every year during the war the sums voted from the Consolidated Fund proved insufficient and required augmentation (fig. 48). The largest additional allocation occurred during the 1900 financial year when £40,086 4s 11d was required in addition to the £35,000 voted by the Government, while the most expensive financial year was 1901 when the Government allocated £96,000 for the ‘South Africa

¹³⁶ *AJHR.*, 1910, B-5, p.6; *ibid.*, 1911, B-5, p.7.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1900, B-5, pp.4-5; *ibid.*, 1901, B-5, pp.4-5; *ibid.*, 1902, B-5, pp.4-5; *ibid.*, 1903, B-5, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, 1904, B-5, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, 1905, B-5, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, 1906, B-5, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, 1907, B-5, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, 1908, B-5, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, 1909, B-5, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, 1910, B-5, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, 1911, B-5, pp.6-7.

¹³⁸ Paymaster General to Major H.D. Jackson, letter, 30 Sep 1904, Henry Drummond Jackson, AABK 18805 W5515 0006366, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.17-18; Major H.D. Jackson to the Under Secretary for Defence, letter, received 3 Apr 1903, *ibid.*, pp.66-67; *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A, pp.2-15. Jackson claimed £6 for ‘digging and filling in [McKeich’s] grave and placing a mark with his name and Regiment and the employment of the Fusilier Band’.

Contingent', then added a further £17,954 15s 9d for a total of £113,954 15s 9d.¹³⁹ In comparison, government expenditure on 'Police and Armed Constabulary' for 1900-1901 was £117,744.¹⁴⁰ Only during the 1904 financial year did the government contingent vote exceed the funds required.¹⁴¹ The 1905 financial year was the final time funds were voted for contingent costs, though once again the £500 allocated proved insufficient, and an additional £816 16s 11d was required to meet the £1,316 16s 11d expenditure.¹⁴²

The burden on the New Zealand taxpayer was mitigated as many of the expenses associated with equipping the various contingents were met through public contributions, or cash donations to the assorted patriotic funds. The Wellington businessman, John Plimmer, gave three hundred guineas to help fund the Third Contingent, while a meeting in Gisborne raised a further £150.¹⁴³ In Napier, Nelson Brothers, Cottrell and Humphreys, and the Gas Company each contributed £150 for the Hawke's Bay men in the Rough Riders Contingent.¹⁴⁴ In August 1900, a return was tabled in parliament detailing the sources of £4,350 then held by the Government to help defray contingent costs.¹⁴⁵ The return showed that the money was part of £25,719 14s 7d held in the Consolidated Fund for the contingents, and that it represented contributions to the More Men Fund from 21 districts and the 'Ngaiapa Tribe', with the largest contribution being a £4000 donation from Christchurch.¹⁴⁶ A total of £113,256 was raised through public contributions to help finance the contingents.¹⁴⁷ Discussing the Third Contingent in a February 1900 despatch to Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Ranfurly noted that 'The cost of outfit and transport is entirely met by voluntary contribution'.¹⁴⁸

The Government's contribution toward the cost of the war was further reduced through businesses and individuals either donating services and items of equipment, or supplying them at reduced rates. The Kaiapoi Woollen Manufacturing Company offered to donate material for one hundred uniforms for the Second Contingent, while the New Zealand

¹³⁹ *AJHR*, 1900, B-1, p.42; *ibid.*, 1901, B-1, p.42. The financial year was calculated from 1 April – 31 March.

¹⁴⁰ *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1902, p.456. The 1902 *NZOYB* also indicated that spending on 'Militia and Volunteers' rose from £91,388 during the 1897-1898 period to £229,704 in the 1900-1901 period.

¹⁴¹ *AJHR*, 1904, B-1, p.46. The sum of £1,500 was voted for the South Africa Contingents during the 1904 financial year, but only £8,88 3s 10d of this amount was drawn, leaving £611 16s 2d unissued.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 1905, B-1, p.48.

¹⁴³ *Evening Post*, 30 Jan 1900, p.5.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *AJHR*, 1900, H-6c, pp.1-2.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ John Crawford with Ellen Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1999, p.28.

¹⁴⁸ *AJHR*, 1901, A-1, p.4.

Clothing Factory offered to make two hundred uniforms free of charge.¹⁴⁹ Bing, Harris, and Company tendered to make boots for the Fourth Contingent for 5s a pair (allegedly less than half the true cost, with the balance being a donation).¹⁵⁰ In Dunedin the Dresden Company donated a piano for the use of the Fourth Contingent during their voyage, though the Government purchased one for £25 for the Fifth Contingent.¹⁵¹ In Wellington, two troopers offered to pay for their horses, equipment, and passage to South Africa, while a further twelve indicated they would equip themselves and provide their own mounts.¹⁵² Although the New Zealand Government declined a War Office offer to pay the cost of shipping the Third Contingent, it accepted the same offer for the Fourth Contingent, and was fully reimbursed the £27,186 4s cost of conveying the Sixth Contingent to South Africa.¹⁵³

Despite these contributions, the taxpayer had to meet a variety of other ancillary war-related expenses. A total of £880 10s 6d was spent on ‘entertaining and reception of returned members of contingents’ during the 1902-1903 financial period, and allowances for extra services in connection to sending the contingents to South Africa amounted to £476 5s during the 1903 financial period, while the Government spent a further £1,500 on ‘pay, expenses and contingencies’ during 1903-1904.¹⁵⁴ The Government was charged £390 for the use of Newton Park and the damage the park sustained while acting as a camp for the contingents and volunteers, though the Imperial Government contributed £140.¹⁵⁵ The sister of a deceased trooper was given £7 4s 5d to pay for the return of his personal effects to New Zealand, while the mother and sisters of another deceased trooper were given £50 to pay for their passage to England.¹⁵⁶ As late as 1907, £16 19s 4d was spent on packaging and shipping ‘Boer war trophies’ to South Island locations.¹⁵⁷

War pensions represented an ongoing cost to the Government. When the question of providing pensions for disabled soldiers from the contingents was first raised in the House of Representatives in 1899, Seddon prevaricated, claiming ‘This is a matter for future consideration’.¹⁵⁸ The existing Military Pensions Act, 1866 covered those killed or wounded during the New Zealand Land Wars and, among others, the widow of Major Gustavus von

¹⁴⁹ *Marlborough Express*, 22 Dec 1899, p.2; *Otago Daily Times*, 22 Dec 1899, p.5.

¹⁵⁰ *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.26.

¹⁵¹ *Star*, 12 Feb 1900, p.3; *AJHR*, 1902, B-1, p.52.

¹⁵² *Evening Post*, 30 Jan 1900, p.5.

¹⁵³ *AJHR*, 1901, A-1, p.4; *ibid.*, 1901, B-1, p.64.

¹⁵⁴ *AJHR*, 1902, B-1, p.52; *ibid.*, 1903, B-1, p.53; *ibid.*, 1903, B-7, p.101; *ibid.*, 1904, B-7, p.102.

¹⁵⁵ *AJHR*, 1903, B-7, p.101.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1902, B-1, p.52.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1907, B-1, p.62.

¹⁵⁸ *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.75.

Tempsky was receiving £120 per year under this Act in 1899.¹⁵⁹ However, the Act did not comprehensively cover those serving in the contingents who were killed or injured, and there was no official provision for those who were maimed or whose health suffered as a result of disease or accidents. In July 1900 the MHR for Hawke's Bay, Captain William Russell, sought to address this. He questioned Seddon in the House of Representatives about the provision of pensions, noting that 'while our appreciation of the services rendered by our contingents was still keen, and our hearts still warm, we should legislate so as to do justice to the sufferers by the South African campaign'.¹⁶⁰ Seddon replied that 'The Parliament of this country was not in favour of pensions', adding that injured soldiers were retained on full pay subject to examinations by Medical Boards, and if their injuries were permanent they could receive a lump sum or, subject to parliamentary approval, an annual payment.

When Russell pressed Seddon on the issue of widows and orphans, Seddon noted a stipulation of enrolment in the contingents that only single men were eligible, though he acknowledged that the Government 'could not punish the widow in such cases, or visit the shortcomings of the father on the children'. Instead, he proposed widows and orphans receive funds from the £50,000 raised through patriotic contributions. However, as casualties and the incidence of enteric fever rose, the Government relented and the Military Pensions Extension to Contingents Act, 1900 was passed. This was followed by the Military Pensions Amendment Act, 1903. During the 1903 financial year, pensions paid under these Acts totalled £1,219 per annum with a total of £2 1d per diem for the former; and £238 per annum and £3 7s 11d per diem for the later.¹⁶¹

Miscellaneous war-related expenses also arose after the termination of hostilities. Injured soldiers were required to attend Medical Boards, often in cities distant from their homes, and costs associated with these examinations were met by the Government. Trooper Joseph Culling of Otago, who was 'ruptured very badly' when a horse killed by an exploding shell fell on him, was paid 12s 6d for meals while travelling to and from Wellington, and Sergeant-Major Lockett of Wanganui was reimbursed £2 9s for ten days board and lodgings at the City Buffet Hotel in Lower Hutt in February 1904 while awaiting his Pensions Board

¹⁵⁹ *AJHR*, 1900, B-1, p.37. The 1870-71 *AJHR* shows Emilia von Tempsey receiving a widow's pension of £30. There seems to have been confusion over the spelling of her name as the *AJHR* entry refers to an 'A. von Tempsey', while the DNZB entry says von Tempsey's wife was Emilia. *AJHR*, 1870-71, B-1, pp.23-24; W.H. Oliver (ed.) *DNZB, Volume One, 1769-1869*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, pp.529-530.

¹⁶⁰ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), pp.322-323.

¹⁶¹ *SCNZ*, 1903, p.356.

examination.¹⁶² Members of the Medical Boards examining men from the contingents were also paid for their services.¹⁶³ Trooper Patrick Lee, who had a leg amputated after a railway accident, received £22 5s 6d for an artificial limb from New York.¹⁶⁴ In 1904 the Government earmarked £300 for the production of ‘the history of the several New Zealand Contingents in connection with the South African War’ (with an additional £83 6s 8d spent during the 1905-1906 period), and £400 for renovating, restoring and marking New Zealand soldiers’ graves in South Africa.¹⁶⁵

Although Hall states that, exclusive of public contributions, the war cost the Government £334,000, the total sum from the Consolidated Fund expended on ‘South Africa Contingents’ during the financial years from 1900 to 1905 was £282,681 7s.¹⁶⁶ New Zealand’s war-related government expenditure was not insubstantial, but it never approached the combined sums that accrued to sections of the farming community, and associated businesses. Sales of oats to Natal and Cape Colony in 1900 alone amounted to £317,475, easily eclipsing the £281,364 14s 1d drawn from the Consolidated Fund to help finance the contingents during the 1900-1904 financial period, while from 1899 to the end of the 1902 financial year, oats sales amounted to £1,597,546, representing an approximate 460% increase on the costs met by New Zealand taxpayers from the Consolidated Fund under the title ‘South Africa Contingents’.¹⁶⁷ Total exports to the South African colonies during the financial years 1899 to 1902 amounted to £2,073,188: a considerably larger sum than the

¹⁶² Joseph Culling to the Defence Department, letter, 15 Nov 1906, Joseph Thomas Culling, AABK 18805 W5515 0001308, ANZ, N. Z. Defence Force Personnel Records, p.9; Receipt from the City Buffet Hotel Wellington for Sergeant-Major Lockett’s board and residence, 12 Feb 1904, Ernest Barnett Lockett, AABK 18805 W5515 0003249, ANZ, N. Z. Defence Force Personnel Records, p.14.

¹⁶³ *AJHR*, 1903, B-1, p.56; *ibid.*, 1905, B-1, p.62. Fees paid to Pension Board members for medical examinations of contingent members amounted to £13 12s 6d during the 1903 financial year and £105 10s 6d in 1905.

¹⁶⁴ A. A. Marks to Patrick Lee, letter, 6 Nov 1906, Patrick William Lee, AABK 18805 W5515 0003165, ANZ, N. Z. Defence Force Personnel Records, p.28; Under-Secretary Defence to the Minister of Defence, Memorandum, 13 Nov 1905, *ibid.*, p.30. A.A. Marks, the owner of A.A. Marks: Inventors and Manufacturers of Artificial Limbs with Rubber Hands and Feet of Broadway, New York suggested to Lee that he buy an additional artificial leg ‘as soon you can’ observing that ‘in this manner you will be ready for any emergency’.

¹⁶⁵ *AJHR*, 1904, B-7, pp.103-104; *ibid.*, 1905, B-1 p.62. In the same year as the South African War history was funded, £250 was allocated for the compilation of Maori history, *AJHR*, 1904, B-7, p.36.

¹⁶⁶ D.O.W. Hall, *New Zealanders in South Africa 1899-1902*, Wellington: War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1949, p.9; *AJHR*, 1900, B-1, p.42; *ibid.*, 1901, B-1, p.42; *ibid.*, 1902, B-1, p.42; *ibid.*, 1903, B-1, p.44; *ibid.*, 1904, B-1, p.46; *ibid.*, 1905, B-1, p.48. Hall’s claim that the £334,000 did not include public subscriptions is debateable. Although Hall does not cite his source, the figure appears in the 1903 *AJHR* where the sum is recorded in a table titled ‘Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Contributions to the War’. A table footnote states that public subscriptions were ‘included in the figures for the colonies where possible’. Whether this was possible in New Zealand’s case is unclear. The £334,000 did, however, exclude pension obligations, which were estimated to be £3,000 per annum. *AJHR*, 1903, A-7, p.32.

¹⁶⁷ *SCNZ*, 1899, p.206; *ibid.*, 1900, p.210; *ibid.*, 1901, p.216; *ibid.*, 1902, p.220.

£334,000 (or 8s 8d per head of population) that the Government claimed represented New Zealand's contribution to the war.¹⁶⁸

While New Zealand did not enter the war for financial gain, it is undeniable that sections of the population profited handsomely. In 1902 the *Sydney Morning Herald* quoted a speech Seddon gave on the troopship *Surrey* in which he expressed his indignation at the Argentine meat contracts.¹⁶⁹ Calling them a 'grave injustice', Seddon made a clear connection between participation in the war and the expectation that New Zealand would be able to profit from it when he noted that the Imperial Government's action 'was enough to dampen the ardour of the colonies which were sending fighting men to South Africa'. Though he reversed this statement in a more diplomatic address less than two weeks later when he observed that, while sourcing produce from other countries 'would not damp [the colonies] ardour or their patriotism, they had a right to complain when [they] did not receive fair play', Seddon apparently considered capitalising on wartime opportunities an attractive adjunct to supplying troops.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ *SCNZ*, 1899, p.241; *ibid.*, 1900, p.245; *ibid.*, 1901, p.251; *ibid.*, 1902, p.256; *AJHR*, 1903, A-7, p.32.

¹⁶⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Jan 1902, p.12.

¹⁷⁰ *Colonist*, 6 Feb 1902, p.4.

Chapter Six

The War, Militarisation and the Myth of the ‘Natural’ New Zealand Soldier.

Historians have discussed the influence the South African War exerted over the extent of militarisation in New Zealand society.¹ This influence was evident not only within the contingents and among the returned soldiers, but also among the non-combatant population. Concerns regarding New Zealand’s vulnerability to French, German, Russian and Japanese expansionism existed prior to the war, and Britain’s inability to bring the war in South Africa to a rapid conclusion heightened these sentiments with the realisation that New Zealand might be required to provide its own defence.² Seddon’s anxiety about German designs on Samoa were apparent in his April 1900 memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in which he sought a larger role for New Zealand in regional affairs by advocating the extension of New Zealand’s territorial boundaries ‘to include the Cook Group, the Fiji, the Friendly, and the Society Islands’.³ When questioned in parliament about recommending colonial representation at a possible inquiry into the conduct of the war, Seddon opposed the suggestion, but indicated his desire to expand New Zealand’s military role in the Empire by claiming that ‘[the recommendation] might influence against us in sending Forces elsewhere’.⁴

At home, concerns about regional security, combined with Imperial requests for additional contingents, saw membership of volunteer units and cadet corps increase considerably, while there was a significant rise in rifle club numbers and civilian groups

¹ Some examples are found in John Crawford with Ellen Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1999, pp.28-29; John Crawford, ‘The Impact of the War on New Zealand Military Forces and Society’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.206, 210; Colin McGeorge, ‘Military Training in New Zealand Primary Schools 1900-1912’, *Australia and New Zealand History of Education Society Journal*, 3:1 (1974), pp.1-3; Ian McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand 1840-1915*, Wellington: GP Books, 1991, p.153; Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (rev. ed.), Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 2000, p.227.

² *Evening Post*, 16 Mar 1897, p.4; *Otago Witness*, 21 Jul 1898, p.9; *Bush Advocate*, 20 Jun 1902, p.2. The *Evening Post* reported a claim that France, Germany and Russia were aware of West Coast coal reserves, and that Westport and Greymouth were ‘at the mercy of the first comer’.

³ *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, Wellington: House of Representatives, 1901, A-1, pp.5-6., Seddon, concerned by the Imperial Government’s actions regarding German expansion in Samoa, wrote in the memorandum, ‘This surrender of Samoa will in future be a source of anxiety, and entail expense on Great Britain and the colonies in preparing for and providing against eventualities’.

⁴ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Wellington: Government Printer, 111 (1900), p.83.

organised along military lines. Though cadets existed before the conflict, the war represented a fillip to the school cadet system.⁵ However, as Colin McGeorge has noted, school cadets were not universally supported.⁶ Some contemporary commentators saw militarisation as a positive phenomenon that would cement social order and strengthen defence, while others, concerned about the economic impact of removing men from the workforce, unconvinced of Britain's need for colonial support, and suspicious of militarism and standing armies,⁷ opposed its expansion.

Others have argued that the war gave rise to the image of the New Zealand male as a natural warrior. During the conflict, contingent members were largely portrayed as efficient and effective soldiers who were often favourably compared to the Australian forces.⁸ Jock Phillips has identified the key myths that came to characterize New Zealand soldiers during the South African War. They were portrayed as physically strong, tough, adaptable and self-reliant 'frontier farmers', who were experienced horsemen and hunters, well-suited to the rigours of active service.⁹ They were also seen as egalitarian, modest gentlemen with little time (or need) for formal discipline.¹⁰ However, Phillips and Colin McGeorge have shown that class divisions did exist within the contingents, with a spectrum of occupations and social positions represented within the ranks.¹¹

James Burns and Blair Nicholson also largely dismiss several of these key myths by examining the extent to which the New Zealand soldiers they studied embraced the perceptions that defined them. Burns claims that the majority of the men he studied gave no

⁵ Crawford, 'The Impact', p.206. As early as 1864, the formation of school volunteer Cadet Corps had been mooted by the headmaster of Otago High School, and in 1887, the Inspector of Schools for the Nelson Education Board, noted several Nelson schools had cadets. *Otago Daily Times*, 15 Jul 1864, p.5; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 16 Jan 1888, p.5.

⁶ McGeorge, 'Military Training', p.2.

⁷ *Evening Post*, 11 Jan 1902, p.5. Discussing British military discipline at a meeting of the Wellington 'Send-off Committee', Marianne Tasker claimed that New Zealand 'did not want military martinets; there was no standing army here. The men were Volunteers and should be treated as Volunteers. The New Zealand people ought to protect the men they were sending away, and should know where the men were going. Our men should be kept together as a New Zealand Regiment.'

⁸ Such comparisons occurred even in cases where New Zealand soldiers were involved in serious breaches of discipline. Commenting on a 1902 street brawl allegedly involving Munster Fusiliers and New Zealanders in the South African town of Newcastle, the *Manawatu Times* claimed, 'In this connection it is but fair to say that a number of New Zealand journals have endeavoured to magnify the sensational nature of the incident at Newcastle, by reprinting accounts of disturbances at Cape-town and Durban. But these towns were "painted red" by Australians and not by New Zealanders, moreover the trouble there cannot in any way be associated with the affair at Newcastle, for while the Australians vented their ill feeling upon the citizens, the New Zealanders and Munster men wrecked [sic] vengeance upon themselves, and apart from creating an unseemly brawl in the streets, they did but little harm, for they broke no one's skulls but their own'. *Manawatu Times*, 8 Sep 1902, p.2.

⁹ J.O.C. Phillips, 'Rugby, War and the Mythology of the New Zealand Male', *NZJH*, 18:2 (1984), pp.85-89.

¹⁰ Phillips, 'Rugby', pp.88-89.

¹¹ Phillips, 'Rugby', p.87; Colin McGeorge, 'The Social and Geographical Composition of the New Zealand Contingents' in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.100-116.

indication that they considered themselves (or their comrades) physically superior, while most were unfamiliar with the outdoor life.¹² Burns further asserts that most men he studied did not see themselves as versatile, resourceful, ‘natural’ soldiers skilled in horsemanship, weaponry and bushcraft.¹³ He claims characteristics like superior self-control and sangfroid were also largely absent, and found little evidence of egalitarianism or a belief by the New Zealanders that they possessed superior self-discipline.¹⁴

There were also diverse contemporary accounts of discipline within the contingents in Africa, and Blair Nicholson notes that these often indicated that the ‘myth of self-discipline’ did not reflect the real situation.¹⁵ While accepting that serious incidents of ill-discipline occurred, John Crawford claims that New Zealanders’ behaviour was generally better than that of the Australians.¹⁶ However, a 1902 report stated that ‘The New Zealand forces have, in training, organisation, and discipline, been in past years somewhat behind the Australian Colonies’.¹⁷ Burns posits that ‘Imposed formal discipline was a reality expected by New Zealand soldiers not only on but also off the field’ and notes a trooper’s claim that New Zealanders were well disciplined during combat.¹⁸

This chapter examines the impact of militarisation on the New Zealand populace, while also exploring elements of the constructed image that came to define contingent soldiers. It will argue that while support for the rampant militarisation that took place in New Zealand both immediately prior to and during the war was not universal, it was nonetheless widespread, with most New Zealanders perceiving the phenomenon as beneficial, and with large numbers playing an active role in its furtherance. Drawing on the diaries and letters of

¹² James Robert Burns, ‘“New Zealanders” at War? The Mythology of the New Zealand Soldier and the Beliefs of the New Zealand Soldiers of the South African War, 1899-1902’, Master of Arts thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996, p.197.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.197-198.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.198-200.

¹⁵ Blair Nicholson, ‘Viewpoints on the Veldt: Attitudes and Opinions of New Zealand Soldiers during the South African War, 1899-1902’, Master of Arts thesis, University of Waikato, 2011, pp.86-87.

¹⁶ John Crawford, ‘The Best Mounted Troops in South Africa?’ in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.86.

¹⁷ *AJHR*, 1903, A-7, p.37. Serious cases of lawlessness in South Africa involved both regular and colonial forces, including those of Australia and Canada. The *Natal Witness* reported an incident in which Private Matthews of the Duke of Cornwall’s Light Infantry stabbed a ‘native constable’ after he attempted to stop Matthews fighting with another soldier. The *Natal Advertiser* reported that two recently discharged Australian soldiers, Herbert Lockhart and E. Kent, were fined £5 and £2 respectively after their behaviour drew the attention of a European constable in Durban. When confronted, Lockhart produced a loaded pistol and ‘threatened to shoot the officer’. Lockhart was also charged with threatening a hotel night watchman with a pistol after the night watchman refused to sell Lockhart a bottle of whisky. In another Durban case, fire hoses were turned on drunken Canadian irregulars after a pistol was allegedly fired at a police superintendent. Also in Durban, recently paid Australian and Canadian ‘Volunteers’ destroyed several brothels and attacked Indian homes. *Natal Witness*, 23 Jun 1902, p.5; *Natal Advertiser*, Durban, 7 Jul 1902, p.9; *ibid.*, 8 Jul 1902, p.5; *Natal Mercury*, Durban, 2 Jul 1902, p.11.

¹⁸ Burns, pp.107-108.

the men in South Africa and their families, parliamentary debates, government correspondence, contemporary newspaper reports from New Zealand and overseas, school journals and other publications, the chapter also examines fundamental components of the myth that arose during the war of the New Zealander soldier as the consummate warrior. While elements of this myth were perpetuated by at least some contingent members, the image of the New Zealand gentleman soldier either downplays or ignores relatively serious cases of ill-discipline, often racially motivated, involving assault, drunkenness, vandalism and looting.

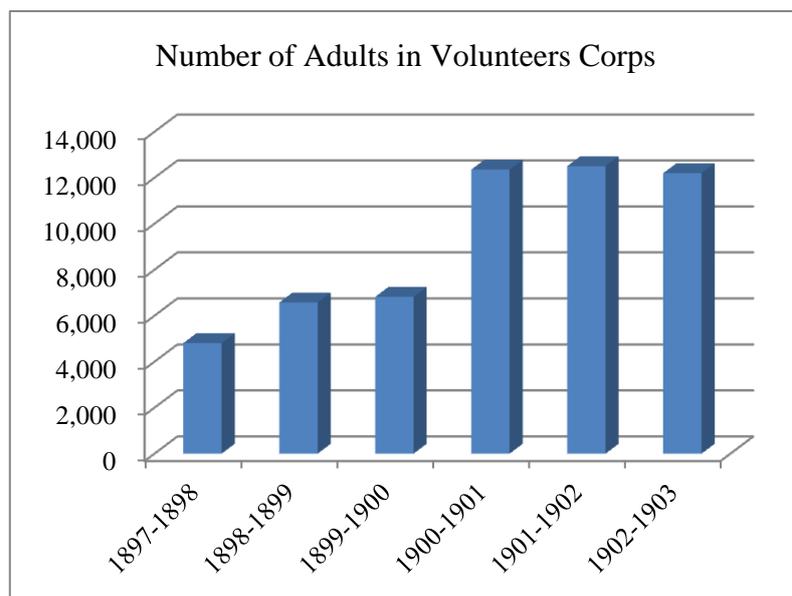


Fig. 49. Summary showing the number of adult Volunteers who qualified for capitation, 1897-1903.¹⁹
Source: *AJHR*, 1903, H-19A, p.7

The ‘remarkable military revival’ in New Zealand caused by the South African War was noted at the 1902 London conference of leaders of Britain’s self-governing colonies, and a surge in Volunteer Force membership represented one of the most visible domestic effects, with a rise in mounted corps from twelve in 1898 to seventy-one in 1902, and an increase in infantry corps from seventy-nine to one hundred and forty-four during the same period.²⁰ Total expenditure on the Volunteer Force rose from £26,171 in the 1897-88 period to £95,069 for 1901-02, while total membership increased from 6,820 in 1898-99 to 12,504 in 1901-2

¹⁹ *AJHR*, 1903, H-19A, p.7. Two of the totals given in the *AJHR* table appear to be incorrect. The total figure for 1900-1901, and the total number of volunteers in the Otago region from 1897-1903 record twenty volunteers more than the total reached by adding the individual figures given in the table.

²⁰ *AJHR*, 1903, A-7, p.37; *ibid.*, H-19A, p.1.

(fig. 49).²¹ Rifle clubs also increased during the war from sixty-two in 1901 to one hundred and fourteen in 1902.²²

While Volunteer membership looked impressive on paper, it was possibly inevitable that enthusiasm would wane in the post-war years, and Crawford notes that Volunteer figures did not reflect the true situation.²³ He states that Volunteers lacked sufficient officers to function efficiently at battalion level and only came together as battalions during annual camps. A 1908 newspaper article titled 'The Decay of Volunteering' lamented declining interest.²⁴ The newspaper attributed the poor turnout at the Nelson Easter manoeuvres to Volunteers' preference for holiday attractions. The costs associated with the surge in Volunteer membership were another concern.²⁵ Commentators claimed that many Volunteers only attended until their capitation obligations had been met, and in some cases fines were instituted to compel attendance.²⁶ The *Auckland Star* quoted an officer who observed that while Volunteering got a boost during the war, interest had flagged in the post-war period.²⁷ Sports like football and cricket were also seen as competing with Volunteer Force activities and during discussion of the 1909 Defence Act in the Legislative Council, John Anstey claimed it was 'the weedy youths who go into the Volunteers'.²⁸ Nonetheless, as Crawford has observed,²⁹ regardless of their efficiency, the Volunteer movement enjoyed a sizable numerical increase during the war that remained considerably higher in the immediate post-war years than in those preceding it.

²¹ *AJHR*, 1903, H-19A, pp.1, 7. The membership figures were calculated from the number of corps members who qualified for capitation through their attendance record. At the London conference of colonial leaders in 1902, total New Zealand Volunteer membership was recorded as 17,003 men. *AJHR*, 1903, A-7, p.37.

²² *AJHR*, 1905, H-19A, p.3. One of these clubs at Stanley Brook disbanded in November 1901 but was included in the 1905 government report titled Defence Rifle Clubs. Similarly, the Taita club, which disbanded in April 1902, and the Parua club which disbanded in December 1902, were also included in the totals. *AJHR*, 1905, H-19A, p.1-3.

²³ J.A.B. Crawford, 'The Role and Structure of the New Zealand Volunteer Force 1885-1910', Master of Arts thesis, University of Canterbury, 1986, p.185.

²⁴ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 21 Apr 1908, p.2.

²⁵ McGibbon, *The Path*, p.153.

²⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 18 Apr 1904, p.2; *Auckland Star*, 20 Feb 1907, p.7. The *Auckland Star* noted that the Auckland Garrison had introduced 'a penalty of £1 in default of a legitimate excuse for absence' while the 'apathy of many members of the corps' was 'most discouraging to the officers' of the Whangarei Rifles.

²⁷ *Auckland Star*, 10 Oct 1907, p.3. In the *Auckland Star* article titled 'Dominion Defences. The Volunteer System. Why it Fails. Suggested Improvements.', an anonymous officer claimed that Mounted Rifles membership was falling due to the expectation that men would supply their own horses and saddlery.

²⁸ *Auckland Star*, 10 Oct 1907, p.3; *NZPD*, 148 (1909), p.1418. In a 1907 report on the Defence Forces of New Zealand, Colonel R.H. Davies noted that the physique of Volunteer infantry 'varies more than any other arm, there being a great number of very young and weedy men in several of the town corps. It is a striking fact that the father south one goes the better, generally speaking, is the physique of the town Infantry corps, due, I conclude, to the harder and colder climate in the South'. *AJHR*, 1907, H-19, p.23.

²⁹ Crawford, 'The Impact', p.206.

While the Defence Act of 1909 replaced the Volunteer Force with the new Territorial Force, and obliged all males up to the age of twenty-one to undergo military training, Major-General Alexander Godley noted that ‘many of the officers, N.C.O.s, and men of the old Volunteer Forces are remaining in the new Citizen Army, and I feel sure that they will prove a valuable nucleus of the Force.’³⁰ The implementation of the Act was delayed until after Lord Kitchener’s 1910 visit to New Zealand in which he inspected defence facilities and made a series of recommendations regarding the reorganisation of the defence forces, including the establishment of a Staff Corps.³¹

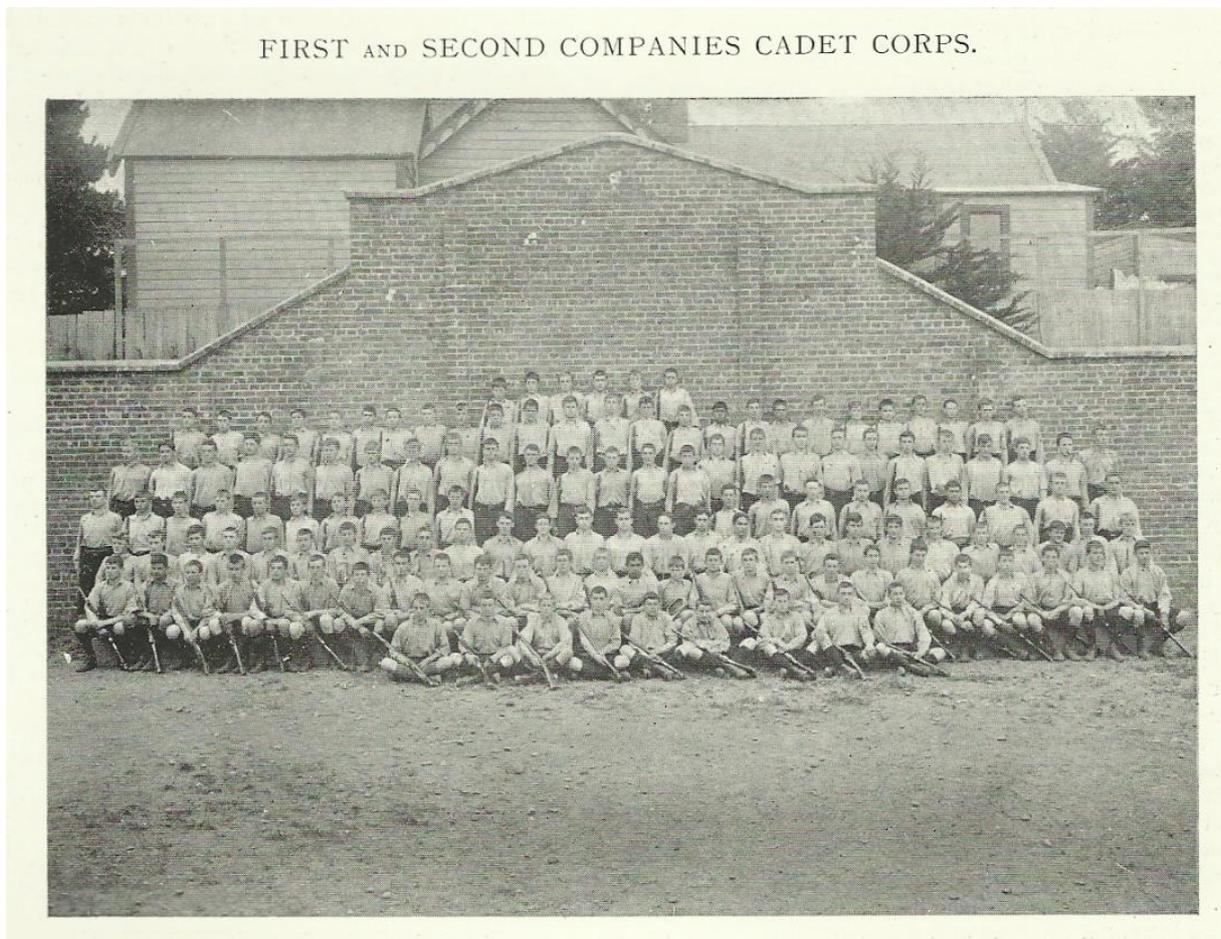


Fig. 50. The 138 boys of the First and Second Companies of the Wanganui Collegiate Cadet Corps photographed at the rifle range butts in 1902.

Source: *Wanganui Collegian*, No.60 Dec 1902, p.8., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

Robert Lee, the Inspector of Schools for the Wellington Education Board, claimed that when he first suggested a cadet scheme in the Wellington region in 1899 ‘many strange

³⁰ *AJHR*, 1910, H-19A, p.1; *ibid.*, 1911, H-19, p.4.

³¹ *AJHR*, 1910, H-19A, pp.1-3.

objections, much difference of opinion, and long delay' had attended the idea.³² When his plan was finally adopted, the Government supplied 400 imitation rifles, which were to be replaced by functioning models, a move Lee applauded as 'in these warlike times one of the first duties of a citizen is to be able to shoot'. Cadets at more affluent schools practised with real rifles both before and during the war (fig. 50), and an Old Boy writing to the *Wanganui Collegian* from Transvaal acknowledged the benefits of his Cadet Corps training.³³ Noting that the Defence Department could not spare modern Lee-Metford and Martini-Enfield rifles, the magazine observed that the recoil of the 'wretched old Snider carbines' used by the cadets was enough to dampen the ardour of adults'.³⁴



AWAITING ORDERS.

Fig. 51. Members of the Parnell Lady Cadets in 1901.

Source: *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal*, 23 Nov 1901, p.985, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries.

³² *School Reports, Annual Report of the Inspector of Schools*, 28 Feb 1900, p.2, ANZ EB-W9 12. Lee proposed 'the wearing of a simple and inexpensive uniform, the use of a small martini rifle, the training of a band, and field or camp exercises'.

³³ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 54, Dec 1900, p.16.

³⁴ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 52, Apr 1900, p.16. The Snider rifle had been in use in New Zealand since the Land Wars and the *Collegian* suggested 'some patriotic Old Boy' could purchase six new rifles to replace them for 'about £3 10s or £4 apiece'. Although he would later express reservations about the 'junior cadet force', shortly after the war ended the MHR for Invercargill and future Education Minister, Josiah Hanan, asked that a number of Boer Mauser rifles taken as trophies be distributed to Invercargill cadets, though the Acting Minister of Defence, William Hall-Jones rejected the suggestion. McGeorge, 'Military Training', p.7; *NZPD*, 121 (1902), p.373.

Lee's report recorded seven cadet companies in Wellington, each with an average of 50 cadets, a 45 strong company at Petone, and a 40 strong company at the Hutt.³⁵ Lee also noted that the companies were 'having a direct salutary effect on discipline'. In 1900, *Christ's College Register* reported that 'patriotism is not unnaturally at fever heat' and reported 'a great inrush of recruits'.³⁶ It also reported the death in action of Lieutenant Arthur Neave, a 22-year-old Old Boy who had taken a keen interest in the Cadet Corps.³⁷ Neave was presented as an exemplary figure and after the war he was lauded as 'well sustaining the honour of the School'.³⁸ As Phillips observes, 'to fight honourably became the essence of manliness'.³⁹ Queen Victoria requested a photo of Neave, and the school magazine assured readers that 'His death, on the field of battle, fighting for Queen and country, [is] the proudest death that man can die'.⁴⁰ While the influence figures like Neave had on students is hard to gauge, by December 1900 Christ's College Cadet Corps had a full complement.⁴¹ Similarly, Wanganui Collegiate's two cadet companies had expanded to four by 1903.⁴² Although the various Cadet Corps were almost entirely male, young girls formed the Parnell Lady Cadet Corps (fig. 51).⁴³

Despite their rapid growth during the war, the various Cadet Corps were not immune to external pressures.⁴⁴ In his 1901 report, Lee criticised the Wellington Education Board administrators, leading to his forced resignation.⁴⁵ Lee expressed concerns that financial constraints were threatening the cadet system in the Wellington region. He stressed that training and rifle practice were essential for young men, and claimed the argument that 'such a training engenders in a nation an undesirable spirit of militarism is now quite exploded among

³⁵ *School Reports, Annual Report of the Inspector of Schools*, 28 Feb 1900, p.2, ANZ EB-W9 12. Lee noted that additional cadet companies existed at Upper Hutt, Masteron, Carterton, Fernridge, Greytown, Otaki, Levin, Eketahuna, Pahiatua, Mangatainoka, Karori, and Kilbirnie, though only three city cadet corps received the 'model rifles'.

³⁶ *Christ's College Register*, No. 42, Apr 1900, pp.356-357. Thirty-two of the sixty-one boys in the cadets were new recruits.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 43, Aug 1900, p.370; *ibid.*, No. 42, Apr 1900, p.301.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 50, Sep 1902, p.204.

³⁹ Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History*, rev. ed., Auckland: Penguin Books (N.Z.) Ltd, 1996, p.156.

⁴⁰ *Christ's College Register*, No. 42, Apr 1900, p.302.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 44, Dec 1900, p.439.

⁴² *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 61, Apr 1903, p.24. This increase did not, however, represent a doubling in the numerical size of the Cadet Corps as members of the First and Second Companies acted as officers in the two new companies resulting in a 'considerable' reduction in the size of the two original units.

⁴³ *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal*, 23 Nov 1901, p.985.

⁴⁴ By 1903 the total number of cadet corps under the Defence Department had fallen back from a 1902 high of fifty-four to the pre-war 1898 total of forty, though in 1902 some cadet corps were taken over by the Education Department. *AJHR*, 1903, H-19A, p.2.

⁴⁵ Claudia Orange, (ed.), *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Volume Two, 1870-1900*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs, 1993, pp.268-269. Lee was Inspector of Schools in the Wellington region from 1874 until 1901, when his continued criticism of the Wellington Education Board came to a head and led to his forced retirement. Undaunted, and enjoying widespread public support, he successfully contested a vacant seat on the Education Board, and in 1904 was elected chairman.

educational authorities'.⁴⁶ Despite Lee's concerns, in 1902 the new Inspectors of Schools reported a total of 1,013 cadets for the region.⁴⁷ The report also noted a parallel increase in teachers enrolled to train as cadet instructors, rising from fourteen at the beginning of 1902 to thirty by the end of the year.

The various Cadet Corps received a boost when the Government announced it would organise them directly under the control of the Education Department, and Major Loveday was given overall command of the Public School Cadets (fig. 52).⁴⁸ By August 1902, the number of cadets nationwide allegedly totalled 5,712.⁴⁹ While the old Snider rifles and imitation weapons were retained for drill purposes, 500 miniature Martini-Henry .310 rifles were purchased, and distributed at a rate of one for every ten cadets.⁵⁰



HIS MOTHER'S DARLING.

With the School-Boy Troops.

Patriotic Mother of School Cadet: Mister Major Loveday, watch my dear son, and see that he is well wrapped up at night, and does not catch cold. Here are the medicine and things he is used to at home, and don't let him play with the shells and dynamite. And, above everything, keep him away from the bad boys.

Fig. 52. A cartoon featuring Major Loveday that appeared in the *Observer* in 1908.
Source: *Observer*, 7 Mar 1908, p.16.

Despite a 2.46 percent decrease in adult Volunteer numbers between 1901-1902 and 1902-1903, Volunteer Corps numbers remained at considerably higher levels than prior to the

⁴⁶ *School Reports, Annual Report of the Inspector of Schools*, 28 Feb 1901, p.2, ANZ EB-W9 13.

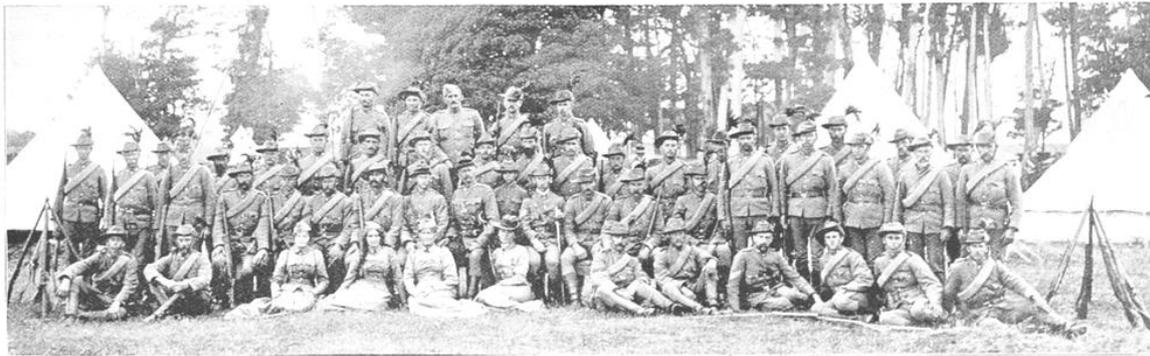
⁴⁷ *School Reports, Annual Report of the Inspectors of Schools*, Feb 1903, p.2, ANZ EB-W9 15.

⁴⁸ McGeorge, 'Military Training', p.2; *Manawatu Times*, 30 Aug 1901, p.2; *Wanganui Herald*, 30 Dec 1901, p.3.

⁴⁹ *Star*, 27 Aug 1902, p.2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

war.⁵¹ While Major-General Babington noted difficulties in recruiting Volunteers in a 1906 parliamentary report, they nonetheless totalled 13,021 men in fifty-five different battalions, batteries, companies and field hospitals (excluding 141 men in garrison bands).⁵² The 1906 return also recorded Defence Cadet Corps membership as 3,143 and Defence Rifle Club membership as 2,971.⁵³



THE MARSDEN MOUNTED RIFLES, MAUNGAKARAMEA, NORTH AUCKLAND.

Cowdell. Photo.

Fig. 53. A 1901 *Auckland Weekly News* photo of the Marsden Mounted Rifles, including women members, some of whom may be Māori.

Source: Central City Library, Auckland, AWNS-1901 1219-13-2.

The impact of militarisation on adults during the war was not limited to the country's male population. As Ellen Ellis and Anna Rogers have noted, many New Zealand women were far from passive observers.⁵⁴ Apart from often being the mothers, wives and sweethearts of soldiers, they were heavily involved in fund-raising activities, and providing home comforts to the troops, while several also played a direct role in the war as nurses and teachers. Ellen Ellis has identified a number of patriotic women's groups, like the Dannevirke Huia Khaki Contingent, and the Picton Fair Military Contingent that wore uniforms and drilled with rifles, while units like the Marsden Mounted Rifles included women (fig. 53).⁵⁵ Megan Hutching has also shown that women actively participated in groups opposed to both

⁵¹ *AJHR*, 1903, H-19A, p.7.

⁵² *AJHR.*, 1906, H-19, pp.1, 4. Babington noted that while four Mounted Rifles corps, one Rifle Corps, one Cycle Corps and two Cadet Corps included in the total were in the process of disbanding, even without their numbers the 1906 total would still be an increase on 1905. Babington also identified 'less cordial relations which apparently now exist between employer and employee, as compared to a few years ago' as a 'serious menace' to Volunteer recruiting.

⁵³ *AJHR*, 1906, H-19, p.4. The Defence Rifle Club figure compared with membership of 2,678 in 1903. *AJHR*, 1903, H-19C, p.2.

⁵⁴ Ellen Ellis, 'New Zealand Women and the War' in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.128; Anna Rogers, *While You're Away*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p.12.

⁵⁵ Ellis, 'New Zealand Women', p.138; *Press*, 17 Oct 1900, p.5; *Weekly Press*, 17 Oct 1900, p.61; *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 Sep 1901, pp. 6, 7, 13.

the conflict and the rise in militarism they saw as an adjunct of it.⁵⁶ However, women's involvement went further and the fund-raising activities of Charlotte Bewicke on behalf of sick and wounded Boers appear to have been overlooked in the existing narrative of the war.



Fig. 54. A 1902 photo of Trooper Bert Stevens, No. 5118, A Squadron, Eighth New Zealand Mounted Rifles Contingent, probably with his mother, Delia Stevens, and his younger brother, Howard Waldo Stevens.⁵⁷
Source: NAM NZ,1999.3239.

Groups of young New Zealanders exhibited an awareness of the war's approach, and were subsequently involved in fund-raising and celebrations associated with the conflict. During the 1899 Wellington Labour Day parade, boys dressed in 'warlike attire' carried a banner proclaiming 'Off to the Transvaal. No more Boers when we get there!'⁵⁸ Similar

⁵⁶ Megan Hutching, 'New Zealand Women's Opposition to the South African War', in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.46-56; Megan Hutching, "'Mothers of the World': Women Peace and Arbitration in Early Twentieth Century New Zealand', in *NZJH*, 7:2 (1973), pp.176-178.

⁵⁷ Bert Stevens lied about his age when he enlisted on 7 January 1902. He claimed his age was 20 years and 3 months. In fact, he was born on 22 October 1882 and was still 19 years old when he returned to New Zealand in August 1902. Howard Waldo Stevens was born on 6 February 1895. He enlisted in the New Zealand Medical Corps on 20 October 1914. Bert Stevens, 22 Oct 1882, DIA NZBDM, 1882014662; Attestation Form, 7 Jan 1902, Bert Stevens, AABK 18805 W5515 0005327, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; Howard Waldo Stevens, 6 Feb 1895, DIA NZBDM, 1895002775; Attestation Form, 12 Nov 1914, Waldo Stevens, AABK 18805 W5553 0109169, ANZ NZDFPR, p.6.

⁵⁸ *Evening Post*, 11 Oct 1899, p.6.

youthful displays of patriotism occurred during the conflict. In 'Loyal Tinwald' a patriotic demonstration at the domain included 28 boys from the local school marching in uniform and carrying toy guns and bayonets.⁵⁹ When Mafeking was relieved, Wairoa children sang patriotic songs as they paraded through the streets, Normanby children marched to the town centre and sang 'God Save the Queen', and Manaia boys waved white handkerchiefs tacked to sticks 'in derision of the Boers'.⁶⁰ In Wellington a thousand flags were supplied to children attending the send-off for the Second Contingent.⁶¹ Period photos show the popularity of uniforms and khaki among New Zealand youth (fig. 54), and a letter to the *Otago Daily Times* recommended that to 'create a soldierly spirit' students should be trained in the use of bugles so they could be used to get children to 'fall in' and 'to continue this patriotic fervour in our schools'.⁶² Alfred Barclay, the outspoken Dunedin MHR who opposed the war, alleged in parliament that his four-year-old son had been ostracised by classmates who declared 'your father is a pro-Boer and ought to be shot'.⁶³

Children's entertainment and games were also affected by the conflict. A Blenheim store advertised a new war puzzle as well as 'badges, colors [sic], medals, war novelties, and photos of the late Trooper Bradford', while Gisborne children were admitted for half price to myriorama and kinematograph picture shows featuring images of the war.⁶⁴ One 'ardent young patriot' raised 5s for the contingents.⁶⁵ He explained in the *Evening Post* that he and six friends dressed up 'as much like our contingent as possible' and engaged in mock fights. In a letter to her brother serving in the Second Contingent, Penelope Farquharson described the boys of Signal Hill wearing khaki uniforms, carrying toy guns, and staging sham battles against other 'Boer' boys.⁶⁶ During a speech praising the forty-six Old Boys serving in Africa, the headmaster of Wanganui Collegiate said that 'if ever the occasion should arise, and their

⁵⁹ *Ashburton Guardian*, 9 Mar 1900, p.2

⁶⁰ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 18 May 1900, p.2; *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 19 May 1900, p.2.

⁶¹ *Otago Daily Witness*, 18 Jan 1900, p. 5.

⁶² *Otago Daily Times*, 3 Mar 1900, p.10.

⁶³ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 28 Jul 1900, p.3; *NZPD*, 112 (1900), p.216.

⁶⁴ *Marlborough Express*, 12 Sep 1900, p.4. Trooper Bradford was the first New Zealand fatality of the war; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 11 Jun 1900, p.3. The Theatre Royal Kinematograph included 'Robson's Myriorama of the War with the Boers' featuring images of the battles of Glencoe and Spion Kop, as well as the 'Heroic Defence of Mafeking'. Adults paid 1s while children paid 6d admission.

⁶⁵ *Evening Post*, 1 Mar 1900, p.5. The boy and his friends named themselves the Ellice Street Rifles and visited homes seeking donations to the war effort.

⁶⁶ Penelope Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 8 Apr 1900, NAM NZ 1998.11. Penelope Farquharson was herself an active member of her local gun club. Lonnie Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 2 Jan 1901, *ibid.*

country should have real need of them, not forty-six only of those who have been educated here, but double, and treble, aye and twenty times that number will muster at her call'.⁶⁷

Many opponents of this rampant militarisation viewed it as a manifestation of militarism, which they considered a major factor in the costly wars and social discord of Europe.⁶⁸ In the Legislative Council in 1900, Henry Scotland lamented the 'wave of militarism which is rolling over New Zealand', while Richard Meredith, the MHR for Ashley, criticised what he saw as 'the building up of a standing army' and the 'fostering of a spirit of militarism and Imperial jingoism'.⁶⁹ Meredith joined John Millar, MHR for Dunedin City, in opposing the State School Children Compulsory Drill Bill, the object of which, Meredith claimed, was to 'introduce a spirit of militarism into the schools'.⁷⁰ Millar was also critical of what he deemed an increasing spirit of militarism.⁷¹ These views were echoed by Kate Sheppard of the National Council of Women, who said she 'deprecat[ed] the growth of a spirit of militarism'.⁷² Opposing Seddon's idea for the establishment of an Imperial Reserve, the *Evening Post* advocated the use of 'citizen soldiers' for defence and claimed New Zealand democracy would be threatened by a military caste at the disposal of the Government.⁷³

A *Nelson Evening Mail* editorial titled 'Imperialism Run to Militarism' warned of the economic damage caused by young men leaving for Africa, and claimed that having 'acquired the military habit', they would not return to civilian life.⁷⁴ The editor added that New Zealand must 'discriminate between Imperialism and mere militarism', while William Napier, MHR for Auckland City, claimed 'Nations do not live by militarism, but by work'.⁷⁵ Penelope Farquharson noted Volunteer Corps growth and expressed concern that if a sixth contingent was raised not many men would be left in New Zealand, while correspondents' letters to newspapers sometimes expressed similar concerns.⁷⁶ A *Taranaki Herald* editorial criticised

⁶⁷ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 55, Apr 1901, p.2.

⁶⁸ Such concerns pre-dated the conflict and an 1898 letter to the *Evening Post* in defence of military training and 'the military instinct that pervades the whole race', claimed that unwarranted concerns about militarism had harmed the nation's volunteer corps. *Evening Post*, 14 Mar 1898, p.2.

⁶⁹ *NZPD*, 111 (1900), p.20; *Marlborough Express*, 16 Oct 1901, p.2.

⁷⁰ *NZPD*, 116 (1901), pp.283, 303.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.283.

⁷² *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 11 May 1901, p.2.

⁷³ *Evening Post*, 7 Jan 1901, p.4.

⁷⁴ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 1 Mar 1901, p.2.

⁷⁵ *NZPD*, 116 (1901), p.294.

⁷⁶ Penelope Farquharson to William Farquharson, transcript of letter, 8 Apr 1900, NAM NZ 1998.11; *Ashburton Guardian*, 25 Feb 1901, p. 2.

the ‘almost ridiculous lengths to which this khaki fever is carrying the colony’ and the continued ‘effervescence of khaki-ism’.⁷⁷

Some clergy pointed to Germany as an example of a militarised society’s dangers, while Reverend A. H. Collins speaking at an Auckland Peace Association meeting blamed the press for the ‘military passion among the people’.⁷⁸ When the Association was first mooted in May 1899, the founders included combating militarism among its objectives.⁷⁹ The Association was condemned in an *Auckland Star* editorial that noted its ‘professed hatred of militarism’ but accused it of concealing ‘under this the most violent pro-Boer affection and hatred of the Empire’.⁸⁰

Despite the widespread fascination with all things military that characterised the period, another *Auckland Star* editorial expressed reservations.⁸¹ The paper praised the patriotic contribution New Zealand had made in committing four contingents, and observed that applicants for the contingents exceeded the number required. It further noted that New Zealand troops had received accolades from British generals, and claimed that should the Empire need them, New Zealand could unhesitatingly raise additional contingents. However, noting the drain on young males that the contingents represented, it was the issue of need that the paper questioned. Barely four months after the outbreak of war, when the full extent of Boer resilience had yet to become apparent, the *Auckland Star* doubted the necessity for additional contingents.

Nonetheless, participation in military activities and attendance at military events suggest the majority saw militarisation as positive and dismissed the objections of those who opposed it. Walter Carncross, the MHR for Taieri, supported sending the First Contingent and spoke of participation stimulating the soldiers’ military tendencies, as well as establishing military traditions and positively influencing the Volunteer Force.⁸² The *Otago Witness* argued that the word ‘militarism’ was misused and claimed a military spirit was required ‘to protect

⁷⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, 13 Feb 1901, p.2. The editor noted that ‘khaki fever is abroad in a bad form’ and bemoaned ‘the almost nightly drilling of volunteers, the unceasing bugle calls, the playing at soldiers by the young folk and the ever-present khaki colours upon the streets, such symptoms, we say, in a European nation would be regarded almost as a menace to the peace of the world’.

⁷⁸ *Star*, 16 Oct 1899, p.1; *Auckland Star*, 8 Jun 1900, p.6. The *Auckland Star* titled its report on the Auckland Peace Association meeting ‘A Protest Against the Military Spirit’.

⁷⁹ *Auckland Star*, 27 May 1899, p.2. The association held a meeting ‘to elect officers enrol members and transact any other business’ at the Y.M.C.A. the following month and quarterly meetings were arranged. ‘Put up thy sword into its sheath’ was proposed as the association’s motto. *Auckland Star*, 24 Jun 1899, p.2; *ibid.*, 6 Sep 1899, p.8.

⁸⁰ *Auckland Star*, 11 Jun 1900, p.4.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10 Feb 1900, p.4.

⁸² *NZPD*, 110 (1899), p.90.

the industrial'.⁸³ Speaking in support of the compulsory drill legislation, which he viewed as beneficial for New Zealand's defence, Seddon envisaged an ongoing process that honed military preparedness, with children learning drill at school, then continuing in the cadets before joining volunteer corps as adults, and finally entering rifle clubs.⁸⁴ Claiming public enthusiasm, Seddon maintained that 5,400 men applied for the 1,000 positions in the Ninth Contingent.⁸⁵

Sinclair discusses the 'crude and intolerant racial prejudice and militarism' that existed during the war, and military service in South Africa appears to have either reinforced or developed soldiers' attitudes towards various ethnic groups.⁸⁶ It certainly appears that New Zealand soldiers, teachers and nurses - in many cases with little or no direct experience of the diverse racial groups they met in South Africa - often formed negative perceptions of the non-Anglo-Saxon races they encountered, while Imperial attitudes regarding British superiority were reinforced. Within New Zealand, this was quite possibly an indigenous manifestation of the Social Darwinist 'sense of a worldwide racial struggle' that Phillips discusses.⁸⁷ Though New Zealand Jews like Trooper Percy Arthur Cohen (and possibly Isodore Cohen) served in either the contingents or irregular forces, some soldiers in South Africa made anti-Semitic references, and the *Star* printed an article from *Pearson's Weekly* accusing Jews of war profiteering.⁸⁸ Private James Gray, a Presbyterian, observed, 'Mafeking is not much of a place - full of Jews, like all African towns, and Indians, and black Swazis as well', while the *Christian Outlook* printed extracts from a Christchurch trooper's letter describing the Transvaal as a 'gathering place for Jews and gamblers'.⁸⁹ Edward Broughton, a Māori who fought in South Africa, noted that Ladysmith 'is the dirtiest town that ever I saw; it is chiefly

⁸³ *Otago Witness*, 17 Jul 1901, p.52.

⁸⁴ *NZPD*, 116 (1901), p.286. When applicants were sought for the Tenth Contingent in the Nelson Militia and Volunteering District, a public notice in the *West Coast Times* stated that preference would be given '1st, to returned troopers; 2nd, mounted corps; 3rd Volunteers; 4th ex-Volunteers; 5th, defence rifle clubs'. Seddon made bold claims about New Zealand's defence capabilities. At a meeting of the Heretaunga Mounted Rifles, Seddon reportedly said, 'The chance of a foreign foe landing a force on New Zealand's shores is practically an impossibility. There is no nation extant who could land a body of men who would not be wiped out with [sic] 24 hours'. *West Coast Times*, 29 Mar 1902, p.3; *Otago Witness*, 5 Feb 1902, p.14.

⁸⁵ *Otago Witness*, 12 Feb 1902, p.29. Fifteen men were selected from the seventy who applied in the small Southland town of Matura, and another fifteen were chosen from 170 who applied in Gisborne.

⁸⁶ Sinclair, *A History*, p.227; Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd, 1986, p.135.

⁸⁷ Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p.139.

⁸⁸ Attestation Form, 15 Mar 1902, Percy Arthur Cohen, AABK 18805 W5515 0001064, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; Chief Paymaster, Cape Colony to Minister of Defence, New Zealand, letter, 5 Feb 1902, Isodore Cohen, AABK 18805 W5515 0000970, ANZ NZDFPR, p.7; *Star*, 23 Dec 1899, p.1. Isodore Cohen served in the South African Light Horse.

⁸⁹ Attestation Form, 22 Mar 1900, James Gray, AABK 18805 W5515 0002182 ANZ NZDFPR, p.5; *Tuapeka Times*, 29 Sep 1900, p.3; *Outlook*, 21 Apr 1900, p.58.

populated by Jews, Persians, Hindoos [sic] and Kaffirs, with a sprinkling of Dutch'.⁹⁰ Anti-Semitic attitudes also appeared in New Zealand during the war. Paraphrasing Alfred Barclay's comments, a *West Coast Times* article claimed he believed 'the British Army is fighting and dying in South Africa for the cause of Cohen'.⁹¹

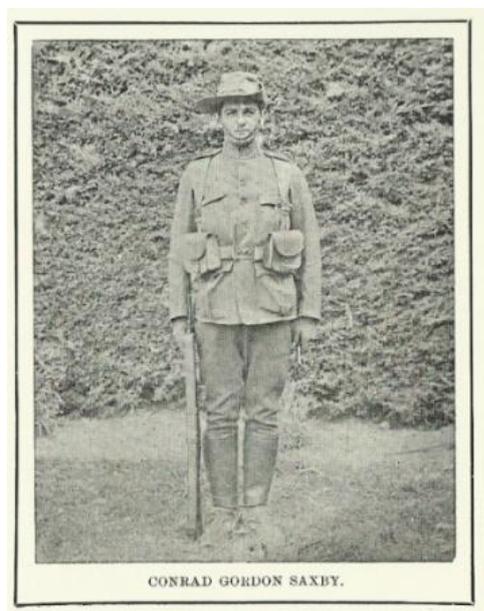


Fig. 55. Trooper Conrad Gordon Saxby.

Source: *The Collegiate School, Wanganui, in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Wanganui: A.D. Willis, Printer, [1901], n.p., Wanganui Collegiate Museum.

Expressions like nigger and kaffir were commonplace, though the use of these terms pre-dated the war and they regularly appeared in New Zealand newspapers.⁹² Gray's reference to Swazis is relatively unusual as language employed in diaries, letters and newspaper articles largely ignored African tribal divisions. Ellen Ellis notes that New Zealand teachers who volunteered to work in South Africa also experienced some confusion regarding tribal affiliations and used 'Zulu' and 'Kaffir' interchangeably.⁹³ Although Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart Newall's comments regarding the Matabele people noted their tribe, he

⁹⁰ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 60, Dec 1902, p.12.

⁹¹ *West Coast Times*, 23 Jan 1902, p.4.

⁹² *Colonist*, 25 Sep 1863, p.3; *Wellington Independent*, 12 Sep 1846, p.4; *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1900, p.2. A 1863 court report in the *Colonist* recorded a witness claiming that 'a nigger' and two Māoris had jumped a gold claim, while an 1843 article in the *Wellington Independent* repeatedly used 'kaffirs' to refer to black South Africans. The *Otago Daily Times* reported that a 1900 Dunedin parade following the relief of Mafeking included 'Two niggers in a gig.' As late as 1904, the term 'kaffir' was used in a NZ Government report listing prohibited immigrants to the Colony. *AJHR*, 1906, A-1, p.2.

⁹³ Ellen Ellis, *Teachers for South Africa: New Zealand Women at the South African War Concentration Camps*, Paekakariki: Hanorah Books, 2010, p.108.

compared them unfavourably to Māori: ‘They were a small people, not nearly so fine as the Maoris.’⁹⁴

Black Africans were often seen as either stupid or objects of amusement by soldiers. In a letter home, Trooper Henry Gilbert described ‘the thick-headed darkies’, while in another letter printed in the *Wanganui Collegian*, Conrad Saxby (fig. 55) made light of his squadron accidentally shooting an African: ‘The first time they flattened a nigger. That was on May 1st and they reckoned they were quite right as native game shooting starts on that day.’⁹⁵ Frank Perham was amused to see the way the Africans milked their cows, and noted that while moving camp he ‘Had great sport with the niggers when carting our things across. The old conductor used the boot and sjambok freely’.⁹⁶ Black Africans were sometimes targets of looting by New Zealand troops, as Sergeant Nicholas Carver recorded in his diary: ‘We fellows had a real good time living on the Niggars [sic] fowls & eggs’.⁹⁷ Indians were also shown scant respect. In his diary, Trooper Ernest Hart related how New Zealanders ‘Let the tent down on some hawker Indians & rushed their goods but worst luck did not get very much’, while New Zealanders were also involved in looting Indian stores in Newcastle.⁹⁸ In a letter to the *Evening Post* applauding an editorial critical of Seddon’s offer of Māori troops, one commentator who opposed the use of ‘savages’ to fight in South Africa condescendingly ended, ‘No slight is intended to the Maoris, who are a grand race, but it is difficult to draw the colour line in our piebald Empire’.⁹⁹ The *Evening Post* editorial predicted dire consequences: ‘If the white races of the world are to employ yellow and black troops in their wars with one another, the end of European civilisation would be within measurable distance.’¹⁰⁰

The myth that New Zealand soldiers’ behaviour was exemplary was cultivated in the press, and while there were exceptions, unsavoury incidents were often either glossed over or ignored. While some of the claims in the *Observer*’s glowing post-war appraisal of New Zealand’s performance were true, others were patently less so:

⁹⁴ *Evening Post*, 22 Feb 1901, p.7.

⁹⁵ Kingsley Field, *Soldier Boy, A Young New Zealander Writes Home from the Boer War*, Auckland: New Holland Publishers (NZ) Ltd, 2007, p.31; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 60, Dec 1902, p.12.

⁹⁶ Frank Perham, diary, 28 Dec 1900, NAM NZ 2000.736. In a similar incident where a wagon got stuck in a drift, Lionel Russell, the son of the opposition leader, Sir William Russell, described making ‘the niggers strip and wade in the river for some time’. Lionel Russell, diary, 15 Aug 1901, Russell Family Collection, ATL MS Papers 3854.

⁹⁷ Joshua Carver to unknown recipient, letter, 25 Aug 1900, NAM NZ 2000.550.

⁹⁸ Herbert Ernest Hart, diary, 21 Jul 1902, NAM NZ 1990.1024; Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry, 2 Jun 1902, Claim against 8th N.Z. Contingent: Looting, ATL MS-Papers-5755-27. Several Indians shopkeepers gave evidence at a Court of Enquiry into looting that took place in Newcastle on 28 June 1902 and allegedly involved members of the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Contingents.

⁹⁹ *Evening Post*, 29 Dec 1900, p.2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 27 Dec 1900, p.4.

Not only have our troopers fought bravely, and distinguished themselves by courage and devotion to duty, but they have behaved themselves in a manner creditable to the country to which they belong. There may have been individual examples of pillage for the sake of gain, or misconduct in other directions, but collectively our contingents have carried themselves as gentlemen, and we have reason to be proud of them. We have no dirty linen to wash on their return, no stories of blackguardism to blush for, and no claims for depredations on private property in the towns they have passed through.¹⁰¹

Similar views were expressed by parliamentarians, with Seddon noting Lord Roberts' favourable appraisal of 'the behaviour and achievements' of the contingents, and Joseph Ward saying he had received reports that the behaviour of the men while in camp in New Zealand had been 'exemplary'.¹⁰² Possibly to ensure that credit for their actions fell to the colony, Seddon sought an assurance from the Imperial authorities that the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Contingents would serve together, but only received a vague commitment from Kitchener that 'he would keep the New Zealanders together as far as was possible', which in the event did not occur.¹⁰³

Although not reflecting general behaviour, undesirable incidents involving soldiers occurred in New Zealand, and these were often alcohol-related. The *Wanganui Herald* reported examples involving 'young men from the country districts', serving in the Eighth Contingent, under the title 'Roughs in Uniform'.¹⁰⁴ It claimed that a non-smoking carriage at Thorndon Station had been 'rushed by a howling horde of yelling yahoos in yellow returning to Trentham, many smoking, and most more or less drunk', and a case where a Petone resident alleged he had been spat upon and 'brutally ill-treated' by soldiers.

While discipline in combat appears to have been acceptable, it was less so when soldiers were not in action, with Trooper Wilfred Wilson claiming discipline was not strict except for serious offences.¹⁰⁵ Following complaints about food quality at Newtown Park

¹⁰¹ *Observer*, 7 Jun 1902, p.2.

¹⁰² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 Jun 1901, p.2; *Ashburton Guardian*, 27 Feb 1902, p.3.

¹⁰³ *Evening Post*, 28 Dec 1901, p.6. The *Nelson Evening Mail* reported that Kitchener had told Seddon 'it was his intention to do the best he could to give effect to the wishes of the New Zealand people and Government with respect to the command of her contingents, but of course in guerrilla warfare it was difficult to determine the strength and keep the colony's forces together'. *Nelson Evening Mail*, 14 Mar 1902, p.2.

¹⁰⁴ *Wanganui Herald*, 29 Jan 1902, p.2.

¹⁰⁵ *Clutha Leader* 19 Jan 1900, p.5.

military camp in Wellington, a group of uniformed soldiers protested by parading through the centre of Wellington during the Duke of Cornwall's visit, carrying undercooked meat and a sign saying 'Newtown Park Commissariat!'.¹⁰⁶ Two officers observing the protest allegedly 'seemed to stand and enjoy the proceedings' without intervening.¹⁰⁷ In a statement following his arrest for insubordination in South Africa, Sergeant-Major Hurst-Davis of the Sixth Contingent claimed his men hooted the Imperial lieutenant responsible, and stated he believed that without his intervention the officer would have received a 'rough handling'.¹⁰⁸

A censored soldier's letter published shortly after the war included the claim that 'The ----- Contingent seem a fine lot of men, but their discipline would hardly do for the Imperial Army. I should be hanged if I said as much to my sergeant as they say to their officers.'¹⁰⁹ Some British soldiers apparently agreed.¹¹⁰ While the last two charges were found to be 'unproven', Trooper Richard Burnett was charged with breaking out of a Cape Town hospital, being in an Non-commissioned Officer's (NCO) Mess, disobeying orders and insolence after he was found drinking with an Australian sergeant-major and allegedly answered a British NCO back.¹¹¹ While these examples may represent exceptions to the rule,

¹⁰⁶ *Evening Post*, 20 Jun 1901, p.5. An *Evening Post* report of the incident was titled 'Newtown Park Encampment. Complaints from Visiting Volunteers. A Parade Which Has Caused Scandal. Officers and Men Censured'. Seddon, who witnessed the procession, was allegedly 'furious'. A committee of inquiry was established to look into the 'alleged breach of discipline committed by Volunteers in taking part in a procession through the streets of Wellington on the evening of the 19th June'. Estimates of how many uniformed Volunteers were involved ranged from four to 'sixty or seventy'. When nobody admitted to participating in the protest during a parade at Newtown Park the following day, Colonel Arthur Penton claimed those involved had 'disgraced their uniforms' and referred to the culprits as 'infernal curs and cowards to allow a stigma of that sort to rest on their comrades'. *AJHR*, 1901, H-19A, pp.1, 9, 16, 17, 42.

¹⁰⁷ *AJHR*, 1901, H-19A, pp.19, 40.

¹⁰⁸ Statement of Mr. Hurst Davies [sic] late of the 6th Contingent, n.d., Nathaniel Hirst Davis, AABK 18805 W5515 0001401, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.16-17. Hurst-Davis forfeited his decorations, was reduced to the ranks, discharged and was sentenced to four years penal servitude (commuted to one year's hard labour) for insubordination to 2nd Lieutenant Walker, an Imperial Transport Officer. The *Evening Post* reported Lord Kitchener remitted the sentence, though 'Sergt.-Major Davis' claimed he was nonetheless discharged in disgrace and debarred from a luncheon held for returning soldiers in Wellington. J.H. Banks to Commandant of the Forces, 5 Aug 1901, letter, Joseph Foote Richards, AABK 18805 W5515 0004791, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.32-33; Roll of individuals entitled to the South African Medal and clasps: Sixth Contingent, n.d., National Archives, Kew, UK, WO 100/294, p.242; *Evening Post* 11 Oct 1901, p.5; Davis, ANZ NZDFPR, p.27.

¹⁰⁹ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 60, Dec 1902, p.11. Concerns about the discipline of New Zealand soldiers endured, and in 1913, Andrew Russell, the Commanding Officer of the Wellington Rifle Brigade, noted, 'we have no real cohesion. No deep-founded sense of instinctive discipline'. Terry Kinloch, *Echoes of Gallipoli: In the Words of New Zealand's Mounted Riflemen*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing Ltd, 2005, p.24.

¹¹⁰ Clarke, J.N. (James Neil), *Still Jogging Along: Being the Diary and Some Letters of Pte. J.N. Clarke, 9th Contingent N.Z.M.R.*, Dunedin: Otago Military Museum, [1989], p.19. Clarke claimed his Regimental Sergeant-Major was demoted to Sergeant after 'Some of the men were barracking an imperial officer and he got the blame for it'.

¹¹¹ Charge Sheet, 21 Nov 1900, Richard Evelyn Hayton Burnett, AABK 18805 W5515 0000722, ANZ NZDFPR, p.18; Statement of evidence against No.1419 Trooper Burnett New Zealand Rough Riders, 21 Nov 1900, *ibid.*, p.13. In his evidence, Royal Army Medical Corps Sergeant-Major Osborne, who arrested Burnett, said Burnett had asked 'what the devil was it to do with [Osborne] in reply to Osborne asking whether Burnett was a sergeant and what he was doing in the NCOs' Mess. Giving evidence in defence of Burnett, Trooper Canavan, said

sufficient cases of insubordination and ill-discipline exist, both in New Zealand and when the men were out of the line in Africa, to suggest that they periodically chafed under the yoke of military authority, and its imposition was no impediment to some of the men ignoring regulations if the opportunity arose.¹¹²

For some soldiers in South Africa alcohol provided a welcome respite from the privations of military service. Frank Perham regularly referred to his rum ration.¹¹³ After a game of cribbage, he ‘had a tot of rum; [and] came out a bit shickered’.¹¹⁴ The following day he attended a camp-fire concert where ‘rum [was] flying around pretty freely’. Recording a parade after his contingent received their pay, Perham wrote: ‘Great fun; half the men shickered – three or four missing.’¹¹⁵ The men nonetheless went on patrol. Other soldiers who saw little or no action also appear to have used alcohol to break the monotony. When Herbert Hart’s unit of the Ninth Contingent received sixteen cases of whisky, he noted there were less than one hundred men to consume it: ‘I never have seen men more drunk than some of the men were that night.’¹¹⁶



Fig. 56. Members of a Boer commando outside the Town Hall in York Street, Newcastle, Natal.
Source: National Archives of South Africa, Pretoria, TAB 30455.

Burnett ‘was one of the best men in the Regiment’ and Burnett’s character was rated ‘very good’ on his discharge papers. Evidence of Trooper Canavan, 21 Nov 1900, *ibid*, p.17; Certificate of Discharge, *ibid*, p.21.

¹¹² The issue of military discipline endured. It was stressed in a 1910 memorandum by the New Zealand Chief of the General Staff titled *Defence of the Dominion of New Zealand*: ‘The citizen should be brought up from boyhood to look forward to the day when he will be enrolled as fit to defend his country; and he should be accustomed to practise those habits of self-denial, of devotion to and emulation of his duty, of reticence, *and of prompt obedience to lawful authority*, which are essential to the formation of patriotic and efficient citizen soldiers.’ Emphasis as in original. *AJHR*, 1910, H-19A, p.5.

¹¹³ Frank Perham, diary, 3-5 Dec 1900, NAM NZ 2000.736.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 Dec 1900.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 Jan 1901.

¹¹⁶ Herbert Ernest Hart, diary, 19 Jul 1902, NAM NZ 1990.1024.

Alcohol also played a part in several violent confrontations involving soldiers from the contingents in South Africa.¹¹⁷ Although newspaper accounts of the incident varied considerably, and the Acting-Premier, Joseph Ward, denied the reports in Parliament, the *Star* reported that two U.K. soldiers had allegedly been killed as a result of a brawl between Tenth Contingent New Zealanders and Munster Fusiliers in the South African town of Newcastle (fig. 56) after a drunken brawl escalated to involve large numbers of men.¹¹⁸ While admitting a fight between New Zealanders and the Munster Fusiliers had taken place, Captain Coutts, the winner of the coveted Queen's Scarf, claimed in the *Sydney Morning Herald* that the New Zealand press reports were 'absolutely untrue' and only three New Zealanders were involved, while Captain Dalrymple said they were 'greatly exaggerated'.¹¹⁹ Although accounts of the incident appeared in New Zealand papers, various versions also appeared in Australian papers, often with more details than their New Zealand counterparts.¹²⁰ The Wellington *Evening Post* reported a prior incident in the Newcastle camp where a New Zealand trooper 'in a drunken frenzy, ran amok', wielding a stirrup iron.¹²¹ However, some newspapers sought to mitigate the actions of the New Zealanders in Newcastle by claiming they reacted to insults 'no self-

¹¹⁷ Christopher Pugsley notes that alcohol was also the cause of most disciplinary issues in both the First and Second World Wars. Christopher Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991, p.28.

¹¹⁸ *Star*, 4 Sep 1902, p.3; *NZPD*, 122, (1902) pp.110-112; *Evening Post*, 5 Sep 1902, p.5. The *Evening Post's* version of the fight differed from the *Star* report (titled 'A Fierce Battle in Newcastle'), and included accounts claiming there were no fatalities. The version quoted in parliament estimated that between two and three hundred New Zealanders were involved. Trooper Herbert Hart, who was in Newcastle at the time, wrote in his diary on 11 Jul 1902, 'Our men had a fight downtown today with the result that a Munster Fusilier died from wounds received'. The *Natal Advertiser* printed a report of the incident from its Newcastle correspondent: 'Yesterday evening a serious riot occurred in Scott Street, occasioned, as usual, by the overseas colonial regiments, through which several people were injured. These men appear to have little conception of the meaning of law and order, and it is high time something was done to prevent the recurrence of their playful little customs. When it comes to throwing stones and similar missiles about in our principal thoroughfares, it is time the authorities were roused to a sense of their responsibilities. The officers of the regiments either cannot or will not interfere, and the men are allowed to do as they like.' The *Otago Witness* devoted four columns to the story giving varying accounts of what allegedly occurred. Herbert Ernest Hart, diary, 11 Jul 1902, NAM NZ 1990.1024; *Natal Advertiser*, Durban, 12 Jul 1902, p.3; *Otago Witness*, 10 Sep 1902, p.27.

¹¹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 Sep 1902, p.5.

¹²⁰ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 4 Sep 1902, p.2; *Wanganui Herald*, 4 Sep 1902, p.3; *Taranaki Herald*, 4 Sep 1902, p.2; *Star*, 4 Sep 1902, p.3; *Argus*, Melbourne, 5 Sep 1902, p.5; *Brisbane Courier*, Brisbane, Australia, 9 Sep 1902, p.5; *Register*, Adelaide, Australia, 9 Sep 1902, p.5; *Western Mail*, Perth, Australia, 13 Sep 1902, p.49; *West Australian*, Perth, Australia, 5 Sep 1902, p.6; *Capricornian*, Rockhampton, Australia, 20 Sep 1902, p.18; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 Sep 1902, Sydney, Australia, p.5; *North Western Advocate and the Emu Bay Times*, Devonport and Burnie, Australia, 10 Sep 1902, p.4. The Perth *Western Mail* and *Western Australian* reported a New Zealand trooper's claim that the trouble started when three New Zealanders were gaoled for 'chasing a kaffir girl' and that their friends had tried to break them out of the guard-house. The Tasmanian *North Western Advocate and the Emu Bay Times* reported a claim that appeared in the *Wellington Post* that 'the behaviour of the troopers of the last three contingents was anything but good at the close of the war. Some of the men, while worse for drink, created disturbances at Capetown, Durban, and Newcastle'.

¹²¹ *Evening Post*, 5 Sep 1902, p.5.

respecting colonial could submit to'.¹²² The editor of the *Manawatu Daily Times* said, 'We know that our men are not made of the stuff that meekly submits to an insult, and we would be sorry if they were'.¹²³

Another serious incident occurred at Worcester in Cape Colony (fig. 57) while the Fifth Contingent was awaiting repatriation. On 2 June 1901, Corporal Arthur Luck and Trooper Herbert Dixie of the Imperial Yeomanry and Saddler Robert Samuel Reid of the Fifth Contingent became involved in a fracas with 'an infuriated mob' of stick-wielding Malays.¹²⁴ Trying to flee, the three ran into a cul-de-sac then burst through the window of a house occupied by a Malay, Abdol Salih, who fatally struck Dixie with an axe, seriously injured Luck and stabbed the twenty-eight-year-old Reid four times in the face, once in the knee and once in the shoulder.¹²⁵



Fig. 57. The Cape Colony town of Worcester.
Source: National Library, Cape Town, South Africa AG112.

¹²² *Ashburton Guardian*, 5 Sep 1902, p.2.

¹²³ *Manawatu Daily Times*, 8 Sep 1902, p.2.

¹²⁴ Statement of charges, Circuit Court for the District of Worcester, together with the Districts of Robertson, Montagu, Ceres Tulbagh, Beaufort West, Fraserburg, Sutherland and Prince Albert, n.d., KAB, Cape Supreme Court, CSC 1/2/1/125 Ref 1; *Cape Argus*, Cape Town, 5 Jun 1901, p.5. Reid's name was incorrectly spelt as 'Reed' in both the trial documents and the newspaper accounts. The soldier injured at Worcester was Saddler Robert Samuel Reid, No.1678, Fifth Contingent. Robert Samuel Reid, medical certificate, 3 Mar 1902, Robert Samuel Reid, AABK 18805 W5515 0004690, ANZ NZDFPR, p.15.

¹²⁵ *Cape Argus*, Cape Town, 5 Jun 1901, p.5; Proceedings of Medical Board, 14 Dec 1901, Robert Samuel Reid, AABK 18805 W5515 0004690, ANZ NZDFPR, p.17. After a period recovering in hospital in South Africa, Reid sailed home, and in March 1902 a Dunedin Medical Board noted he still suffered from the wound to his jaw. The doctor certified that the injury was 'the result of Active Service in South Africa'. Robert Samuel Reid, medical certificate, 3 Mar 1902, Robert Samuel Reid, AABK 18805 W5515 0004690, ANZ NZDFPR, p.15.

New Zealand and South African newspapers reported that when the men's comrades heard of the incident, they unsuccessfully tried to remove Salih from gaol then burnt his home and the Malay mosque.¹²⁶ Private Frank Perham, who was in Worcester, claimed one hundred and eighty men were involved.¹²⁷ The commanding officer at Worcester and New Zealand officers attempted to stop the soldiers, who were 'ultimately persuaded to desist'.¹²⁸ Salih's son-in-law gave evidence that the soldiers had been 'creating a disturbance and kicking doors down' prior to the incident.¹²⁹ Although the *Nelson Evening Mail* omitted this detail, Luck admitted that he and his comrades 'were out on the spree and had no very distinct recollection of what was said when they knocked at Salih's window'.¹³⁰ Neither New Zealand nor British papers appear to have reported that the Malays sought restitution (with the Worcester Resident Magistrate quoted £222 for the reconstruction of the mosque), and that Salih, who was charged with 'murder and assault with intent to murder', was found not guilty.¹³¹

While John Crawford and Ron Palenski note cases of troops disobeying orders and adopting collective action to air grievances,¹³² in another incident immediately preceding the

¹²⁶ *Cape Argus*, Cape Town, 5 Jun 1901, p.5; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 25 Jul 1901, p.2; *Feilding Star*, 22 Jul 1901, p.2; *West Coast Times*, 25 Jul 1901, p.4, *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 23 Jul 1901, p.4. Although Salih was charged with 'murder and assault with intent to murder', a jury acquitted him. Salih's stepson, Amiat Toffa gave evidence stating that the soldiers had been 'kicking doors down in the immediate vicinity'. The *Nelson Evening Mail* account was inaccurate. It claimed two New Zealanders were involved (which appears to have been incorrect as only Reid was named), claimed the assailant was Abdul 'Tlaip' (the *West Coast Times* and the *Manawatu Evening Standard* called him Abdol Talip), and omitted Luck's admission that he and his comrades 'were out on the spree and had no very distinct recollection of what was said when they knocked at Salih's window'. Registrar of the Circuit Court's Report – Abdol Salih case, n.d., KAB, Cape Supreme Court, CSC 1/2/1/125 Ref 1.

¹²⁷ Frank Perham, diary, 2 Jun 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736. Perham was in the 5th Contingent awaiting repatriation at Worcester. Recording the incident in his diary, Perham observed, 'A serious affray happened last night. Two I Y & Saddler Reid of D Squadron 5th N.Z. were in a place they should not have been in'.

¹²⁸ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 25 Jul 1901, p.2.

¹²⁹ *Cape Argus*, Cape Town, 5 Jun 1901, p.5.

¹³⁰ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 25 Jul 1901, p.2; *Cape Argus*, Cape Town, 5 Jun 1901, p.5.

¹³¹ Office of the Resident Magistrate of Worcester to the Inspector of Public Works, letter, 1 Aug 1901, KAB, Cape Town, Public Works Department, PWD 1/2/38 Ref B25; Chief Inspector to Secretary for Public Works, letter, 13 Aug 1901, *ibid.*; Record of Proceedings of Criminal Case. Second Western Circuit Court, Worcester, The King versus Abdol Salih. Murder, Registrar of the Circuit Court report, 1 Oct 1901, Cape Supreme Court, KAB, Cape Town, CSC 1/2/1/125 Ref.1; Registrar of Circuit report; Record of Proceedings of Criminal Case. Second Western Circuit Court, Worcester. The King versus Abdol Salih. Murder, 3 Oct 1901, KAB, Cape Town, CSC 1/2/1/125 Ref. 1; Statement of charges, Circuit Court for the District of Worcester, together with the Districts of Robertson, Montagu, Ceres Tulbagh, Beaufort West, Fraserburg, Sutherland and Prince Albert, n.d., KAB, Cape Supreme Court, CSC 1/2/1/125 Ref 1.

¹³² John Crawford, 'The Best', pp.84-86; Ron Palenski, *Kiwi Battlefields*, Auckland: Hodder Moe, 2011, p.22. Crawford briefly mentions a case involving Sixth Contingent men who were imprisoned for refusing a lawful order. This incident involved Farrier-Sergeant Haslett, Farriers Howe and Norris, and troopers Farrow and Harvey, who were court-martialled and sentenced to three years penal servitude (commuted to one year's hard labour) when they refused to walk to their column, claiming they enlisted as mounted troops.¹³² While admitting the offence was serious, Seddon sought clemency, noting the men had no previous military training, which was only partially true as Howe had been a gunner in the 'Onehunga Navals'. Each man's offence was 'When on active service disobeying a lawful command given by his superior Officer'. They received no pay while imprisoned, forfeited their campaign medals and lost their £5 Imperial war gratuity. Howe claimed he had been

Worcester affray, the town was placed off limits to the troops due to the risk of typhoid. On 30 May, Trooper Frank Perham wrote:

Great excitement, all the 5th [Contingent] in mutiny refusing all guards except railway S. guard. Cpt. Major addressed the crowd. Gave guard 10 minutes to fall in. All stuck out stoutly for a long time but eventually did it under protest.¹³³

The following day Perham recorded that ‘a general parade of New Zealanders was held for a tongue lashing etc. from Colonel Davis’.¹³⁴ However, unlike the Howe incident, no charges appear to have resulted. Collective action was also employed when members of Perham’s unit complained to a Major about not receiving their pay, with Perham noting two days later that they received their cheques.¹³⁵

The degree of leniency shown by officers in these cases was notably absent when sentencing others. Nineteen-year-old Trooper Charles Borland Tasker was found guilty of sleeping at his post and was sentenced to five years penal servitude, commuted to one year’s imprisonment with hard labour.¹³⁶ Tasker was the son of Marianne Allen Tasker, the prominent founder and leader of the Women’s Democratic Union, and she and her husband petitioned King Edward VII for Tasker’s pardon and early release from Gosport Prison in England.¹³⁷ In the petition, Tasker appeared to again contradict her National Council of Women position when she wrote that she had given their son ‘to assist in the Empire’s service’.¹³⁸ In a memorandum supporting the petition, Seddon stated his belief that the ‘laws

hospitalized with ‘Rhumatics [sic] in the legs’ prior to the incident and on his release had been ordered to walk twenty-five miles to rejoin his column. After the war, Howe enlisted a solicitor, and in a thinly-veiled threat, promised the Secretary of Defence that he would keep the matter ‘out of the papers’ until he heard from him, though his claim was denied. Premier’s Office to Lord Ranfurly, Memorandum, 21 Jan 1902, Onesimus Howe, AABK 18805 W5515 0002670, ANZ NZDFPR, p.37; Attestation Form, 14 Jan 1901, *ibid.*, p.39. O. Howe to the Secretary of Defence, letter, n.d., *ibid.*, p.24-25; Devore & Martin to Secretary of Defence, letter, 9 Sep 1902, *ibid.*, p.17.

¹³³ Frank Perham, diary, 30 May 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 30, 31 May 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736. Perham’s diary account contradicts a later version of what appears to be the same event in which Perham claims ‘[Davis] talked quietly to us’. Palenski, *Kiwi Battlefields*, p.22; Frank Perham, *The Kimberley Flying Column: Being Reminiscences of Service in the South African War of 1899-1903*, Timaru: Printers & Publishers, [1959?], pp.78-79.

¹³⁵ Frank Perham, diary, 22 Jan 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736; 24 Jan 1901, *ibid.*

¹³⁶ J. Babington to P. O. O., Woolwich, copy of letter, 14 Apr 1904, Charles Borland Tasker, AABK 18805 W5515 0005468, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.15-16. The *Manawatu Times* reported the imprisonment of forty soldiers in Dartmoor Prison for the same offence. *Manawatu Times*, 30 Aug 1901, p.2.

¹³⁷ *DNZB*, Vol. 2, pp.504-505; *Marlborough Express*, 7 Feb 1911, p.6, Charles Borland Tasker, Reg. No. 1882/10727, DIA NZBDM; *AJHR*, 1902, A-1, pp.22-23; *Otago Witness*, 11 Dec 1901, p.25. The Taskers were assisted by Wellington barrister, E.G. Jellicoe. It appears that Tasker’s parents’ petition was forwarded to the War Office. Tasker was released four days before Christmas 1901 and sailed for New Zealand the same day. W.P. Reeves to Richard J. Seddon, letter, 13 Dec 1901, Charles Borland Tasker, AABK 18805 W5515 0005468, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.11-12; *Bush Advocate*, 10 Feb 1902, p.2.

¹³⁸ Palenski, p.28.

and regulations' meant Tasker should have been incarcerated either in South Africa or New Zealand.¹³⁹ Seddon again accepted the seriousness of the offence, but observed that Tasker was 'a mere youth and not a trained and experienced soldier'.

The case drew criticism in the New Zealand press, with several papers running an article titled 'Hardships of Outpost Duty' that documented Tasker's gruelling service obligations, and claimed 'his experiences are not likely to stimulate his fellow countrymen to further military service for the cause of the Empire in South Africa'.¹⁴⁰ The three newspapers noted, 'The colonial volunteer, it is becoming increasingly evident, is out of place as a part of the British Army'.

In a letter to the *Evening Post*, 'A Trooper's Mother' wrote:

The case of Trooper Tasker has given rise to a grave feeling of unrest in the minds of those with sons and relatives at the war in South Africa. We colonial mothers did not give our sons body and soul to the Imperial Army to do as they like with. Our boys may be brave and fearless as lions, but in the tigerish grip of the Imperial Army it shall avail them nothing in the day of trouble.¹⁴¹

Marianne Tasker documented the 'dark ages' treatment of her son, and noted: 'New Zealand as a self-governing colony lent troops for a specific purpose in a specific place; outside those limits she has a right to say what shall be done with any member forming the troops. The military authorities exceeded their jurisdiction in sending a native-born New Zealander to the United Kingdom.'¹⁴² The *Tuapeka Times* conceded that the rigid Imperial discipline that often turned a British officer into 'an arrogant and offensive martinet, is an intolerable tyranny to the average colonial', but predicted that in future if colonial soldiers served under British officers there would be less tolerance of the independence of colonials.¹⁴³ The paper added that Imperial military discipline stemmed from a society where 'caste and class privileges predominated, and ... there was little, if anything, to distinguish between military service and slavery'. In a possible reference to Tasker in his farewell speech to the

¹³⁹ *AJHR*, 1902, A-1, pp.22-23.

¹⁴⁰ *Evening Post*, 1 Nov 1901, p.5; *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 5 Nov 1901, p.4; *Feilding Star*, 4 Nov 1901, p.2. In an earlier case in September 1900, a New Zealander serving in the Transvaal Provisional Constabulary was sentenced to twenty-eight days imprisonment for the same offence after Major Thomas Jowsey of the Third Contingent intervened on his behalf and pleaded for mercy, claiming the offender was 'young and inexperienced, and that severe punishment to him meant a disgrace from which he could never free himself, and would cause his parents great anxiety and suffering'. *Otago Daily Times*, 4 Sep 1900, p.2.

¹⁴¹ *Evening Post* supplement, 9 Nov 1901, p.6.

¹⁴² *Evening Post*, 14 Dec 1901, supplement, p.7.

¹⁴³ *Tuapeka Times*, 16 Nov 1901, pp.2, 3.

Ninth Contingent, Lord Ranfurly stressed that ‘A man asleep, even for a minute, at his post may cause the loss of many valuable lives’.¹⁴⁴

There were other instances of New Zealand troops reacting to the perceived severity of punishments ordered by Imperial officers. Several New Zealand papers reported a near mutiny in the Seventh Contingent that allegedly occurred on 22 December 1901, after two New Zealanders were court-martialled for verbally abusing an officer.¹⁴⁵ In an article titled ‘How New Zealanders are Punished. Resentment in the Seventh Contingent’, the *Manawatu Evening Standard* described the soldier that reported the incident as trustworthy, and alleged the two men were sentenced to forty-two days ‘first field punishment’, which involved them being tied spreadeagled to a wagon wheel for two hours morning and evening, a practice the paper called ‘torture’.¹⁴⁶ The informant claimed the ‘whole regiment rushed the waggon [sic] and cut the straps’, alleging a mutiny was only avoided when a Major promised to speak to Colonel Garratt, their commanding officer.¹⁴⁷ The trooper added:

Imperial officers sentence our fellows, but I dont’t [sic] think they will get colonials to carry the programme through. Don’t think that we wish to ‘rule the roost’ altogether, but we do object to the particular form of punishment.

The *Auckland Star* later reported that Seddon had communicated with Lord Kitchener, who dismissed the claims as ‘unfounded’, while the *Colonist* called them ‘False Reports’.¹⁴⁸

There appears to be no evidence verifying an allegation that a New Zealander was charged in connection with the atrocities for which two Australian Bushveldt Carbineers officers, Harry Morant and Peter Handcock, were subsequently executed.¹⁴⁹ This is despite the fact that at least twelve New Zealanders served in the Bushveldt Carbineers, four of whom were listed as Sixth Contingent deserters.¹⁵⁰ One of them, Robert Maynard, later offered to

¹⁴⁴ *Otago Witness*, 12 Mar 1902, p.28.

¹⁴⁵ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 5 Feb 1902, p.3; *Wanganui Herald*, 6 Feb 1902, p.2; *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 13 Feb 1902, p.2; *Bruce Herald*, 18 Feb 1902, p.1.

¹⁴⁶ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 5 Feb 1902, p.3.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Auckland Star*, 17 Mar 1902, p.5; *Colonist*, 18 Mar 1902, p.2.

¹⁴⁹ *Wanganui Herald*, 3 Apr 1902, p.2; *Evening Post*, 16 Apr 1902, p.5; Bushveldt Carbineers medal roll, National Archives, Kew, UK WO 100/263, pp.148-149.

¹⁵⁰ Bushveldt Carbineers medal roll, National Archives, Kew, UK WO 100/263, pp.154-156, 159, 164, 170-172, 176. Ernest Brown, Edward Brown, James Christie, Muir Churton, Harry Cox, James Eden, Samuel Haslett, Robert Maynard, James McGill, James Murray, Dennis Rogers and Joseph Richards were New Zealanders who served in the Bushveldt Carbineers. Murray was blacklisted and discharged from the Seventh Contingent on its arrival in Durban after pleading guilty to being absent without leave for one night in Albany, Western Australia while en route to South Africa. Murray had earlier been sentenced to ten days confined to barracks for drunkenness at Newtown Camp in Wellington. However, witnesses in the Albany case claimed Murray was sober. Murray claimed the wheel cap had come off his cab and both he and the cab driver were obliged to walk

give evidence supporting Lieutenant Witton, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in the case.¹⁵¹ No New Zealanders were executed by the Imperial authorities. Nevertheless, New Zealanders did report witnessing alleged atrocities. Recording a skirmish, Trooper John Burnett wrote: ‘There were a lot of women and children with the Boers who tried to retreat thinking the British would not fire on them. But they were mistaken for the infantry gave them a hot fire.’¹⁵²

Burns identifies looting as part of New Zealand soldiers’ daily routine and self-image. However, as an illustration of the formal discipline that he argues directed their actions, he cites Private Buckland’s concerns regarding harsh punishments for looting.¹⁵³ Despite Buckland’s reservations, there is ample evidence that the practice was rife among New Zealand soldiers, and in 1904 the Government paid £20 16s 8d to compensate the Imperial Government for looting carried out by the Eighth and Tenth Contingents.¹⁵⁴ William Bunter openly discussed looting in letters: ‘When we got into the house our men started looting the place. All that fell to my share was a packet of candles and a love letter’.¹⁵⁵ Trooper Luke Perham prophetically noted, ‘We are all turning into Notorious [sic] thieves, steal anything going, a few will be had up for prigging when we get back’.¹⁵⁶ Trooper Amos McKegg told

to town, thus breaking his leave conditions. Though this fact was verified by the driver, Murray was still discharged from his contingent. Edward Brown, William Alfred Cullen, James Eden, Samuel Haslett and Joseph Richards were classified as deserters from the Sixth Contingent after they missed the sailing of the *Cornwall* in Sydney on 25 January 1901. It appears most of these men later made their way to South Africa aboard the Australia troopship *Maplemore*. After service in the Bushveldt Carbineers, Haslett rejoined the Sixth Contingent and was promoted to Farrier Sergeant, but was found guilty of disobeying a superior officer’s lawful command at Volksrust on 2 November 1901 and reduced to the ranks with the forfeiture of his ‘decorations and rewards for the campaign’ and five years penal servitude, the latter commuted to one year’s imprisonment with hard labour. 7th Contingent Crime Report, 22 Apr 1901, James George Murray, AABK 18805 W5515 0003296, ANZ, NZDFPR, pp.8-11; Crime Sheet, Newtown Park Camp, 19 Mar 1901, *ibid.*, p.12; H.D. Mackenzie to Commandant New Zealand Forces, letter, 15 Apr 1901, Joseph Foote Richards, AABK 18805 W5515 0004791, ANZ, NZDFPR, p.16; Thomas Whalan to Inspector Barry, letter, 9 Apr 1901, Joseph Foote Richards, AABK 18805 W5515 0004791, ANZ, NZDFPR, p.37; Memorandum to Officer Commanding 6th Contingent, South Africa, 2 Oct 1901, Edward Brown, AABK 18805 W5515 0000610, ANZ, NZDFPR, pp.11-12, 15; Sixth Contingent crime and offence reports, March 1901 – March 1902, ANZ AD34 7.

¹⁵¹ *Grey River Argus*, 12 May 1904, p.3; Bushveldt Carbineers medal roll, National Archives, Kew, UK WO 100/263, pp.170, 150.

¹⁵² John Edward Thomas Burnett, diary, 17 Oct 1900, NAM NZ 2004.549.

¹⁵³ Burns, pp.109, 202.

¹⁵⁴ *AJHR*, 1904, B-1, p.69.

¹⁵⁵ *Clutha Leader*, 19 Jan 1900, p.5. In a 1903 article discussing wartime looting, the *New Zealand Tablet* noted that ‘Banjo’ Patterson, the Australian war correspondent, had claimed during a speaking tour of New Zealand that ‘during the South African war matter had appeared in the British and colonial newspaper press that it was a disgrace for soldiers to write and for editors to publish’. The paper reported Patterson’s claim that ‘The amazing part of this bad business was the cool lack of any sense of shame with which officers and men recorded and editors published cases of picking the pockets of prisoners and stealing watches, money, jewellery, music, love-letters etc’. *New Zealand Tablet*, 1 Oct 1903, p.18.

¹⁵⁶ Luke Perham to his mother, letter, 28 Jun 1900, NAM NZ 2003.7, p.3. ‘Prigging’ was a term for theft. For Trooper Frederick Lund who served in the South African Light Horse, and Edward Robinson, Perham’s prediction proved to be true. While the charges against Robinson were dismissed, Lund was imprisoned for two

his brother ‘We have no compunction in taking anything we can find’.¹⁵⁷ Although the allegations were denied by Colonel R.H. Davies, the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Contingents were implicated in the looting of Indian stores and a hotel in Natal while awaiting repatriation.¹⁵⁸

Frank Perham recorded looting a Boer farmhouse: ‘At the first farm house we reached the fun commenced. We were told we could take whatever we liked. It was great sport watching the blokes chasing the poultry.’¹⁵⁹ Frederick Harcourt boasted that his unit ‘looted every orchard we came across’ and claimed his officers assisted.¹⁶⁰ Although livestock and vegetables to supplement army rations were the main targets, they were far from the only ones. Private Leonard Armstrong recorded in his diary that he ‘Came to a house which Boors [sic] had left ten minutes before. [P]lenty of Loot’.¹⁶¹ Four months later, Armstrong noted he had ‘Looted Scheepener’s House’.¹⁶² Not all New Zealand soldiers were comfortable with looting, though Trooper Harold Dickinson, who joined the First Contingent in 1899 and later became a Lieutenant in the 7th Contingent, seemingly contradicted himself in a letter decrying the practice:

There is a Boer farm here which has been taken by the troops. You should have seen the things the fellows took. One fellow of ours got a gold watch and chain, another a silver one, and others got valuables. I myself would not go near the place, as I reckoned it a d---d shame.

months after both men were charged with stealing a silver watch, twenty shillings and two medals from a Crimean War veteran only days after returning to New Zealand aboard the *Orient*. Lund, the older brother of John Lund, went on to serve during World War One (receiving a gunshot wound to his left arm in France in 1918) and died of pneumonia and chronic alcoholism in 1936. *Northern Advocate*, 30 Aug 1902, p.3; *Auckland Star*, 19 Aug 1902, p.5; *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 23 Aug 1902, p.3; Frederick Lund, Attestation Form, 24 Feb 1917, AABK 18805 W5515 0003296, Archives New Zealand (ANZ), NZDFPR, p.16; New Zealand Expeditionary Force, Promotions, Casualties and Movements, *ibid.*, p.18; Notification of Death, *ibid.*, p.11.

¹⁵⁷ Amos McKegg to his brother, letter, 1 Jul 1900, AWMM, McKegg, Amos, papers, MS 934.

¹⁵⁸ Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry, 2 Jul 1902, Claim against 8th N. Z. Contingent: Looting, ATL MS-Papers-5755-27, pp.1-10; J.F. Jaques to R.S. Charleston, letter, 5 Jul 1902, *ibid.* The looting allegedly occurred on 28 June 1902 and was claimed to involve the Eighth Contingent and the Tenth Contingent, as well as Australians and Canadians. J.F. Jaques lodged a claim for £10 9s, alleging men of the Eighth New Zealand Mounted Rifles assaulted him, broke pool cues and stole 500 sandwiches after he refused to sell them alcohol, which he could not supply without a permit, on 27 June 1902. A Court of Enquiry found that the allegations were legitimate and the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Contingents paid their shares of the compensation. Restitution of £20 16s 8d was sought from the Eighth Contingent and £20 16s 6d from the Tenth for the theft of fruit and other items including watches. Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry, 2 Jun 1902, Abstract of Claims, ATL MS-Papers-5755-27.

¹⁵⁹ Frank Perham, diary, 12 Jan 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736.

¹⁶⁰ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 54, Dec 1900, p.16.

¹⁶¹ Leonard George Armstrong, diary, 18 Jul 1901, NAM NZ 2004.530.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 1901. This is probably a reference to the home of the Boer hero, Commandant Gideon Scheepers, who was later tried and executed by the British on charges of ‘murder, arson and train wrecking’. Looting the house may have been an act of retribution as on June 19, 1901 the *Poverty Bay Herald* reported that ‘Scheepner’s [sic] force partially looted Murrayburg’. *Auckland Star*, 21 Jan 1902, p.5; *Poverty Bay Herald*, 19 Jun 1901, p.3.

Some fellows in the regulars pulled up the floor to see if there was anything hidden there, and others broke the piano, organ, and things, for the sake of saying they did it. I am glad to say that our fellows behaved themselves decently.¹⁶³

Other New Zealand soldiers did not share Dickinson's scruples. Several Boer family bibles were taken as loot, and after the war Lord Roberts' appeal for their return appeared in several New Zealand papers and the *New Zealand Gazette*.¹⁶⁴ In August 1903, an editorial in the *Ohinemuri Gazette* claimed that Boer bibles had generated considerable interest throughout New Zealand, adding that an old Boer bible was on display in a Wellington pawnbroker's window.¹⁶⁵ A correspondent in the *Evening Post* said 'It would also have been a gracious act if Lord Roberts had gone a step further, and requested the return of many other articles, such as watches, rings, letters, etc.'. ¹⁶⁶ It was not only the men who sent looted items

¹⁶³ *Evening Post*, 22 Jan 1900, p.5; Acting-Premier William Hall-Jones to Lord Ranfurly, letter, 24 Sep 1902, Harold Lissaman Dickinson AABK 18805 W5515 0001475, ANZ NZDFPR, p.37. Dickinson was subsequently killed at Langverwacht, which Hall-Jones incorrectly spelt as 'Langrerwacht'. Despite Dickinson's comments, New Zealanders were involved in the wanton destruction of Boer property. In a letter to his sister, James Clarke said he was enclosing a piece of a piano key from a piano 'that we broke in a Dutch farm house'. James Clarke to Katie Clarke, transcript of letter, 15 Jun 1902, Clarke, p.27.

¹⁶⁴ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 13 Jul 1903, p.2; *Marlborough Express*, 11 Jul 1903, p.2; *Taranaki Herald*, 11 Jul 1903, p.2; *Grey River Argus*, 11 Jul 1903, p.3; *Feilding Star*, 11 Jul 1903, p.2; *Bruce Herald*, 8 Apr 1904, p.2; *New Zealand Gazette*, 1903, Vol. 2, Sep. 3, p.1913. The *Bay of Plenty Times* referring to them as 'stolen', and the *Marlborough Express* saying they were 'captured'.

¹⁶⁵ *Ohinemuri Gazette and Upper Thames Warden*, 10 Aug 1903, p.2. In an article titled 'Loot', the *New Zealand Tablet* reported that a Boer bible belonging to Joseph Johannes Fritz had been 'rescued by the premier from the sordid surroundings of a Wellington pawnshop' and was displayed in the House of Representatives library prior to its repatriation. The paper referred to it being 'stolen by thieves in khaki' and discussed 'promiscuous private looting in war'. The paper added, 'the story of the pawned Boer Bible is one of the things that ought to give one pause and wonder if, after all, war is a thing to huzza and sound the loud timbrel about'. *New Zealand Tablet*, 1 Oct 1903, pp.17-18.

¹⁶⁶ *Evening Post*, 14 Sep 1903, p.7. In October 1903, the *Manawatu Evening Standard* reported that Seddon had returned several bibles that had been located in New Zealand. One had been located in a pawn shop. The father of a contingent member sent a Boer bible to the MHR for Christchurch City, Thomas Taylor, so that it could be returned to its original owner, Peter Vanderberg of Boshop, and in 1911 the Vicar of Oamaru, J.D. Russell, wrote to the Defence Minister seeking to return the family bible of J.F.S. Mentz, also of Boshop. Enquiries in South Africa revealed that the bible was the property of Joachim Frederick Sarel Mentz of Ongegend farm at Boshop. In 1928 Patrick Joseph Mulhern sought the assistance of the government in locating the rightful owner of a Boer bible he claimed to have saved from a burning house in the vicinity of the 'Lossburgh Hills' in South Africa on 28 July 1901. In 1930, the owner was identified as Mr B.M. Janse Van Vuuren of Witport, Transvaal, and the bible was sent to Pretoria. Mulhern estimated the bible's weight at 25lbs. *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 13 Oct 1903, p.8; *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 27 Oct 1903, p.2; J.D. Russell to the Minister of Defence, letter, 4 Jul 1911, ANZ AD34 2; William Hall-Jones to Joseph Ward, letter, 25 Mar 1912, ANZ AD34 2; Secretary for the Interior to Adjutant General, New Zealand Military Forces, letter, n.d., ANZ AD34 2; P.J. Mulhern to General Headquarters, letter, n.d., ANZ AD34 2; Major T. Farr to Headquarters, Union Defence Forces, letter, Jan 1929, ANZ AD34 2; P.J. Mulhern to ?, letter, 9 Mar 1929, ANZ AD34 2.

to New Zealand. Nurse Bessie Teape sent her brother several ‘mementoes’ including a sovereign case ‘taken from the pocket of a dead Boer’.¹⁶⁷

Soldiers’ accounts of their exploits, combined with newspaper reports and praise from politicians and British commanders, generated a belief in New Zealand’s military proficiency. Seddon praised New Zealanders’ heroic defence during an engagement, and a *New Zealand Herald* article described the ‘now commonplace but ever-thrilling information that our New Zealand lads have been in the thick of the fighting and have not made us ashamed’.¹⁶⁸ Elements of this image were borne out in letters from South Africa. In an anonymous letter published in the *Otago Witness*, an ‘officer of repute now at the front’ claimed:

Oversea [sic] colonials – that is, Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders – are the best suited for this style of warfare, and do the best work by far. At this period of the war we always let the men have as free a hand as possible in the field, and explain what we don’t want done, so that if there is a mistake made on their part it is pointed out to them. This makes them very careful and self-reliant.¹⁶⁹

When the New Zealanders repulsed an attack on a position that became known as New Zealand Hill, Joseph Culling claimed to have been at the forefront. In a letter to his mother, Culling said he remained calm despite two men being killed by the Boers: ‘we avenged their blood, the captain killing three and I nine or ten’.¹⁷⁰ Another account of the attack by Trooper Macpherson made no mention of Culling.¹⁷¹ Both Joseph Chamberlain and Major-General French praised the New Zealanders conduct during the battle while J.A. Shand’s article for the *Otago Daily Times* documented troopers’ alleged nonchalance and bravery under fire.¹⁷² In a letter to Hall-Jones, General Ian Hamilton said, ‘I have soldiered a long time now, but I have never in my life met men I would sooner soldier with than the New

¹⁶⁷ *Star*, 24 Jul 1900, p.1. The *Star* reported that Teape sent ‘one of the Queen’s chocolate boxes containing a number of officers’ badges taken from the battlefield’ as well as ‘two sovereigns, a half sovereign and a sixpence in Kruger money’.

¹⁶⁸ Richard J. Seddon to William Hall-Jones, Telegram, 20 Mar 1902 p.3, ATL MS-Papers-5755-57; *New Zealand Herald*, 21 Jan 1901, p.4.

¹⁶⁹ *Otago Witness*, 19 Mar 1902, p.26.

¹⁷⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, 22 Feb 1900, p.2; *Otago Witness*, 1 Mar 1900, p.12. Though Culling’s claim was almost definitely an exaggeration, it nonetheless appeared in both the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Otago Witness*.

¹⁷¹ *Otago Daily Times*, 22 Feb 1900, p.2.

¹⁷² *Clutha Leader*, 19 Jan 1900, p.5; *Otago Daily Times*, 6 Feb 1900, p.5. In a letter home, Trooper Buntin claimed that ‘General French has taken a great fancy to the New Zealand Contingent, and shows it by sending us all over the place’. A 1901 parliamentary report titled ‘New Zealand Contingent for South Africa: Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Men Who Have Been Brought to Notice for Meritorious Service’ listed men who had been mentioned in despatches or decorated. *AJHR*, 1901, H-6D, pp.1-2.

Zealanders', while in a letter to Seddon, Major-General Edwin Hough said of the New Zealanders under his command:

Among an especially fine lot of fighting-men such as are to be found in this brigade from all parts of the Empire, none have a higher reputation for steadiness under fire, or for that dash and gallantry when the moment arrives, which are so peculiarly the attributes of British troops of the highest type.¹⁷³

Tui Gilling has discussed the pride soldiers exhibited in their sporting prowess.¹⁷⁴ While some New Zealanders also displayed good horsemanship, contingent soldiers appear to have lacked a consistent level of weapon proficiency.¹⁷⁵ Burns's claim that New Zealand soldiers did not generally consider themselves to be naturally skilled riders and shots¹⁷⁶ is at least in part debatable as several men expressed pride in contingent members' horsemanship.¹⁷⁷ Frank Perham recorded that 'N.Z. got 1st, 2nd, 3rd & I think 4th, and 5th, places in the Lyds [sic] Lindsay's contest also 1st and 2nd in the V.C.'¹⁷⁸ Conrad Saxby noted

¹⁷³ Sir Ian Hamilton to William Hall-Jones, letter, 30 Jan 1901, ATL MS-Papers-5755-59; *AJHR*, 1900, H-6G, p.1. After visiting South Africa, George Hutchison, the MHR for Patea, reported meeting 'General' Ridley who apparently said, 'I'd commit a crime for New Zealand. What splendid fellows they are. I tried to get them for a mounted brigade I am forming, but was unsuccessful – worse luck'. This was probably a reference to Colonel C.P. Ridley, who commanded the 4th Brigade Mounted Infantry. *Southland Times* 19 May 1900, p.3; *London Gazette*, 8 Feb 1901, p.847.

¹⁷⁴ Tui Gilling, 'On Active Service: New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902', Postgraduate Diploma of Arts research exercise, University of Otago, 1990, pp.104-105. Herbert Hart wrote in his diary that New Zealand had played against a combined Australian and Canadian team and won two tries to one. Herbert Ernest Hart, diary, 19 Jul 1902, NAM NZ 1990.1024.

¹⁷⁵ Paul Goldstone notes an *Evening Post* editorial expressing concern regarding the ability of the Volunteers. The *Evening Post* claimed, 'The country at the present time could not furnish [those engaged in the country's defence] with effective rifles, and if it could, a huge majority of those who would be prepared to fight would go to the front with the knowledge that they could not "shoot." Most of our readers will agree when we express the opinion that the whole of the volunteer forces at present enrolled could not turn out a thousand marksmen. And so long as they are unprovided [sic] with effective rifles and are not encouraged by every possible means to "learn to shoot," they will be of hardly more use to repel an invader than a mob of sheep'. John Crawford also notes that the shooting test for contingent applicants does not appear to have been overly taxing. Paul Goldstone, 'The Imperialist Movement and National Defence 1900-1909', Master of Arts thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1993, p.24; *Evening Post*, 2 Jan 1900, p.4; Crawford, 'The Best', p.76.

¹⁷⁶ Burns, p.198. Burns claims 'Indeed, the evidence indicates, as with the soldiers' beliefs about themselves as riders and shots, that their conception of themselves drew no distinction from any other colonial British or British soldier'.

¹⁷⁷ Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p.134. Sinclair notes that 'Above all, the New Zealanders claimed that they excelled at riding and shooting'. Regarding Burns' position on this issue, a semantic distinction could be made regarding whether the soldiers thought they excelled at horsemanship because they were 'natural' riders, or simply good riders as a result of experience.

¹⁷⁸ Frank Perham, diary, 21 Mar 1901, NAM NZ 2000.736. Perham incorrectly gives the date as 'Wednesday 21st March' in his 1901 diary. In 1901, 21 March was a Thursday. Presumably the incident he recorded occurred on 20 March 1901. The Loyd Lindsay and the VC were military sports events. The former was named after, Brigadier-General Robert Loyd-Lindsay, who won the Victoria Cross for his actions during the Crimean War. The *Otago Witness* described the 'Lloyd Lindsay' event at a 1901 Otago Hussars sports day: 'Over jumps by sections. Two firing points. Rifles may be carried in holsters or at advance. Dismount by sections at firing points; fire three volleys kneeling. No. 3 of section in meantime leading horses round a flag placed about 50yds to rear

that in a column sports contest New Zealand won two of the three main events and got two seconds, claiming he only recalled ‘a New Zealand team being beaten once out here yet by outsiders’.¹⁷⁹ A British general allegedly said that the New Zealanders were ‘the smartest amongst horses he had ever seen’.¹⁸⁰

However, Saxby added that during the column sports ‘our chaps got full points on riding, jumping and general appearance, but got beaten on shooting.’¹⁸¹ Trooper Wilfred Wilson claimed that ‘George Smyth knocked over a Boer yesterday at 1500 yards – by accident I think, as he is not a very good shot’.¹⁸² Although some individual soldiers were skilled marksmen, overall, contingent members’ prowess with rifles was less impressive and accidental injuries, deaths and dangerous firearms practices reflected the inadequate military training many soldiers received before leaving for South Africa. An Australian paper reported an officer’s claim published in the *Wellington Post* that ‘In one town a party of New Zealanders hired all the jinrickshas in the place and raced through the main street, amid the frantic noises of the firing of arms’, while four men in the Sixth Contingent were found guilty of firing their rifles on a train.¹⁸³

Captain Fred Abbott recorded a fatal accident that occurred in camp: ‘Trooper Whitney while examining a Mauser captured rifle accidentally let it off, killing Corpl Burns [sic].’¹⁸⁴ Despite service in the Waimate Mounted Rifles, Whitney gave evidence at a

of flank’. The VC, or Rescue Race, was also practiced: ‘In an enclosure at end of run, protected by a firing party, was placed a dummy for each man. The competitors jumped in, dismounted, placed the dummies on their horses, mounted, jumped out of enclosure, and galloped back to starting point’. *Otago Witness*, 31 Oct 1900, p.32.

¹⁷⁹ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 60, Dec 1902, p.12. Saxby said the events were ‘(1) The Lloyd [sic] Lindsay, (2) the Wrestling, (3) the Tug-of-War’. Saxby added ‘had the event been on real Lloyd [sic] Lindsay lines we should have won hands down. In the Wrestling on Horseback, eight men aside [sic], we won very easily, five men in the final remaining seated’.

¹⁸⁰ *Clutha Leader*, 19 Jan 1900, p.5. Trooper Wilfred Wilson wrote that the General shook the hands of ‘Hugh Smith, Geo. Mitchell, Dan Johnstone and Geo. Arnold’ after four horses belonging to another regiment got down in a railway truck they were unloading and the men got the animals back on their feet. Smith gave his occupation as ‘horse breaker’. Hugh Smith, AABK 18805 W5515 0005177, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5.

¹⁸¹ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 60, Dec 1902, p.12.

¹⁸² *Clutha Leader*, 19 Jan 1900, p.5. However, shooting ability varied, with Wilson also claiming that ‘the New Zealand Contingent did some good shooting, none of them being injured, but they killed and wounded several Boers’. Although Wilson is recorded as ‘Wilfred’ Wilson on a nominal roll of the First Contingent and on his Attestation Form, his full name appears to have been John Reginald Wilfred Wilson. Smyth served in the First, Sixth and Ninth Contingents and had been in the Clutha Mounted Rifles prior to the war. *AJHR*, 1899, H-6, p.4; R. Wilfred Wilson, AABK 18805 W5515 0006112, ANZ NZDFPR, p.8; John Reginald Wilfred Wilson, 1876/8002, DIA NZBDM; George Smyth, AABK 18805 W5515 0005228, ANZ NZDFPR, pp.2, 6.

¹⁸³ *Western Advocate and the Emu Bay Times*, Devonport and Burnie, Australia, 10 Sep 1902, p.4. Private O’Keefe, Private Jack, Private Nichol and Private Withers were sentenced to ninety-six hours confinement for discharging their weapons while on a train on 14 March 1902. Sixth Contingent, Crime and Offence Reports, March 1901 – March 1902, ANZ AD34 7.

¹⁸⁴ Captain Fred W. Abbott, diary, 23 Oct 1901, NAM NZ 1997.1841. Abbot’s reference to Corporal Burns is incorrect. Whitney accidentally shot Corporal Byrne. Evidence of Trooper A.J. Whitney, Proceedings of Regimental Enquiry, 23 Oct 1901, William James Byrne, AABK 18805 W5515 0000776, ANZ NZDFPR, p.12.

Regimental Enquiry that he asked to examine the rifle, worked the bolt 'a couple of times', closed it and pulled the trigger, fatally shooting his friend, twenty-two-year-old Corporal William Byrne, in the chest.¹⁸⁵ Lieutenant-Colonel Porter stressed the need for care when handling firearms and observed that 'many complaints have been made of the common practice of exploding rifles in the lines'.¹⁸⁶ Despite these warnings, the following day Abbott wrote in his diary, 'Trooper Thomas Crawford Canterbury Squadron wounded accidentally in the arm by rifle shot'.¹⁸⁷ Reflecting Boer tactics, Joseph Orford claimed he had not had a shot 'under 1200 yards', adding, '[I] don't suppose I have even scared a Dutchie yet.'¹⁸⁸ However, soldiers like Peter McDonald, who the *Wanganui Collegian* described as a noted Wairarapa deerstalker, showed considerable skill with their weapons.¹⁸⁹

In a 1903 letter to Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Ranfurly noted the Government was 'particularly anxious that the field guns captured by the New Zealanders, besides other relics and trophies of the war should be sent to the colony'.¹⁹⁰ Possibly to reinforce the country's military reputation and to strengthen war trophy claims, the New Zealand Government submitted a list of prisoners, guns, rifles, ammunition and wagons captured by the New Zealand contingents in South Africa (or by the columns in which they served) to the Imperial

¹⁸⁵ Evidence of Trooper A.J. Whitney, Proceedings of Regimental Enquiry, 23 Oct 1901, William James Byrne, AABK 18805 W5515 0000776, ANZ NZDFPR, p.12. Whitney, who was killed in action in 1902, was 'in a state of prostration through grief' after the shooting and had to be sedated. Evidence of Captain Dickinson, *ibid.*, p.13; South African Contingents (Deaths of Members of), *AJHR*, 1903, H-6A, p.9.

¹⁸⁶ Finding of Lieut-Col. Porter, Proceedings of Regimental Enquiry, 23 Oct 1901, William James Byrne, AABK 18805 W5515 0000776, ANZ NZDFPR, p.14. Trooper Herbert Hart recorded that a South Island contingent member was shot in the foot by an exploding cartridge that had been placed in the fire, while seven Africans were 'badly wounded' as a result of the same practice. Herbert Ernest Hart, diary, 5 Jun 1902, NAM NZ 1990.1024.

¹⁸⁷ Captain Fred W. Abbott, diary, 24 Oct 1901, NAM NZ 1997.1841. Crawford was hit 'at very close range' by a ricocheting .303 bullet fired by his comrades. Medical Report, 27 Jan 1903, Thomas Crawford, AABK 18805 W5515 0001263, ANZ NZDFPR, p.40.

¹⁸⁸ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 54, Dec 1900, p.16.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Orford claimed that during a rearguard action Peter McDonald received permission to shoot at a Boer outpost 'two miles away'. Noting that their rifles were only sighted to 2,800 yards, Orford estimated the distance as 3,500 yards and said that McDonald's first shot made a mounted Boer move position, the second caused him to duck below his horse's neck and the third forced him to gallop away. Using target shooting terminology, Orford claimed 'Peter must have scored an outer every time, and probably an inner with the second.'

¹⁹⁰ Lord Ranfurly to Joseph Chamberlain, 2 May 1903, *AJHR*, 1904, A-1, p.2. Speaking in parliament, William Field, MHR for Otaki, raised the issue of New Zealand acquiring as war trophies three guns (two pom-poms and a 15-pounder) captured by the Seventh Contingent. Field claimed the guns had been 'the last three Boer guns in the field'. The Acting Minister of Defence, William Hall-Jones, replied that it appeared the 15-pounder was an Imperial gun, and that due to the time that had elapsed it was unlikely the other two weapons could be positively identified. The government did receive two Boer guns, a Krupp and a Vickers-Maxim, that were given to the Fourth and Fifth Contingents as war trophies. In 1901, the weapons were located outside Parliament Buildings. *NZPD*, 121 (1902), p.296; *AJHR*, 1901, H-6F, p.1.

authorities.¹⁹¹ It also asked the Imperial Government to issue banners to the individual contingents.¹⁹²

Seddon criticised the Imperial authorities' treatment of the colonies regarding the distribution of Boer trophies, calling it 'very unsatisfactory'.¹⁹³ He lamented the fact that 'no big guns have been allotted to New Zealand, and that trophies which would have been prized have been broken up or allowed to rust', though in 1901 the *Tagus* brought a captured Krupp gun to New Zealand, which was then installed outside Parliament Buildings.¹⁹⁴ Politicians were encouraged to advance their electorates' claims to war trophies and in 1904 the *Karamea* arrived in New Zealand with 'Two Krupp guns; one Maxim gun and tripod mounting, together with carriages; and 600 Mauser rifles.'¹⁹⁵ Trophies were also lodged by soldiers in various museums where they were displayed long after hostilities ended as visible symbols of New Zealand's military record in South Africa.¹⁹⁶



Fig. 58. Trooper William George Lammas, Seventh Contingent.
Source: ATL MS-Papers-1487

¹⁹¹ Lord Ranfurly to Joseph Chamberlain, 16 Sep 1903, *AJHR*, 1904, A-1, pp.5-6.

¹⁹² Lord Ranfurly to A. Lyttelton, 14 Dec 1903, *AJHR*, 1904, A-1, p.12.

¹⁹³ *Auckland Star*, 20 Jul 1904, p.2.

¹⁹⁴ Geoff Lawson, *Our Gun: A Wanganui Krupp Gun Story*, Wanganui: G. Lawson, c2012, p.91.

¹⁹⁵ *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 13 Aug 1904, p.2; *Bush Advocate*, 29 Nov 1904, p.4.

¹⁹⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 2 Oct 1908, p.7. Wanganui Museum displayed 'two collections of Boer war trophies, one deposited by Sergt. P. Hogg, and the other by Trooper G. Powell'.

Soldiers' accounts of the war often referred to the opportunity military service afforded for adventure.¹⁹⁷ There is palpable excitement in Lieutenant Robert Tubman's accounts of killing a 3ft puff adder, seeing 'huge alligators', antelope, giraffes, and elephants, and being 'in the heart of lion country', while Dudley Hewitt claimed the voyage to South Africa alone was 'worth twenty years ordinary experience'.¹⁹⁸ William Lammas (fig. 58) expressed similar feelings: 'it was a grand sea trip and from Durban right up to Pretoria things were worth seeing I can tell you'.¹⁹⁹ Sergeant Duncan Blair claimed 'It is an experience I would not have missed for a fortune' - a view echoed by Richard Burnett, while Francis Swanwick wrote that 'Things have a warlike appearance in Bulawayo, and it is worth chancing your life to see and realise such things'.²⁰⁰ In a 1935 letter to the Adjutant General, former Quarter-Master Sergeant Peter McDonald, spoke affectionately of 'the days of comradeship on the field; there we helped one another'.²⁰¹



Fig. 59. The logo of the South African War Veterans' Association.
Source: W.H. Hayman to W.E. Parry, letter, 13 Sep 1947, ATL MS-Papers-1487.

¹⁹⁷ *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 24 Jan 1902, p.2. The paper claimed that on their return to 'Maoriland', New Zealand soldiers' 'craving for change and adventure' would be satiated.

¹⁹⁸ *Otago Witness*, 5 Sep 1900 p.29; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 53, Aug 1900, p.18. Tubman claimed that six men from his force were lost to lions in Rhodesia. A Dunedin school teacher in civilian life, he died of enteric fever on 11 Apr 1902. Attestation Form, 24 Mar 1900, Robert George Tubman, AABK 18805 W5515 0005650, ANZ NZDFPR, p.19; Adjustment Statement, 13 May 1902, *ibid.*, p.11.

¹⁹⁹ William George Lammas to Ern and Ralph, letter, 24 Jul 1901, ATL MS-Papers-1487. Lammas goes on to describe seeing battlefields, 'hundreds of soldiers' greaves' [sic], and the heavy railway traffic and armoured trains.

²⁰⁰ *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 54, Dec 1900, p.16; *ibid.*, No. 58 Apr 1902, p.15; *Tuapeka Times*, 29 Sep 1900, p.3. In a 1902 letter sent from Heilbron, Burnett said 'The last fortnight things have been remarkably lively over here for us, and I wouldn't have missed it all for a fortune'.

²⁰¹ Peter McDonald to Adjutant General, letter, 9 Jan 1935, Peter McDonald, AABK 18805 W5515 0003493, ANZ NZDFPR, p.5.

This spirit of comradeship did not end with the declaration of peace. Following their return from South Africa, members of the First Contingent formed the First New Zealand Mounted Rifles Association, which held annual reunions and produced a journal titled the *Bulletin*.²⁰² At a well-attended 1901 meeting where Major Madocks and Captain Bartlett were elected as officers, the Association expressed its pleasure that ‘so many members had returned to their former vocations, and that others had received appointments in the Government service’.²⁰³ In 1930 the *Evening Post* reported that while sixty-three veterans had died, one hundred and twenty-three were still alive in New Zealand.²⁰⁴ It added that veterans had ‘held their annual reunions with undiminished enthusiasm’. Reflecting the contribution of men who served in later contingents, the more inclusive South African War Veterans’ Association was formed in 1920 (figs 59-60).²⁰⁵



Fig. 60. Delegates representing branches of the South African War Veterans' Association at their annual conference in Wellington, July 1937.
Source: ATL PAColl-5482-047.

²⁰² *Evening Post*, 22 Oct 1901, p.5; *Bulletin*, No.33 9 Aug, 1912, History (War) New Zealand, 1899-1902, Aug 1901 – May 1936, AD34 4. In 1901 the Association had a credit balance of £15.

²⁰³ *Evening Post*, 22 Oct 1901, p.4.

²⁰⁴ *Evening Post*, 22 Oct 1930, p.9. The paper reported that ‘The total strength of the contingent in 1899 was 217. The names of 63 who have since died have been inscribed on the roll of honour, and there are 89 veterans in the North Island and 34 in the South Island, two in India, seven in South Africa, five in Australia, and six in England.’

²⁰⁵ *Auckland Star*, 20 May 1920, p.4.



Fig. 61. Louisa Jane Seddon, with her husband, Prime Minister Richard John Seddon, laying a foundation stone for the South African War memorial in Ross, West Coast. Photograph taken circa 1903.
Source: ATL 1/1-027040-G.



Fig. 62. South African War memorial tablet in the entrance hall of the Ranfurly Veterans' Home, Auckland.
Source: ATL PAColl-5745-1-02.

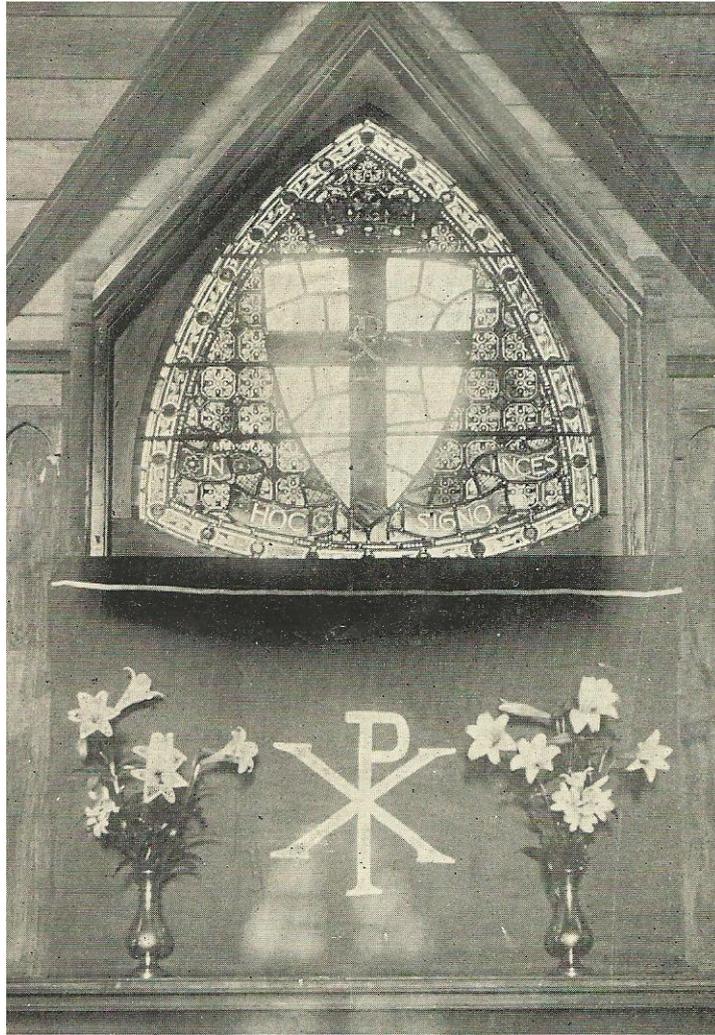


Fig. 63. Memorial window in the original Wanganui Collegiate chapel commemorating Leslie Seton Melville, Walter Douglas Armstrong and Campbell Parkinson 'who died in the discharge of their duty'. The window was unveiled by the Bishop of Wellington on 25 November 1901.

Sources: *Wanganui Collegian* No. 57, Dec 1901, p.8; *Wanganui Chronicle*, 18 Dec 1901, p.2.

Another enduring legacy of New Zealand's military exploits in South Africa was the memorials erected in many towns commemorating the conflict (figs 61-62), and the establishment of a Veterans' Home. The *Southland Times* editor discussed with obvious pride the record of the region's soldiers and the plan to erect a memorial in Invercargill 'to perpetuate the memory of these events'.²⁰⁶ It appears that a South African War memorial erected in Tāneatua Public Domain commemorated John Walker, a part-Māori, who served

²⁰⁶ *Southland Times*, 8 Oct, 1902, p.2.

with distinction in South Africa.²⁰⁷ In a 1901 letter from South Africa that appeared in the *Poverty Bay Herald*, Thomas Richard Porter, who was also part-Māori, referred to Walker as ‘J. Hone Waaka (Johnny Walker)’.²⁰⁸ Many towns, like Palmerston and New Plymouth, erected other war memorials, while Wanganui Collegiate added a memorial window to its chapel (fig.63).²⁰⁹ Lord Ranfurly supported the construction of the home for South African veterans, which included a national memorial tablet (fig. 62), with the Government contributing £1,500.²¹⁰ When the home opened in 1903, Lord Ranfurly reported that five hundred veterans, two hundred troops and several thousand other people attended the ceremony.²¹¹ However, at the unveiling of a memorial to Canterbury soldiers in September 1902 Slater claims ‘Under 100 Volunteers were present, and but very few of the general public’.²¹²

Even before the cessation of hostilities, steps were taken to produce a history of New Zealand’s involvement in the war, though this was to prove a fraught undertaking. In 1901 Captain Norman R. W. Smith was tasked with compiling and editing ‘a report on the part taken by N.Z. Contingents in the South African War to form part of the Official History thereof’.²¹³ In March 1902 W.D. Campbell of the Sun Publishing Company wrote to William Hall-Jones, the Minister for Public Works, offering to compile a ‘narrative of the doings of the New Zealand Contingents in South Africa’.²¹⁴ Although Campbell’s offer was initially

²⁰⁷ S. Summers to Officer Commanding Auckland District, 25 Jan 1912, John Walker, AABK 18805 W5515 0005770, ANZ NZDFPR, p.13; Malcolm Elder to Commandant N.Z. Forces, 1901, *ibid.*, p.37.

²⁰⁸ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 29 Jul 1901, p.3.

²⁰⁹ *Otago Witness*, 17 Jun 1903, p.28; *Auckland Star*, 13 Jul 1903, p.4; *Wanganui Collegian*, No. 55, Apr 1901, p.5; *ibid.*, No.57, Dec 1901, p.8.

²¹⁰ *Auckland Star*, 19 Jun 1903, p.6; *Evening Post*, 1 Jul 1903, p.6; *AJHR*, 1902, B-7, p.21. As well as contributing to the Veterans’ Home, the Government also remitted £100 duty on its furniture and £6 duty on a memorial tablet for Sergeant Frederick Murray Russell of the Third Contingent who was killed at Rhenoster Kop. *AJHR*, 1903, B-7, p.50.

²¹¹ *Auckland Star*, 10 Dec 1903, p.5; Lord Ranfurly to Joseph Chamberlain, 26 May 1903, *AJHR*, 1904, A-1, p.3. Mrs. Dickinson presented the home with a grandfather clock in memory of Harold Lissaman Dickinson, who was killed during the war. A notice in the home read ‘This Home has been founded by the people of New Zealand as a national memorial to their fellow colonists who lost their lives in South Africa’. The *Auckland Star* noted the Veterans’ Home was dependent on voluntary contributions, and reported that a sign beside a donation box in the home read, ‘When war and danger is [sic] drawing nigh, Both God and soldier is all the cry, When war is over, and all things righted, God is forgotten, and the soldier slighted’.

²¹² Henry Slater, *Fifty Years of Volunteering: The Army of Regulations*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1910, p.127. Slater noted that ‘The scant attendance was a striking contrast to the excited crowd who struggled for admittance when the “3rd” marched to the Cathedral on the evening of their return from South Africa, but the same hysterical crowd had then a new sensation, and were streaming past the Cathedral doors to hear some American Revivalists’.

²¹³ Norman R.W. Smith to ?, letter, 24 Aug 1901, History (War) New Zealand, 1899-1902, Aug 1901 – May 1936, ANZ AD34 4. Captain Smith, a Staff Officer, stated that the Official History of the war was to be compiled by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson of the War Office.

²¹⁴ W.D. Campbell to William Hall-Jones, letter, 24 Mar 1902, History (War) New Zealand, 1899-1902, Aug 1901 – May 1936, ANZ AD34 4. Campbell stated that he had represented the *Lyttelton Times*, the *Dunedin Star* and the *Auckland Star*, had acted as an assistant to representatives of the *London Daily Mail* and Reuters

accepted, other authors like J.R. McDonald and R.A. Loughman also appear to have been offered the job.²¹⁵ In 1905 the Government enlisted the services of F.E. Beamish to write the history and in 1909 he submitted his manuscript.²¹⁶ This was criticised by Major-General Chaytor as ‘merely a mass of information’ requiring editing, and was also not published.²¹⁷

To the consternation of the Veterans Association, after lengthy delays in its production, the Beamish script remained unpublished and the project was passed to James Shand, though Shand’s manuscript was also never published.²¹⁸ The history was finally undertaken by David Oswald William Hall who freely acknowledged that he had ‘neither the time nor the opportunity to engage in extensive research’.²¹⁹ Despite these limitations, Hall’s book remains one of the most frequently cited historical accounts of the conflict.

The press represented the primary vehicle for cultivating the myth of the ‘natural’ New Zealand soldier within New Zealand society during the war, though as Burns has shown, belief in this myth was less prevalent among the men in South Africa. At least in some cases, the men exhibited components of this image, including pride in the contingents’ horsemanship, though their weapons’ proficiency and behaviour were hardly exemplary. While earlier contingents composed mainly of Volunteers appear to have had relatively few disciplinary issues, this was not the case in later units, where alcohol-related misbehaviour, looting and resistance to military authority occurred on several occasions. While the soldiers recognised that they operated under Imperial jurisdiction, this did not preclude overt expressions of dissatisfaction when this jurisdiction was deemed either wanting or unjust.

The *Otago Witness* prophetically noted that the ‘great impetus given to things military and patriotic is not going to be allowed to pass away without some permanent outcome’.²²⁰

Telegram Company, and had contributed to the *Cape Times*. Campbell said he could complete the history ‘as expeditiously as possible, consistent with style & accuracy in details, on the following terms:- That I should be furnished with accommodation, and engaged at a salary of £5 a week’.

²¹⁵ William Hall-Jones to Commandant N.Z. Forces, memorandum, 7 Apr 1902, History (War) New Zealand, 1899-1902, Aug 1901 – May 1936, ANZ AD34 4; J.R. MacDonald to Richard J. Seddon, copy of letter, 8 Sep 1903, *ibid*; Commandant N.Z. Forces to Minister of Defence, memorandum, 18 Feb 1903, *ibid*. Hall-Jones incorrectly refers to ‘W.C.’ Campbell.

²¹⁶ Minute-Sheet, Precip of File, History of N.Z. Contingents in the Boer War 1899-1902, n.d., History (War) New Zealand, 1899-1902, Aug 1901 – May 1936, ANZ AD34 4.

²¹⁷ E.W.C. Chaytor to Minister of Defence, memorandum, 28 Oct 1920, History (War) New Zealand, 1899-1902, Aug 1901 – May 1936, ANZ AD34 4.

²¹⁸ First New Zealand Mounted Rifles Association *Bulletin*, No. 33, 9 Aug 1912, p.3, History (War) New Zealand, 1899-1902, Aug 1901 – May 1936, ANZ AD34 4; Minute-Sheet, Precip of File, History of N.Z. Contingents in the Boer War 1899-1902, n.d., *ibid*; Edward Walter Clervaux Chaytor to Minister of Defence, letter, 28 Oct 1920, *ibid*; James Tilling to F. Jones, letter, 30 Apr 1936, Publications – Special New Zealand – Record of Boer and South African War, ANZ IA1 2844.

²¹⁹ David Oswald William (D.O.W.) Hall, *New Zealanders in South Africa, 1899-1902*, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, War History Branch, 1949, p.xv.

²²⁰ *Otago Witness*, 19 Apr 1900, p.28. The article in which this claim appeared was subtitled ‘The Martial Wave’.

Despite diminished post-war interest in the Volunteers, many men were involved in the process of militarisation that occurred both during and after the war, and as Legislative Council member Robert Loughnan observed, due to the war, New Zealand officers had gained valuable experience in the field.²²¹ Disturbingly frank accounts of warfare that occasionally surfaced during the war years did little to dampen military ardour. Troopers' military service in South Africa, combined with unparalleled levels of patriotism that cast their actions in a heroic light, influenced much of New Zealand society, while soldiers like Francis Beamish, James McComish and John Duigan, who served in South Africa, went on to become officers in World War One.²²² Women were directly influenced by New Zealand's militarisation during the war, with large numbers supporting it, and others becoming some of the strongest voices in opposition. For some New Zealanders, the jingoism that characterised the early years of the war became less fervid as the conflict progressed, when further commitment was questioned and accounts of harsh military justice reached the colony. Militarisation also affected children. They were neither excluded, nor, it would appear, did they seek to be. The Cadet Corps directly influenced relatively large numbers of children during the war years and familiarized them with military culture. The South African War provided a core of experienced soldiers and officers, while also preparing the ground for the next generation of New Zealanders to exhibit their allegiance to the Empire and 'muster at her call'.

²²¹ *NZPD*, 148 (1909), p.1416.

²²² Record of Service – Major F.E. Beamish, n.d., Francis Evenson Beamish, AABK 18805 W5515 0006241, ANZ NZDFPR, p.12; James Doran McComish, AABK 18805 W5515 0003362, ANZ NZDFPR, p.2. Beamish joined the Post and Telegraph Rifle Volunteers in 1900, then enlisted as a private in the Sixth Contingent, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant. Following the war he once again served in the N.Z. Militia, rising to the rank of captain, then enlisted in the N.Z. Expeditionary Force in 1916, rising to the rank of major. McComish served as a private in the Seventh Contingent, and then as a captain during World War One, seeing service at Gallipoli and in France. At a 1922 reunion meeting of the 'South African Veterans of the Sixth Contingent of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles', a toast of 'Fallen Comrades' was proposed for Beamish. *Evening Post*, 3 Jun 1922, p.7.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

In normal circumstances, the extent to which those who air their views in the press represent the views of the wider community is difficult to gauge accurately. However, the situation in New Zealand during the South African War was anything but normal. The majority may have eschewed newspapers as a vehicle of expression, but they made their views abundantly clear through their enthusiastic participation in the host of fundraising events and public meetings held in support of the war. The speeches, flags, parades, uniforms, and buildings bedecked in patriotic bunting that characterised the early years of the war were symbolic of a pervading level of support.

‘Jingoism’ was a strong component of New Zealand’s response to the conflict with the harassment of Waihi Salvation Army members, physical assaults on ‘pro-Boers’, vociferous criticism of the National Council of Women, the burning of Boer leaders in effigy and the implied threats to Rutherford Waddell all bearing the hallmarks of a ‘feverish excited species of patriotism’,¹ but its intensity fluctuated. As the war progressed, newspapers and individuals like Marianne Tasker were able to express concerns about New Zealand’s level of commitment and the conduct of the conflict without being subjected to the degree of public vilification that attended similar criticism earlier in the war. Charlotte Bewicke’s 1899 Boer fund-raising activities appear to have been a rare exception as they largely escaped censure. Nonetheless, the intolerance of dissent that proved a dominant feature of the South African War would endure within New Zealand society and helped provide the impetus for the reappearance of similar attitudes in World War One.

It was perhaps inevitable that during the South African War the initial fervent patriotism changed to a grim determination as the conflict dragged on, but the depth of feeling elicited in New Zealand by the 1902 atrocity allegations that appeared in the German press indicate that it never disappeared. While events like the Dunedin flora fête and the Basin Reserve Maori Carnival may have held novelty value for some spectators, the sums raised in support of the war at these and similar events nationwide, and the patriotic displays that took place during them, leave little doubt regarding prevailing public attitudes toward the conflict and illustrate the degree of unity, common purpose and social cohesion that Sinclair

¹ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 26 Jun 1901, p.4.

and others note it engendered. As an article in *The Outlook* put it: ‘Great Britain has given place to Greater Britain, greater in strength because greater in sympathy and unity and common help for common cause.’²

The surge in militarisation that accompanied what J. Grattan Grey termed a ‘tidal wave of Imperialism’³ was also significant. The contingents’ actions and the accolades they received helped establish elements of a distinctly New Zealand identity and bolstered the myth of the New Zealander male as a natural warrior, despite evidence suggesting key components of this image were not supported by fact. Britain’s inability to secure a quick victory in South Africa ensured militarisation was also boosted by concerns regarding New Zealand’s security and the perceived dangers of expansionism amongst other European powers. While New Zealand’s performance in the war stimulated the erroneous belief that a citizen army could meet New Zealand’s defence needs, the sizeable increases that occurred during the conflict in the number of Volunteers and Cadets Corps led to post-war membership of these units remaining considerably higher than in the pre-war period, while participation in the war provided New Zealand with a core of experienced officers and men, many of whom would later serve in World War One.⁴

Given the nation’s distance from the seat of the war, it was inevitable that the onus of disseminating details to the public would fall primarily on the press. While some papers like the *Evening Post* often criticised Seddon’s actions, the majority remained largely supportive of the war effort. This support was not entirely unequivocal, with papers increasingly questioning the social impact of further commitment as the conflict progressed. Nevertheless, the spontaneous displays of both patriotism and public indignation that occurred following the reports of German ‘slanders’ show that even in the final months of the war it was still possible for the press to rally public opinion around a cause that most considered morally justified. The vast majority of New Zealanders appeared to have unquestioningly believed that their country was an integral and indivisible part of the British Empire. As the *Observer* put it, ‘the son of a man, though born and bred in New Zealand, is no less an Englishman’.⁵ As such, most New Zealanders felt they had a duty to support the Imperial authorities in times

² *The Outlook*, 28 Jun 1902, p.23.

³ *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, Wellington: House of Representatives, 1900, H-29, p.4.

⁴ Alexander Herbert Wilkie was an example. Wilkie, who served in the First and the Ninth Contingents, enlisted on the first day of World War One, landed at Gallipoli and rose to the rank of major. History Sheet, Alexander Herbert Wilkie, AABK 18805 W5515 0005995, ANZ NZDFPR, p.2; Attestation Form, n.d., Alexander Herbert Wilkie, *ibid.*, p.22; Attestation Form, 1 Mar 1902., Alexander Herbert Wilkie, *ibid.*, p.23.

⁵ *Observer*, 27 Apr 1901, p.3.

of duress. This conviction, bolstered by the perceived success of New Zealand's military involvement in South Africa, ensured that New Zealand would seek a similar role in the larger conflicts that followed.

Censorship may not have influenced the flow of information to the degree that it would during World War One, but it was clearly seen by correspondents and newspapers as restrictive. Although the ability of troopers to assume the role of amateur reporters meant that brutally candid first-hand accounts like that of Patrick Fitzherbert did occasionally appear in print, at least some letters were examined by military censors. Censorship of a sort also occurred beyond official channels, with parents withholding material they deemed unsuitable for publication, and some soldiers actively discouraging the passage of letters to the press. In Charles Tasker's case, the primary focus of attempts to minimise reporting of his release seems to have been the avoidance of potential embarrassment to the Imperial authorities rather than denying intelligence to the enemy. However, regardless of its intent and extent, on occasion censorship undoubtedly coloured the content of war-related news and established the precedent of monitoring and sometimes restricting its flow.

The conflict also increased government involvement in the lives of contingent members and their families through pension entitlements, gratuities, and medical care, as well as instances where police were instructed to make confidential enquiries into the personal circumstances of soldiers and their relatives. Although they exerted little influence during the war, organisations like the Auckland Peace Association were the forerunners of the more organised New Zealand Peace Council that would later oppose conscription and the military obligations inherent in the Defence Act of 1909.

Accounts associating New Zealand troops with ill-discipline, poor training, and violence failed to tarnish seriously the image of the contingents, while several newspapers downplayed incidents like the alleged Newcastle brawl, which the *Manawatu Daily Times* claimed was exaggerated and unlikely 'to in any way besmirch the escutcheon of the New Zealanders'.⁶ The war also gave rise to other undesirable behaviour by affording New Zealand soldiers their 'first taste of plunder' in foreign lands and establishing the practice of looting that would appear in subsequent conflicts, while exposure to diverse ethnic groups in Africa stimulated racist attitudes among many soldiers. Similarly, a precedent for the killings

⁶ *Manawatu Daily Times*, 8 Sep 1902, p.2.

that took place at Surafend in 1918⁷ can be found in the acts of retribution at Worcester that apparently involved New Zealand troops.

Though relatively minor compared to World War One, the toll of sickness, injury and death during the South African War represented a significant impact for those involved. For women like Berry and Love, both widowed with infant children, reliant on government assistance, and in Love's case, struggling financially by 1908, the patriotic rhetoric presumably provided limited solace. Similarly, it is perhaps not surprising that in a military culture where alcohol was prevalent, Lee and Davitt, like other soldiers who returned 'maimed, crippled and completely broken'⁸, sought relief in its consumption. At a time when post-combat stress was not fully understood, whether it was a factor in the suspected suicide of John Salter is supposition, but memories of the disturbing scenes witnessed by soldiers like Patrick Fitzherbert were not easily expunged.

As with the European population, there was no uniform Māori response to the war, with reactions ranging from loyal support for both the Imperial position in South Africa and New Zealand's contribution, to frustration, ambivalence and opposition. The paucity of extant records of Māori opposition has tended to increase emphasis on the many examples of Māori support. However, as the incident in Tauranga's Strand indicates, Māori opposition extended beyond the expressions of dissent in the Hokianga that Ranfurly noted, and the relative absence of Māori voices in opposition should not be interpreted as near-universal support. Nonetheless, William Thomson's service also shows there was some support for the war among Māori in areas like the Waikato, where Imperial authority had traditionally aroused suspicion. It is possible that Māori who joined the contingents did so out of the same desire for excitement and adventure that motivated many other contingent members, rather than the sense of Imperial duty and a desire to assist the Imperial authorities in their adversity that appears to have informed Māori leaders like Tuta Nihoniho. Though not referring specifically to Māori, one newspaper editor claimed, 'the majority, who volunteer, do not offer their services through a pure and simple sense of patriotism, but more often on account of discontent for their present circumstances and a desire for wandering and adventure'.⁹

Nihoniho was clearly frustrated by his repeated offers of assistance being declined, though at no point did this appear to affect his loyalty to the British Crown, and rather than allowing these refusals to diminish his resolve, he, like Tamahau Mahupuku, redirected his

⁷ Terry Kinloch, *Devils on Horses: In the Words of the ANZACS in the Middle East 1916-19*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing Ltd, 2007, pp.329-331.

⁸ *The Observer*, 7 Jun 1902, p.2.

⁹ *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 24 Jan 1902, p.2.

energies into patriotic activities that benefited the war effort. Other Māori like Wī Pere and Hōne Heke Rankin were less convinced of the justification for war, though they nonetheless agreed to the despatch of troops. Although certainly not limited to them, support was strong among eastern Māori like Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou, and Seddon's rescinded offer of service in the Sixth Contingent coupled with overtly racist opposition to Māori participation expressed in sections of the press do not appear to have dampened their enthusiasm. As with European New Zealanders, more widespread expressions of Māori loyalty followed German criticism of the war. Though the jingoistic support displayed at the Basin Reserve Māori Carnival did not represent the attitudes of all Māori, there was clearly awareness among many of the conflict and its progress. Such events brought sizeable groups of European New Zealanders into closer contact with Māori culture, while the employment of Māori cultural elements by the contingents further established defining and enduring military traditions centred on Māori images and language.¹⁰

Although war-related profits mainly accrued regionally, and difficulties arose related to shipping issues, foreign competition and price fluctuations, it is clear New Zealand made significantly more money from war-related trade between 1899 and 1902 than it expended on the conflict's prosecution. As the Imperial authorities relieved New Zealand of the financial burden of funding the majority of the contingents it despatched, the country did not face the substantial war debt it was confronted with after World War One. While expenses continued after the cessation of hostilities in South Africa, in the case of pensions (which represented one of the larger ongoing financial burdens) the low casualty rate diluted their impact. Other costs were also comparatively minor: the financial burden of medical examinations and treatment, gratuities, contributions toward the Veterans' Home and the cost of monuments, repatriation of destitute soldiers, and grave marking and maintenance were apparently borne without complaint. The 'silver shower' of public contributions, coupled with businesses that either supplied their products and services free of charge, or at reduced rates, further mitigated the Government's economic exposure by sharing a degree of the war's financial burden with the populace. That the public willingly accepted this commitment in the prevailing and pervading spirit of patriotic solidarity is possibly the most vivid indication of public sentiment.

¹⁰ By World War One, four of the twelve New Zealand Mounted Rifles regiments and eight of the seventeen infantry regiments had Māori mottos. David Corbett, *The Regimental Badges of New Zealand*, rev ed., Auckland: Ray Richards Publisher, 1980, pp.142, 145, 153, 164, 195, 210, 215, 217, 224, 226, 228, 231.

While the South Island fields that were the main source of oats would presumably not have remained fallow had the war not occurred, the fact that these fields filled sizeable Imperial oats contracts destined for South Africa indicates the boon the war represented to southern farmers able to grow the crop. Although there were cases of oats being given as patriotic contributions, these were insignificant when compared to the 15,917,853 bushels of oats that were exported directly to Cape Colony and Natal from 1899 to 1902, and while oat prices did not increase markedly due to heightened demand, the volume involved assured profitable returns.¹¹ While the cost of tending, harvesting, storing and transporting oat crops would have affected profit margins, the sums involved were nonetheless considerable. The contrast Sinclair notes between Seddon's 'noble unselfishness' and his pursuit of national interest¹² is clear in Seddon's reluctance to drive up oat prices, while lobbying the Imperial Government to ensure New Zealand got its fair share of war contracts.

Although less pronounced, the trade in items like horses; potted hares; butter; and frozen beef and mutton also increased. Despite difficulties in establishing a reliable shipping connection, the sales, distribution and storage contacts explored in South Africa by the Government Trade Commissioner and established during the war proved beneficial in the conflict's aftermath. While wartime trade volumes to South Africa inevitably proved unsustainable in the post-war era as lucrative military contracts evaporated, export levels consistently remained higher than the pre-war period for the first decade of the twentieth century. The benefits enjoyed by sections of New Zealand society through wartime exports were no revelation to those involved. The Government, parliamentarians, regional chambers of commerce, farmers, shipping agents and exporters were acutely aware of the trade possibilities the war presented, and actively sought to cultivate them. Albeit on a much smaller scale, an array of businesses like saddlers, clothing companies, bookstores and jewellers also profited from the war through domestic sales.

Long after the last troopships had docked, the patriotic bunting had been lowered, the jingoistic cacophony fallen silent and a degree of normalcy had returned to New Zealand shores, the impact of the South African War continued to be felt. In the existing narrative, the economic impact of the war has been largely obscured by the widespread patriotic fervour

¹¹ *Auckland Star*, 7 Feb 1900, p.2; *Press*, 13 Feb 1900, p.6; *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1899, p. 206; 1900, p.210; 1901, p.216; 1902, p.220; *AJHR*, 1900, H-6C, p.2. In Invercargill, fifty sacks of oats were promised to the More Men Fund, while in Cheviot seventeen contributors gave between three and ten sacks each. A 1900 parliamentary return indicated that a Mr. Muckle gave £2 2s to the More Men Fund to purchase oats, while the *Evening Post* reported in January 1902 that the Imperial Government was buying New Zealand oats 'at 23s 6d per quarter'. *Evening Post* 20 Jan 1902, p.5.

¹² Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, rev. ed, Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 2000, p.232.

that the conflict generated and the military exploits of the soldiers. These were also factors emphasised at the time, and the *Observer*, commenting on the contingents shortly after the war, in all likelihood spoke for the nation when it said ‘they have brought back to their country a record which coming generations may well admire and strive to emulate. Now that the war is over, New Zealand is proud of her soldier sons.’¹³

¹³ *Observer*, 7 Jun 1902, p.2.

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