

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**‘Making happy, healthy, helpful citizens’:  
The New Zealand Scouting and Guiding Movements  
as Promulgators of Active Citizenship, c.1908-1980**

**A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in History**

**Massey University, Manawatu,  
New Zealand**

**Helen Alison Dollery**

**2012**



**ABSTRACT:**

New Zealand was one of the first countries to adopt Scouting in 1908, and developed a separate movement for girls, Girl Peace Scouts, the same year. This thesis examines the organisational history and culture of the New Zealand Scouting and Guiding movements between 1908 and 1980, and their roles in developing ‘happy, healthy and helpful’ young New Zealanders as active citizens. As voluntary organisations the movements operated in, and strongly engaged with, wider New Zealand society, interacting with state and civil agencies, and with communities. As members, Scouts and Guides were encouraged to consider themselves as young citizens – and to actively contribute to communities at local, national and international levels.

The thesis initially canvasses the movements’ genesis in Britain and early development in New Zealand, and the shift from an imperial to an international focus; and examines an emergent nationalist identity in early New Zealand Scouting and Guiding that was ‘re-colonised’ into the British model in the 1920s. Moving into the postwar decades, thematic chapters on organisational history, culture, outreach and camping examine ways in which the New Zealand movements grew and changed in that period, and ways in which they worked with children and adolescents. Both movements extended membership as widely as possible, drawing in previously marginalised youth. Community service, whether informal good turns or national campaigns, reinforced organisational rhetoric about character development through the Promise and the Law.

Life cycles of the movements and the unbroken thread of active youth citizenship run in parallel through this study. Baden-Powell’s exhortation that it was not enough to ‘be good’, one must ‘do good’, reflected Victorian ideals of muscular Christianity, but remained central to the movements’ community service focus throughout the period. To Baden-Powell, active citizenship was not just a theoretical concept, or something to be attained only in adulthood, but to be developed in children and adolescents

through the Scouting and Guiding programmes. His exhortation to ‘bait the hook with what the boy likes’ recognized that children learn best when they are enjoying themselves, and that making Scouting or Guiding fun was the best way to impart the active citizenship message. It is a principle that has endured throughout other internal and external changes.

This thesis was granted approval under the Massey University Human Ethics Committee evaluation process (Southern B application 09/55).

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

There are three groups of people and institutions I would like to thank for their support and practical help in the ‘making’ of this thesis. Firstly, at Massey I have been surrounded by interesting and interested people. My supervisors, Dr. Geoff Watson and Emeritus Professor Margaret Tennant have at various times encouraged, sympathised with, and probably despaired of me. At all times, they have generously given me the benefit of their erudition and professional judgement. Where this thesis falls short it is my failing, not theirs. I am very thankful for their supervision, compassion and friendship. Similarly, Associate Professor Kerry Taylor has been there with encouragement and promises of celebratory bubbly throughout. It will be well-chilled. I am grateful for a Massey University Doctoral Scholarship, and for ongoing assistance received from the Graduate Research School. Technical support in times of crisis has also been gladly received. Friends and colleagues in and around the ‘Old Main Building’ and in the new Colombo Village have provided company, competition as morning ‘quizzers’, and commiserations as fellow travellers towards completion. Rachael Bell has been friend, office mate, and proof that there is life after submitting a doctoral thesis.

The second group are archivists, librarians, curators and historians. They have aided my investigations into primary material efficiently and knowledgeably, for which I thank them. Outside of academe, my interactions with Scouting and Guiding leaders and supporters have been both fruitful and positive. I would particularly like to thank James Bennett, Scout Leader of Palmerston North’s West End Scout Group, and Ann Free of Girl Guiding Manawatu, who both opened their halls and their archives to me and trusted me with their contents. Caring for local records as they do is often a thankless task, but it keeps their histories alive. Owen Rodgers, Scouts New Zealand’s historian and archivist, has been a revelation. He has taken a personal interest in my work and supported its progress wherever possible, using his prodigious archives and memory for detail. He also makes a good cup of tea – with Girl Guide biscuits on the side.

Finally, I owe enormous debts to friends and family. I am lucky to have good people around me, who have alternately been there and stayed away using commendable discretion and judgement - thank you all. I come from a family of strong-minded and vocal people who have been generous in their love and faith that I could finish, and kind in supporting and feeding us in one way or another. Thank you all. I don't have sufficient words to thank Tony, Rosie and Thomas Signal – they have walked this sometimes difficult path with me as a family, for which I will always feel blessed.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Illustrations</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter One:</b> <u>Baden-Powell, British Concerns and the Foundation of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Movements</u>	<b>29</b>
<b>Chapter Two:</b> <u>New Zealand Scouting and Guiding – Origins and Development to c.1939</u>	<b>71</b>
<b>Chapter Three:</b> <u>Organisational Histories: membership, funding and infrastructure</u>	<b>121</b>
Membership           122	
Funding               150	
Infrastructure       169	
<b>Chapter Four:</b> <u>Scouting and Guiding Culture</u>	<b>189</b>
<b>Chapter Five:</b> <u>Outreach</u>	<b>245</b>
<b>Chapter Six:</b> <u>Camping – ‘the real school of the out-of-doors’</u>	<b>283</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>327</b>
<b>Appendix:</b> <u>Scouting and Guiding Membership Statistics</u>	<b>337</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>341</b>

## **LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES**

### **Illustrations:**

<b>Figure 1:</b>	Wanganui East Boy Scouts, 1911	<b>85</b>
<b>Figure 2:</b>	<i>The Dominion Scout</i> , v.1 no.20, 10 January 1911	<b>90</b>
<b>Figure 3:</b>	Group portrait of the Senior Sydenham Girl Peace Scout troop, 1910s	<b>91</b>
<b>Figure 4:</b>	Hiking GPS stop for tea on Heights Road, Shannon	<b>93</b>
<b>Figure 5:</b>	Christchurch Boy Scout messengers during the 1918 influenza epidemic	<b>99</b>
<b>Figure 6:</b>	All Saints' Church Girl Guide Company, Palmerston North, 1925-1926	<b>104</b>
<b>Figure 7:</b>	Wairarapa Girl Guides, late 1920s	<b>112</b>
<b>Figure 8:</b>	'Buy NZ Made Goods'	<b>114</b>
<b>Figure 9:</b>	The Governor-General, Sir Cyril Newall, and Lady Newall visiting Palmerston North, 9 July 1941	<b>131</b>
<b>Figure 10:</b>	The Prime Minister, Hon. Keith Holyoake, and the Leader Of the Opposition, Arnold Nordmeyer, during the 1965 'Once a Scout' campaign	<b>142</b>
<b>Figure 11:</b>	Paper Drive, Waitarere, 1969	<b>152</b>
<b>Figure 12:</b>	Red Shield Brownies, cook-in competition, 1971	<b>167</b>
<b>Figure 13:</b>	Fred Coleman's Scout den booklet, 1956	<b>175</b>
<b>Figure 14:</b>	Howard Clements, aged 10, in his new Scout uniform, with his parents, 1946	<b>193</b>
<b>Figure 15:</b>	Mrs Evans helping at the West End Scout and Cub Gala Day, 1947	<b>199</b>
<b>Figure 16:</b>	West End Cub Pack and leaders, late 1940s	<b>200</b>
<b>Figure 17:</b>	Old and new Scouting uniforms, 1968	<b>219</b>

<b>Figure 18:</b>	Boy Scouts preparing to sell Health Stamps, Island Bay, Wellington, 1956	<b>251</b>
<b>Figure 19:</b>	Cover page of <i>The Scouting Year in New Zealand</i> , 1965/1966, v.1 n.2	<b>259</b>
<b>Figure 20:</b>	Extension Brownie Pack meeting at Silverstream Hospital, 1950	<b>270</b>
<b>Figure 21:</b>	New Zealand contingent, 1929 3 <sup>rd</sup> World Jamboree at Arrowe Park, Birmingham, England – practising with taiaha	<b>293</b>
<b>Figure 22:</b>	New Zealand Scouts at an international jamboree	<b>294</b>
<b>Figure 23:</b>	1959 Pan-Pacific Jamboree poster	<b>298</b>
<b>Figure 24:</b>	‘The Pageant of the Golden Balls’, 1957 Girl Guides Baden-Powell Centenary camp at Porewa	<b>302</b>
<b>Figure 25:</b>	Lady Cubmasters march past at the 1959 Pan-Pacific Jamboree, Auckland	<b>315</b>
<b>Tables - Appendix:</b>		<b>337</b>
<b>Table 1:</b>	Membership totals for New Zealand Scouting and Guiding, 1930-1980	<b>338</b>
<b>Table 2:</b>	Membership census, New Zealand Guiding movement, 1930-1980	<b>339</b>
<b>Table 3:</b>	Membership census, New Zealand Scouting movement, 1930-1980	<b>340</b>

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives</i>
ACL	Assistant Cub Leader
ACM	Assistant Cub Master
ASM	Assistant Scouter or Scoutmaster
CL	Cub Leader
COH	Court of Honour
CM	Cubmaster
DCC	Dominion Chief Commissioner
GFS	Girls' Friendly Society
GGA	Girl Guides Association
GGANZ	Girl Guides Association of New Zealand
GL	Group Leader
GSM	Group Scoutmaster
GPS	Girl Peace Scouts
LA	Local Association (lay supporters)
LCM	Lady Cubmaster
<i>PD</i>	<i>Parliamentary Debates</i>
<i>POR</i>	<i>Policy, Organisation and Rules</i>
RSL	Rover Scout Leader
SANZ	Scouts Association of New Zealand
<i>SFB</i>	<i>Scouting for Boys</i>
SL	Scout Leader
SM	Scoutmaster
WAGGGS	World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts
WOSM	World Organisation of the Scout Movement
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

## **INTRODUCTION**

When I joined Brownies with Palmerston North's St David's pack in the early 1970s, the last thing on my mind was honing my nascent citizenship. Like other girls, I joined because my friends were members; my elder sister had been a Brownie and Guide, and my mother briefly a leader; and I thought it might be fun. I liked the idea of wearing a uniform – my first, but not my last – and fervently hoped to be one of the 'Fairy' Six. Alas, my destiny was to be an 'Elf', and immediately my education in being a 'useful' member of society began: 'This is what we do as Elves; think of others, not ourselves.'

My experience as a recruit was shared by thousands of young New Zealanders – in 1970 there were almost 42000 Cubs and Brownies, and the total youth membership of the movements exceeded 82000.<sup>1</sup> Some, like me, did not carry on to the next section – a 1972 report noted that one in eight New Zealand girls between 7-14 years of age were Brownies or Guides, yet this dropped to one in forty for 14-18 year olds in Guides and Rangers. Others reached high levels of competence and commitment as they progressed through the age groups and continued in the movements as adult leaders. Despite the large numbers of New Zealanders who were members of these uniformed youth movements, particularly in the post-war 'baby boom' era, few New Zealand historians have chosen to focus on this area. There is considerable room for research in the history of New Zealand childhood, and within the wider area of voluntary organisations and their contributions to New Zealand society, particularly in this period.

---

<sup>1</sup> Figures from 1970 Census information for Guides and Scouts respectively: ATL files GGANZ records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-08/1, Annual Reports 1968-1985; SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Annual Reports. In 1970 the total New Zealand membership for Girl Guides was 53535, and for Scouts, 50331 – a total of 103,866 youth and adult members.

This study of the Guiding and Scouting movements in New Zealand focuses on their role in developing active citizenship in young New Zealanders, within a context of their organisational histories. In it I contend that the movements aimed to influence the way their young members considered themselves to be citizens within their units, within their communities, within New Zealand and within the global Scouting and Guiding worlds. Furthermore, their citizenship was not just training for future adult citizenship, but predicated upon active youth citizenship – not only could young people play a role in their communities, they were expected to do so. This study will consider the ways in which the Scouting and Guiding movements developed, and their organisational attributes, adaptations and life cycles that contributed to their ability to influence generations of young New Zealanders. Scouting and Guiding had dominant roles as youth movements in the twentieth century, both within and outside New Zealand, and were the recipients of high levels of community and financial support by volunteers within the movements, the general public and the state.

Although Scouting and Guiding were independent organisations operating in wider New Zealand society, what happened within the movements often reflected what was happening elsewhere in New Zealand. The movements both shaped, and were shaped by, New Zealand society in the 1940-1980 period. Demographic and social trends within New Zealand society affected organisational life cycles: membership grew rapidly when national birth rates were high, and youth membership began to decline when fewer children were available or inclined to join; fluctuations in adult volunteering rates reflected both willingness and availability to contribute; and changes in social attitudes, for specific groups like teenagers but also in general, contributed to decreased receptivity towards uniformed movements like Scouts and Guides. On the other hand, the movements' relative popularity as a leisure option for young New Zealanders over an extended period of time meant that a large cohort was introduced to the particular type of hands-on citizenship training they offered. While it is difficult to quantify what effect this had upon that cohort's associational memberships and community work undertaken as adults, it is likely that the principles of individual capability

combined with collective public service, seeded in youth, endured in those members who remained Scouts or Guides long enough to absorb them.

### **Historiography:**

As with other voluntary organisations operating within local communities, as nationwide providers and in some cases in partnership with the state, the Scouting and Guiding movements encompass strands of activity and conceptual complexity. This section will discuss the theory and practice of citizenship and the nature of voluntary or non-profit organisations; and consider where the movements fitted into New Zealand's patterns of voluntary activity. Finally, it considers the place of Scouting and Guiding within the scholarship on childhood in New Zealand.

### **Voluntary organisations:**

Community and voluntary organisations are strikingly diverse in their purposes, methods and values. Consequently, making general comments about their characteristics and development over time is difficult. In 1995 Jeremy Kendall and Martin Knapp referred to this 'third sector' as 'a loose and baggy monster' resisting easy classification and crisp typological borders.<sup>2</sup> Salamon and Anheier, pondering the 'curious lack of appreciation for a distinctive third sector or private, nonprofit organisations in either our public discourse or academic debate', concluded that an absence of a 'clear and workable definition of what the sector really encompasses' was at fault, rather than any weakness of the sector itself.<sup>3</sup> From the early 1990s there has been significant work on both typologies and case studies of this sector, including the international Johns Hopkins Comparative

---

<sup>2</sup> The 'third sector' name relates to its difference from the widely recognised and studied first and second sectors – the state/public and market/private sectors respectively. Jeremy Kendall and Martin Knapp, 'A loose and baggy monster. Boundaries, definitions and typologies', Justin Davis Smith, Colin Rochester and Rodney Hedley (eds.) *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.66-95.

<sup>3</sup> Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier, *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: A Cross-National Analysis*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

Nonprofit Sector Project.<sup>4</sup> New Zealand joined the project and the subsequent report, published in 2008, has provided valuable insights into the history and scope of the non-profit sector in New Zealand.<sup>5</sup> The authors identify seven factors related to New Zealand's non-profit history: some link local experiences to a wider global picture, while others note distinctive New Zealand features.<sup>6</sup> Most of these factors are discernable in the development and history of New Zealand Scouting and Guiding. New Zealand's British colonial 'inheritances' of custom, law and politics clearly relate to Baden-Powell's British imperial movements and local (New Zealand) receptivity to them, while the global reach of the movements to some degree overcame New Zealand's geographical isolation and made them receptive to imperial and international trends. The 'particular intensity' of relationships between the non-profit sector and the state, due to a 'centralised state and the approachability of politicians and senior government officials in a small country' provided voluntary organisations like Scouting and Guiding with strong ideological and financial support over decades.<sup>7</sup> The last of the factors that resonate with this study of Scouting and Guiding is the pattern of organisational growth and decline throughout the twentieth century, although the life cycle of these movements does not correspond neatly with the broad pattern of the New Zealand non-profit sector. Even where Scouting and Guiding did not align with general historical observations about New Zealand non-profit organisations in the period of this study – significant Maori engagement, and the development of parallel voluntary social services to complement state provision – there were elements of both within the movements' programmes and values.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> [www.ccss.jhu.edu/research-projects/comparative-nonprofit-sector](http://www.ccss.jhu.edu/research-projects/comparative-nonprofit-sector), accessed 22 June 2012. The project started in 1991, with 13 countries and has now extended to more than 45 countries.

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Tennant, Mike O'Brien, and Jackie Sanders. *The History of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand*. Wellington: Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, 2008.

<sup>6</sup> Tennant, O'Brien and Sanders, 2008, pp.3-4.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>8</sup> Organisations that exhibited significant Maori engagement included traditional marae-based structures, as well as trans-iwi organisations like the Maori Council and the Maori Women's Welfare League. Voluntary organisations that developed alongside, or to complement, state provision included church missions, which supported the needs of local communities; and health and disability support bodies, including IHC (originally the Intellectually Handicapped Children's Parents' Association, established in 1949) and the Plunket Society, established in 1907.

Scouting and Guiding, while clearly fitting within the wider non-profit sector, intersected with other spheres of voluntary activity. As youth organisations, they also encompassed, interacted with, or complemented other significant areas of voluntary provision including leisure, education, spirituality, values and citizenship, personal and public health, and conservation. In many of these, they built relationships with state as well as other voluntary providers and, in the pattern of Geoffrey Finlayson's 'moving frontier' of voluntary or non-profit organisations, the scope and depth of these relationships varied over time.<sup>9</sup>

### **Youth citizenship:**

Citizenship as a concept has multiple meanings, contingent upon circumstances and perspectives of diverse groups within society at different times. Academic studies of what constitutes citizenship have proliferated since the 1990s, often in response to politicians' different viewpoints of the term.<sup>10</sup> In their survey of citizenship theory Kymlicka and Norman summarize earlier theories about citizenship's changing focus, and the claiming of different rights over time.<sup>11</sup> This focus on rights – a passive or private citizenship, predicated on 'the right to have rights' – was supplemented, and challenged, by later academic studies that emphasised a more active citizenship involving responsibilities and virtues.<sup>12</sup> It is worth noting that Scouting and Guiding have promoted these civic responsibilities throughout the last century and have, in that time, been seen as both forward thinking and hopelessly old-fashioned in turn. Kymlicka and Norman evaluated the relative values of each form of citizenship over time, noting that interest groups can use citizenship to support their own political agendas. Thatcherite policies in

---

<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey Finlayson, 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911-1949', *Twentieth Century British History*, 1990, v.1 n.2, pp.183-206.

<sup>10</sup> Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, 'Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory', *Ethics*, v.104, n.2, January 1994, pp.352-381, p.352.

<sup>11</sup> T. H. Marshall, *Citizen and Social Class*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950, cited in Kymlicka and Norman, p.354. Marshall argued for an eighteenth century focus on civil rights, leading to a nineteenth century focus on political rights and the twentieth century's development of social rights through state provision of welfare and education

<sup>12</sup> The 'right to have rights' originates in a United States Supreme Court judgement, cited in Kymlicka and Norman, p.355, footnote #6.

1980s Britain, and their ideological equivalent in New Zealand in the 1980s and 1990s, overtly linked citizenship to voluntary or associational membership and an attendant withdrawal of the state, yet this associational element of citizenship – getting involved in community affairs - rarely had as its primary aim the promulgation of citizenship values. The Scouting and Guiding movements were an exception to this general premise.<sup>13</sup> In New Zealand the peak post war period for membership of associational groups, including Scouting and Guiding, coincided with a very strong and widespread welfare state, and both depth and breadth of governmental interactions with voluntary organisations.

Derek Heater links citizenship with two aspects of identity. Firstly, he argues, ‘the exercise of citizenship is crucial for the development of the individual’s moral maturity’, as ‘judgement requires thought; participation dispels inertia; and consideration of the common good nurtures altruism.’ Secondly, irrespective of individual social identities, ‘by emphasising the political virtues of the responsible conciliation of conflicting interests’, citizenship can smooth out potentially divisive viewpoints within communities.<sup>14</sup> These individual and collective aspects of identifying as a citizen, although primarily relating to adults, can also be seen in the Scouting and Guiding programmes’ emphasis on personal development along ‘character’ lines, allied with active engagement with community service. Other citizenship theorists have examined children’s citizenship, and whether children can have full citizenship in societies that base their criteria upon adult rights. Arguing that citizenship has historically been a white, heterosexual and male concept, critiques by putatively powerless ‘others’ including ethnic minorities, gays and women have argued for the expansion of the concept to encompass difference and extend rights.<sup>15</sup> Some similarities exist between these arguments and those espousing children’s citizenship: gendered critiques, where economic dependence and ‘protection’ are issues, also apply to children, although adult women have

---

<sup>13</sup> Kymlicka and Norman, p.364.

<sup>14</sup> Derek Heater, *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education (3<sup>rd</sup> edition)*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, pp.188-189. Heater cautions against taking this second point to its ‘Brave New World’ extreme of ‘Community, Identity, and Stability.’

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, Nira Yuval-Davis, ‘Women, Citizenship and Difference’, *Feminist Review*, No. 57, Citizenship: Pushing the Boundaries, Autumn 1997, pp.4-27

access to citizenship rights that children do not.<sup>16</sup> Still, as Ruth Lister argues, '[w]hile children's economic dependence on adults may be incompatible with full rights as *social* citizens, it does not follow that they lose their claim to be *active, participating* citizens.'<sup>17</sup> Other studies have examined ways in which citizenship education for children was delivered at different times.<sup>18</sup> From the 1990s, there has been strong growth in contemporary literature on children's citizenship, from perspectives such as civics and values education, human rights and sociological studies on participatory strategies for engaging youth in their communities.<sup>19</sup> While such studies lie outside of the timeframe of this work, they represent ways in which, at different times, in different places, youth citizenship is being both negotiated and claimed. Marc Jans' discussion of the ways in which citizenship can be defined is useful in directly relating citizenship to children's lives; and his citing of Gerard Delanty's four possible definitions gives a framework from which to judge whether children can be considered citizens and, if so, how. Delanty's parameters are: 'Citizenship as a whole of rights (I get to vote); citizenship as a whole of responsibilities (I have to be decent); citizenship as identity (I am Belgian); citizenship as participation (I feel involved and can participate in community life.)'<sup>20</sup> Applying these criteria to young members of the Scouting and Guiding movements shows that in each case, they provided ways in which citizenship could be claimed and exercised. While most youth members of the movements were too young to vote in national or local body elections and could

---

<sup>16</sup> See Ruth Lister, 'Unpacking Children's Citizenship' in Antonella Invernizzi and Jane Williams (eds.), *Children and Citizenship*, London, Los Angeles: Sage Publishing, 2008, pp. 9-19.

<sup>17</sup> Lister, 2008, p.15. Emphasis as in original text.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Penny Tinkler, 'English Girls and the International Dimensions of British Citizenship in the 1940s', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 2001, v.8, No.1, pp.103-126 for an historical perspective. A plethora of recent works on children's citizenship education has been published in the past two decades, following the signing of the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Noel Smith, Ruth Lister, Sue Middleton & Lynne Cox, 'Young People as Real Citizens: Towards an Inclusionary Understanding of Citizenship', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 2005, v.8 n.4 pp.425-443. The paper is based on the project 'Negotiating Transitions to Citizenship' (L134 25 1039), funded by the Economic and Social Research Council as part of the 'Youth, Citizenship and Social Change' programme'; Tom Cockburn, 'Children and Citizenship in Britain: A Case for a Socially Interdependent Model of Citizenship', *Childhood*, 1998, v.5, no.1, pp.99-117.

<sup>20</sup> Marc Jans, 'Children as Citizens: Towards a Contemporary Notion of Child Participation', in *Childhood*, 2004, v.11, n.27, pp.27-44, p.38. Jans cites Gerard Delanty *Citizenship in a global age: society, culture, politics*, Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000.

therefore be deemed ineligible for citizenship on these grounds, internal organisational structures that included the patrol system and Courts of Honour, run by and for Scouts and Guides, granted them some agency to determine their groups' policy directions. Delanty's second criteria – the responsible citizen, who acts 'decently' – is consistent with the values of Scouting and Guiding, while his fourth – the citizen as active community participant – is also embedded in Scouting's foundations. The remaining point – citizenship through shared identity – also sits comfortably with Scouting and Guiding on a range of levels. Uniformed Scouts or Guides identify privately (through their 'Promise') and publicly (through their uniformed appearance) as such, but are also encouraged to consider themselves as members of communities ranging from their families and towns, as well as their national identity as New Zealanders. In addition to these groupings Scout and Guides were, upon enrolment, considered to be members of a global citizenry consisting of all other members of the movements across national borders. The rhetoric of citizenship was evident in Baden-Powell's early handbooks for Scouting and Guiding, albeit with a strongly imperialistic tinge:

If every citizen of the Empire were to make himself a really good useful man, our nation would be such a blessing to the civilised world, as it has been in the past, that nobody would wish to see it broken up...<sup>21</sup>

It has remained a part of the movements' values and programmes in the following century. *Scouting for Boys* had as its sub-title 'A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship'; and New Zealand-written handbooks from the 1970s, although less overt in their promotion of citizenship, still promoted participatory citizenship through the movements' Promise and Laws:

How better can you serve your Country than by helping others at all times? Who is meant by others? Anyone who is in need of help. Your parents, your neighbours, your friends, your Church, your Community, your Country and the world all require your assistance in different ways.<sup>22</sup>

By following these precepts, young members were choosing to participate in, and helping to shape, their environments. Of course this was a two-way process:

---

<sup>21</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys. A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, [Original 1908 edition text; edited with Introduction and Notes by Elleke Boehmer], Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p.281.

<sup>22</sup> Mary English and Cynthia Landels, *A Handbook for Guides*, Christchurch: GGANZ, 1975 revised edition (original 1970), p.33.

children's citizenship theorists have noted that their agency is 'a complex interaction in which children simultaneously are determined by their environment and help determine their environment'.<sup>23</sup> Jans argues that 'the participation and involvement approach... offers the opportunity of children-sized citizenship [compared with earlier times in which] citizenship used to be a static given and the final destination of childhood', suggesting that in 'late modernity' citizenship continually evolves through the social interdependency of children and adults.<sup>24</sup> Yet within the constraints of their times, young New Zealanders have exercised their citizenship *in their youth*, not just as aspirants to adult citizenship. New Zealand Scouts and Guides of 1930, 1950 and 1970 maintained a thread of active citizenship through their Scouting and Guiding that would have been recognisable to each other, despite social changes that influenced what happened inside and outside of their involvement with the movements at those times. They did not wait to become adults before becoming involved in their multiple communities. A recent New Zealand contribution to an international study on children's and youth citizenship stated that:

[c]hildren's understanding of, and participation in, civil society benefits children directly, and has long-term significance for society because it encourages the development of knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes that are fundamental to sustaining a democracy... Through participation as citizens children learn ideas and values that are not easily understood if they are merely passive learners. Active participation can give children mastery and control, support a developing sense of altruism, and set in motion a life time pattern of engagement in civic activity.<sup>25</sup>

Contemporary studies into youth volunteering and its effects on adult civic engagement affirm this principle: Charlene Shannon's 2009 study of Canadian 8 to 12 year olds (an age group she considered had been overlooked in volunteering theory and practice) concluded that 'hooking youth as volunteers early can influence their ongoing involvement as volunteers throughout the life course'; and Youniss, McLellan and Yates' 1997 review of longitudinal studies in this area concluded that 'participation in organizations and movements provides experience

---

<sup>23</sup> Jans notes that Anthony Giddens, in his structuration theory (1984), and Pierre Bourdieu, in his theory of action (1990) had articulated similar reasoning about adults. Jans, pp.39-40.

<sup>24</sup> Jans, p.40.

<sup>25</sup> Nicola Taylor, Anne B. Smith and Megan Gallop, 'New Zealand Children and Young People's Perspectives on Citizenship', *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 2008, v.16, pp.195-210.

with normative civic practices and ideologies, and shapes youth's emerging identities in a long-lasting form' and that by offering youth 'meaningful participatory experiences, we allow them to discover their potency, assess their responsibility, acquire a sense of political processes, and commit to a moral-ethical ideology.'<sup>26</sup> Although he may have worded it differently Baden-Powell believed in, and repeatedly expressed, this concept throughout his Scouting life, and embedded it in the Scouting and Guiding programmes:

I have over and over again explained that the purpose of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement is to build men and women as citizens endowed with the three H's namely, Health, Happiness and Helpfulness. The man or woman who succeeds in developing these three attributes has secured the main steps to success in this Life.<sup>27</sup>

Uniformed youth organisations can be overlooked when considering the ways in which children and young people can be considered as active citizens, as they have also played a social control role, and are often perceived as being top-down adult-controlled structures. Scouting and Guiding have upheld and promoted some conservative social attitudes - sometimes alongside progressive and liberal attitudes - throughout their history, yet they have also provided spaces in which their young members could be active participants in spatial communities as well as communities of interest at local, national and international levels.<sup>28</sup> The thread of active citizenship runs through this study, whether seen in the movements' ideologies and organisational actions, through adults' voluntary activity or through young members' experiences as Brownies or Cubs, Scouts or Guides.

\*\*\*\*\*

Children, it seems, are problematic. They require levels of protection for their vulnerability, and so are subject to social controls in many areas of their lives

---

<sup>26</sup> Charlene Shannon, 'An Untapped Resource. Understanding Volunteers Aged 8 to 12', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, v.38, n.5, October 2009, pp.828-845, p.844; James Youniss, Jeffrey A. McLellan and Miranda Yates, 'What We Know About Engendering Civic Identity', *American Behavioral Scientist*, v.40, n.5, March/April 1997, pp.620-631, p.629.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, *Lessons from the Varsity of Life*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1934, p.9.

<sup>28</sup> Communities of interest exist where common values or interests link people beyond geographical boundaries.

yet they also have rights, and lives that are sometimes distinct from those of adults. Clearly there are difficulties in trying to capture their histories – they tend not to leave written records in the same quantities, detail or forms as adults, and unlike other ‘minority’ groups their status changes as they grow up, leaving childhood behind and looking thereafter at their pasts with adult eyes and sensibilities. In addition, childhood and adolescence are both physiologically and socially constructed, varying between cultures and time periods. Yet childhood is, too, the only universal human experience that adults share. Children are not just on their way to being adults, whose histories do matter; they make choices within their abilities to do so, and have histories as a result.

At the time that James Belich wrote about twentieth century New Zealanders in 2001, he commented of New Zealand children that although they were robust and well-developed, the same could not yet be said of their history.<sup>29</sup> Helen May, a ‘cartographer’ of early childhood in New Zealand, also asserted that ‘there has been little mapping of the landscape of childhood in New Zealand’.<sup>30</sup> While Dugald McDonald’s 1978 typology of changing constructions of New Zealand childhood - the nineteenth century ‘child as chattel’; the 1900-1945 ‘child as social capital’; the 1945-1970s ‘child as psychological being’ and from the 1970s onward, the ‘child as citizen’ – still has some usefulness and relevance across the disciplines that study children and youth, these constructions too have been open to challenge and adaptation since then.<sup>31</sup> This perception of a lack of historical interest has some substance, at least from an academic perspective. The three editions of Oxford New Zealand histories spanning three decades of changes in New Zealand historiography and historical focus share the dubious honour of scant index reference entries for children, boys, girls or youth. The 1981 *Oxford*

---

<sup>29</sup> James Belich, *Paradise reforged: a history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 2001, p.357.

<sup>30</sup> Helen May, ‘Mapping some landscapes of colonial-global childhood ece@2000.europe.antipodes’, *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 2001. v.9, n.2, pp.5-20, p.9.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, Geoffrey Troughton, ‘Religious Education and the rise of psychological childhood in New Zealand’, *History of Education in New Zealand*, 2004, v.33, #2, pp.30-44. Belich, 2001, p.357, refers to the ‘cherished child’ of the first half of the twentieth century, while still supporting McDonald’s social capital thesis.

*History of New Zealand* was a landmark work of nationalist social history that was revised in 1992, whilst retaining a similar structure. The 2009 *New Oxford History of New Zealand* changed in focus to a ‘decentred’ and ‘transnational’ approach.<sup>32</sup> In both ‘nationalist’ and ‘transnational’ histories New Zealand Scouting and Guiding have been marginalised, despite their numerical strength and the breadth of their relationships in New Zealand society – and despite their suitability as ideal case studies representing membership of ‘transnational’ movements.<sup>33</sup> Yet there have been signs of change in the past two decades: in 2006 the *New Zealand Journal of History* devoted, for the first time, an issue to aspects of children’s lives and histories, with a fine editorial introduction by Jeanine Graham on the state of the area in New Zealand and internationally; and recent student theses have chosen to research aspects of childhood experiences, with the potential for further research in this area.<sup>34</sup> Excepting Jeanine Graham, few New Zealand academic historians have chosen to focus their research primarily on childhood and youth, although some wider community studies include children.<sup>35</sup> Much of the literature

---

<sup>32</sup> W. H. Oliver with B. R. Williams (ed.) *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981; Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand, 2nd edition*: Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992; Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009

<sup>33</sup> Giselle Byrnes argues that ‘history and identity are more likely to be made (and remade) along the lines of culture, community, class and gender, and that these are more important than ideas of evolving nationhood.’ (Byrnes, p.13) – yet youth organisations like Scouting and Guiding that encompass elements of all of these conceptual frameworks, are only briefly mentioned by contributors.

<sup>34</sup> *New Zealand Journal of History*, v.40, no.1 (2006), pp.1-6. Examples of theses include those written under the mentorship of Jeanine Graham, herself a historian of childhood, at Waikato University – Shirley Williams, ‘Children’s Voices: Insights into the History of New Zealand Childhood through an Examination of Children’s Pages in New Zealand Newspapers and Magazines in the 1930s’, MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1993; and from other New Zealand universities, Deborah Challinor, ‘Children and War: A Study of the Impact of the First World War on New Zealand Children’, MA dissertation, University of Waikato, 1993. Those from other New Zealand universities include Rosemary Goodyear’s MA and PhD theses on New Zealand childhoods, ‘Black boots and pinafores: childhood in Otago, 1900-1920, MA thesis, University of Otago, 1992 and ‘Sunshine and fresh air’: an oral history of childhood and family in interwar New Zealand, with some comparisons to interwar Britain’, PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1998; Lynette Townsend. ‘Seen but not heard?: collecting the history of New Zealand childhood’, MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2008; Delyn Day, ‘Education, generation, and gender: the rural youth movement in New Zealand, 1920-1973’, MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996; Charlotte Bennett, ‘“Now the War is over, we have something else to worry us”: New Zealand Children’s Responses to Crises, 1914-1918’, MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2012.

<sup>35</sup> Otago University’s Caversham Project, an ongoing study of a section of Dunedin community life has material relating to children’s lives in its extensive database; books include Claire Toynbee, *Her work and his: family, kin and community in New Zealand, 1900-1930*, Wellington: Victoria

that relates to childhood and youth in New Zealand historiography is focused on their interactions, in many capacities, with voluntary agencies and the state. In the twentieth century many of these interactions were imposed on families, children and youth by an increasingly interventionist state: educational histories of school curriculum developments abound, as do detailed and scholarly welfare histories that detail ways in which state and voluntary agencies combined to provide care for children when it was otherwise lacking.<sup>36</sup> Youth organisations have also attracted some interest. Most histories have been commissioned, although some academic research has also been undertaken in this area.<sup>37</sup> Gender-based research also provides insights into the lives of adult volunteers in children's organisations, or parental willingness to support them, as a part of wider life studies.<sup>38</sup> This includes research on never-married women without children, who were often connected with voluntary work in Scouting and Guiding.<sup>39</sup>

---

University Press, 1995; Rollo Arnold, assisted by Betty Arnold, *Settler Kaponga, 1881-1914: a frontier fragment of the western world*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Margaret Tennant, *Children's health, the nation's wealth: a history of children's health camps*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1994; Margaret Tennant, *The fabric of welfare: voluntary organisations, government and welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007; Margaret McClure, *A civilised community: a history of social security in New Zealand, 1898-1998*, Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1998; Bronwyn Labrum, 'Negotiating an increasing range of functions: families and the welfare state', *Past judgement: social policy in New Zealand history*, Bronwyn Dalley and Margaret Tennant (eds.), Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004; Bronwyn Dalley, *Family matters: child welfare in twentieth-century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1998.

<sup>37</sup> For New Zealand youth organisation histories, see Sandra Coney, *Every girl: a social history of women and the YWCA in Auckland 1885-1985*, Auckland: Auckland YWCA, 1986; Robin Ormerod, *The anchor holds: a history of the first hundred years of The Boys' Brigade in New Zealand*, Paraparaumu: The Boys' Brigade in New Zealand & The Stedfast Association, 1998; Neil Fox, *Fit for life: a history of the Crichton Cobbers' Club*, Christchurch: Crichton Cobbers' Youth Club, 2002. Recent theses in this area include Diana McCurdy, 'Feminine identity in New Zealand: the Girl Peace Scout movement 1908-1925', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2000; and Nadia Gush, 'Cultural fields of the Canterbury plains: women and cultural citizenship in Canterbury c.1890-1940', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007.

<sup>38</sup> A publication on New Zealand women's organisations, produced to coincide with the centenary of women's suffrage in New Zealand, provides a wide view of the extent of such groups, and also includes girls' organisations. Anne Else (ed.), *Women Together. A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand. Nga Ropu Wahine o te Motu*, Wellington: Daphne Brassell Associates Press with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1993.

<sup>39</sup> Examples include Jan Cameron, *Without Issue*, Canterbury University Press, 1997, and Jane Vanderpyl, 'Spinsters' Lives: an exploration of twelve ever-single and child-free women's life histories', M.Soc.Sci. thesis in Sociology, Waikato University, 1991.

### **Academic Scouting and Guiding historiography:**

Early literature about the Scouting and Guiding movements favoured autobiography through the prodigious output of Robert Baden-Powell, and uncritical biographies and foundation stories often written by insiders.<sup>40</sup> Baden-Powell's own recall of the events that led him to form and lead the Scouting movement and its Guiding offshoot were laced with anecdote and predicated upon being 'good yarn' material. Academic interest in Scouting and Guiding grew slowly from the 1970s, although John Springhall, who has published on the history of youth organisations including Scouting, credited 1960s new student protest movements with a renewed interest in their long-lived uniformed alternatives.<sup>41</sup> In the 1980s the contentious question of militarism in early Scouting was widely canvassed, with historians arguing over the degree to which Baden-Powell consciously promoted Scouting as a juvenile adjunct to the adult militarism then prevalent in British society.<sup>42</sup> Michael Rosenthal's scathing and dismissive 1986 assessment of Scouting as a 'character factory' of obedient proto-soldiers has endured as a source for academics in this and other fields, particularly when an anti-Scouting perspective is needed to support a thesis of the movements as conservative agents of social control, or as a counterpoint to such arguments.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Baden-Powell published 35 books in his lifetime, and after his death collected excerpts of his letters and columns were published. Biographies include E. K. Wade, *The Piper of Pax – The Life of Sir Robert Baden-Powell*, London, 1924, written by his personal secretary; and E. E. Reynolds (who worked at the Headquarters of the Boy Scouts Association with Baden-Powell), *Baden-Powell. A Biography of Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, O.M., G.C.M.G, G.C.V.O., K.C.B.*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1942.

<sup>41</sup> John Springhall, 'The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908-1930', *International Review of Social History*, 1971, v.16, n.2, pp.125-158, p.125.

<sup>42</sup> See Allen Warren's 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920' in *The English Historical Review*, v.101, n.399 (April 1986), pp.376-398. Responses to this article from Anne Summers ('Scouts, Guides and VADs: A Note in Reply to Allen Warren', *English Historical Review*, v.102, n.405 (October 1987) pp.943-947) and John Springhall 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?', *English Historical Review*, v.102, n.405 (October 1987), pp.934-942). Michael Rosenthal, *The character factory: Baden-Powell and the origins of the Boy Scout movement*, London: Collins, 1986.

<sup>43</sup> Michael Rosenthal, *The character factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*, New York: Pantheon, 1986. Caroline Daley, *Gendered Kiwi* chapter, references Rosenthal as evidence of the Boy Scouts as moulders of 'soldier-citizens'. Belich, 2001, also quotes

John Hoberman's 1995 article, 'Towards a Theory of Olympic Internationalism' used Rosenthal's book as a major source for Scouting material in his comparison of the Olympic, Scouting and Esperanto movements. In it he quoted (as one of the 'few serious historians of Scouting') Rosenthal's assessment of the non-critical nature of Scouting historiography at this time:

...it is startling that so few have seriously considered what it all meant. Such immunity from critical scrutiny has left Scouting almost entirely in the hands of its own historians and publicists, a situation that is not helpful in trying to understand the origins and meaning of any movement.<sup>44</sup>

What Rosenthal identified as 'an immunity from critical scrutiny' was a fledgling field of research that subsequently grew strongly, and critically (whether in response to his work, or in spite of it). Tim Jeal, whose eponymously named biography *Baden Powell* was first published three years after Rosenthal's book, departed from earlier biographies in his assessment of Baden-Powell as an individual and as founder of the Scouting movement. Jeal's rejection of Rosenthal's perspective led to debate between them, and informed other subsequent researchers.<sup>45</sup>

Contemporaneously, re-readings of Girl Guiding and Girl Scouting history through feminist or nationalist lenses drew out new perspectives. Mary Aickin Rothschild considered American Girl Scouting in relation to women's lives, drawing parallels between traditional domestic roles and 'practical feminism' that were both apparent in the movement's programmes:

The Girl Scout program itself has changed over the years in particulars, but two central themes have always been constant . . . One is the teaching of traditional domestic tasks for women and the other is a kind of practical feminism which embodies physical fitness, survival skills, camping, citizenship training, and career preparation. Both themes – domesticity and feminism – have always been present, though their relative positions have changed throughout the twentieth century . . . [they] are often at odds in the Girl Scout program as they are in women's lives and that program ambivalence continues to reflect, and perhaps affect, women's lives

---

Rosenthal's eminently quotable, if somewhat extreme, critique of Baden-Powell and Scouting, p.366.

<sup>44</sup> John Hoberman, 'Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism', *Journal of Sports History*, v.22, n.1, Spring 1995, pp.1-37, pp.3-4. (citing Rosenthal, p.12)

<sup>45</sup> Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, London: Hutchinson, 1989. For an exchange of views that represent both sides of this difference of opinion, see *The New York Review of Books*, 15 March 1990, pp.17-20: Ian Buruma's review of *Baden-Powell*; and Rosenthal's response to it, 28 June 1990, pp.60-61.

in the twentieth century.<sup>46</sup>

Another researcher declined a commission from the same movement on the grounds that she thought she already knew what to expect from Girl Scouting. Pressed to accept, she quickly admitted that her preconceptions had been overturned upon investigating what she saw as clear evidence of the movement empowering members.<sup>47</sup> Studies are often gendered, as these were: historians of Scouting have focused on training for manhood and constructions of masculinity at different times, and in different geographical locations, sometimes in conjunction with gendered manifestations of citizenship.<sup>48</sup> In contrast, this study chooses to examine both movements in New Zealand. While the movements are undoubtedly gendered in terms of their organisational structures and in their responses to shifting social constructions of femininity and masculinity, they also share many commonalities. Citizenship crosses gender boundaries, although its manifestations were and are often gendered; and both of these uniformed youth movements were developed with active youth citizenship at their core. The relative youth of this area of study, and the range of variations within Scouting and Guiding internationally, invite a range of approaches. Within the last decade in particular an international cross-disciplinary community of Scouting and Guiding scholars has burgeoned, and is producing research based on both historical and contemporary Scouting and Guiding.<sup>49</sup> Scouting's centenary in 2008 has invited

---

<sup>46</sup> Mary Aickin Rothschild, 'To Scout or to Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* (University of Nebraska Press), Autumn 1981, v.6, no.3, pp. 115-121, p.115.

<sup>47</sup> Elizabeth Israels Perry, 'From Achievement to Happiness: Girl Scouting in Middle Tennessee 1910s to 1960s', *Journal of Women's History*, 1993, v.5, n.2 (Fall), pp.75-94, p.75.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, Allen Warren, 'Popular Manliness: Baden-Powell, Scouting and the development of manly character', J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.) *Manliness and morality: middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987, pp.176-198; Jay Mechling, *On my honor: Boy Scouts and the making of American youth*, Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, c2001; Martin Crotty, 'Scouts Down Under: Scouting, Militarism and "Manliness" in Australia, 1908-1920', in Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, pp.74-88; David Macleod, 'Act your age: Boyhood, adolescence and the rise of the Boy Scouts of America', *Journal of Social History*, v.16 n.2, Winter 1982, pp.3-20; Benjamin Rene Jordan, "A Modest Manliness": The Boy Scouts of America and the Making of Modern Masculinity, 1910-1930', PhD thesis, University of California, San Diego, 2009.

<sup>49</sup> Jessica Foley, in her thesis on post- World War Two American Girl Scouting, expressed surprise at how little had been written about American youth organisations, particularly 'in the post-war

reflection on, and sometimes reappraisal of, the roles that the boys' and girls' movements have played throughout the British Empire and throughout the Scouting world.

Nearly every country in the world has Scouting of one form or another established, and this allows historians opportunities for cross-cultural and trans-national comparisons. *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* is a 2009 edited collection, and its three sections are indicative of recent work in this area: 'Forging Frontiers'; 'Colonial Frontiers'; and 'Evolving Frontiers'.<sup>50</sup> The volume covers physical and ideological territory as diverse as colonial African Scouting and Guiding; religious faith in the forms of Zionist, Christian and Muslim movements; marketing of the Scout 'trademark'; and expressions of citizenship that both uphold and challenge the movements' traditions. Whether researchers choose to investigate local or national studies that convey distinctiveness or connections (and frequently both) or international surveys of the movements across borders of time and place, the length and depth of the movements' lifespans can turn up material that speaks more widely about youth, politics, social change and faith.<sup>51</sup> Colin Heywood warns against placing too much emphasis on adult sources due to the paucity of children's own documents, and Jim Gledhill notes that their representations in official sources can be 'filtered'

---

era, despite their influence as a site for educating and socializing youth.' I share her surprise, but note that contemporary studies (including this study and her own, and Tammy Proctor's *Scouting for Girls: a century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*, Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, c.2009) are now emerging to sit alongside the preponderance of work on the early movements. Jessica L. Foley, "Meeting the Needs of Today's Girl": Youth Organizations and the Making of a Modern Girlhood, 1945-1980', PhD thesis, Brown University, 2010, pp.35-37.

<sup>50</sup> Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009.

<sup>51</sup> See, for examples of post-2000 research, Penny Tinkler, 'English Girls and the International Dimensions of British Citizenship in the 1940s', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 2001, v.8, No.1, pp.103-126; Tammy M. Proctor, "A Separate Path": Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v.42, n.3, July 2000, pp.605-631; Janie Hampton, *How the Girl Guides Won the War*, London: HarperPress, 2011; Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout movement in British Colonial Africa*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004; Julia Messner, "'Good upright young citizens'? Lived experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia', M.A. thesis, University of Technology, Sydney, 2004; Jessica L. Foley, "Meeting the Needs of Today's Girl": Youth Organizations and the Making of a Modern Girlhood, 1945-1980', PhD thesis, Brown University, 2010.

to reflect organisational discourses.<sup>52</sup> Kristine Alexander, in a chapter on Girl Guide camps in three countries encapsulates the challenge of working in this area:

...several other issues...are central to the study of youth organisations, including the relative importance of the global and the particular, the complex relationship between adults' ideals and young people's thoughts and actions, and the difficulties caused by using prescriptive literature while trying to get at individual experiences.<sup>53</sup>

The state of Scouting and Guiding historiography internationally has never looked so healthy, with diverse studies linked through the common ground of the movements and their adult and youth participants. Yet New Zealand studies in this area are few and far between. Where New Zealand historians focus on youth and childhood, they mention Scouting and Guiding briefly, if at all; and New Zealand work on Scouting and Guiding does not generally look wider to histories of youth and childhood.<sup>54</sup> This study, within an academic framework, examines New Zealand Scouting and Guiding in its social context, and considers ways in which overseas studies in this area concur with or diverge from the New Zealand experience. Academic debates abound about the relative importance of nationalist studies that seek to show New Zealand's 'exceptionalism', or those that predicate New Zealand's place in wider 'de-centred' or 'transnational' movements and ideas across nation-state boundaries. Tony Ballantyne's work on imperial transnationalism and his concept of 'webs of empire', and Katie Pickles' on conservative imperial women's organisations argue for the latter, while Pickles argues that earlier New Zealand historiography leaned towards the former.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Jim Gledhill, 'White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s', *Contemporary British History*, 2012, DOI: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000, p.2.

<sup>53</sup> Kristine Alexander, 'Similarity and difference at Girl Guide Camps in England, Canada, and India', Block and Proctor (eds.), pp.106-120, p.108.

<sup>54</sup> New Zealand historians Jock Phillips and James Belich are exceptions to this general trend. Phillips includes a discussion of Scouting and New Zealand boyhood in his masculinist history, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History*, Auckland: Penguin, 1987, pp.156-157, while Belich's evocation of New Zealand childhood included references to slightly anarchic Scouting groups that support his 'wild child' thesis. Belich, 2001, p.366.

<sup>55</sup> See Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race. Aryanism in the British Empire*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002; Katie Pickles, 'A Link in "The Great Chain of Empire Friendship": The Victoria League in New Zealand', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, v.33, n.1, January 2005, pp.29-50; Kevin Grant, Philippa Levine and Frank Trentmann (eds.) *Beyond Sovereignty. Britain, Empire and Transnationalism*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.

Organisations like Scouting and Guiding, which exist as local, regional, national and transnational entities can demonstrate elements of both. Throughout their life cycles one or the other may appear dominant, although both have usually been apparent in some measure.

### **New Zealand sources – Scouting, Guiding, youth and childhood:**

History is not the prerogative of the historian, nor even ... a historian's 'invention'. It is, rather, a social form of knowledge; the work, in any given instance, of a thousand different hands ... the ensemble of activities and practices in which ideas of history are embedded, or a dialectic of past-present relations is rehearsed.' (Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London: Verso, 1994, p.8.)<sup>56</sup>

Although this section is largely a discussion about sources that are relevant to the topic, it is also a commentary on the relative 'worth' of academic, public and amateur histories for this purpose. In academic institutions, where staff research and write for academic audiences, studies that meet the conventions of intellectual rigour and peer review are much more of a known quantity. Yet those written outside of this paradigm, sometimes by people with no formal academic training, can be just as valuable and insightful as sources. Both add to primary archival research, putting flesh on the bones of committee minutes and lists of names and numbers.

The benefit, and sometimes challenge, of researching New Zealand Scouting and Guiding is the wealth of archival material that documents both movements over the past century. Less earlier material remains, but by the end of the 1920s when New Zealand Scouting and Guiding followed the protocols and practices of the British imperial model better administrative records were kept. The Alexander Turnbull Library holds the archival national records for both movements, and these have been used to provide both an overview of the state of Scouting and Guiding over time, and details of various functions such as annual censuses,

---

<sup>56</sup> Cited in Anne Else, 'History Lessons: The Public History You Get When You're Not Getting Any Public History', in Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (eds.), *Going Public. The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001, pp.123-140, p.123.

policy-making and training. Such organisational records are valuable for examining changes in policy emphasis over time, and assessing changes in funding streams and membership fluctuations. Each of these areas has been used in this study to portray the life cycle patterns of these voluntary organisations. These administrative records also provide an organisational perspective, which is useful to set alongside regional or provincial records that may differ in priorities or emphasis. The National Scout Museum in Kaiapoi also holds primary material, some of which has been digitised, and other regional city Archives have provided primary material in photographic and written forms. The *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* contains entries for influential Scouting and Guiding leaders, and a range of other New Zealanders who have been active in the movements during their lives. Provincial records have provided information on governance and management of the movements at this level, along with primary material relating to clusters of units in a small towns or local issues. This study also uses pack records that provide insights into small groups' membership, programmes, particularities and personalities. Log books of groups' weekly endeavours or of camps and journeys undertaken, written by young members or adult leaders, provide a counterpoint to official summaries of such events. Finally, in terms of the movements' own records, some individual perspectives gained through verbal and written conversations with ex-members provide their own insight into their time as youthful or adult participants in Scouting or Guiding. Printed sources including newspapers and serials have added specific details of Scouting and Guiding events and, where regular columns have appeared on Scouting or Guiding activities, authors' perspectives on programme activities, the everyday lives of troops or companies and lively camping reports. Each level of primary material contributes different perspectives, which add to an understanding of the movements' histories.

This research examines a mix of archival, academic, public and amateur sources. In addition to the movements' own archival records it is the (largely) amateur histories of local and regional New Zealand Scout and Guide groups that draw my attention. In general, based on my reading of more than forty volumes representing New Zealand Scouting and Guiding in a range of locations, a typical

author's profile of such a history shows long-term involvement with the group, combined with a conscientious attempt to record their history while records and older group members with institutional knowledge still endure – or as Eric Hobsbawm put it, 'to remember what others forget.'<sup>57</sup> Occasionally regional histories are commissioned to mark significant anniversaries, and are produced by professional writers, often with academic training and connections to the movements. Carol Dawber's 2008 history of New Zealand Guiding and Owen Rodgers' upcoming first volume of his New Zealand Scouting history are well-researched and although written for general audiences, provide comprehensive evidence of both the life cycles and programme directions of both movements.<sup>58</sup> Both authors were involved with the movements, and both have extensive experience in researching and writing.<sup>59</sup> Sources like these supplement archival records, as do smaller group or regional histories. Audiences are largely those who share in the collective identity of troops, companies or regional groups, and this is reflected in their subject matter: detailed accounts of who was involved, when groups formed, flourished, or declined and what they accomplished during that time. These collective stories, written by and for them, are based on what they consider important about their histories, their place in them and in wider levels of the movements and their communities. As sources they are often rich in detail and illustrative anecdote, and resonate with a sense of shared identity, history and experience.<sup>60</sup> Yet they too are potentially problematic for academic researchers.

---

<sup>57</sup> [www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=208075&sectioncode=22](http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=208075&sectioncode=22), accessed 29 September 2012.

<sup>58</sup> Carol Dawber, *Ambitious Fun The Journey of GirlGuiding in New Zealand*, Christchurch: GirlGuiding New Zealand, Wyatt & Wilson, 2008; Owen Rodgers, *Adventure Unlimited. Looking at 100 years of the Scout Movement in New Zealand, Book 1* (upcoming). In comparison, two British publications on Scouting and Guiding histories, written for general audiences, are much less detailed and considered in their approaches, having instead the feel of 'coffee table' books. Alison Maloney, *Something for the girls: the official guide to the first 100 years of Guiding*, London: Constable & Robinson, 2009; [no author] *An Official History of Scouting*, London: Hamlyn, 2006.

<sup>59</sup> Carol Dawber has an MA in English Literature, is a former journalist and freelance author, while Owen Rodgers is Scouts New Zealand's official historian and archivist, and former Executive Officer Publications and General Editor.

<sup>60</sup> Authors of local Scouting and Guiding histories, with their insider knowledge of uniform symbols, sometimes note things that outsiders would miss e.g. Jane Cox, an academically trained researcher with experience in Guiding as a young member and adult leader, commented in her Otago province Girl Guide history on the number of service stars and 'white all-round shoulder cords' worn in a photograph of a 1<sup>st</sup> Roslyn Ranger patrol, noting 'this was a very hard-working

Compared to academic studies, they often lack referencing, and concentrate on narrative rather than analysis. As Allen Warren notes, having acknowledged their connections and ‘belonging’ with the movements, Scouting and Guiding insiders ‘interested in their own histories and their significance tend to be rather uncritical in their assumptions, and poor in their understanding of the social and historical context of their study.’<sup>61</sup> Graham and Susan Butterworth, in the introduction to their history of Jaycees in New Zealand, referred to previous attempts as mostly ‘done in-house by amateurs...too often mere catalogues of names and events, inward-looking and uncritical’.<sup>62</sup> Yet this material too can aid academic researchers reading both with and against the grain. Despite, and perhaps sometimes because of, their parochial characteristics they should not be neglected as source material. To invoke the often-repeated observation of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, the French ‘Annaliste’ historian, such amateur histories, with their personal lived experiences, are written by and for ‘truffle hunters’ – historians who focus on the histories of those at ground level, searching for detail and lived experiences. Metanarratives, as envisaged and articulated by ‘parachutist’ historians looking from above in comparative and analytical ways over time, are much less common in group histories written by non-academics. Yet, as Le Roy Ladurie noted, there is room for both approaches and a combination of both the truffle-hunter’s and the parachutist’s perspectives provides a wider view.<sup>63</sup>

Another rich vein in Scouting and Guiding history source material, whether New Zealand-based or international in its focus, is the literature written about, and for, the movements by those within them. Much of this material was intended for

---

company!’ Jane Cox, *Please Come Prepared for Anything. A Social History of the Girl Guide Movement in Otago*, Dunedin: GGANZ Otago Province, 1993, p.69.

<sup>61</sup> Allen Warren, ‘Foreword’, Block and Proctor, 2009, p.xii.

<sup>62</sup> Graham and Susan Butterworth, *Jaycee. Developers of People. Builders of Community*, Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2007, p.10. While there are some New Zealand voluntary organisational histories e.g. Colin Taylor’s published history of the Auckland YMCA and Sandra Coney’s on the Auckland YWCA, most published material in this area tends to be ‘insider’ histories. Sandra Coney, *Every Girl. A Social History of Women and the YWCA in Auckland 1885-1985*, Auckland: YWCA, 1986; Colin Taylor, *Body, Mind and Spirit: YMCA Auckland: celebrating 150 years 1855-2005*, Auckland: Reed, 2005.

<sup>63</sup> Although this is a common quote, the bibliographic reference is elusive. The closest is ‘LeRoy Ladurie (1971)’ – perhaps *Times of feast, times of famine: a history of climate since the year 1000*, (trans. Barbara Bray), London: Allen & Unwin, c.1971.

everyday use, and consists of training aids, handbooks, songbooks, and serials. For this study, much of the material was British in origin and published before the Second World War, in an expansion period when Scouting and Guiding was developing throughout the world. The demand for, and supply of, information on how best to harness children's energies and teach them Scouting and Guiding skills and values resulted in an extensive literature. New Zealand Scouters and Guiders used this material when it was newly published and continued to use it after the war when rationing forestalled further publications, until revised and new works were written from the mid-1950s onwards. Gradually, the New Zealand movements supplemented British material with home-grown resources that reflected local conditions and locations. Even so, it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that all of the handbooks used in weekly meetings were written by and for New Zealand Scouting and Guiding. Baden-Powell's vision for the movements he founded was still adhered to in principle and while some of his writing was undoubtedly of its time, some remained relevant to leaders and members half a century and more later. Later handbooks were written and designed to appeal to 'modern youth', but were still based upon Baden-Powell's principles of healthy, capable young citizens, who looked for opportunities for community service. As such, the movements' own literature provides another source to complement archival material.

### **CHAPTER STRUCTURE:**

Chapters in this thesis examine different aspects of the Scouting and Guiding movements' values, programmes and life cycles that have influenced the way they have attempted to promulgate active citizenship in their members. Operating within a wider social, economic and political environment, and subject to changes in these areas, the movements have attempted to spread their outreach geographically and socially in order to further their aims. The aspects covered in each chapter represent ways in which they have functioned at different times, and

the adaptations made to recruit and retain members in order to most effectively convey the movements' values and skills-based programmes.

The first chapter considers Scouting's foundations: firstly, Robert Baden-Powell himself as founder, and influences that shaped his thinking and the form of the movement he developed; secondly, the development of a receptive environment for such a movement; and thirdly, subsequent adaptations to the early movement based on rapid membership growth, his own evolving international citizenship model and responses to public perceptions of militarism in the early movement. Baden-Powell was a product of his upbringing and career choice, yet in some ways confounded stereotypical definitions. *Scouting for Boys*, his serialised first attempt at a boys' programme, was adapted regularly in the first two decades of the Scouting movement, reflecting Baden-Powell's own developing vision of its potential, but also his responses to public perceptions. In a period when Empire coloured not just the world map but also domestic and foreign policy, the Scouting movement's beginnings within that environment indicate the growing link between children and their place in society.

The second chapter follows on by examining how Baden-Powell's fledgling movement quickly took root in New Zealand, as in other outposts of the British Empire and beyond. New Zealand, although physically isolated, was connected to the rest of the world by telegraph and news and ideas flowed backwards and forwards. The chapter will discuss what made New Zealand so receptive to Scouting, and how the movement developed in its early stages. Girl Peace Scouting, a distinctly New Zealand manifestation of 'scouting for girls', developed from the same foundation and almost at the same time. Both types of Scouting were led by the New Zealand 'founder', David Cossgrove, who was inspired by - but not in awe of - Baden-Powell's plan and the handbook through which to implement it. This indigenous offshoot did not always follow the British model, as it had been adapted to fit local physical and social conditions. By the mid-1920s a 'recolonisation' occurred with both branches of New Zealand Scouting: in the 1920s, boys' Scouting adhered more closely to its British parent body, while New

Zealand girls lost the colour and content of their home-grown movement and became Girl Guides, once again initially following the British model.<sup>64</sup> A period of embedding followed, which set the scene for later developments. For both boys and girls, and in both indigenous and British manifestations of Scouting, young members were expected to follow the movements' Law and Promise encompassing active citizenship in their communities, in times of crisis and in everyday lives.

The following chapter moves to an organisational history focus, and discusses three key elements that underpinned the movements' abilities to promulgate and deliver both values and programmes in the postwar period. Voluntary organisations are not usually formed for bureaucratic reasons but without attention to membership, funding and infrastructure their abilities to meet their goals are hampered. For New Zealand's Scouting and Guiding movements in the period between the 1920s and 1970s, fluctuations in all three areas had direct impacts on the life cycles of the movements. Membership increases were the way in which Scouting and Guiding could reach more boys and girls, and inculcate their values and methods of citizenship training. As the birth rate rose, particularly in the 1940s to 1960s, so did membership; yet membership potential was strongly linked to the ability to reach recruits and to support groups. Funding, from both state and private sources, underpinned organisational growth. So too did infrastructure development, as physical spaces in which to run programmes and house groups became stretched. Scout and Guide halls and dens became centres for community activity, both in their planning and fundraising stages, and after completion. In keeping with the movements' laws - 'A Scout/Guide is thrifty' - groups built social capital with their wider communities to develop and maintain such infrastructure. Beyond local and regional facilities, in this period both Scouting and Guiding developed national 'homes', mirroring established British facilities. These sites were useful training spaces, but also served as sites of collective identity. While such organisational functions of the movements might be considered appropriate for adults rather than children, the active citizenship

---

<sup>64</sup> James Belich coined the term 'recolonisation' in *Paradise Reforged* (2001), 'for a renewal and reshaping of links between colony and metropolis after an earlier period of colonisation.' p.29.

model encouraged young members to play active roles in supporting their own movements.

Ensuring that the movements could accomplish their goals and deliver the programmes mattered, but the Scouting and Guiding movements focussed most intently upon what was happening in local packs, troops and companies of Brownies, Cubs, Scouts and Guides. The fourth chapter examines the organisational cultures of New Zealand Scouting and Guiding. Continuity in the form of invented traditions, the ‘Law’ and ‘Promise’, remaining as uniformed movements, and the link to Baden-Powell’s founding texts and values ensured the retention of collective identity. The chapter will also look at ways in which youth citizenship was played out by young members in their communities, and ways in which they chose to represent the movements. For Scouts and Guides, their membership was a choice, and the chapter will also consider ways in which they demonstrated their limited agency over what they did within their groups. The chapter will discuss Scouting and Guiding for young members and for adult leaders, noting that their reasons for membership could be quite different. Adult members had a range of motivations for their involvement – some chose to share and teach their own skills, others felt that youth work was a worthwhile form of active citizenship, while others were simply pressed into service. Children and teenagers also had a multitude of reasons for becoming Cubs or Brownies, Scouts or Guides. For those at the earlier end of the period, Scouting or Guiding was a dominant youth organisation, uniformed, service-oriented and offering outdoor activities not always otherwise available. By the end of the period, children and teenagers had at their disposal a much wider range of options for their leisure, and were less inclined than previously to choose uniforms and community service in a ‘traditional’ youth movement.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> In 1945, Scouting’s older age group sections (Scouts and Rovers) represented 52.9% of the total membership; by 1980, Scouts, Venturers and Rovers represented 36.9% of the movement’s membership. Source: Rodgers (upcoming), Appendix C: Census.

Chapter Five discusses forms of outreach by the movements over the period, responding to both internal and external influences. As with other voluntary organisations, the movements operated within an environment of both continuity and change, adapting where compelled to do so by social factors like a rise in other leisure options for children and teenagers or when social values within and outside of the movements prompted change. The chapter considers two forms of outreach: community service, by localised individuals or in public campaigns partnered with other organisations and the state; and the movements developing programmes to meet the particular physical or cultural needs of groups incorporated into Scouting and Guiding's membership. In both cases the movements' principle of inclusion and active citizenship - where everyone who wanted to be a Scout or Guide should be able to, and all members were considered active citizens - were significant factors. Of equal significance was the social context in which the movements operated, and which affected their outreach directions.

The final chapter brings together the threads of earlier discussions in the environment of the camp. Physical activity was central to the programmes of self-avowedly outdoor movements,. Allen Warren, writing in the foreword to *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, observed that 'no history of the Scout and Guide movements will be fully convincing without examining the multiple and multi-layered experiences of adults and children as worked out in the environment of the camp', and to some extent camping exemplifies what the Scouting and Guiding movements sought to impart through their programmes, rituals and values.<sup>66</sup> Chapter Six discusses the forms of camping undertaken by New Zealand Scouts and Guides, and the ways in which these changed over time. Baden-Powell's concept of the active citizen stressed the active - not just in mind and spirit, but also in physical health and capability. This rhetoric about the character-training value of camping, and the ways in which it was physically manifested will be discussed; so too will his ideas about the natural environment and the ways in which New Zealand Scout and Guide camping

---

<sup>66</sup> Block and Proctor (eds.), p.xxii.

represented or deviated from them. Despite its back-to-nature ethos, camping was subject to regulations and protocols imposed upon adult leaders, who had to pass tests before being declared proficient in this ‘natural’ environment and so capable of supervising young members. Logistically, the ideal of longer camps became harder to sustain as adult volunteers had less time to commit to them; and large jamborees or national camps with thousands of campers required considerable planning. The pinnacle of camping achievements for those able to attend were international camps, where the movements encouraged campers to reach out to their Scouting or Guiding peers from other countries. There was potential for bureaucracy to squeeze the fun out of camping as it became increasingly regulated. Yet it has endured, through many forms, as both a conduit to character and citizenship training, and an effective drawcard for membership.

The six chapters illustrate the ways in which the movements organised and adapted themselves internally in order to disseminate, as widely as possible, their movements’ values and programme contents. Active youth citizenship was both a foundational value within Scouting, and its ultimate aim. Yet although the movements provided training for adult citizenship, believing that the ‘window of opportunity’ for imparting this was at its widest opening in youth, their clear expectations were that their young members would take active roles in their communities, whether at local, national or international levels. This study examines the social contexts in which such character development could occur, taking into account the ways in which Scouting and Guiding operated at different levels and locations, for and by adult and youth members, throughout decades of growth and the beginnings of decline. These two central themes – active citizenship and organisational histories – provide a framework upon which to develop an understanding of the New Zealand movements.

## CHAPTER ONE: BADEN-POWELL, BRITISH CONCERNS AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE BOY SCOUTS AND GIRL GUIDES MOVEMENTS

The flourishing Scouting and Guiding movements of mid-twentieth century New Zealand, confidently facing forward after years of war and disruption, nevertheless had their origins in British Victorian values and Edwardian concerns. Muscular Christianity, the British Empire and concern over the moral and physical degeneracy of the British boys intended to support it, were fundamentally linked in the early programme of the Boy Scouts and its publications. Robert Baden-Powell, ‘the hero of Mafeking’ and the founder of Scouting, was the product of a middle-class family, a public school education and the British Army.<sup>1</sup> Many of his values reflected those of his peers and class, with conventional attitudes towards the development and maintenance of the British Empire, societal roles and expectations of behaviour. However Baden-Powell was, in many respects, unorthodox in his attitudes. His creative talents in art and drama sat alongside his enthusiasm for violent and strenuous pig-sticking forays.<sup>2</sup> He had close friendships with male colleagues throughout his army career, and married only in his fifties.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> ‘The hero of Mafeking’ became a popular description of Baden-Powell in the period following his part in the siege of Mafeking, South Africa, in 1899-1900. Books lauding Baden-Powell’s role appeared within months. See W. Francis Aitken, *Baden-Powell, the Hero of Mafeking*, London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1900 and Harold Begbie, *The Story of Baden-Powell: ‘the Wolf that never Sleeps’*, London: G. Richards, 1900. A brief description of the Mafeking siege and relief follows later in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> E. E. Reynolds, in *B-P: The Story of His Life*, London: Oxford University Press, 1942, referred to both in successive paragraphs, noting that as a junior officer in India Baden-Powell ‘became so expert that in 1883 he won the Kadir Cup [for pigsticking] - the most coveted trophy for the sport’ while the next paragraph refers to his ability to ‘make up topical skits that would bring down the house’ and his skill as ‘a designer and painter of scenery’ in entertainments for his military community. (p.12.)

<sup>3</sup> Tim Jeal, in his 2001 biography *Baden-Powell*, devoted a chapter to the nuances of Baden-Powell’s sexuality, and concluded that he was, throughout his life, a repressed homosexual who sublimated his energies into service in general and the Boy Scouts Association in particular. Jeal argued that repressed homosexuality was not uncommon in men of this period and background; and that Baden-Powell did not act upon, or indeed recognise, his attraction to boys and young men

Even in his army career, he combined the conventional and unconventional. Unusually for commissioned officers, he had not come through the traditional officer training at Sandhurst, and throughout his life he had little time for monotonous army drill that reinforced rote learning. Instead he valued imaginative and independent training of those under his command, arguing that such training honed observational skills and initiative and made better soldiers and army scouts. This, together with his feeling for what boys needed and liked to do, and his strong personal creativity and sense of the dramatic, shaped his early work with boys in other organisations.

This chapter will examine how aspects of Robert Baden-Powell's life determined the form Scouting took and ways in which it resonated through the history of the Scouting and Guiding movements. It will also discuss reasons for the popularity of early Scouting and Guiding. First and foremost, that they appealed to boys and girls because they were pitched at the things that they enjoyed, not least of which was having fun. Secondly, the publication and immediate success of *Scouting for Boys* paved the way for strong media support and effective communication between young recruits and the developing movement. Baden-Powell wrote effectively for his young audience, but he was assisted in disseminating information by various forms of media. Thirdly, the development of gendered movements that catered for boys and girls provided space for both to develop in ways that met both adult social expectations and challenges for youth. Opportunities for war service provided further legitimation and an extension of public approval for the young movements. Together these factors resulted in fertile ground for the movements to grow in the first half of the twentieth century.

### **Baden-Powell's influences and career**

To understand the genesis of Scouting, its appeal to boys in Britain and beyond, and the rapid development of the movement in its early years, it is necessary to

---

in any physical form himself; and abhorred Scoutmasters who did so as they corrupted the purity of boyhood. (Chapter: 'Men's Man', pp.74-109).

briefly examine the man with whom it is fundamentally associated, and the significant influences upon his life and values. An enthusiastic Baden-Powell biographer who averred that ‘there can never be another discoverer of Scouting, anymore than there can ever be a second founder of Christianity’, was countered by John Springhall arguing that ‘while no other British youth movement is so manifestly the embodiment of its founder’s personal vision as Scouting, it was as much the product of an era or of the national culture as of any one man.’<sup>4</sup> These two viewpoints, asserting significant personal and sociological factors, are both necessary but individually insufficient when accounting for Scouting’s development and immediate success. For Scouting to take root and flourish required a combination of both.

Robert Stephenson Smyth Powell was born in 1857, towards the end of a large family. His father Baden Powell, an Oxford don and cleric with unorthodox views, died three years later and his ambitious mother, Henrietta, channelled her considerable energies into the Victorian preoccupation of advancing the family’s social and economic status.<sup>5</sup> (It was her decision to add her husband’s first name to the family name after his death, as Baden-Powell sounded more salubrious than Powell and would hopefully work in her family’s favour.)<sup>6</sup> She was exacting in her expectations of her children, and they worked hard to gain her approval and attention throughout both their childhood and adult lives.<sup>7</sup> Goodness and service were expected: “Remember to help others. We cannot be good ourselves unless we are always helping others.”<sup>8</sup> Such exhortations made an impression upon the

---

<sup>4</sup> John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society. British Youth Movements, 1883-1940*, London: Croom Helm, 1977, p. 53. (The quote comes from E. K. Wade’s *The Piper of Pax*, (London, 1931 edition), Foreword, p.11.

<sup>5</sup> Reverend Baden Powell held views that were at odds with contemporary Anglican theologians, related to Sabbath observance, Darwinian evolution and the irrationality of miracles. Powell, along with other liberal theologians, produced a manifesto titled *Essay and Reviews* around February 1860, that supported Darwin, but he died before it was publicly debated.

<sup>6</sup> Jeal, p.22.

<sup>7</sup> Jeal devotes the first chapter of his biography of Baden-Powell to ‘That Wonderful Woman’, pp.1-45, and her influence on the young Baden-Powell and his siblings. It is an emphasis that Baden-Powell shared, as evidenced by one of the quotes Jeal uses to begin the chapter: ‘*The whole secret of my getting on lay with my mother.*’

<sup>8</sup> Jeal, p.16, from a letter written to Baden-Powell’s brother George, by his mother, Henrietta Grace. Such sentiments reflected Henrietta Grace’s Christian Socialist leanings.

young Baden-Powell, who would later incorporate similar expectations into the Scouts and Guides 'daily good turn'.

Baden-Powell attended the elite Charterhouse School as a scholarship boy, initially in London and then at Godalming in Surrey where it relocated in 1872.<sup>9</sup> English public schools in the 1860s and 1870s wholeheartedly embraced the cult of manliness through athleticism, and Charterhouse's new grounds offered the ideal locus for team sports and other physical exertions.<sup>10</sup> While the school's academic record was unremarkable, and living conditions were spartan, its playing fields and surrounding woods were impressive and well used.<sup>11</sup> This emphasis on outdoor activity was consistent with the development of 'muscular Christianity' as a concept, which stressed the importance of combining vigorous physical masculinity with the active promulgation of Christian ideals.<sup>12</sup> This combination of body and spirit took precedence over scholarship, as many proponents of muscular Christianity saw intellectual activity as being effeminate, solitary and sedentary – the antithesis of the public school model of manhood.<sup>13</sup> Charles Kingsley, an

---

<sup>9</sup> Mrs Baden-Powell assiduously pursued scholarships for her sons' education and Robert Baden-Powell and his brother Baden received 'Gownboys' scholarships to Charterhouse, as the sons of good families in reduced circumstances. Charterhouse's run-down London site was near Smithfield cattle market, and had little to recommend it: an old Cartusian remarked in a letter to *The Times* in 1865 that little had changed at the school since he was a pupil thirty years before, and that the boys were 'buried in the very midst of the slums of London... a more dreary prison-house than the school cannot be imagined.' Colin Shrosbee, *Public schools and private education: the Clarendon Commission, 1861-64, and the Public Schools Acts*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p.16.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, John Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

<sup>11</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, when the cult of manliness developed and became the educational orthodoxy for public schools, many schools dramatically increased their playing field acreage. Harrow, for example, went from 8 acres in 1845 to 146 in 1900. Richard Holt, *Sport and the British. A Modern History*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, p.82.

<sup>12</sup> While Christianity was seen as a fundamental ingredient in the construction of the ideal public schoolboy (and Englishman), it was predicated upon practical rather than intellectual theology. The boy who concentrated upon his immortal soul at the expense of his corporeal wellbeing and character development (through games) was as liable to ridicule as the academically focused pupil.

<sup>13</sup> C.L.R. James, writing about cricket, asserted that the Victorians 'valued competence in it and respect for what it came to signify more than they did intellectual accomplishment of any kind'. The public schools and universities provided the grounds, both physical and cultural, on which the moulding of an imperial man of action could take place. C.L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, London: Stanley Paul, 1969, p.164. See also Mangan, 1981.

advocate of the principle (if not the term) repeatedly made the connection between morality and activity in boys' games:

...in the playing-field boys acquire virtues which no books can give them; not merely daring and endurance, but, better still, temper, self-restraint, fairness, honour, unenvious approbation of another's success, and all that "give and take" of life which stand a man in such good stead when he goes forth into the world, and without which, indeed, his success is always maimed and partial.<sup>14</sup>

At a time when the British Empire was a thriving and powerful world entity, boys at its public schools could be expected to 'go forth in the world' as not only administrators of the Empire, but ambassadors of its values. 'Playing the game' in a spirit of fair play went beyond the sporting field, and beyond the public schools. J. A. Mangan charted its dissemination 'outward and downward' from the public schools throughout British society and into the empire, aided by the printed word. He quoted and endorsed John Lowerson's assertion that 'It was ... the printed word which created the aura of heroism, and this aura was dependent on the ascription of moral values by mediators.'<sup>15</sup> While the message was initially intended primarily for the public school constituency, a sympathetic audience in other schools and clubs readily picked it up. Given contemporary concerns about the state of British youth in general, it is reasonable to surmise that those running youth organisations saw considerable merit in the message. The values that Baden-Powell later incorporated in his Scouting Laws, aimed at developing boys (and girls) into good citizens, bore a marked similarity to those espoused by influential headmasters at his, and other, Victorian public schools. Private schools established in New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century followed both the form and the values of the English model.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Charles Kingsley, from 'Nausicca in London, or the Lower Education of Women', in *Health and Education*, 1874.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Mangan, 'Muscular, Militaristic and Manly': The British Middle-Class Hero as Moral Messenger', in *European Heroes. Myth, Identity, Sport*, Richard Holt, J.A. Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi (eds.), London: Frank Cass, 1996, p.35.

<sup>16</sup> The first private New Zealand endowed boys' schools, Wanganui Collegiate School and Christ's College, were established in the 1850s, while their girls' equivalents began with the establishment of Samuel Marsden Collegiate School in 1878 and Rangī Ruru in 1889. See Andrew Sangster, *Pathway to Establishment: The History of Wanganui Collegiate School*, Wanganui: Wanganui Newspapers, 1985; Don Hamilton, *College!: A history of Christ's College*, Christchurch: Christ's College Board of Governors, 1996; Kirsty Carpenter, *Marsden Women and their World: A History of Marsden School*, Wellington: Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, 2003; Rosemary Britten,

Baden-Powell's schooling, while not particularly successful academically, reinforced in him the public school values of loyalty, honour and duty, as well as an ongoing love of the outdoor life.<sup>17</sup> These attributes were also seen as desirable for army officers, and Baden-Powell's career as a commissioned officer, mostly on overseas postings, was another fundamental influence on his later work with Scouting. Although his mother had ambitions of an Oxford education for him, he failed the entrance examinations for two colleges. This may have been due to his acknowledged inattention at school, where trying too hard academically was unpopular.<sup>18</sup> He later sat an Open Examination for the Cavalry, coming second in the class of 700 candidates, although throughout his life he tended to downplay his intellectual ability, valuing instead practical 'hands-on' study from 'the varsity of life.'<sup>19</sup> In 1876 he was gazetted as a sub-lieutenant of the 13<sup>th</sup> Hussars, then stationed in Lucknow, India, having bypassed the usual two-year Sandhurst training due to his good grade and the immediate demand for officers. Apart from home and sick leave, he spent most of the next 27 years on overseas service in India, Afghanistan, West Africa and South Africa.<sup>20</sup> This inevitably coloured his perceptions of the Empire and its inhabitants, as his privileged position and the conservatism of his peers rubbed up against the Christian socialist views of duty and service with which he had been raised. As with other aspects of his personality, he accommodated both conservative and liberal views within his purview. Both would later be evident in his early Scouting publications.

---

*Rangi Ruru: Rangi Ruru Girls' School, Christchurch, New Zealand 1889-1989*, Christchurch: Published by Te Waihora Press for Board of Governors, The School, 1988.

<sup>17</sup> In his articles for Scouting magazines, Baden-Powell wrote glowingly of the joys of outdoor living: 'Living in God's open air, among the hills and the trees, and the birds and the beasts, and the sea and the rivers...all this brings health and happiness such as you can never get among the bricks and smoke of the town.' Robert Baden-Powell, *Adventuring with Baden-Powell. Yarns and Articles by the 'Chief'*, London: Blandford, 1956, p.19.

<sup>18</sup> Crammers (tutors who intensively coached potential students through the requirements of entrance exams for prestigious universities) were used in this period, and Baden-Powell's older brother Frank attained entry to Balliol College only after a year's cramming following his time at Marlborough. He did however excel in a number of school sports, and attained a Blue at Oxford, reflecting the relative importance given to academic and sporting excellence. Jeal, p.27.

<sup>19</sup> Baden-Powell's autobiography, published in 1933, was entitled *Lessons from the Varsity of Life*.

<sup>20</sup> Chronological information on Baden-Powell's military career can be found in a number of biographies, ranging from the hagiographic to the dismissive. In these accounts the basic facts of his service remain the same.

While he was on overseas service Baden-Powell wrote and illustrated volumes about his experiences. His ability to ‘paint a picture’ to a home audience eager for accounts of life on the Empire’s frontiers helped to sell his books, supplemented his pay, and unwittingly provided the basis for much of *Scouting for Boys*. His first booklet, *Reconnaissance and Scouting* (1884), written to supplement his own training of army scouts in observation skills, was followed by others based on campaigns, and by *Aids to Scouting* (1899). The timing of this was significant, as the following year Baden-Powell became famous throughout the Empire for his role in the Siege of Mafeking. Mafeking, a South African town strategically placed near the Bechuanaland border, entered siege conditions in October 1899, shortly after war was declared between the British and the Boers. Under Baden-Powell’s command, a combined force of approximately 2000 men from army and police ranks, townspeople and African tribespeople held the town for 217 days against a much larger Boer force. Baden-Powell used deception strategies to make it appear that the town’s resources and manpower were greater than they were.<sup>21</sup> His scouting and observation skills were used to monitor enemy actions, and a Mafeking Cadet Corps, comprised of local boys, did duty as orderlies and messengers.<sup>22</sup> As the siege went on, rationing increased and Baden-Powell’s command included keeping up the morale of both troops and townspeople, not always successfully.<sup>23</sup> Mafeking was relieved by British troops in May 1900,

---

<sup>21</sup> Reynolds, p.98, quotes Baden-Powell recounting the Mafeking ‘minefields’ where boxes filled with sand were laid with elaborate care (including appropriate signage to warn townspeople), and of a demonstration where dynamite was used to simulate a mine exploding. The boxes contained only sand, but fooled the Boer forces.

<sup>22</sup> Baden-Powell noted the worth of the boy cadets at Mafeking, but they were not under his command. Later biographers mentioned them as being a link in the chain of Scouting development, and Baden-Powell referred to them as ‘jolly smart and useful’ in *Scouting for Boys* as part of a wider section on Scoutcraft.

<sup>23</sup> Baden-Powell’s dislike of ‘grouzers’ at Mafeking was consistent with his impatience with ‘loafers’ and those who did not ‘play the game’ as willing members of a collective effort. While there were some less positive appraisals of Baden-Powell’s leadership and command style amongst the press corps, overwhelmingly public opinion lauded his efforts. Twentieth century historians have revisited Mafeking, re-examining Baden-Powell’s leadership and the relative unimportance of the siege (see Brian Gardner’s *Mafeking: A Victorian Legend*, London: Cassell, 1966); and Baden-Powell’s treatment of Mafeking’s African population (see Thomas Pakenham’s *The Boer War*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979). Jeal notes in his Preface that Pakenham later ‘retreated’ from some of his earlier assertions. Jeal, p.x.

although by then many of the Boer forces had been diverted to other battles. A British public hungry for good news from South Africa greeted the Relief of Mafeking with extravagant public celebrations, and a new verb - 'to maffick' - caught the public mood.<sup>24</sup> Robert Baden-Powell was promoted to Major-General and became a national hero of almost mythic proportions.

At that point, anything with his name attached would have sold thousands to the general public. *Aids to Scouting*, which sold 100,000 copies within months, also held particular appeal to some forward-thinking educationalists and youth trainers in Britain.<sup>25</sup> They liked Baden-Powell's hands-on approach to training, his use of games and competitions to test skills and his emphasis on developing observation and tracking skills. The original booklet aimed to develop military scouts by developing initiative, independence of thought and skills to aid their units with strategic information about positions and conditions in the field. Military scouting was usually solitary work, yet Baden-Powell's tough, self-reliant scout, working at both physical and metaphorical boundaries and not above using expedient means to achieve an end, became the forerunner of the physically able, obedient, honourable Boy Scout citizen, part of a team in both patrol and troop.

After a posting to establish and embed the South African Constabulary, Baden-Powell returned to England as Inspector-General of Cavalry. He approached the job with characteristic vigour, and an eye for reform that did not always endear him to military traditionalists, but he did not greatly relish the posting.<sup>26</sup> Although he reached the rank of Lieutenant-General, his impatience with rigid military structures continued and he chafed against the formality of his position: 'I was not built for a General. I liked being a regimental officer in

---

<sup>24</sup> 'Maffick' – meaning to celebrate uproariously. A Saki couplet of the day captures the popular hysteria: 'Mother, may I go and 'maffick'/ Tear around and hinder traffic?' Jeal, p.302.

<sup>25</sup> Sales figures from Jeal, p.362. Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *The English Historical Review*, v.101, n.399 (April 1986), pp.376-398, p.385.

<sup>26</sup> Jeal summarizes this posting (pp.353-357) as being an undistinguished period in Baden-Powell's military career, as he was bound by traditional military attachment to the functions of cavalry in warfare as seen by senior generals, and effected little real change.

personal touch with my men.’<sup>27</sup> The same impatience with ceremonial puffery would become evident in his time as Chief Scout, and he continually warned Scouters against becoming hidebound by paperwork at the expense both of the boys and recruiting potential Scout leaders.<sup>28</sup> The same issues would still be current throughout the twentieth century.

### **The Origins of Scouting for boys**

So how did an unmarried career army officer, with no clear plan for developing a new boys’ organisation in mind, come to establish the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides at all, and why did it develop so rapidly? Baden-Powell’s hero status was undoubtedly a factor in his appeal to boys. There was widespread laudatory newspaper coverage of the Mafeking event, and the ‘ripping yarn’ quality of his exploits was tailor-made to appeal to boys living at the height of the British Empire’s influence.<sup>29</sup> Various groups made use of the ‘B-P’ name to add legitimacy to their undertakings, including The B-P Anti-Cigarette League.<sup>30</sup> His earlier booklets on various campaigns and elements of army life were reprinted, and his army scouting manual found favour with a younger audience. The editor of a jingoistic boys’ paper, *Boys of the Empire*, serialised it in 1903 under the heading ‘The Boy Scout’, indicating that adults saw some value in it for its training

---

<sup>27</sup> Reynolds, p.135.

<sup>28</sup> Baden-Powell’s attitude towards over-regulation is evident in a piece he wrote for *The Scouter* magazine in March 1932: ‘Red tape and failure to look at things from the subject’s point of view have killed many an enterprise before now. But it is not going to kill our Movement, as we are having none of it.’ *B-P’s Outlook. Selections from the Founder’s contributions to ‘The Scouter’ from 1909 to 1940*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1941, p.146

<sup>29</sup> Kenneth Morgan, in his article, ‘The Boer War and the Media’, *Twentieth Century British History*, v.12, n.1, 2002, pp.1-16, notes the extraordinary and unprecedented level of coverage the British press gave to the Boer War – in the summer of 1900 there were 58 newspaper reporters in South Africa, including up to 20 from *The Times* alone. He also points out the influence of new papers like the *Daily Mail* (established 1896) that, priced at a halfpenny, catered for the masses in a less restrained manner than other papers offered. (p.2) Robert H MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire. The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890-1918*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, devotes a comprehensively detailed chapter to Baden-Powell’s Mafeking siege leadership and the contemporary press coverage that it generated. pp.88-114.

<sup>30</sup> Jeal, p.364. Baden-Powell’s vociferous condemnation of smoking for both men and boys is well documented, and related to his strong belief in the sanctity of the body. In *Scouting for Boys* [p.204, 29<sup>th</sup> ed., 1955], he wrote that, apart from the health risks involved, ‘Any Scout knows that smoking spoils his eyesight, and also his sense of smell, which is of greatest importance to him for scouting on active service.’

component (and financial potential), but also anticipated its commercial appeal to boys as adventurous fun. A rival boys' paper, *True Blue War Library*, ran a fiction serial about the adventures of 'The Boy Scout' set in colonial locations, including one in which the Scout was a member of 'B-P's police'.<sup>31</sup> The concept of Boy Scouts of some kind was, then, already extant in the period between Mafeking and the publication of *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. Baden-Powell reflected on Scouting's origins in 1914, stating that his first handbook was on training soldiers 'by means which were attractive to them, developing their character for campaigning as much as their drill-ability... [The third], *Aids to Scouting*, came somehow to be used in a good many schools and by captains of boys in Boys' Brigades, and other organisations for boys... I therefore rewrote it for developing character in boys by attractions which appealed more directly to them.'<sup>32</sup>

Those running boys' groups were particularly concerned with character, developed through moral or physical means – or preferably, given the muscular Christianity ethos, both. Perceptions of moral degeneracy and sapping of the nation's moral fibre, combined with concerns over the lack of physical strength and vigour in British boyhood, especially in urban areas, provided Baden-Powell with an avid audience for his ideas on how to improve and prepare the next generation of empire-builders.<sup>33</sup> From the time he returned to England in 1903 he was in contact with leaders of existing boys' organisations, notably the Boys' Brigade and the YMCA.<sup>34</sup> His correspondence with them indicated both his

---

<sup>31</sup> Boys' magazine information from Jeal, pp.367-8. The police referred to were The South African Constabulary. Their uniform were the template for early Boy Scouts' uniforms.

<sup>32</sup> *B-P's Outlook*, excerpt from January 1914, p.47.

<sup>33</sup> This concern was brought to the fore by post-Boer War reports that estimated 60% of intending recruits to the British Army failed undemanding physical tests. Subsequent committees of enquiry into aspects of physical health and 'deterioration' in Scotland (1903) and England (1904), and an interdepartmental committee investigating the 'Medical Inspection and Feeding of Children' (1905) led to the establishment of school meals in 1906, the School Medical Service in 1907, and the embedding of physical education in the state school curriculum.

<sup>34</sup> George Williams established the Young Men's Christian Association in 1844, in response to increasing industrialisation and the rush of young men to cities as a Christian alternative to the taverns and street entertainments then available. See [www.ymca.org.uk/about/history](http://www.ymca.org.uk/about/history), accessed 1 May 2012. The Boys' Brigade was established in Glasgow in 1883 Sir William Smith, and had as its objective 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness.'

awareness of the ‘problem’ and his willingness to be part of the solution. In a letter to William Smith of the Boys’ Brigade in 1906, he sketched out methods for running observation games and activities in ways that would both appeal to boys and ‘sharpen their wits’. Interlaced with these hand-on instructions came his enjoinder that ‘the ultimate object of the... scheme is to develop among Boys a power of sympathising with others, a spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotism, and generally to prepare them for becoming good citizens.’<sup>35</sup> Although he admired the Boys’ Brigade as ‘a very important movement for the Empire because it aims at producing good citizens’, Baden-Powell was quick to add that good citizens did not mean ‘merely fighting men.’<sup>36</sup> He suggested that the Brigade, then some 54000-strong, could gain many more members by offering a more varied and attractive programme to supplement the twin pillars of drill and sermons. Although Baden-Powell could see that the boys were well drilled and took pride in their Boys’ Brigade membership, their programme of ‘suitable’ instruction left little room for personal initiative.<sup>37</sup> He recognised that the adult prescription for physical development and obedience through military-style drill, and moral and spiritual development through religion had gained traction with some boys, but considered that the absence of anything light-hearted or adventurous in the programme - anything essentially boyish in nature - meant that opportunities to reach and teach other boys were missed. He continued to develop his ideas, keeping in mind the balance between adult and youthful motivations for involvement. In a 1906 circular he stated:

The following scheme is offered as a possible aid towards putting on a positive footing the development, moral and physical, of boys of all creeds and classes, by a means which should appeal to them while offending as little as possible the susceptibilities of their elders. It is intended to be applicable – and not in opposition – to any *existing* organisation for boys, such as schools, boys’ brigades, messengers, cricket clubs, cadet corps, etc., or it can supply an organization of its own where these do not exist *for there are one and three-quarter million boys in the country at present outside the range of these good influences, mostly drifting towards hooliganism for want of a helping hand.*<sup>38</sup> [His emphasis]

---

(‘Obedience’ was added in 1893.) See John Springhall, Brian Fraser and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast: A History of the Boys’ Brigade 1883-1983*, London: Collins, 1983.

<sup>35</sup> Reynolds, p.140.

<sup>36</sup> Jeal, p.371.

<sup>37</sup> Jeal, p.362.

<sup>38</sup> Reynolds, p.142.

Clearly Baden-Powell understood that adults and boys did not always want the same things from clubs, and that attracting boys by use of specially designed activities that piqued their interest and that were fun, was mutually beneficial in terms of engaging the boys and preventing wider societal problems connected with their lack of ‘good influences’. This knowledge was later incorporated in his Scouting programme.

His association with Arthur Pearson, a publisher, philanthropist and patron provided the conduit for a wider dissemination of his ideas. Pearson, also the product of a public school education in the Muscular Christianity era, had established the Fresh Air Fund in 1892 in order for poor urban children to have holidays in the countryside.<sup>39</sup> The benefits of such were threefold: that the children would be away from the noxious airs of their city environments, and well-fed for the extent of their time away, thus improving their physical wellbeing; that their removal from the equally noxious influences of idleness or hooliganism would benefit them morally; and that the benign surroundings of the countryside would give them an appreciation of nature in its purest forms. In this, he and Baden-Powell were in accord: since attending Charterhouse at Godalming, and discovering for himself the nearby woods and streams, Baden-Powell had continued to value time spent outdoors.<sup>40</sup> His work with military scouts, and in adapting it for boys, placed heavy emphasis on boys’ need for regular outdoor activities. Gaining practical woodland skills maximised their personal enjoyment and their usefulness to society in untold ways. Boys so engaged, he considered, would be too busy and focused to have time for loafing: if a boy was not guided into good behaviour he would surely find opportunities for mischief at the least -

---

<sup>39</sup> In the first twenty years of its operation, the Fresh Air Fund arranged for more than 2 million children to have holidays in the countryside or by coasts. Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland, reported of one such outing that children enjoyed ‘fine feasts for all on meat pies and bread and butter and buns and oranges – a day that is as a glimpse of Paradise to the poor little mites who live in the darkness of squalid back courts and the mean streets of our cities.’ Marc Jacobs and Peter Scholliers (eds.), *Eating out in Europe: picnics, gourmet dining and snacks since the late Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, New York: Berg, 2003, p.31.

<sup>40</sup> Throughout his life, he referred back to the (out-of-bounds) Charterhouse woods, as a place in which he developed his ability to track, to observe nature and to evade capture – at that time by masters. [www.thescoutingpages.org.uk/listener1937.html](http://www.thescoutingpages.org.uk/listener1937.html) - accessed 16 April 2010.

and wickedness at the worst. Urban working class boys were deemed particularly susceptible and in need of suitable alternatives, although campaigners against the living conditions of the urban poor noted that simplistic compulsory solutions of either exercise or education were inadequate without addressing deep-seated deprivation and malnutrition within communities<sup>41</sup>.

Baden-Powell tested his nascent ideas at an outdoor camp for boys on Brownsea Island, in Poole harbour, in July 1907. Twenty two boys attended, comprised of a selection of friends' sons from public schools and local boys, including Boys' Brigade members – a mix intentionally devised to assess how boys of different classes rubbed along together in camp. A carefully comprised programme of skills training interspersed with games and campfire yarns was designed to cater to the boys' attention spans and so retain their interest. Baden-Powell commented that 'we found the best way of imparting theoretical instruction was to give it out in short instalments with ample illustrative examples when sitting round the camp or otherwise resting...A formal lecture is apt to bore boys.'<sup>42</sup> The daily programme included physical training followed by prayers before breakfast, then most of the day spent in games, swimming and 'scouting practices'. The boys were divided into patrols (Wolves, Bulls, Curlews and Ravens), and their daytime activities included:

...stalking and tracking, putting up tents, constructing simple shelters and stuffing fern mattresses. [They] were also taught how to make 'dampers' of dough – which they mixed in their pockets on Baden-Powell's instructions (a procedure for which several were soundly ticked off on their return home) and then wound round sticks for cooking over a fire. Two patrols raced each other in boats in 'The Whale Hunt' to see which could first spear the wooden 'whale' with a harpoon. The patrols also competed in deer stalking which pitted them against a human 'deer', able to climb trees and pelt its pursuers with tennis balls. Stalkers hit by a ball were judged to

---

<sup>41</sup> At the end of Part VI of *Scouting for Boys*, Baden-Powell provides a section of notes for instructors, along with a reading list of contemporary works on social problems and possible solutions. Titles like *Boys of the Street and How to Win Them* by Charles Stelzle, *The Children of the Nation* by John Eldon Gorst, and *The Citizen of Tomorrow* by Samuel Keeble reflect societal concern about both physical and moral deprivation for young people in poor communities. Their inclusion shows that Baden-Powell was aware of such circumstances, and that he saw Scouting as part of the solution.

<sup>42</sup> From Baden-Powell's report of the Brownsea camp - Reynolds, p.144.

have been 'gored to death' and only 'killed' their quarry if able to hit it three times.<sup>43</sup>

Camp fires in the evening brought the added excitement of Baden-Powell's 'yarns', based on his overseas army service, which always contained elements of moral instruction within action stories. Although there were undoubtedly discomforts, especially as most boys had no prior experience of camping, the good heavily outweighed the bad.<sup>44</sup> Brownsea was an opportunity for Baden-Powell to ascertain whether his theories about the mix of fun, learning and self-discipline actually worked in practice for boys, and whether camping provided an appropriate environment to teach and play. It was judged a firm success, although its novelty value, along with the charismatic presence of Baden-Powell himself, no doubt helped. This original camp has since become an important element of the Scouting and Guiding foundation story.

From the outset Scouting knew how to attract media support, and the primary relationship with C. Arthur Pearson and Co. both aided the dissemination of Scouting material and literature and raised the movement's public profile, thereby attracting further public and media interest. Pearson's decision to encourage Baden-Powell in the writing of serialised sections of *Scouting for Boys*, and then to publish it, was astute.<sup>45</sup> Given the success of previous boys' papers with 'scouting' material, Baden-Powell's popular hero status and his increasing engagement with other boys' groups and public lectures, commercial success was a reasonable assumption. In addition, Pearson's ownership of other newspapers guaranteed some favourable coverage for any scouting stories in the press.<sup>46</sup> The sections' contents were also designed to capture the public imagination, irrespective of age. Baden-Powell's original edition of *Scouting for Boys* is a

---

<sup>43</sup> Jeal, p.385.

<sup>44</sup> Most of the 'Brownsea boys' continued their association with Scouting, although Jeal notes that of the original 22 boys six died in Flanders alone, amongst others who died in World War One and World War Two. Jeal, p.386.

<sup>45</sup> Pearson had considerable entrepreneurial skills, commercial acumen and a keen sense of what his populist market of readers would enjoy.

<sup>46</sup> He established *Pearson's Weekly* in 1890, and owned both national newspapers like the *Daily Express* and provincials like the *Birmingham Daily Gazette*.

mishmash containing accounts of his colonial exploits; practical skill training; tales and examples of medieval chivalry to aspire to; exhortations to physical health and fitness; moral injunctions against consorting with girls, and the dangers of self-abuse; camping techniques; how to develop personal qualities; the importance of maintaining the Empire; and the roles of patriotism and citizenship in the movement. It seemed that there was something for everyone, but more importantly there was something for boys. The patchwork nature of the book, designed in conjunction with Pearson's editors, also allowed the boy reader to 'skip over what did not interest him and pass on to what did.'<sup>47</sup> The first section begins, conversationally, 'I suppose every boy wants to help his country in some way or other. There is a way by which he can do so easily, and that is by becoming a scout.' Earlier printed material had dwelt on others' real or imagined scouting exploits in the British Empire or contested frontiers: for the first time, there was a manual written specifically for them that provided the means by which boys could become scouts themselves. As such it was both a continuation of an existing body of juvenile literature aimed at consciously promoting imperial values, and an idiosyncratic departure from it.<sup>48</sup>

Part One (of six) of *Scouting for Boys* appeared on news stands on 15 January 1908, at a price of 4d. It immediately sold thousands, as did the following fortnightly sections. When it was published in book form in May 1908, tens of thousands were quickly sold. Although original sales figures no longer exist, it was reprinted that year with a second print run of 60000 for the British market (and reprinted five times in total in its first year).<sup>49</sup> This indicates that the initial run must have been at least that number; and based on high and steady sales figures for at least fifty years it has been surmised that *Scouting for Boys* was one of the

---

<sup>47</sup> Jeal, p.391.

<sup>48</sup> For a detailed exposition of the link between juvenile literature and conscious promotion of the ideals and business of the British Empire in this period, see Chapter 8, 'Imperialism and Juvenile Literature', pp.199-226, in John McKenzie's *Propaganda and Empire. The manipulation of British public opinion 1880-1960*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

<sup>49</sup> *Scouting for Boys* was quickly distributed to other parts of the British Empire and beyond, by book distributors and by individuals who had read it, and recommended it to others. This rapid dissemination undoubtedly aided the development of Scouting in a range of countries. The New Zealand experience will be covered in the following chapter.

most popular books of the twentieth century.<sup>50</sup> More importantly, it indicates that there was something about this programme of activity that caught the public imagination in a way that other existing organisations for boys had not. It was undoubtedly well marketed by C. Arthur Pearson & Co., but marketing alone would not have accounted for the sustained interest in Scouting that ensued. The Baden-Powell name, in that place and time, was also very significant, but without the package of targeted activities that he devised, it too would have been insufficient. Some historians have argued that the Boy Scouts were devised in order to provide a trained population of young soldiers for the defence of Britain and the British Empire, and that Baden-Powell's primary motivation for instigating the movement was military.<sup>51</sup> This too is insufficient as an explanation for the movement's success. Baden-Powell's class, schooling and army career undoubtedly influenced his thinking, but other factors were also significant.

In the period between his return to England and the formation of the Boy Scouts, Baden-Powell met with many influential people concerned (for various reasons) about moral and physical degeneracy in British youth. In the immediate post-Boer War period, there was considerable military concern that approximately sixty percent of potential recruits had failed the requisite rudimentary enlistment medical tests. The Secretary of State for War, R.B. Haldane, with whom Baden-Powell had a productive relationship, established the Territorial Force as another line of defence against contemporary fears of invasion<sup>52</sup>; cadet corps were fostered and Lord Roberts as Commander in Chief argued that all boys should be taught to shoot.<sup>53</sup> It is evident that many influential men with whom Baden-Powell met and discussed the 'boy problem' were also focused on maintaining the Empire's military strength, but their interest in his Scouting scheme was not dependent

---

<sup>50</sup> Jeal, p.396. John Springhall (p.68, fn.56) also adds that the fortnightly parts were reprinted five times in the first year, and that Pearson printed a cheaper cloth-bound volume at a cost of one shilling, that sold 5000 copies a month. Other best-selling books relate primarily to religious or ideological belief systems, for example the Bible or Qu'ran or Chinese Communist manifestos.

<sup>51</sup> See the section on the movements in World War One for a summary of this debate.

<sup>52</sup> Haldane offered Baden-Powell the command of the Northumbrian Territorials, which he held until he resigned from the Army to run the Boy Scouts Association in 1910.

<sup>53</sup> Letter to the Editor from Lord Roberts, *The Times*, 12 June 1905, p.6.

upon providing recruits for future defence forces. While they may have hoped to use any new Scouting movement for their own purposes, such overtures were rebuffed in favour of the central aim of citizenship training. Wherever it was suggested that Baden-Powell's boys should form formal links with cadet corps and territorial groups, he reiterated his central position that Scouting was not intended as a military scheme. It should also be remembered that Baden-Powell's primary military attachment was to scouting and the possibilities it offered for developing individual character and skill within a larger team. His often stated impatience with inculcating mass obedience and adherence through drilling indicated that he was highly unlikely to see overtly militaristic youth groups as having the complete answer to what worked with boys. They already existed in other forms; he was aware of them, and found them lacking.

So although there was ample opportunity for Baden-Powell to influence existing organisations along military lines, he clearly lacked the inclination to do so. His focus, developed from 1903-1908, was wider than making boys into good soldiers; rather, he wanted to make them into good citizens. Good citizens may find themselves soldiers if circumstances and their country demanded it, but that was not the full extent of their potential. In speeches to boys' groups he emphasised the civil rather than the martial: to a Boys' Brigade gathering in 1905, he praised their movement as being 'a very important movement for the Empire because it aims at producing good citizens' adding that 'I do not mean by good citizens merely fighting men.' Instead he suggested that character and a willingness to help others should be fostered amongst the boys, with the eventual ideal of 'all nations brought up to a high standard of brotherhood so that there would no longer be heard rumours of war.'<sup>54</sup> In an intensely nationalistic period, and notwithstanding his own military experiences and desire for a strong Britain and Empire, Baden-Powell argued for the benefits of a wider internationalism for the next generation. He also stressed Scouts' self-discipline and the opportunities that Scouting presented for boys to become men of character through their own

---

<sup>54</sup> Jeal, p.371.

efforts. Sam Pryke, in his discussion on the role of nationalism in early British Scouting, argues that in trying to ‘instil manliness in Edwardian boys [Scouting] sought an interior morality, not simply a willingness to obey orders’ and that this offered boys ‘a degree of autonomy not found in rival youth organizations’.<sup>55</sup>

The first edition of *Scouting for Boys* reflected its author – it was both conventional and unconventional in places and frequently idiosyncratic, reflecting the author’s diverse influences and those with whom he had met and corresponded. While this included people with firm ideas about the intersection of empire and youth through discipline and military training, he was also influenced by others for whom such thinking was anathema. Ernest Thompson Seton, the founder of an American youth movement established in 1902 and called The Woodcraft Indians, based his co-educational youth movement on close connections with nature, child-led patrols and a non-competitive badge incentive system. While also aiming to develop good young citizens, Seton stressed his movement’s recreational focus, in comparison to Baden-Powell’s advice to keep busy at all times. When visiting Britain in 1906 to elicit support for the Woodcraft Indians, Seton met with Baden-Powell and gave him a copy of his manual, *The Birch Bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians*.<sup>56</sup> Seton’s focus on outdoor activity and woodcraft skills resonated with Baden-Powell. He incorporated many of Seton’s structures into his own manual, in the same way that he appropriated other material that served his purpose.<sup>57</sup> Baden-Powell later acknowledged the various people who had provided input into the eventual form of *Scouting for Boys*.

---

<sup>55</sup> Sam Pryke, ‘The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement’, *Social History*, v.23, n.3 (Oct., 1998), pp.309-324, p.323.

<sup>56</sup> Seton, born in England of Scottish parentage, and raised in Canada, became one of the founders of the Boy Scouts of America. His Birchbark Indians predated this (1902) and *The Birch Bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians* was published in 1906.

<sup>57</sup> While there was some cooperation between the two, and Seton became the Chief Scout of the American Boy Scouts in 1910, he later distanced himself from what he considered the overly militaristic and conservative Scouting movement, and re-established his Woodcraft Indians as a more liberal alternative organisation. Jeal (pp.376-381) discusses and summarises the claim – by Seton, and by later historians – that Baden-Powell plagiarised parts of Seton’s book in writing *Scouting for Boys*.

Whatever the source of Baden-Powell's material, it proved extremely popular in both serialised and book form. Baden-Powell's instructions on how to become a Scout, '...you join a patrol... or raise a patrol yourself by getting five other boys to join... Several patrols together can form a Troop under an officer called a Scoutmaster' indicated that this was something that boys could do for themselves, if necessary. And they did. Boys formed patrols and recruited men they thought would make good Scoutmasters, as often as fledgling Scoutmasters took the initiative themselves. This led to an immediate and pressing problem. Other than *Scouting for Boys* there was no written material with which to run the programme, and no infrastructure in place to support the growing number of packs and patrols. Local groups organized themselves in sometimes idiosyncratic ways, and there was concern that some of the leaders were not the calibre of men that Baden-Powell would have chosen.<sup>58</sup> Scouting as a stand-alone movement had not been developed before the manual was published, yet the push for resources and support soon demanded that a formal structure be implemented. From the initial idea of developing a programme that could be used by existing organisations, the Boy Scouts as a separate movement eventuated through pressure from boys as well as adults. Pearson, who had a commercial goldmine in both *Scouting for Boys* and the publishing rights to it, (which Baden-Powell signed over to the movement to his considerable personal financial detriment), bankrolled the new organisation for the first year, providing an office, funds and staff. <sup>59</sup> Pearson's also established a weekly magazine for boys entitled *The Scout* from April 1908, which drew heavily on the 'penny dreadful' tradition of existing popular offerings for boys at the expense of more 'worthy' material.<sup>60</sup> Demand for resources and information

---

<sup>58</sup> Jeal, p.399.

<sup>59</sup> Baden-Powell signed over his royalties from *Scouting for Boys* to fund the growth of the movement, although Pearson retained commercial and administrative control of the association.

<sup>60</sup> 'Penny dreadfuls' were cheap (1d.), serialised, sensational fiction publications aimed at working class adolescents in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. By pitching *The Scout* at this level, and not at Baden-Powell's preferred educational and instructive level, Pearson's opened up the new movement to accusations of being purely a commercial enterprise wrapped in a skin of concern for boys. As Pearson's had total control over the administration of the Scouts Association, Baden-Powell had cause to feel put out: he had no administrative control; was channelling his royalties into the movement and received no personal commercial benefit, while Pearson's profits grew markedly; and he received and had to publicly counter the negative feedback from disaffected or disgruntled critics. Jeal, p.398; Pryke, p.311.

quickly overwhelmed the small staff and, although the office manager appointed by Pearson's was unwilling to hire further staff until it was clear that the movement was successful, it was soon evident that a more formal and solid infrastructure was needed.

Some standardisation ensued. Scoutmasters were asked to dispense with more excessive aspects of eclectic outfits, including 'slouch hats, cavalry boots and bandoliers'.<sup>61</sup> A plain khaki uniform, devised for practicality of use and affordability, bore a strong resemblance to the uniform Baden-Powell had introduced for the South African Constabulary. It featured shorts for both men and boys, in the hope that this would aid in breaking down barriers between ages and classes of Scouts and Scoutmasters.<sup>62</sup> While Baden-Powell hoped to attract urban working class boys to Scouting, the uniform costs were sometimes prohibitive – and the notion of uniformity often looked at askance by boys wary of being subjected to the good intentions of their 'betters'. Baden-Powell repeatedly stated that 'anyone could be a Scout', and that Scouting offered a way to ameliorate differences between boys, but the widest acceptance of Scouting seemed to come from the middle and lower-middle classes. For these boys, the tantalising whiff of freedom from obligations and adult strictures at home and school was a strong incentive to join up. They did so in large numbers: at the first census of the United Kingdom Scouting movement in 1910, there were 109000 Scouts enrolled.<sup>63</sup>

### **Girl Scouts?**

For girls, the possibility of woodland adventures, camping and learning useful skills beyond those taught domestically was just as tantalising. They too formed themselves into patrols, fashioned some form of uniform or tagged along with

---

<sup>61</sup> Jeal, p.397. In keeping with Baden-Powell's view that Scouting should not be seen as militaristic, before standard uniforms were introduced scout leaders were discouraged from affecting swords, spurs and other military regalia. See also Pryke, 1998, pp.319-320.

<sup>62</sup> Pryke (1998) refers to this ideal of cutting through class and age delineations within Scouting as 'horizontal unity' – and suggests that it was an attractive feature of Scouting in a period where class distinctions were otherwise clear and largely adhered to. p.323.

<sup>63</sup> Baden-Powell, R.S.S., *Scouting for Boys*, 29<sup>th</sup> edition, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1955, p.13.

brothers. The difference was that their initiative was not as lauded, and Baden-Powell was compelled to make it clear that this new movement was intended for boys, and only boys. He had initially been open to the principle of Scouting for girls, stating in an article in *The Scout* in 1908: ‘I think that girls can get just as much healthy fun out of Scouting as boys can - and prove themselves good Scouts in a very short time.’<sup>64</sup> While he saw no merit in girls being cosseted and denied opportunities for physical activities, within a year he was amending his personal view to allow for Establishment concerns that such roughhousing would ‘coarsen’ girls. The issue was propelled into the public domain in a particularly visible way. In 1909 Baden-Powell called a gathering of Scouts at Crystal Palace in order to ascertain the new movement’s growth since *Scouting for Boys* appeared. Eleven thousand Scouts turned up, an impressive local turnout for a movement less than two years old. In amongst the boys and their Scoutmasters were girls, similarly attired and just as enthusiastically taking their place in the parade. The dilemma for Baden-Powell was what to do with them. *The Times*’ report on the rally noted that ‘...amongst [the Boy Scouts] was a troop of girl scouts, who excited considerable curiosity...[They] were loudly cheered as they passed.’<sup>65</sup> Although they got a cheer from onlookers, society figures in newspaper letter columns condemned them. This was not the kind of publicity that Baden-Powell wanted – or could afford.<sup>66</sup> For the new Scouting movement public approbation was crucial: influential people would provide financial and moral support, but only if they approved of its content. Support for girls as Scouts was a risk that he became unwilling to take.

Apart from public misgivings about seeing girls marching at the end of Boy Scouts church parades, Baden-Powell was concerned about the deleterious effect of girls on the boys’ pack and patrol system. Girls could be members of a similar

---

<sup>64</sup> Jeal, p.469.

<sup>65</sup> *The Times*, ‘Boy Scouts Rally’, 6 September 1909, p.10.

<sup>66</sup> See Tammy Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: a century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*, Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger, c.2009, pp.20-21, for information on Violet Markham’s campaign against ‘girl scouts’ in *The Spectator* following the Crystal Palace rally in 1909.

gendered movement, as long as they were not Scouts in name.<sup>67</sup> A 'scheme' for Girl Guides appeared in November 1909 by which time 6000 girls had already enrolled as Scouts.<sup>68</sup> The new movement offered a less active and frontiers image than for boys, emphasising supportive and nurturing roles. Less camping and hiking, and more bandage rolling appeared to be the acceptable format for the new Girl Guides, now envisaged as being complementary, rather than parallel, to the Boy Scouts. Nursing featured prominently in the proposed Girl Guide programme. The Voluntary Aid Detachment (VADs), established by the War Office in 1909, had the brief of providing nursing care for wounded Territorials should Britain be invaded.<sup>69</sup> Invasion fears ran high at this time, and consequently nationalistic feeling was rampant.<sup>70</sup> The introduction of the Territorial Force in 1907 and its attendant medical support networks provided both another line of defence beyond that offered by the armed forces, and opportunities for civilian Britons to 'do their bit'. Nursing and nursing support, under the auspices of the British Red Cross and the Order of St Johns, were seen as appropriate patriotic and public roles for women and girls and the VAD service grew quickly: approximately 8000 women had enrolled by the end of 1910 and by the beginning of World War One there were nearly 50000 VADs.<sup>71</sup>

Baden-Powell's recruitment of his sister Agnes to head the embryonic girls' organization suggested that it would promote traditional rather than radical feminine roles. Although Agnes Baden-Powell shared her family's love of natural history, and was a keen hiker and naturalist, in many respects she was a conventional Victorian upper-middle class woman. She relished the opportunity to

---

<sup>67</sup> While older biographies and histories have perpetuated the perception of Baden-Powell's antipathy towards a complementary movement for girls, more recent academic research has shown, through his correspondence and writings, his support for such a movement.

<sup>68</sup> Rose Kerr, *The Story of the Girl Guides*, London: Girl Guides Association, revised edition 1954 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1932), pp.29-34. Many girls enrolled with the Boy Scouts Association by using the initials of their Christian names, thereby avoiding being denied membership.

<sup>69</sup> Fears of invasion ran high at this time, and nationalistic feeling was rampant. The introduction of the Territorial Force in 1907 and its attendant medical support networks provided both another line of defence, and opportunities for civilian Britons to 'do their bit'.

<sup>70</sup> Anne Summers, in *Angels and Citizens. British Women as Military Nurses 1854-1914*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988, considered 1909 'extraordinary for manifestations of nationalist panic and crusading zeal' (p.252).

<sup>71</sup> Summers, p.252.

step outside of the domestic sphere, to develop this new girls' movement and to have some influence and public standing.<sup>72</sup> Her views, and those of the upper class women who formed her central committee, shaped the initial period of the Girl Guides' history.

**Precursors to the Girl Guides Movement – schools, sports, opportunities...and limits.**

The path to the establishment of the Girl Guides followed a similar trajectory to that of the Boy Scouts, with some notable differences. Gender roles, filtered through Victorian and Edwardian sensibilities, clearly delineated acceptable and desirable modes of leisure activities for young Britons. Although girls were not seen as potential hooligans, there was considerable debate about the kinds of activities that were physically and morally suitable for girls and young women. As with boys' leisure, class was also significant. The debate was conducted primarily at the level of wealthy philanthropic reformers, who expressed strong views about the perils of working class leisure and the need to circumvent girls being either 'seduced' by the dubious charms of street entertainments or roughened by joining in boys' games.

As Caroline Daley has pointed out in relation to early twentieth century New Zealand, those concerned about working class leisure did not necessarily equate leisure with pleasure.<sup>73</sup> Instead, sanctioned leisure activities provided opportunities for improving messages to be inculcated in the labouring classes. Fun, that unreliable and often anarchic aspect of leisure, was not a central feature of the programme. Similarly, Catriona Parratt, writing of rational recreation for women and girls in later nineteenth century England, argues for the imposition of values and activities on working class young women by the upper-and-middle class women who ran such groups. The social threat implied by changing employment

---

<sup>72</sup> Her primary role up until her leadership of the Girl Guides entailed domestic support and companionship of her mother, although she was also involved in philanthropic organisations and pursuits as diverse as ballooning and bee-keeping.

<sup>73</sup> Caroline Daley, *Leisure and Pleasure. Reshaping and Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003. pp.4-5.

patterns for young working women, with less time spent in domestic work, fuelled their interventions:

Cognizant of these changes and concerned about the ramifications, upper-and-middle-class women insisted that leisure could be used to transform recalcitrant working girls and women into dutiful wives and mothers. Female rational recreationists asserted that they could reach over the social and cultural divide and, through personal influence and example, raise and reform their labouring counterparts during the latter's "precious hours of leisure". Drawing on - while at the same time constructing and fuelling - the anxiety over degeneracy, they made working-class women's leisure work; critical and difficult work which they claimed as their own, work for which they were singularly fitted.<sup>74</sup>

Organized groups like the Girls' Friendly Society (established in 1874) provided girls with an alternative to pubs and music halls, but required that young women not only refrain from raucous entertainments but commit to a concept of leisure as both edifying and respectable.<sup>75</sup> Such groups exemplified the extent to which control was imposed over girls and young women's morals and actions. However, for girls of all social classes, there were glimpses of social and educational change - and opportunities to gradually expand their leisure options.

### **British Girls' Public Schools: their nature and influence on wider notions of female leisure:**

The development of girls' public schools in the second half of the nineteenth century closely followed the pattern of their male counterparts in proliferation and influence. The first of these schools opened in the 1850s, but the greatest surge in numbers came after the Endowed Schools Act 1869. In the following thirty years approximately two hundred new girls' schools were established, on a new model that differed from earlier private academies in allowing girls more opportunities for both intellectual and physical endeavour. Including physical education in the syllabus was a major reform: the Taunton [Royal] Commission (1868) into women's education reported on a 'want of systematic and well-directed physical

---

<sup>74</sup>Catriona Parratt, 'Making Leisure Work. Women's Rational Recreation in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', *Journal of Sport History*, v.26, n.3, (Fall 1999), pp.471-487, p.477.

<sup>75</sup> Parratt, p.472.

education' as being impediments to healthy minds and bodies in young women.<sup>76</sup> As an example, the report noted one hundred private girls' schools in London, of which thirty two provided only 'a form of gentle callisthenics' while sixty offered only 'walking abroad, croquet and dancing.'<sup>77</sup> While feminists and education reformers were pleased to see their ideas endorsed, an influential body of medical and moral campaigners still warned of dire consequences for girls and young women strenuously exercising. Their arguments were based on contemporary beliefs about strong links between women's physiology and psychology; and the long-lasting effects of too much activity in girlhood upon later childbearing capabilities, considered to be womanhood's ultimate mission. However, as Kathleen McCrone noted in her 1988 book on the 'physical emancipation' of Victorian Englishwomen, 'whereas critics of women's higher education assumed that intellectual effort would deplete physical reserves, supporters suggested that gender differences assumed to be natural were more closely related to conformity to cultural norms than to absolute biological determinants'.<sup>78</sup> Girls' and women's participation in both the public and domestic worlds, and the extent to which they did either, was a contentious societal issue.

Public school headmistresses played an important part in both supporting and containing a wider school curriculum. As a new group of female professional educators, they were particularly aware of the need to provide opportunities for their pupils without alienating either the girls' families or influential community members. While most upheld Victorian cultural norms about women's roles in terms of family and femininity, and endorsed the widely accepted gender division of societal roles,

at the same time they held that if females were not to be relegated to a position of second best in perpetuity, and if they were to have productive and useful lives within and without the political sphere, they must have opportunities for intellectual and personal development similar to those of males.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Kathleen McCrone, *Playing the Game: Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, London: Routledge, 1988, p.17, quoting Great Britain, Royal Commission on School Education, *Report (1868)*, vol.1, p.522.

<sup>77</sup> McCrone, p.17.

<sup>78</sup> McCrone, p.23.

<sup>79</sup> McCrone, p.61.

The development of girls' public schools (and women's colleges at universities) under competent female leadership represented the beginnings of a sea change in attitudes towards young women's education and leisure. Although these schools catered to a small elite, their headmistresses argued that they indirectly contributed to wider well-being by promoting in their pupils the ideals of not only self-development but also of service to their families and the wider public. This reflected the headmistresses' own claims to professional status, with its basis in both personal and public enrichment.<sup>80</sup> Girls were encouraged to take part in debating and student governments, and received lectures on public spiritedness - early precursors of Baden-Powell's principle of active citizenship for young people. As with their male counterparts, schoolgirls were also urged to participate in organised games, with perceived benefits reaching beyond the physical - as long as they remembered to 'play like gentlemen while behaving like ladies'.<sup>81</sup> Jane Frances Dove, 'reluctant revolutionary', headmistress and advocate of girls' education, saw games as promoting 'the development of powers of organisation...a knowledge of corporate action...the effort of loyally working with others for the public good.'<sup>82</sup> If public schoolboys were to run the Empire on muscular Christianity ideals then there was a role for their sisters too. Service and citizenship were deemed appropriate lessons for both boys and girls in public schools, although the manifestations of such service were gender-specific.

---

<sup>80</sup> Joyce Senders Pedersen's article, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses: Elites and Education in Nineteenth Century England', in *Journal of British Studies*, v.15, no.1, Autumn 1975, pp.135-162, expands upon the role of this group of influential educators, and their ability to both uphold and reform aspects of cultural norms for young women in this era.

<sup>81</sup>Jennifer Hargreaves, "Playing like gentlemen while behaving like ladies': contradictory features of the formative years of women's sport", in *International Journal of History of Sport*, 1743-9035, v2, no.1, 1985, pp.40-52. The term 'reluctant revolutionary', indicating this group of women's ambivalent role in promoting women's education while upholding social conventions, comes from the title of M. R. Price and N. Glenday's 1974 book, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: A Century of Headmistresses 1874-1974*

<sup>82</sup> Pedersen, p.159.

### **Rational Recreation: Making popular leisure organised and respectable**

At the same time that public schools were developing to cater for the children of upper classes and the strongly growing middle classes, and consequently expanding their leisure options, the ‘rational recreation’ movement was gaining in strength and influence to shape both the form and content of leisure activities for both middle- and working class people. Reformers were intent upon providing ‘improving’ and respectable leisure activities, to counter the attractions of the public house and seemingly anarchic street activities. With rapid urbanisation in the early nineteenth century, little planning had gone into public recreation areas. From the 1830s, commentators noted that ‘the very essence of our laws has been against the social meetings of the humble, which have been called idleness, and against the amusements of the poor, which have been stigmatised as disorder.’<sup>83</sup> Respectability, or the lack of it, became a Victorian preoccupation, although perceptions of what constituted respectability were dependent upon class, religion and gender. City fathers, employers and philanthropists tended to see the opening of parks and lyceums as beneficial for not only the self-improvement of their users, but also the overall order of the populace. Civic engagement when linked with propriety and busyness indicated a citizenry less inclined to disorder. It was a mixture that Baden-Powell would later use in *Scouting for Boys*, in his efforts to encourage the development of generations of young citizens oriented towards personal industry and service. He would find, as had earlier reformers, that inducements towards the ‘proper’ use of leisure time were not always sufficient to woo working class prospects away from their own, often less ‘respectable’, preferences for their limited leisure time. Sunday schools were active in providing alternative entertainments for children in the mid-1800s, while sports were increasingly seen by advocates for rational recreation as inculcating ‘personal courage tempered by the team spirit, and a respect for authority under the

---

<sup>83</sup> Edward Bulwer Lytton, quoted in Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England. Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885*, London: Methuen, 1987 edition, p.47.

governance of fair play', values that Peter Bailey argued 'also served as important social controls off the field.'<sup>84</sup> By the 1880s, respectability as favoured by rational recreation proponents had permeated many - but not all - leisure options, with some of the wilder popular street-based recreations transformed: 'From the Roaring Boys to the Boys' Brigade', as social anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer encapsulated it.<sup>85</sup> The challenge, for those seeking to engage specific groups of potential members in new leisure pursuits or movements, was to provide activities that excited the imagination yet provided appropriate lessons whilst retaining the respectability that ensured wider popular approval.

### **Early Girl Guides: Victorian Young Ladies or Twentieth Century Girls?**

Kathleen McCrone's study of Victorian Englishwomen and their physical emancipation through sport showed attitudinal similarities with early girl Scouts. McCrone argues that the majority of women who played sport did so because sport was 'enjoyable, fashionable or companionable' not because they were consciously rejecting patriarchal views of women's physical abilities or seeking to 'emancipat[e] themselves and their sex from restricting social norms.'<sup>86</sup> Nonetheless, both her athletic women and the first girl Scouts can be located within a wider first wave of feminism narrative and, as McCrone argues, women shown to be in control of their bodies could then be considered capable of governing themselves.<sup>87</sup> Whereas suffragettes sometimes resorted to direct action and confrontation to achieve their aims, other women's organisations in this era worked within existing social limits to extend options for women. Early Girl Guiding seemed to fit some of the criteria of successful women's organisations: it was sanctioned by a patriarchal male authority in Baden-Powell's Scouting organisation; it did not represent a challenge to male authority; and it was initially developed to enhance rather than challenge existing gender roles. In the doing, such groups did challenge and extend the boundaries of social acceptability, in an

---

<sup>84</sup> Bailey, p.136.

<sup>85</sup> Gorer, quoted in Bailey, p.181.

<sup>86</sup> McCrone, c.1988, p.279.

<sup>87</sup> McCrone c.1988, p.14.

evolutionary rather than revolutionary way – although Victorian cyclists and Edwardian girl Scouts were less concerned about the conceptual implications of their new leisure choices than the immediate opportunities they personally represented.

When Baden-Powell published “The Scheme for “Girl Guides”: A Suggestion for Character Training for Girls’ in the November 1909 edition of the *Headquarters Gazette*, as a first attempt at establishing parameters for the new movement, he sought his mother’s advice.<sup>88</sup> Boys were encouraged to show initiative by organising themselves into patrols and troops, and recruiting likely leaders; girls were perceived to be in need of firm direction by carefully-selected women who would impart the right moral and social values. While outwardly complying, some still managed a degree of personal or collective agency.<sup>89</sup> Baden-Powell was certainly aware of the need to mollify potential supporters of Guiding by granting that the programme that was laid out in *Scouting for Boys*

does not apply equally well to all girls, even when altered to suit the sex. With girls it has to be administered with greater discrimination; you do not want to make tomboys of refined girls, yet you want to attract and thus to raise the slum girl from the gutter.

He qualified this compromise by asserting that ‘girls must be partners and comrades rather than dolls.’<sup>90</sup> He reasoned that young men raised and trained to maintain the Empire through Scouting would need competent and capable young women at their sides.

In contrast, Agnes Baden-Powell’s position, expressed in ‘A Mother’s Reply’ to her eager Girl Guide daughter, cautioned against both the short term and lasting effects of girls taking on boys’ [Scouting] activities. While boys might leap over

---

<sup>88</sup> Jeal, p.470. Henrietta Grace Baden-Powell advised her son to remove the ‘toughness’ element of the Scouting scheme from the girls’ scheme.

<sup>89</sup> Kerr, p.47. A Newcastle patrol invited a local ‘lady’ to be their Scoutmaster but soon found that her idea of story reading and decorous walks in crocodile pairs failed to match their expectations of adventure. When the lady Scoutmaster left, claiming that they were ‘too boisterous’, the girls then attached themselves to the local Boy Scouts, calling themselves the Eagle Patrol and following as closely as possible their activities.

<sup>90</sup> Kerr, p.29.

gates, as shown in [Robert] Baden-Powell's illustrations in *Scouting for Boys*, for a girl to do so threatened serious damage to 'a woman's interior economy'. In addition to this startling situation, the recalcitrant tomboy daughter was in danger of growing a moustache from undertaking such 'violent exercise', after which the roughening of her hands was surely a minor impediment. Agnes also took the opportunity to decry girls' use of slang as unbecoming, and undertook to lead the Girl Guides towards a proper 'womanliness' as a complement to the Scouts' manliness, reiterating that girls were not boys.<sup>91</sup> Reflecting on her time as a Birmingham Girl Scout (of the Raven Patrol) who reluctantly became a Girl Guide (of the Scarlet Pimpernel Patrol), one woman stated that 'the ideal of womanliness had no appeal for us at that stage.'<sup>92</sup> Of the cohort of girls likely to choose Girl Guides most were aware that their adult lives would bring other restrictions, and were happy to enjoy any freedoms that were available to them as girls. To the new committee, however, girls' societal role as future mothers and moral guardians was the path to good citizenship. Guides were to be partners for Scouts, but as helpmeets.

In the first decade of the Girl Guides movement, as with the Boy Scouts, rapid growth dictated the need to establish an administrative and leadership infrastructure. Girls, as shown by their willingness to join in Scouting events, were keen to belong to a movement that allowed them some time away from domestic chores, workplaces or familial strictures. Although it was clear by 1910 that they were not to be Scouts, and that some of the outdoor adventures deemed central to the Scouting movement's programme were considered too rough for them, girls opted into the new movement. At worst it was at least another option in the limited repertoire of girls' leisure choices, and at best it offered girls opportunities to publicly self-identify as active and capable: girls who chose to hike and who could, if called on, bind a wound or track a missing child; girls with that nebulous attribute that Baden-Powell most valued - character.

---

<sup>91</sup> Jeal, p.471.

<sup>92</sup> Kerr, p.48. This account came from a woman who later became Secretary to the Overseas Department of Girl Guides International Headquarters. Note the non-submissive names of both the Girl Scout and Girl Guide patrols, with their allusions to power and adventure.

Girls who enjoyed hiking to campsites, aided by their sturdy staves for support and practical clothing in which to do so, were discouraged from this kind of activity by the new Guiding organisation.<sup>93</sup> While some undoubtedly carried on as they had since picking up Baden-Powell's suggestion to make themselves Scouts, the formalisation of the girls' movement increasingly led towards enshrining more conventional female roles. The balancing act for Baden-Powell came in providing a scheme that allowed girls to be active young citizens, while maintaining societal approval of what girls could be seen to be doing with their leisure time:

...girls must be womanly and motherly (in preparation for marriage) but not sexual; they must be allowed freedom and adventure (in order to attract girls to the movement), but not too masculine.<sup>94</sup>

After the anarchic and enthusiastic self-start of girls in Scouting, adults imposed more strict gender roles on the organisational framework of the Girl Guides. Not all girls took this imposition well:

One of the first Girl Scouts (later a County Commissioner) belonging to the 1<sup>st</sup> Mayfair Troop, which used to track and pitch tents in Eaton Square in the heart of London, [wrote]: "When Guides first started, we refused to join them, for having been Peewits and Kangaroos, we thought it a great come down to become White Roses and Lilies-of-the Valley!"<sup>95</sup>

However, in the early days of the Girl Guides when firm district and county governance structures were incomplete, many companies with sympathetic leaders simply continued camping and tracking.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> Staves, or staffs, were often improvised from available domestic tools like broom handles, providing an interesting comparison between imposed domestic duties and chosen leisure activities for these girls. The relative shortness of some Guides' skirts, designed for active and practical use, was a cause for concern amongst more conservative observers, and some parents: one mother quoted in Rose Kerr's history of the Girl Guides 'declaring that "she wasn't going to have *her* maid trapezing about the moors with bare knees like the Scouts.'" Maid Scouts was a variant on the Girl Scout self-identification. p.50.

<sup>94</sup>Tammy Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*, Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Part 2, 2002, p.23.

<sup>95</sup> Kerr, p.36.

<sup>96</sup> Kerr, Chapters III (pp.38-56) and IV (pp.57-68), contain numerous accounts of troops and companies who had wide variations in uniform and priorities in their programmes, including camping, tracking, searching for people in need of their first aid skills and badge work.

While Baden-Powell had neither the inclination nor the time to organise the Girl Guides, his sister Agnes had both. The committee of ‘charitably inclined ladies’ she gathered around her shared her values, and resisted attempts by both Robert Baden-Powell, and then his young ‘outdoorsy’ wife Olave, to influence the overall direction of the movement.<sup>97</sup> Agnes spent considerable time travelling throughout Britain to garner support for the Girl Guides movement in general, and to handpick suitable locally prominent women to lead county structures. As well as choosing women who endorsed her own values, Agnes sought to add respectability to the new movement by choosing those with social influence. They, in turn, approached others who had an interest in working with girls and young women. As with Scouting, some of these people had no previous experience, yet many formed long-term links with Guiding. Initially, Guiding’s national leaders worked to impose some order – and respectability - on what was then a loose and eclectic collection of groups with different uniforms, leadership styles and programmes. Girls, too, were to be shaped into the Headquarters Committee’s image of Girl Guides. Miss Baden-Powell and fellow committee members would have been aghast at the way that this Liverpool company (established in 1909, before the Girl Guides Association) maintained internal order:

When the girls got at loggerheads with each other we made them put on boxing gloves and settle their differences in cold blood. This really was very effective and stopped tale telling, etc.<sup>98</sup>

These early companies, having evolved to suit local conditions and local girls, often had a degree of cheerfully unstructured activity about them. This probably appealed to girl members to the same degree that it appalled older and more conservative members of the public. Girls publicly declaring themselves as Guides and marching in uniformed ranks through the streets may have garnered disapproval from some (including physical and verbal assaults from youth street gangs), but their experiences shaped their self-perceptions.<sup>99</sup> Miss Ida Edwards, captain of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Birkenhead company wrote of early officers ‘step[ping] out into

---

<sup>97</sup> Jeal, pp.472-3. Robert and Olave Baden-Powell were married in 1912, and Olave took an immediate interest in both Scouting and Guiding.

<sup>98</sup> Kerr, p.45.

<sup>99</sup> Kerr, Chapters II and III, mentions this in the reminiscences of many early Guides.

the darkness of ignorance and opposition' to provide girls with Guiding experience:

The girls themselves took up the idea warmly – it sounded more exciting to tie knots than to sew flannelette petticoats – but oh! the opposition. The old ladies in the parish...and some of the younger ones, too, told me what they thought of us in no uncertain terms. The mothers refused to let their girls “run the streets” in uniform, and we were an excellent target, not only for verbal abuse from the roughs in the neighbourhood, but for the throwing of stones and tomatoes that had seen better days. Opposition, however, only served to strengthen our determination to carry on, as through a glass darkly we caught some faint reflection of our founder’s vision.<sup>100</sup>

For these women, and for the girls they led, Guiding represented a modern choice, and their willingness to defend it against detractors showed their commitment to the new movement. Suffragettes at this time defied sometimes violent public opprobrium for their goal of full citizenship, and displayed tenacity and courage. Girl Guides, on a lesser scale, were also prepared to stand up for their right to participate in their communities and in wider society.

Guiding grew between 1910 and 1914, albeit not at the same rate as Scouting. While British Scouts numbered 80000 two years after their establishment, Guide membership had reached half that figure in 1914, four years after the movement was formally launched.<sup>101</sup> Apart from boys having a programme crafted for their interests, and widespread public approval of Scouting as a scheme, the difference in growth between Scouting and Guiding represented some public ambivalence about this kind of active leisure for girls. In 1912 Agnes Baden-Powell published *The Handbook of the Girl Guides: How girls can help to build up the Empire*.<sup>102</sup> Much of its content echoed *Scouting for Boys*, although its extensive active outdoors information was firmly trimmed in the new handbook

---

<sup>100</sup> Kerr, p.65. This attitude by some parents and members of the public in Britain will be compared to those by New Zealanders at the arrival of Girl Peace Scouts in the next chapter.

<sup>101</sup> Richard A. Voeltz, 'The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 27 (1992), pp.627-638, p.627.

<sup>102</sup> Olave Baden-Powell later wrote disparagingly of this handbook as 'the Little Blue Muddly', referring to the compromises that Agnes – and Robert Baden-Powell as its co-writer - acknowledged as necessary at that time to allay public concerns about Guiding. The sisters-in-law had, at best a distant, and at worst a hostile, relationship – not helped by their power struggle over the leadership of the early Girl Guides Association. Jeal, p.474.

and replaced by targeted outdoor activities like ‘Finding the Injured’.<sup>103</sup> Girls involved in this kind of nursing-related activity focused instead on being prepared to use these skills if called upon, in the same way as Scouts would by supporting civil defence organisations. While both were thus directly or indirectly associated with the possibility of military civil action, Baden-Powell himself worked hard to distance both Scouting and Guiding from being too closely associated with military objectives.

### **World War One and British Scouts and Guides: Their war work and public responses to it**

When war was declared, after an extended period of intense nationalistic debate about British preparedness in terms of human and military resources, Scouts and Guides were active in aiding the British war effort. The Girl Guides Committee’s nurturing and supportive female model came to the fore during World War One. Girls’ war work was very visible, and some members of the public who had previously had reservations about Guiding changed their views as a result. The loosening of societal restrictions upon young women in wartime also softened - and in some cases removed - misgivings about Girl Guides.<sup>104</sup> While Guides did considerable war work in traditional domestic spheres knitting and sewing for troops, they were also active in other areas of public patriotic support: they bought and equipped motor ambulances and recreation huts in France; and girls working in munitions factories had work-based patrols and companies.<sup>105</sup> A 1916 film shown in public cinemas, *Girl Guides at Work*, helped to increase the public’s understanding and appreciation of the movement, portraying ‘the varied forms of

---

<sup>103</sup> Summers, 1988, p.280. Corresponding indoors activities were listed as ‘Tending the Injured’.

<sup>104</sup> Richard Voeltz (1992) places this shift in the definition of cultural gender within a context of challenges to the existing order by both suffragists and Edwardian ‘New Women’, saying that ‘the social behaviour of young women was ripe for change’, p.628.

<sup>105</sup> Kerr, pp.139-143. Janie Hampton, *How the Girl Guides Won the War*, London: HarperPress, 2011, p.14, noted that some employers financed uniforms and outings for their Guide companies. Although working class girls sometimes initially greeted these with either suspicion or derision, Angela Woollacott details their subsequent growth as a ‘respectable’ leisure alternative for working girls. Angela Woollacott, ‘Khaki Fever’ and Its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, v.29, n.2 (April 1994), pp.325-347.

work pursued by the sisterhood, from the ceremony of investiture to the cleaning of a pig-stye'.<sup>106</sup> One company was enlisted by MI5 as messengers carrying classified files between government departments. The girls, aged 14-16, pledged 'on their honour not to read the papers they carried', and had replaced Boy Scouts deemed 'too unruly' for the work. They did this fulltime work from 1915 until the end of the war.<sup>107</sup> These uniformed girls and young women were seen as active participants in British wartime patriotic activity, and proved themselves both useful and capable.

Their role model, as Chief Commissioner from 1916 and Chief Guide from 1918, was Olave Baden-Powell. She was a woman who valued rational dress without fripperies, and physical exercise, in contrast with the traditionally 'feminine' pursuits espoused by many of Agnes Baden-Powell's committee. Girls, she contended, needed directing towards wholesome activities in their leisure time – and away from the peculiar wartime phenomena of 'the pathetic state of flapperdom' and 'khaki fever', where girls and young women buzzed around men in uniform in unbecoming ways.<sup>108</sup> By steering girls' adolescent energies towards the Girl Guides and other gendered youth organisations like the YWCA, two objectives could be realised: the individual character development of the girl herself; and a response to the threat of social and moral disorder evident in the actions of 'forward' young women of all classes. As the war continued, and women's work grew to encompass both paid and unpaid work to support the war effort at home and abroad, the fever abated somewhat.<sup>109</sup> Uniformed service organisations like the Girl Guides gained widespread public approval during the

---

<sup>106</sup> Voeltz, p.631.

<sup>107</sup> Proctor (2009), p.28.

<sup>108</sup> Voeltz, p.633. Khaki fever was perhaps a natural response to the overwhelming degree of nationalist fervour surrounding the 'war effort', but was seen as a threat to social order, with its undercurrent of young women's increasingly publicly-displayed sexuality. Tammy Proctor (2009), p.27 and footnote n.8, notes newspaper articles from the Girl Guides' 1918 Hyde Park rally before Queen Alexandra, which favourably commented on the discipline of the girls and called them 'the anti-thesis of the flapper'. See 'Girl Guides Rally' *The Times*, 22 July 1918 and 'Flappers fall in', *Daily Mirror*, 15 July 1918.

<sup>109</sup> Angela Woollacott (1994, p.333) argues that once women found ways to be involved in the war effort, especially when displayed in uniformed and emblematic ways, the need to experience the war vicariously through uniformed men became less.

war, and this goodwill towards the movement remained after the conflict had ended. Through their community service girls claimed and exercised their active citizenship when the opportunity arose, and continued to do so through Guiding.

While individual Boy Scouts were not subject to the same degree of gendered public scrutiny as their sisters, the movement found it necessary to defend itself against both its friends and enemies. Baden-Powell's repeated assertions that Scouting was primarily a citizenship movement for youth were challenged both by those who sought to overtly link the membership with cadet or territorial forces for their own militaristic ends; and those who saw the presence of a uniformed youth movement, led by an ex-soldier, in a period of intense nationalism, as clear evidence of an underlying military agenda.<sup>110</sup> Historians disagree on this subject, ranging from those including Allen Warren who argue for the citizenship stance taken by Baden-Powell himself; John Springhall and Anne Summers who both contend that there were unmistakable military links in the early movements, whatever the other motivations; and those such as Michael Rosenthal who contend that the prime purpose of Scouting was a 'character factory' of proto-soldiers specifically engineered for propping up an empire and preparing for a coming war.<sup>111</sup> That they all found evidence to support their positions indicates Baden-Powell's complex personality and the social and political climate in which he founded the movement.

---

<sup>110</sup> Sam Pryke (1998) notes that 'the Scout Defence Corps was started in late 1914 to provide military training – principally rifle shooting – to boys of pre-military recruitment age. Baden-Powell was adamant, however, that it was only to be a temporary wartime organisation, and so it proved. See *The Headquarters Gazette*, December 1914.' P.314, fn.30.

<sup>111</sup> See Allen Warren's 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920' in *The English Historical Review*, v.101, n.399 (April 1986), pp.376-398. Responses to this article from Anne Summers ('Scouts, Guides and VADs: A Note in Reply to Allen Warren – *English Historical Review*, v.102, n.405 (October 1987) pp.943-947) and John Springhall ('Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?', *English Historical Review*, v.102, n.405 (October 1987), pp.934-942). Michael Rosenthal, *The character factory: Baden-Powell and the origins of the Boy Scout movement*, London: Collins, 1986. See also for a discussion of this debate, Martin Crotty, 'Scouts Down Under: Scouting, Militarism and "Manliness" in Australia, 1908-1920, in Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, pp.74-88.

Whatever their motivations, Scouts worked in a range of community service roles throughout the war. Like Guides, they raised money for Scout huts in France, in which both Robert and Olave Baden-Powell served.<sup>112</sup> Scouts were available for government service, and they were utilized by the Postmaster General ‘to watch telephone trunk lines and telegraphs between London and Dover’; as messengers in various public offices; and the Admiralty asked for 1000 Scouts for coast-watching duties.<sup>113</sup> As a male movement, however, the Scouting movement was limited in its work and growth by the large numbers of Scoutmasters and ex-Scouts engaged on active service.

It was hardly surprising then that when Baden-Powell established the Wolf Cub section of Scouts in 1916, many of the Cubmasters were women. While wartime expedience was a factor, it was also considered appropriate for younger Scouting members to have women leaders in a gendered movement. Baden-Powell designed the Wolf Cub programme around their age, emphasising games and story-telling as an introduction into Scoutcraft and self-discovery. Cubs were not Scouts, but by instilling the Law of the Wolf Cub pack - ‘The Cub gives in to the Old Wolf; the Cub does not give in to himself’ – the foundations for later Scouting were laid. Baden-Powell’s instructions to potential Cubmasters or Akelas<sup>114</sup> stressed the importance of working with younger boys’ spirits: ‘If God made the boy a creature of extreme and restless energy, with an inquisitive and eager mind, a sensitive little heart, and a romantic imagination, it is up to you to make full use of these instead of crushing them.’<sup>115</sup> Liberal use of Rudyard Kipling’s popular anthropomorphic *The Jungle Book* in *The Wolf Cub’s Handbook* added to the mystique, rituals and play of Cubbing. Baden-Powell corresponded with Kipling and sent him handbook

---

<sup>112</sup> The YMCA also provided and staffed recreation huts for troops in France at this time.

<sup>113</sup> Jeal, p.450. Jeal notes that by the end of the war, 23,000 Scouts had been involved in ‘coast watching’.

<sup>114</sup> Akela was the head wolf of the pack in Rudyard Kipling’s tales of the Indian jungle, *The Jungle Book* (1894). In Wolf Cub packs, Akela is the Cub Leader, who oversees the ‘grand howl’ of crouching Cubs in a circle, howling in unison.

<sup>115</sup> Jeal, pp.500-501. The excerpt comes from an undated Wolf Cub pamphlet, ‘The Secret of True Education: The Principle’.

drafts, which Kipling approved for use.<sup>116</sup> Like Scouts, the Wolf Cub movement grew rapidly, with approximately 30000 members at the end of its first year.<sup>117</sup> At the other end of the age range, a Senior Scouts section was developed in 1917 to aid retention in the movement, and renamed Rovers in 1918.

The Girl Guide movement capitalised upon its improved public image to dramatically increase its membership during and after the war, aided by new sections for Rosebuds in 1914 (aimed at ‘under-11s’ and, after the girls soundly rejected this flowery name, renamed Brownies the following year<sup>118</sup>) and Senior Guides in 1916 (for young women aged 14-25, and renamed Rangers in 1920<sup>119</sup>). Although membership figures before 1916 are approximate, 8000 ‘official’ Guides were transferred from the Scouts to the Girl Guides in 1911, which grew slowly to an estimated 10,000 members in Spring 1914. Following Guiding’s elevated public profile during the war, by 1920 membership of the Girl Guides in Great Britain exceeded 180000, and by the late 1920s there were an ‘astonishing’ half-million Guides and Brownies (approximately 200000 more than the Scouting movement at the same time).<sup>120</sup> Clearly, something about Girl Guiding’s ethos had captured the imagination of British girls. While the movement grew slowly in the period when there were still public misgivings about its appropriateness for girls, overcoming that obstacle alone was not sufficient to account for the rapid

---

<sup>116</sup> *An Official History of Scouting*, pp. 58-59. While there has been some conjecture over time about the extent to which Kipling gave permission for *The Jungle Book* to be used and adapted by Baden-Powell, letters between the two indicate Kipling’s strong support for Baden-Powell’s work in Scouting.

<sup>117</sup> [www.scouting.milestones.btinternet.co.uk/cubs.htm](http://www.scouting.milestones.btinternet.co.uk/cubs.htm) Accessed 10 September 2010.

<sup>118</sup> Rose Kerr (pp.148-149) credited the name Rosebuds to ‘some poetical soul with not much comprehension of children’, and notes ‘the general idea was that they should grow up into full-blown Roses, but unfortunately they did not want to be either Roses or Rosebuds; they wanted to be Guides, and had no idea of being put off with anything short of this.’ Within a year *The Girl Guide Gazette* sought alternative names, and Robert Baden-Powell’s suggestion of Brownies was deemed suitable. ‘The Brownie was the indigenous fairy of English folk lore, whose favourite form of manifestation seems to have been doing surprise ‘good turns’ to harassed housewives, but who was not without a touch of mischief in his composition.’ Kerr adds that this model seemed a better fit with the ‘busy, active, far from “flower-like” children’ that wanted to be Guides.

<sup>119</sup> Alternative names suggested for the Ranger section of Girl Guides were Citizen Guides, Rovers (as with the parallel section of the Boy Scouts), Pioneers, Pilots, Guideswomen, Torchbearers and Eagerhearts. Kerr, p.151. Once again, it was the Chief Scout’s suggestion that was adopted.

<sup>120</sup> Proctor (2009), p.26, and footnote #3. Proctor notes that a similar pattern was evident in the United States, where at the end of 1913, Girl Scouts membership verged on 600, and by 1920 exceeded 50,000. 1920s membership figures from Jeal, p.473.

membership rise. Girls opted in to a scheme that not only allowed them to be active citizens, but also expected that they would do so. Tammy Proctor, in her history of the Girl Guides and Girl Scouts movements, argues for the importance - and attractiveness - of the concept of service at that time:

Perhaps most key to Guiding's success was its emphasis on service – to friends, family, employers, countries, humanity, God. Service imbued the organisation with a mission and a sense of importance that girls did not take lightly...The Promise and Laws set the organisation apart from other activities or clubs for young people, at least in the minds of those who joined Guiding. Girls wanted their lives to mean something, and they wanted to be useful – Guiding offered them that chance.<sup>121</sup>

Extraordinary wartime circumstances offered girls, and girls as Girl Guides, a physical and social environment in which they could contribute; and, in contributing, gain the widespread societal sanction that had been missing in the initial years of the movement. The same pattern, with the same effect, could be seen in New Zealand Guiding.<sup>122</sup>

At the beginning of World War One, Baden-Powell was already aware of the implications of 'the awful drama...being unfolded' and the need to learn from it:

The lessons of this war...should not then be thrown away and forgotten; they should give urgent reason for a more effective education in the brotherhood of man...I believe that with the dawn of peace...our Scout brotherhood may take a big place in the scheme of uniting the nations in a closer and better bond of mutual understanding and sympathy...<sup>123</sup>

By the end of the 'Great War' Baden-Powell was sickened by the waste of lives – an estimated 250000 members of the British Boy Scout movement served, and 10000 died.<sup>124</sup> He subsequently strongly promoted international bonds between nations as the preventative to another major world conflict. Youth, as future adult world citizens, had an integral part to play in developing a post-war spirit of internationalism; and Scouts and Guides were to be at its vanguard.

---

<sup>121</sup> Proctor (2009), p.19.

<sup>122</sup> See the next chapter for a discussion of this.

<sup>123</sup> B-P's Outlook, pp.57-58.

<sup>124</sup> *Official History of Scouting*, p.53. Although this may appear to be a relatively low casualty rate, most of the membership was too young to enlist. Since the movement was, at the start of the war, only six years old it represents a considerable contribution from Scouting ranks.

International bonds of cooperation included those of empire, and Kristine Alexander refers to the movements' interwar history as a period of 'international imperialism'.<sup>125</sup> In *Scouting for Boys*, Baden-Powell devoted a chapter to 'Patriotism; or, Our Duties as Citizens', in which he warned of the danger of 'bad citizenship' to the Empire's well being.<sup>126</sup> He contended that Rome, that 'other' great empire, had fallen through inattention to good citizenship models, and the British Empire could only be held by reaffirming ties between Britain and her colonies. Scouting and Guiding provided ways for this to occur, and British colonies were quick to establish the movements. New Zealand was in the first group of Scouting adopters in 1908, alongside Australia, Canada, Malta, South Africa and Ireland. After the first decade of Scouting, 70 countries were involved.<sup>127</sup> Although a fundamental Scout law stated that 'A Scout is a Friend to All, and a Brother to Every Other Scout, No Matter to What Social Class the Other Belongs', cultural and racial divisions within some outposts of empire led to strong dissent.<sup>128</sup> This was particularly apparent in South Africa, but also a problem for the Scouting movement in India and Caribbean states.<sup>129</sup> The First World Scout Jamboree, held at Olympia, London, in 1920 was a showcase for the movement's aims and programme, and an opportunity for Baden-Powell to reiterate the need

---

<sup>125</sup> See Kristine Alexander, 'The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, v.2, no.1, winter 2009, pp.37-68.

<sup>126</sup> See Chapter IX, *Scouting for Boys*. Bad citizenship, in this context, included those whose came under the influence of socialists and 'professional agitators', while indifferent citizenship was the result of lack of self-discipline, and an unfortunate tendency to watch rather than get involved personally (particularly so with sporting events.)

<sup>127</sup> *An Official History of Scouting* records world membership, in 2005, at 216 countries, p.125.

<sup>128</sup> The explicit inclusion of 'social class' in the original text, was further clarified in the following paragraph, where Baden-Powell stated 'A scout must never be a SNOB. A snob is one who looks down upon another because he is poorer, or who is poor and resents another because he is rich. A scout accepts the other man as he finds him, and makes the best of him.' Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys. A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, [Original 1908 edition text; edited with Introduction and Notes by Elleke Boehmer], Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p.45.

<sup>129</sup> See Jeal, pp.492-497. See also Sally Stanhope, "'White, Black and Dusty": Girl Guiding in Malaya, Nigeria, India and Australia from 1909-1960', MA thesis, Georgia State University, 2012; Carey A. Watt, "The Promise of 'character' and the spectre of sedition: The boy scout movement and colonial consternation in India, 1908-1921", *South Asia: Journal of South Asian studies*, v.22 #2, 1999, pp.37-62; Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout movement in British Colonial Africa*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004.

for building links rather than enforcing divisions. His closing speech made it clear to the Scouts present that they had a hand in achieving this:

Brother Scouts, I ask you to make a solemn choice. Differences exist between the peoples of the world in thought and sentiment, just as they do in language and physique. The war has taught us that if one nation tries to impose its particular will upon others, cruel reaction is bound to follow. The jamboree has taught us that if we exercise mutual forbearance and give and take, then there is sympathy and harmony. If it be your will, let us go forth from here fully determined that we will develop among ourselves and our boys that comradeship, throughout the world wide spirit of the Scout Brotherhood, so that we may help to develop peace and happiness in the world and good will among men. Brother Scouts, answer me. Will you join me in this endeavour?<sup>130</sup>

Scouts were local and national citizens, with the responsibilities that came with citizenship. Yet Baden-Powell also made it clear to them that they were citizens of a changing world, in which their input could make a difference.

At a great physical remove but closely tied by imperial bonds, New Zealanders were quick to demonstrate their receptiveness to the initial premise, and subsequent practice, of Scouting and Guiding. The attractions were both personal and ideological. Baden-Powell's personal appeal was an important marketing tool for the new movements: he was a military 'hero', who wrote compellingly of adventure and the virtues of independent scouting, and valued the outdoor life over any other. These attributes sat well with those at the outposts of empire, as did Baden-Powell's lauding of the colonial spirit. Ideologically, the egalitarian flavour of Scouting's cross-class emphasis resonated with New Zealanders who sought to leave behind rigid class boundaries. The non-sectarian spiritual element of the programme appealed for the same reasons. Wrapping up these elements with nature study, camping, outdoor skills and adventure made an attractive package for disseminating throughout the Empire and the wider world. As will be seen in the following chapter New Zealand, an early adopter of Scouting, was very receptive to Baden-Powell and to his Scouting ideas and programme.

---

<sup>130</sup> *An Official History of Scouting*, p.67.



## **CHAPTER TWO: NEW ZEALAND SCOUTING AND GUIDING - ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT TO c.1939**

### **Introduction:**

New Zealanders were receptive to Scouting from the beginning. As New Zealand was a colony and then a Dominion of the British Empire, strong connections endured even as New Zealanders increasingly established their own national identity. Scouting, with its mix of military 'hero' founder, uniforms, imperial and individual citizenship values and emphasis on physical skills and outdoor activities was a good fit for New Zealand in 1908 and beyond. As in Britain, Baden-Powell's serialised *Scouting for Boys* quickly caught the public imagination – and specifically, the imagination of that section of the population it was intended to reach. Boys and men saw value in Baden-Powell's scheme, and chose to adopt it. New Zealand girls, like their British counterparts, also wanted to be involved and the two movements that grew up in New Zealand did so due to popular grassroots demand. This chapter outlines three stages. Firstly, the development of state and social infrastructures in New Zealand that prepared the ground for organisations like the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements; and New Zealand characteristics that made it receptive to Baden-Powell's message. Secondly, the foundations of both Scouting and Girl Peace Scouting, including leadership and the seeding of the movements throughout the country; challenges from, and opportunities for, service to the state; and major changes in leadership and emphasis to both movements. The third phase considered in this chapter relates to the inter-war embedding of Scouting and Guiding in New Zealand, and the ways in which wider views, both internally and internationally, provided a platform for later growth.

### **New Zealand: from colony to dominion:**

The period from 1880-1920 is often seen as a watershed in New Zealand society, during which the young colony developed the foundations for its political, social, cultural and physical infrastructure. The population grew, and its demographic mix changed: by the 1886 census nearly 52% of the European population were New Zealand-born, and by the turn of the century the Maori population had declined to the point where it represented just 5.5% of the total population.<sup>1</sup> Economic stagnation in the 1880s ‘forced colonist and colonial alike to examine the nature of New Zealand society and provided an atmosphere receptive to experiment and change’ – change which manifested in political initiatives in public welfare and women’s enfranchisement; and also in social developments such as the proliferation of social and cultural leisure groups.<sup>2</sup>

In the later nineteenth and early twentieth century clubs catering for a variety of sports, arts and leisure activities sprang up in both urban and rural locales. Sports and recreation grounds were often established early in settlements’ histories, and developed and funded through a combination of public funds and private subscriptions and labour. The *Wellington Independent* in 1863 reported progress on the draining of swampland at Te Aro for a public recreation ground, contrasting the ‘healthy exhilaration of open air exercise’ with the ‘temptations of the tap room’. The reporter argued that such a facility was a public good: ‘our citizens want a suitable place for an open air promenade, our boys and young men a proper field for the good old English game of cricket, and other sports which harden the frame and develop the muscles’. ‘What is true in England,’ he concluded, ‘is equally true in the colonies, more especially in New Zealand.’<sup>3</sup> In Hokitika, a new cricket ground

---

<sup>1</sup> Jeanine Graham, ‘Settler Society’, Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Second Edition, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp.112-140, p.112; James Belich, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the end of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996, p.250.

<sup>2</sup> Graham (1992), p.139.

<sup>3</sup> *Wellington Independent*, 5 February 1863, p.2.

was in use by 1867, despite the township being established only three years earlier. The gold rush population influx boosted the town's recreational options, with a range of sporting clubs as well as cultural associations including a Philharmonic Society and the Caxton Amateur Dramatics Club.<sup>4</sup> Such social groups indicate the public's willingness to develop and support leisure facilities and groups within their communities, but also the imposition of civilising influences upon what were sometimes frontier towns with the potential for civic and moral disorder.<sup>5</sup> By the end of the century, as urban areas developed and less open space was available, Parliament had passed a series of acts enshrining public reserves for recreational purposes, and local government bodies were developing parks, pools and playgrounds within their boundaries.<sup>6</sup> The perceived healthiness of outdoor activities continued to be a significant factor in leisure choices, in both provision and uptake.

Children's clubs and youth groups were part of the pattern of growth in leisure opportunities, although for many children in the nineteenth century leisure was more self-initiated than formally organised. Jeanine Graham distinguished between the work/leisure balance of older and younger siblings in colonial families, noting that

in the larger colonial families of the earlier years, such leisure time was precious and well-used. It was the younger siblings, the colonial-born, who benefited most from parental endeavours to provide an improved quality of life for the next generation. The labour of older children was usually an essential part of the process of effecting that transformation.<sup>7</sup>

As the societal infrastructure developed, the state and voluntary organisations focused more attention on children and young people who, as future citizens and nation-builders, were worthy recipients of investment and training. Compulsory state schooling began in 1877, although it took over twenty years

---

<sup>4</sup> *West Coast Times*, 2 December 1867, p.5.

<sup>5</sup> Caroline Daley discusses the forms such 'rational recreation' took within the New Zealand context, in 'Modernity, Consumption and Leisure', *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Giselle Byrnes (ed.), Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp.423-445.

<sup>6</sup> Provincial local governments often had committees with oversight of this specific aspect of town and district planning – the *Taranaki Herald*, 9 July 1894, p2, recorded the latest meeting of the local Recreational Grounds Board. See also Caroline Daley's chapter, 'Swings and Roundabouts' in her book *Leisure and Pleasure. Reshaping and Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, pp.193-225.

<sup>7</sup> Graham, 1992, p.126.

before the majority of eligible (Pakeha) children attended.<sup>8</sup> Child poverty and children's labour were focal points of concern, brought to the attention of the public through state or voluntary service agencies.<sup>9</sup> Women and children were beneficiaries of early charitable organisations, which sought to alleviate their physical deprivations at the same time as controlling their behaviour. As Bronwyn Dalley has noted, 'the flip-side of the concept of helpless children in need of protection from adult society was that of the child as potentially dangerous.'<sup>10</sup> In either case, state or voluntary intervention was seen as necessary where no suitable family support existed.

While the state responded to perceived juvenile delinquency by committing more young people to industrial schools (largely using the punitive 'stick' approach to discouraging further criminality)<sup>11</sup>, voluntary groups sought to divert young people by offering socially acceptable 'carrots' in the form of social groups and facilities. The first catered to young men and boys. British charitable organisations like the YMCA, (from 1855) and the Boys' Brigade (from 1886) established themselves in urban areas in order to provide Christian alternatives to the temptations of the street, and specifically to tackle larrikinism - an alarming social concern that grew as cities grew. The YMCA was initially aimed at steering young working men towards Christian citizenship, while the Boys' Brigade targeted a younger age group.<sup>12</sup> New Zealand was the first country outside the British Isles to establish the Boys' Brigade, in 1886. Its emphasis on martial discipline and drilling was similar to

---

<sup>8</sup> Erik Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd edition: Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992, p.132: 'By 1891, four fifths of the colony's 167,000 European children aged five to fifteen were receiving elementary education at one of 1255 public primary or the 281 private schools. As many girls as boys attended these schools.'

<sup>9</sup> For a background of the later nineteenth century legislative measures aimed at children's welfare in New Zealand, see Jeanine Graham, 'Child Employment in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v.21, n.1, 1987, pp.62-78.

<sup>10</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters. Child Welfare in Twentieth-Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, p.15.

<sup>11</sup> Although industrial schools (established under the Neglected and Criminal Children Act 1867) also trained their residents in practical manual skills for later employment, by the later nineteenth century they had become increasingly punitive in approach. This was gradually eased when the Department of Justice transferred oversight of the Industrial Schools to the Department of Education in 1880. Renaming the schools as Special Schools in 1909 indicated a change in official policy and attitudes towards children, 'and signalled that [they] should be assisted and treated, reformed rather than only punished.' Dalley, *Family Matters*, pp. 16-.17.

<sup>12</sup> [www.bb.org.nz/about/](http://www.bb.org.nz/about/), accessed 15 September 2010.

cadet companies in existence at the time and usually connected to volunteer militia units. Local initiatives for urban working-class boys included Boys' Institutes in the main cities, followed later by gymnasia-based clubs like 'Crichton's Cobbers' in Christchurch.<sup>13</sup> A common feature of these clubs was the recognition that the problem of 'street boys' was a community problem, and that the solution must also come from their communities. An 1891 Wellington meeting discussed the need for a Boys' Institute in the city, asking potential supporters 'What is to be done with our street boys?' It continued:

It is of course eminently desirable that they should be put in the way of becoming useful citizens, but their present influences are naturally not likely to lead them that way...[T]he boys should not spend their time in the streets; but unfortunately, they have, as a rule, but little attraction elsewhere.'<sup>14</sup>

If their homes were lacking in this regard, an Institute with facilities like reading rooms, gymnasiums, recreation halls and classrooms could - and should - provide. An additional selling point for both potential supporters and boy members was boys' active involvement in the Institute's management through elected committees: 'Rules made by them are willingly obeyed [and] moreover, the sense of responsibility thus engendered is one that acts very well.'<sup>15</sup> Baden-Powell later used the same principle, in the form of the patrol system, in the Scouting programme. The model proposed at this meeting addressed the physical and social needs of urban working class boys, while at the same time addressing the social threat of their potential disorder and involving them in their own self-development as active citizens. Local government support was also evident, with leases at nominal rentals for premises of 'any Society or Institute established or to be established in the said City for affording Instruction and Recreation to Boys and Youths, or to any Trustees for any such Society or Institute.'<sup>16</sup>

Girls were not seen as potential larrikins in the same way as boys, but they were perceived as needing respectable and improving leisure activities. Church Sunday Schools provided another means of inculcating both biblical and moral

---

<sup>13</sup> Crichton's Cobbers was established after World War 1, in the name of a veteran who had been active in youth work. See Neil Fox, *Fit for life: A History of the Crichton Cobbers Club*, Christchurch: Crichton Cobbers Youth Club, 2002.

<sup>14</sup> *Evening Post*, 15 June 1891, p.3.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Wellington Boys' Institute Act 1897.

values, while the Band of Hope sought to capture the next generation for its temperance pledge.<sup>17</sup> Girls' Friendly Societies (GFS) initially targeted young working girls, and offered both accommodation and recreational activities.<sup>18</sup> The GFS later expanded its membership to other young ladies and girls of 'virtuous' character', and *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* (1897) lauded its work, noting that 'many girls have [by their membership] been shielded from temptation'.<sup>19</sup> The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), in New Zealand from 1878, had from its start a clear sense of mission to young working women, 'to develop aspects of character dulled by daily toil in the workroom, the three sides of [its] Blue Triangle emblem: spiritual, mental and physical.'<sup>20</sup> Sandra Coney, writing of the Auckland YWCA, argued that

[it] was most concerned with what girls did in their leisure time. Now that they were not at home under the protective wing of their mothers, they needed other guardians to look to their moral, physical and spiritual well-being.<sup>21</sup>

Women influential in the YWCA's work were often also active in other social causes, including the 'sweating' issue for women's and children's labour and the Women's Christian Temperance Union's campaign for women's enfranchisement. For many, their affluence and social positions allowed them to devote time and energy to social causes but also coloured their perceptions of respectability and acceptable leisure choices. While much contemporary voluntary work with women and girls centred on their moral vulnerability and its tangible results, organisations like the YWCA and GFS provided young working women with social sites where their recreational and corporeal needs could be met. By meeting these needs in a respectable and chaperoned setting, and thus preventing 'temptation', they hoped to obviate the need for dealing

---

<sup>17</sup> While the Band of Hope was not primarily a youth organisation, it understood the value of gathering young members (of both genders) to the temperance cause, and hopefully rendering them teetotallers for life. A Band of Hope meeting summarised in the *Northern Advocate*, 19 August 1902, p.2, recorded a roll call of its 'youthful members' at '24 girls and over 20 boys', who participated in a social evening, as well as the group's meeting. Most organisations seemed to understand the drawcard benefit of combining core messages with entertaining interludes.

<sup>18</sup> Lady Jervis established the Girls' Friendly Society in New Zealand in 1883 for young women and girls in cities, 'quietly working for the good and healthy amusement of the young girls in the city'. *Illustrated Guide to Christchurch and Neighbourhood*, 1885.

[www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-MosIllu-t1-body1-d6-d4.html](http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-MosIllu-t1-body1-d6-d4.html)

<sup>19</sup> [www.etc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01-t1-body-d4-d20-d21.html](http://www.etc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01-t1-body-d4-d20-d21.html) - accessed 01 August 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Branches of the YWCA were established initially in Dunedin, then Christchurch in 1883, Auckland in 1885 and Wellington in 1906. In 1907 the joint YWCA of Australia and New Zealand was formed. Sandra Coney, *Every Girl. A Social History of Women and the YWCA in Auckland 1885-1985*, Auckland: YWCA, 1986, p.22.

<sup>21</sup> Coney, p.22.

with its shameful consequences. The YWCA catered for both mind and body by developing a physical fitness programme for girls and women, at a time when physical education in the school curriculum and women's health as mothers were also foregrounded.<sup>22</sup>

### **Physical education and 'character' in the school curriculum – playing the game:**

Many adults with the power to influence boys' and girls' education (whether in the education system, voluntary organisations or government) concurred with the need for physical drill or exercise programmes to improve fitness levels in both private and public schools. Health and morality were frequently linked to children's physical training, as was a finite timeframe in which to inculcate good habits. The eugenics movement had a marked influence on opinions about 'growing' good citizens, ideally clean of limb and clear of eye, who would in turn produce the next sound generation.<sup>23</sup> This responsibility to generations unborn applied at both personal and national levels.

While the 1877 Education Act included the option of physical training for public school pupils, a physical drill programme only became mandatory for all public and native school children over eight years of age in 1901.<sup>24</sup> The 1901 Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act represented contemporary fears about 'degeneracy' and the need to raise fitness standards throughout the population. Some contemporary commentators questioned whether New Zealand's environment was as susceptible to producing physically degenerate citizens as heavily industrialised British cities.<sup>25</sup> On either side of the world,

---

<sup>22</sup> The YWCA's 'girl work', aimed at teenage girls started in the 1910s, with the Hearthfire Girls, and the Girl Citizens movement in the 1920s-1930s.

<sup>23</sup> For a contemporary New Zealand view, see W. A. Chapple, *The Fertility of the Unfit*, Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1903. Caroline Daley (2003), p.197, quotes an MP debating the 1901 Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act, who declared: 'We want Amazons in this colony, and from the Amazons we will breed soldiers.'

<sup>24</sup> *Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act 1901* [1 EDW VII 1901, No.17] The Act required school district boards to report on how the requirements were achieved – and the 1906 report [1906 Session II, E-1E, Education: Physical Drill] noted the dominant forms being callisthenics and drill, sometimes in combination with cadet companies.

<sup>25</sup> Anecdotal accounts indicated the vigour and good health of New Zealand men in comparison to their British compatriots, particularly in martial enlistments, but such accounts were probably tailored to reflect the young colony in the best possible light to its citizen readers. See 'Physical Education', *Marlborough Express*, 8 May 1890, p.3 as an example of contemporary

country living and fresh air activities were seen as important aspects in combating physical weakness and stunted growth.

Private schools in New Zealand were first to embrace the cult of athleticism within the curriculum, aided by private funding to hire drill instructors or specified games teachers to oversee organised sports, and fields on which to play them. Boys' schools were quicker to develop these facilities, echoing the game-playing ethos then dominant in British public schools, and sometimes had staff with experience in them. 'Playing the game', in the colonies as at 'home', was considered a way of developing young men's characters as well as their physiques. This did not necessarily extend to their sisters:

...the girls found themselves excluded from the strong tradition of athleticism which had developed among the boys. This was made abundantly clear each year at the Grammar School athletic sports, when the girls filled only a 'decoratively functional role behind the tea urns' while the boys displayed their athletic prowess.<sup>26</sup>

Where a board of governors shared the oversight of boys' and girls' facilities, they were strongly inclined to favour facilities for boys' physical leisure over those for girls.<sup>27</sup>

Headmistresses and teachers at New Zealand girls' private schools, following English precedents, were influential in promoting girls' active leisure via the physical education curriculum. Miss Anne Watt Whitelaw, who was appointed headmistress of Auckland Girls' Grammar School in 1906, was an old girl of Girton College, Cambridge and a teacher at Wycombe Abbey girls' school under the influential leadership of Jane Frances Dove.<sup>28</sup> Miss Mary Pulling, Auckland's Diocesan High School for Girls' first head mistress, also came

---

issues, and 'Physical Decay: Gloomy Forebodings', *Observer* [Auckland], 11 May 1901, p.2 for a robust defence of the fitness of young New Zealanders. Despite such remonstrations, rejections of New Zealand conscripts suitable for overseas deployment during WW1 topped 50%, and only 34% of conscripts in 1916-18 were classed fully fit. Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare. Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007, p.71.

<sup>26</sup> M.A.E. Hammer, 'Something Else in the World to Live For...' Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Women and Girls in Auckland 1880-1920', M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1990, p.90.

<sup>27</sup> Hammer records the annual expenditure on sports for Auckland's Grammar Schools for boys (364 pupils) and girls (230 pupils) in 1906 as £62/1/5, of which £2/2/0 was for girls' activities. p.97. (Figures from *AJHR*, 1907, E-12, p.15.)

<sup>28</sup> Hammer, p.97.

through the English public schooling system, at Cheltenham Ladies' College and the University of London.<sup>29</sup> Her initial staff included a sports mistress tasked with curing, by 'scientific exercise', the 'slight muscle weakness' evident in many girls. Miss Pulling, speaking at the school's Speech Day in 1905, endorsed the wider value of physical education within the curriculum, asserting that 'the good has been moral as well as physical' in that there had been a 'marked improvement [throughout the school] in alertness, in precision, in self-control, and in the dignity of self-respect. These things, which end as moral qualities, begin as habits of the body,'<sup>30</sup> The connection between physical wellbeing and the development of moral character is significant for this study of Scouting and Guiding's role in moulding young citizens via an outdoors movement, and echoes Baden-Powell's explicit linking of the two. Self-discipline, leading to habits of body and mind, was a constant refrain in his writing about youth and citizenship.

The state education system was slower to provide compulsory physical education in the curriculum, and to distribute equipment and trained staff. Most children received only primary education, which tended to favour rudimentary physical drills that needed minimal equipment or imagination. In secondary schools, the same gender imbalance of acreage and attitudes for girls' and boys' sports fields existed as in private schools. When Dr Agnes Bennett<sup>31</sup> pointed out the inequity of the acreage allocated to the girls at the [Wellington] High School (3/4 acre) compared to that of the boys (50 acres), her complaint was summarily dismissed by the college board's chairman as 'windy piffle'.<sup>32</sup> In the context of an education system that was slow to develop

---

<sup>29</sup> Fay Hercock, 'Pulling, Mary Etheldred, 1871-1951', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz), accessed 23 August 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Hammer, p.107. Hammer also notes that not all parents (and presumably their daughters) were keen on girls doing drill or gymnastics, and many wrote letters excusing their daughters from one or the other. p.91. This phenomenon is not confined to this period, as many modern parents of reluctant teenage girls will confirm.

<sup>31</sup> Dr Bennett was an old girl of Cheltenham Ladies College, a pioneer in developing sporting opportunities for (private) schoolgirls. Together with Dr Emily Siedeberg she confronted the widely publicised opinions of Drs Batchelor and King on the unsuitability for girls' higher education, given their physiological and moral destinies as homemakers. See Beryl Hughes, 'Bennett, Agnes Elizabeth Lloyd 1872-1960' *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz) - accessed 16 September 2010.

<sup>32</sup> Ruth Fry, 'Don't Let Down the Side'. Physical Education in the Curriculum for New Zealand Schoolgirls 1900-1945', in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant (eds.)

opportunities for meaningful physical activity within schooling hours, it is unsurprising that some girls leapt at the chance to join an out-of-school organisation that prioritized physical activity and skills.

### **New Zealand as Fertile Ground for ‘B-P’s message:**

By 1908, when *Scouting for Boys* was published, pakeha New Zealand society was developing in ways that reflected British imperial values alongside a developing sense of its citizenry as willing partners of the Empire - albeit partners with some colonial distinctions. In *Paradise Reforged* James Belich discussed the genesis and trajectory of New Zealand as a ‘Better Britain’, asserting that,

Better British ideology melded an increasingly intense assertion of Britishness with a pre-existing popular self-image and an embryonic collective identity. It maintained that New Zealanders were even more loyal and closely linked to Old Britain than other neo-Britains, but also that they were in some respects superior to Old Britons. The self-image of New Zealanders asserted greater egalitarianism, ingenuity and self-reliance than Old Britons. The collective identity asserted New Zealandness and Britishness, with an assumption of compatibility so strong that it required no stating.<sup>33</sup>

Other differences related to the outdoor environment, and to perceptions of strong, capable people who had adapted it for their use. In New Zealand, access to bush and stream was still widely available to urban dwellers as well as their country counterparts, as many towns still had open spaces both within their boundaries and on their outskirts. This provided a good fit with Baden-Powell’s central tenet of Scouting as an outdoors movement, and of Scouts as hardy, adaptable and skilled in Woodcraft. In the New Zealand environment, it also made a virtue of a necessity, favouring the semi-rural environment (or open spaces within towns and cities) that was a feature of life for children – and the locus for their self-initiated play. Where formal parks and children’s playgrounds were lacking, children found open spaces for themselves.<sup>34</sup>

---

*Women in History. Essays on European Women in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, Port Nicholson Press, 1986, pp.101-118, p.109.

<sup>33</sup> Belich, 2001, p.78.

<sup>34</sup> Rosemary Goodyear, ‘Black Boots and Pinafores: Childhood in Otago 1900-1920’, M.A. Thesis, University of Otago, 1992. In Chapter 5 on children and leisure, Goodyear notes the perception of children who had emigrated to New Zealand that ‘New Zealand children were freer’ than their British counterparts: ‘Girls could be tomboys, middle class children might not play on the streets but could often play in a neighbouring paddock, while working class city children had more access to a rural life.’ p.241.

This 'fit' was not unique to New Zealand: other dominions like Canada and Australia also claimed affinity with the outdoors, and consequently their suitability for Scouting. Contemporary English literature on colonial manhood emphasised the qualities of the frontier, and boys' books and papers emphasised frontiersmen's exploits as exemplars of masculinity wrapped up in tales of derring-do.<sup>35</sup> Robert H MacDonald, writing of the influence of frontier imagery and values in Scouting history, asserts that

the spirit of the frontier played [a]... powerful role in defining the values of colonial society. The pioneer who hacked his farm out of the bush was mythologized as the ideal New Zealander; he was tall, strong, honest, and above all, virile. He expressed the ideal of a powerful and exclusive masculine mystique: he was a 'mate'.<sup>36</sup>

He was, then, in most ways a physical manifestation of the muscular Christian ideal promulgated by imperial advocates, with a colonial twist. At the end of the nineteenth century the British Empire was at its peak of outreach and influence; also peaking were fears for the strength and health of British boys and men (and hence for the Empire's future). The colonies were seen as promoting the best conditions for thriving masculinity: opportunities for hard physical work in rural settings, and limited access to large industrialised cities.

Contests of both sport and war provided opportunities for promoting the New Zealand model of the ideal colonial man. *The Colonist* ran a report in 1899 quoting Mr Hardey of Christchurch and formerly of South Africa, who believed that 'colonials adapt themselves more readily to the exigencies of quasi-guerrilla war, than those brought up in cities'.<sup>37</sup> He implied that established British military techniques were inadequate in the face of frontier-hardened Boer adversaries, and that the best soldiers to

---

<sup>35</sup> See authors like Rudyard Kipling, who promulgated imperial values in his colonial stories, and Rider Haggard, whose hero Quatermain exemplified the colonial man of action. Baden-Powell recommended boys read adventure stories by Arthur Conan Doyle and Walter Scott. He also mentions James Fenimore Cooper as an author whose work was significant in shaping the image of American frontiersmen.

<sup>36</sup> Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire. The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, p.47. He also discusses the Australian bushman (anti-authoritarian, independent yet democratic, and also a 'mate) and the 'Mountie'<sup>36</sup> in Canada (courageous and adaptable, yet maintaining British values of restraint and discipline) MacDonald, pp.47-48.

<sup>37</sup> *The Colonist*, 3 October 1899, p.2.

combat them were men from other British colonies. Jock Phillips addresses the construction of this image of New Zealand men as remarkably mentally and physically tough (yet well-mannered and orderly), pointing out that newspapers reporting to a New Zealand readership simply omitted anything less than laudatory, thus adding to the prevailing mythology of the colonial man.<sup>38</sup> While many historians have studied the distinctive characteristics of the colonial man and his fitness for the pioneering tasks before him, fewer have engaged with the qualities of colonial womanhood as similarly able. Raewyn Dalziel's 'colonial helpmeet' was a mother and moral guardian in the domestic sphere, but was also required to be physically strong and capable in what was more often seen as a masculine world.<sup>39</sup> Diana McCurdy, in her thesis on the Girl Peace Scouts, argues that an androcentric bias has overlooked New Zealand women in the hunt for sources and sites of national identity.<sup>40</sup> Further, that 'the existence of a strong male national identity is not antithetic to the existence of a female national identity.'<sup>41</sup>

### **Baden-Powell's 'brand' in NZ:**

Widespread use of the telegraph quickly brought the world's, and more specifically the Empire's, happenings to New Zealanders through newspapers. Although a great physical distance existed between London and Wellington, and ships bringing goods and passengers took weeks to arrive, information spread quickly. Baden-Powell's Mafeking experience is a case in point. Local readers already knew his name before the siege through his published works, which were available in New Zealand bookshops, and through imported press copy that lauded him as 'one of the

---

<sup>38</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male: A History*, Auckland: Penguin, 1987, p.150.

<sup>39</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in nineteenth-century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v.11, n.2 (1977), pp.112-123.

<sup>40</sup> Diana McCurdy, 'Feminine Identity in New Zealand: The Girl Peace Scout Movement 1908-1925', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2000, pp.21-23.

<sup>41</sup> McCurdy, p.24.

most popular officers in the Service.’<sup>42</sup> Yet it was through Mafeking that he became famous, in New Zealand as at ‘home’. Daily updates, spread throughout regional and local newspapers, fostered his reputation as a resourceful leader.<sup>43</sup> After Mafeking’s ‘relief’, wildly enthusiastic press reports rippled around the British Empire and the English-speaking world. In New Zealand, the *Southland Times* led with ‘Our Colony on Fire with Enthusiasm’, noting that the ‘staid’ population of Invercargill - ‘the extremest outpost of the British Empire’ - ‘rose completely out of themselves and abandoned themselves to exuberant jubilation’ in a way that only normally restrained people could.<sup>44</sup> Such scenes were repeated throughout the country. Following Mafeking, Baden-Powell’s name graced everything in New Zealand from coastal steamers to public parks, as physical manifestations of the regard in which he was widely held.<sup>45</sup> Awareness of his name and career, and New Zealand’s sense of itself as an integral part of the British Empire, ensured Baden-Powell a favourable local response to his proposals for boys’ training and leisure. Distance from the movement’s source was only a small obstacle given the cords of empire that connected New Zealand, and other colonial outposts, to ‘home’.

### **First steps in New Zealand Scouting and Guiding: Cossgrove’s young New Zealanders**

---

<sup>42</sup> R Holliday and Co., Wellington booksellers, advertised the arrival of Baden-Powell’s *The Downfall of Prempeh* (5s.) in 1896, at the time that his name was also mentioned in accounts of the British Army’s African campaigns. *Evening Post*, 28 August 1896, p.2.

*The Star* (Christchurch), 9 September 1899, p.4. As well as detailing his part in earlier African campaigns, the article refers to him as ‘a born leader of men’, in addition to his abilities as ‘a capital back at polo and an exponent of the haute ecole’.

<sup>43</sup> An article in the *Evening Post* on 25 October 1900, p.5, was based on despatches received from Mafeking to London on 24 October 1900 (London date at top of copy). The same article also appeared in papers throughout New Zealand – the *Marlborough Express* and *Thames Star* both carried this report on 25 October 1900.

<sup>44</sup> *Southland Times*, 21 May 1900, p.2. This colonial description of ‘mafficking’ echoed similar exuberant celebrations in Britain.

<sup>45</sup> The *Grey River Argus*, 14 August 1900, p.2, notes the return match between Grey and Hokitika rugby teams held at Baden-Powell Park – less than three months after the relief of Mafeking (no prior mention before this date). This indicates a prompt local response to municipal recognition of Baden-Powell’s perceived heroism. In addition, retailers branded their products with the Baden-Powell name, with everything from garden plants (*The Press*, 25 May 1901, p.2) to umbrellas (*Feilding Star*, 4 July 1900, p.2) and clothing (ladies straw boaters, *Southland Times*, 22 February, 1902, p.3; and the ‘Baden-Powell khaki suit for boys, with cap to match, is the most popular style this season’, *Auckland Star*, 24 November 1900, p.5).

New Zealand was an early adopter of Scouting, both in terms of its establishment soon after the movement's foundations in the United Kingdom and in comparison with other countries. The only other countries to establish Scouting in 1908 were Malta, Ireland, South Africa and Australia, followed in 1909 by the U.S.A., Canada, Chile, Denmark, Guyana, India, Rhodesia and Russia.<sup>46</sup> It is likely that in most cases British immigrants with some experience or interest seeded Scouting or that, as in New Zealand's case, the power of the printed word prevailed. *Scouting for Boys* was avidly read and disseminated as soon as it arrived from Britain, and press reports of Baden-Powell's new scheme were valuable publicity aids.

The first officially registered Scout group was established in Kaiapoi in 1908, following a local bookseller's initiative in importing copies of the serialised *Scouting for Boys*.<sup>47</sup> By the time that *Scouting for Boys* was published in book form in England in May 1908, New Zealand boys were taking up Baden-Powell's challenge to form themselves into patrols and seeking suitable Scoutmasters to lead them. Major David Cossgrove, a Boer War veteran and Scottish-born schoolteacher, wrote to Baden-Powell in June 1908 indicating his support for the principles of Scouting and his desire to support its development in New Zealand.<sup>48</sup> Baden-Powell responded that he had been pleased by the New Zealand interest shown in the "Scouting for Boys" 'scheme'. Although he had also received letters from other New Zealanders, 'your opinion, coming as it does from one with such experience, is especially gratifying, and I hope sincerely that you may see your way to make a start with the scheme.'<sup>49</sup> Cossgrove's acquaintance with Baden-Powell in South Africa, and probably more importantly his background in teaching and outdoors activities, were the kinds of skills that Baden-Powell sought in Scout leaders. These, combined with Cossgrove's energy and a certain evangelical drive to

---

<sup>46</sup>[www.scout.org/en/around\\_the\\_world/countries/national\\_scout\\_organisations/some\\_statistics](http://www.scout.org/en/around_the_world/countries/national_scout_organisations/some_statistics), accessed 17 August 2010.

<sup>47</sup> Other Scout groups also lay claim to this, including patrols in New Plymouth, Petone in Wellington, and Parnell and Devonport in Auckland. As with their British peers, New Zealand boys initially organised themselves and the infrastructure followed. See Rodgers, pp. 9-15 for further information on early patrols and troops.

<sup>48</sup> Major Cossgrove attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel (on the Retired list), in 1910.

<sup>49</sup> [www.nz museums.co.nz/account/3087/object/9939](http://www.nz museums.co.nz/account/3087/object/9939), accessed 7 April 2010 (National Scout Museum records). Baden-Powell also mentioned Canada and South Africa as other countries where Scouting was 'being taken up' at this time.

establish Scouting, provided the fledgling movement with a strong start. As a teacher, he placed much importance on natural history and outdoor activities, and endorsed Baden-Powell's programme of character development through woodcraft education.<sup>50</sup> He was also interested in Maori culture, and he and his wife built links with the local Maori community through the Tuahiwi Native School where they taught.<sup>51</sup> New Zealand flora and fauna, as well as Maori names, were used in the early Boy Scout and Girl Peace Scout programmes. From the beginning, Cossgrove was interested in using Baden-Powell's model for Scouting, but adapting it to reflect and represent New Zealand's particularities.



**Figure 1: Wanganui East Boy Scouts, 1911**

This troop was formed after 'a large and enthusiastic meeting' in August 1911. Such meetings 'seeded' the movement, aided by support from prominent men.

Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand archives.

Major Cossgrove was duly warranted and, although hampered by limited funds, began travelling throughout the dominion giving public talks and recruiting suitable men to lead patrols.<sup>52</sup> School contacts were important, with headmasters playing an active role in forming boys and men into new groups,

<sup>50</sup> In the 1880s, he had written a column for the *Otago Witness*, called 'Natural history notes for the young', reflecting both his own and other new New Zealanders' interest in the subject Margaret Esplin, 'Cossgrove, David, 1852-1920; Cossgrove, Selina, 1849-1929: *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

<sup>51</sup> In 1918 he published a small book entitled *Nga toro turehu: the fairy scouts of New Zealand*, based on Maori folk tales.

<sup>52</sup> Cossgrove also wrote to newspaper editors throughout the country, promoting the scheme, and encouraging new patrols and troops. See, for example, *The Colonist*, 29 September 1908, p.3; *Evening Post*, 12 October 1908, p.3; *Auckland Star*, 12 October 1908, p.7; *Wanganui Herald*, 30 October 1908, p.2.

aided by *Scouting for Boys*. As in Britain, the role of churchmen was also significant, with their youth work mission and church premises for use as Scout dens. By the end of 1908, there were at least thirty six New Zealand Boy Scout groups (and a number of Girl Scout patrols), and the first Scout camp, modelled on the Brownsea camp, was held at Woodend, in Canterbury.<sup>53</sup> The camp followed Baden-Powell's programme of varied and strenuous activities during the day, with campfires and storytelling in the evenings. Where it differed was in 'a new and surprising attraction – a jiu jitsu demonstration by the Girl Scouts.'<sup>54</sup> This report is remarkable for two reasons: the inclusion of girls at all, given the almost sacred emphasis on the all male camping environment at Brownsea Island; and that the girls were able - and willing - to demonstrate their physical prowess in a martial art.<sup>55</sup> Both elements were in large part attributable to the attitudes of David Cossgrove and his wife Selina.

**'A lamb among your friends, but an Amazon among your enemies': a New Zealand girls' movement:**<sup>56</sup>

Major and Mrs Cossgrove, as well as being enthusiastic adopters of Scouting, had a large family of both sons and daughters. Both maintained a Presbyterian commitment to the virtues of education and a strong work ethic, expressed through their teaching and voluntary work in many capacities.<sup>57</sup> Their youngest daughter Muriel read *Scouting for Boys* and asked her father to

---

<sup>53</sup>S. G. Culliford, *New Zealand Scouting. The First Fifty Years 1908-1958*, Wellington: Boy Scouts Association of New Zealand, Wright & Carman, 1958, p.12; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 22 December 1908, p.3. This small bulletin, as well as noting general growth patterns, predicts 'the movement for both girls and boys promises to be a very big thing before the close of the summer.'

<sup>54</sup> Dawber, (2008), p.12.

<sup>55</sup> Jiu Jitsu became a popular part of the 'physical culture' movement in the first decades of the twentieth century, and was deemed appropriate for both genders' self-defence and physical strengthening. An advertisement for a correspondence course in 'Ju-Jitsu', in *The Dominion Headquarters Scout Gazette*, v.1, #2, 15 June 1921, p.18, stated that 'No man is too small to be a champion. No woman too weak that she cannot use it.' See also Daley (2003) p.79, and press reports of the period: e.g. *Southland Times*, 25 March 1904, p.2; 'Ladies Sandow Class', *Feilding Star*, 12 August 1905, p.2.

<sup>56</sup> This quote comes from an article for and about GPS in *The Dominion Headquarters Scout Gazette*, v.1, n.2, 15 June 1921, written by Captain David Cossgrove, son of the founder, that encouraged GPS to be '...upright, honest, honourable and gentle; a lamb among your friends, but an Amazon among your enemies – that is, among those who love to do wrong, and who try to make you break your honour.' p.26.

<sup>57</sup> Prior to their extensive involvement with the Scouting movements, David Cossgrove was involved in cadet and drill corps wherever he lived, and Selina Cossgrove's voluntary work centred on women's health and childcare, and the teaching of domestic skills to both girls and Maori women. Esplin, Margaret, 'Cossgrove, David, 1852-1920; Cossgrove, Selina, 1849-1929: *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007.

help her establish a girls' Scout patrol. Like Baden-Powell, Cossgrove thought that Scouting would be equally valuable to boys and girls. Yet for girls the extra considerations of 'social acceptability and the politics of gender' shaped what was possible, or permissible.<sup>58</sup>

Whereas early Guiding in Britain was influenced by the Victorian concerns of Agnes Baden-Powell and her committee of upper-class women, aghast at the prospect of girls actively taking joining their brothers with little seeming regard for propriety and restraint, the New Zealand manifestation of Girl Peace Scouts was able to develop in a much less constrained cultural environment. Significant differences centred on perceptions of respectability by both the organisers of the girls' movements and by the public (including members' families), amongst whom the girls would display themselves as members and from whom support would hopefully flow. New Zealand girls were fortunate to have the Cossgroves leading Girl Peace Scouts (GPS), as their attitudes towards their daughters' involvement were no less positive than those shown towards their sons as Scouts. Although their personal philosophies towards the education and raising of children undoubtedly supported hands-on outdoor training and character development, it is likely that they were not alone in their thinking. So what in the New Zealand cultural and physical environment made it receptive to the establishment of Girl Scouts at a time when British girls had no parallel [organised] movement, and had not yet publicly asserted their existence as scouts at Crystal Palace?

The New Zealand environment, both physically and socially, offered opportunities for a new girls' movement to flourish, in ways that were less acceptable in contemporary Britain. British society, class-ridden and corseted in restrictive values around girls' respectability, made harder work of establishing the Girl Guides than with New Zealand's Girl Peace Scouts. While girls in both societies saw little problem in being Scouts and organized themselves accordingly, adult responses differed. British Scouting was fundamentally tied to Robert Baden-Powell and his need to embed his new boys' organisation, financially and in public approval. Girls' Scouting presented

---

<sup>58</sup> Dawber (2008), p.13.

as many problems for him as it did opportunities for girls, and his decision to hand over the establishment of the Girl Guides to his sister Agnes (and a committee of society ladies) shaped its initial form and values in conventional ways. Respectability and adherence to conservative feminine models of behaviour were important in gaining public approval. This was also true in New Zealand, but to a lesser degree. The Cossgroves understood that they too had to mollify some concerns over New Zealand girls acting in unbecoming ways, but at the time of establishing and developing the Girl Peace Scout movement they were unimpeded by committees, and able to mould a programme that reflected their and other New Zealanders' notions of acceptability – and then sell it to the public. Whereas the British organisation was established from the top down and in the public eye (notwithstanding the initiative of the girls themselves) its New Zealand counterpart began at a grass-roots level and grew.

A number of factors in New Zealand made this possible. Firstly, the relative youth of New Zealand as a settled colony allowed some freedom to develop new ideas in an environment less constrained by existing norms. Secondly, a more egalitarian attitude existed towards what men and women could physically do, and were in some respects expected to do.<sup>59</sup> Mary Muller, writing in the 1860s, argued that '[New Zealand] women are brave and strong, with an amount of self-reliance, courage and freedom from conventionalities eminently calculated to form a great nation.'<sup>60</sup> New Zealand women's pioneering role in securing female enfranchisement in 1893 supported this ideological view. From a physical viewpoint, New Zealanders at the beginning of the twentieth century were still clearing and developing rural land, although the population was becoming increasingly urban. Even within townships and cities, the landscape was being changed through physical labour. New Zealanders valued strong, physically able 'pioneers', who had shaped both the landscape and their own perceptions of themselves within it. Thirdly, following on from this, most children and young people had access to countryside or open areas of land and the ability and freedom to range about them. The

---

<sup>59</sup> See Dalziel, (1977).

<sup>60</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, 'Women in New Societies', in Jock Phillips (ed.), *New Worlds? The Comparative History of New Zealand and the United States*, Wellington: Stout Research Centre, 1989, p.11.

introduction of nature study in schools; an official focus on children's health and physical fitness; and a belief that children had a natural affinity for, and curiosity with, outdoor exploration all added to a paradigm that was open to active and physically challenging children's recreation.<sup>61</sup>

Cossgrove wrote to Baden-Powell seeking permission, and (with his wife Selina) rewrote the Scouting handbook with girls in mind. Much of his *Peace Scouting for Girls*<sup>62</sup> echoed its masculine counterpart, although some of the wording was changed to accommodate concerns about any 'unladylike' practices: whereas, under the 8<sup>th</sup> Scouting law, a Scout 'smiles and whistles under all difficulties', his female counterpart 'smiles and looks pleasant under all circumstances. If possible she hums the Girl's Scout Chorus and she will soon feel all right.'<sup>63</sup> The vexed etiquette of whistling versus humming resolved, both genders of Scout were encouraged to face whatever came their way with equanimity, personal responsibility and courage. Nadia Gush, in her 2007 thesis on women's cultural citizenship in Canterbury, noted Cossgrove's emphasis on physical activity and skills at the expense of more refined pastimes:

A large part of the motivation behind Cossgrove's inauguration of the scouting movement in New Zealand had been the belief that children needed physically invigorating outdoor recreation. Members of the GPS were encouraged to scout, learn jiu jitsu and self-defence ...signal in semaphore, track, tie knots and camp. Perhaps coincidentally, this focus on vigorous activity struck visual and literary cultural production from GPS favour. Cossgrove's pioneering women, with their keen sight and strong arms, did not waste their time and health in reading and fine embroidery. Both came under attack in the handbook as 'games' to be avoided due to the risk they posed to sight.<sup>64</sup>

Cossgrove was clear in his mind, and in *Peace Scouting for Girls*, about Scouting's real purpose. Although strongly in favour of outdoor education he was somewhat dismissive of sports like tennis and hockey, 'though no doubt they are good games to play, and come in useful in training a girl's eye and muscle as well as her temper'. It was the teamwork of citizenship that he

---

<sup>61</sup> See Kirstie Ross' *Going Bush. New Zealanders and Nature in the Twentieth Century*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008, Chapter One (pp.19-50).

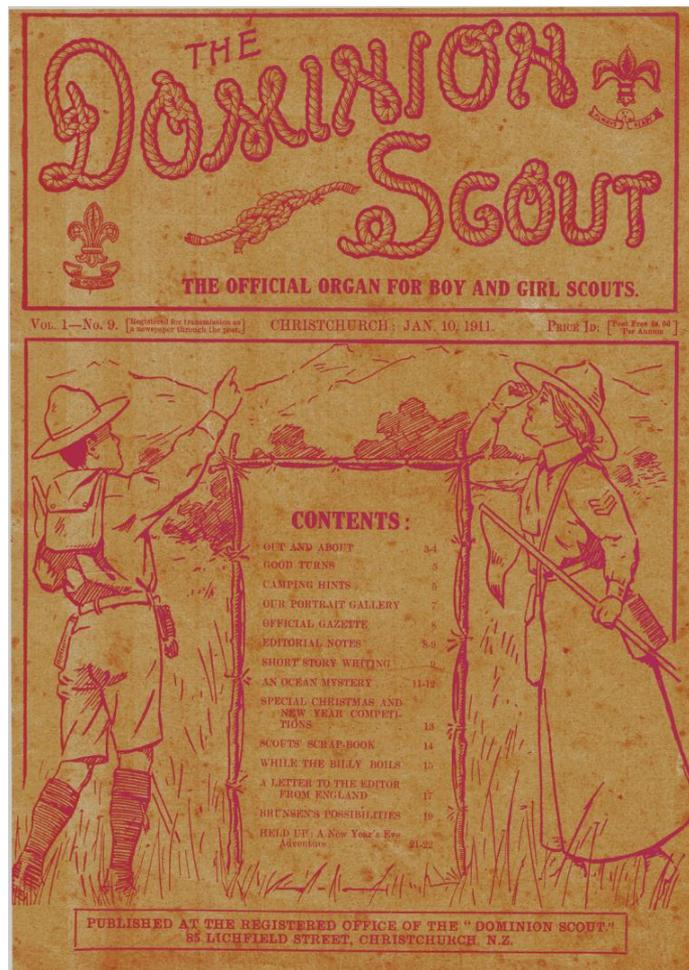
<sup>62</sup> David Cossgrove, *Peace Scouting for Girls*, Christchurch: W. Strange, 1910. The handbook was written in 1909, although delays in publishing meant that it appeared the following year.

<sup>63</sup> Dawber (2008), p.14.

<sup>64</sup> Nadia Gush, 'Cultural fields of the Canterbury plains: women and cultural citizenship in Canterbury c.1890-1940', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007, p.129.

favoured over team sports, which were ‘not to be talked about in the same way as Scouting, which teaches young people to be men and women in the truest sense.’<sup>65</sup>

Girl Scouts, and then Girl Peace Scouts, offered membership of a club for girls run and supported by active women.<sup>66</sup> Women who stepped into roles as Lady Scoutmasters were already capable and energetic women who supported girls in their wish to extend themselves beyond traditional leisure options. In early troops they were often unmarried, and many were close in age to the girls



**Figure 2: *The Dominion Scout*, v.1 n.20, 10 January 1911.**

This early New Zealand Scouting periodical, written for both Boy Scouts and Girl Peace Scouts, indicated both their common origins in the Cossgroves, and a relatively relaxed attitude towards appearing together, in the New Zealand countryside - in print at least. Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand archives.

<sup>65</sup> Dawber (2008), p.25, citing Cossgrove's *Peace Scouting for Girls*.

<sup>66</sup> Dawber (2008) notes that of the first six women to gain medical degrees in New Zealand, three became involved with girls' Scouting (p.19). The WCTU and the National Council of Women also supported the principles of girls' active leisure, while press reports show Mayoresses and society ladies active in GPS councils – for example, *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 27 September 1916, p.3; *Auckland Star*, 19 December 1912, p.2.

they led.<sup>67</sup> The programme of activities and testing not only condoned displays of relative independence, but expected girls to use their initiative and their bodies. Testing for the second-class badge required girls to have a working knowledge of knotting, signalling, compass work, lifesaving, New Zealand flora and fauna, and to complete a solo 5-mile journey on foot, by bicycle, horse or boat.<sup>68</sup> Girls chose to join the GPS because of the opportunities offered in these areas, in preference to more sedate and sedentary groups. This was a movement tailored for New Zealand girls, and predicated upon capable colonial female role models. Those role models combined abilities in traditionally



**Figure 3: Group portrait of the Senior Sydenham GPS Troop, Christchurch, 1910s.** This group of older Girl Peace Scouts, with their young Scoutmistress, was part of a 30-strong troop, probably affiliated with the church in the background. GPS troops displayed their collective identity with pride, as shown by their formal pose in front of their troop colours. Image: 1/2-163014-G, courtesy of 'Adam Maclay Collection', Alexander Turnbull Library.

<sup>67</sup> McCurdy, Appendix 3: Partial Listing of known Peace Scout troops 1909-1913, pp.188-192.

<sup>68</sup> 'Each Patrol should be named after some bird native to New Zealand. Each Scout should be able to imitate the cry of that bird. No Scout may use the call of another Patrol.' *The Dominion Headquarters Scouts Gazette*, v.1, #2, 15 June 1921.

domestic skills with practical outdoor skills usually honed of necessity. Being a GPS was promoted as a precursor to being tomorrow's competent woman: 'the ideal GP Scout was enduring, brave, self-reliant and clever and 'could saw a log, drive a nail, catch an eel, yet remain sweetly feminine' – a perfect recipe for the mothers of the next generation.'<sup>69</sup> The Cossgroves repeatedly asserted that membership in the GPS did not mean that girls were rejecting their maternal destinies; in fact, their active citizenship training as members enhanced their likelihood of successfully raising their own fine New Zealanders later.<sup>70</sup> Newspaper reports indicate that there was little open hostility to the new movement of the kind shown in the English press in 1909, when anti-suffragist Violet Markham sparked a heated exchange about 'unwomanly' girl scouts.<sup>71</sup> Early press reports, often generated by Cossgrove as he publicized Scouting and Girl Peace Scouting throughout the country, stressed the growth of both movements, and their role in developing young New Zealanders in healthy and 'moral' ways.<sup>72</sup> Once again there is evidence of the careful marketing needed to promote a new girls' movement: to the girls, who wanted challenges and physical activities; and to their parents, whose own personal degrees of comfort with this sat alongside awareness of contemporary notions of respectability. It must have been successful, as numbers of Girl Peace Scout patrols grew steadily, if unspectacularly, throughout the country.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Dawber (2008), p.24.

<sup>70</sup> This period in New Zealand history was marked by pro-natalist policies. The Plunket Society, established in 1907, reflected contemporary concerns over declining Pakeha birth rates and formulated increasingly 'scientific' forms of child-rearing by informed and healthy mothers. See Bryder, Linda, *A voice for mothers: the Plunket Society and infant welfare, 1907-2000*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003.

<sup>71</sup> Tammy Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*, Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 2002, p.24. See also Chapter One of this thesis for further details.

<sup>72</sup> As with Scouting, some newspapers carried regular columns about GPS activities – see *The Press*, 17 April 1911, p.4; see also *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 27 September 1916, p.3, for patterns of establishing new groups.

<sup>73</sup> Membership numbers for both Boy Scouts and Girl Peace Scouts in the Cossgrove era are scant, and localised. Cossgrove's energies went into seeding groups, and the movements did not have funds for centralised administration tasks like censuses. In addition, early reports to the British Girl Guides Association about the GPS were lost when the shed in which they were held burned down. Newspaper reports that discuss the establishment of new groups and the development of existing ones provide some flavour of the early movement. See, for example, *Star*, 30 April 1909, p.1; *The Press*, 4 October 1912, p.2; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 27 September 1916, p.3; *Evening Post*, 27 August 1919, p.8.



**Figure 4: Hiking GPS stop for tea on Heights Road, Shannon.**

Girl Peace Scouting offered young women chances for greater independence. Badge work requirements included long hikes and camping skills, making a virtue out of a desire for many members. The tea billy was a useful and valued piece of kit.

Image: Credit – courtesy of Horowhenua Historical Society Inc, Kete Horowhenua. Link: <div xmlns:cc="http://creativecommons.org/ns#" xmlns:dct="http://purl.org/dc/terms/" about="http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/images/show/8716-two-young-women-in-girl-scouts-uniform-having-picnic-on-heights-road"><span property="dct:title">Two young women in Girl Scouts uniform having picnic on Heights Road</span> (<a rel="cc:attributionURL" property="cc:attributionName" href="http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/account/show/1-kete-horowhenua">Kete Horowhenua</a>) / <a rel="license" href="http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/nz/">CC BY-NC-SA 3.0</a></div>

Photographs of GPS troops show a wide range of clothing and uniform, with most girls in variations on practical khaki or dark-coloured belted dresses and wide-brimmed hats (useful, according to one ex-member, for watering a horse, if upturned).<sup>74</sup> While the girls wanted to look like Scouts, more importantly they wanted to act like Scouts:

For those who could afford it, the uniform was khaki blouse and skirt worn well below the knees. A leather belt round the waist (attached to this a large sheath knife), a khaki hat with brim, also a haversack, and a wooden stave. The staves were used for all kinds of purposes from leaping over ditches, making a stretcher with the added help of an overcoat, and most exciting of all – by putting your hat on the end of the stave you walked bravely forward ready to attack a mad dog. A big tea billy was carried by one of the girls – we couldn't leave that out! ...Thus the Peace Scouts were prepared for all emergencies, real or imaginary.<sup>75</sup>

Identifying as a Girl Peace Scout was a conscious choice, and girls took pride in it. A Rotorua GPS giving evidence in a 1915 court case did so 'on my honour as a Scout'. The presiding magistrate chided her for this 'irresponsible remark' saying that no one had asked her to do so and that it was inappropriate outside of Scouting circles.<sup>76</sup> While he did not discern any moral authority attached to

<sup>74</sup> Marie Iles, *65 Years of Guiding in New Zealand*, Christchurch: GGANZ, 1976, p.6. As uniforms were a cost and sometimes a barrier to involvement, some girls wore only the parts of the GPS uniforms that they could afford.

<sup>75</sup> Iles, p.6. Letter from a Dunedin GPS, who joined, along with her sister, in 1911.

<sup>76</sup> Dawber (2008), p.24.

her oath, she did, and saw such a commitment in a court of law as entirely in keeping with Girl Peace Scout Law #1: 'A Girl Scout's Word of Honour is to be Trusted.' Girl Scouts (and their brother Boy Scouts) did not confine their sense of themselves as Scout citizens to meeting nights, and were encouraged to maintain the principles of Scout Law throughout their daily lives. Sometimes this meant defending the honour of the movement. Any Girl Peace Scout encountering 'roughs' had at her disposal, in addition to her moral armoury of GPS law, self-defence techniques for discouraging further attentions: these ranged from judo and jiu-jitsu (aimed to 'enable any girl of average strength to be more than a match for the greatest bully she is likely to encounter')<sup>77</sup> to using the trusty staff or hooking a miscreant around the neck with the handle of one's umbrella.<sup>78</sup> Defence, it appears, came in many forms.

### **Scouting within a national defence context**

While the girls' movement was selling its message to the adult population, the boys' movement was facing a threat in the form of a new government policy: the 1909 Defence Act. The Act made compulsory military training for all men, and boys between 12-18 years old. Boys were compelled to join a cadet corps and complete 52 hours of military training annually. This applied whether or not they already belonged to an existing youth organisation; those who did had to juggle their out-of-school commitments to meet both programmes' requirements. There was also some jockeying for position amongst cadet and Scout leaders, at local and national levels, as the ramifications for the Boy Scout movement became apparent. In order to retain autonomy over their voluntary movement – the Act provided for it to be taken over by the state if necessary - a committee of senior Boy Scout leaders agreed to comply with the cadet requirements, but asked for some concessions.<sup>79</sup> Reiterating their position as trainers of citizens rather than soldiers they asked that, within the boy cadets

---

<sup>77</sup> David Cossgrove, cited in McCurdy, p.107.

<sup>78</sup> ATL GGANZ records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-03/1, letter from Mildred McLean to Girl Guide Association Headquarters; Jane Cox, *Please Come Prepared for Anything. A Social History of the Girl Guide Movement in Otago*, Dunedin: GGANZ Otago Province, 1993, p.7.

<sup>79</sup> [www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist\\_act/da190999ev1909n28149/](http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/da190999ev1909n28149/), accessed 1 June 2012. Part VI, Section 39, records that 'the Minister of Education may, at the request of the controlling authority, take over the control of the Boy Scouts' if deemed appropriate.

organisation, there be a sub-set of Boy Scout cadets who had their Scouting training with Scoutmasters and any legally required formal military training under cadet officers. There was ample room for confusion and for flashpoints between adult leaders over who had control of the boys at hand. Scoutmaster Brunt of Hawera expressed his displeasure at [Cadet] Major Strack's promotion of militarism and his negative attitude towards the Boy Scout movement in the area, shown in an exchange of accounts from the local cadets' trip to Wellington for Lord Kitchener's parade. Mr Brunt wrote of 'an undercurrent of opposition [to Scouting in Hawera]...It seems a great pity that whereas the movement has grown and received such hearty public approval and support elsewhere that the local movement should be hampered in such a manner.'<sup>80</sup> Negotiations throughout 1910 and 1911 between the Scouts' Dominion Headquarters and the Army to clarify the balance between Scouting and cadet duties came to an abrupt halt in May 1911, when a proclamation under the Defence Act was issued stating that all New Zealand males of fourteen or over must register for military training. These senior cadet-aged boys were sworn in by August, and by the end of the year the effects on Scouting membership were apparent. From a growing membership base of 15,000 Scouts in August 1911, there was a dramatic decline to 8000 Scouts in December 1911.<sup>81</sup> Despite periodic accusations of militarism aimed at the Scouting movement, it was the external imposition of compulsory military training for school-aged boys that seriously damaged its strength. In walking the line between military aspects of its outwardly uniform and uniformed appearance and its continued reiteration of non-military citizenship aims, the Scouting movement was a victim of its own initial success. As it rapidly grew, it was both revered and reviled. On one side, it was being used to advance the conservative agenda of those in favour of compulsory national defence training schemes, who wrongly assumed that Baden-Powell's movement would readily concur with this. On the other side, it was denounced by socialists as being complicit in militarism, taking in the innocent boy and developing him into 'an incipient assassin, a budding jingo, a germinating butcher...' <sup>82</sup> In a political and social environment that endlessly debated

---

<sup>80</sup> *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 3 March 1910, p.7. (His letter was in response to Major Strack's account in the same paper, 28 February 1910, p.7.)

<sup>81</sup> Culliford, p.20.

<sup>82</sup> *The Maoriland Worker*, 12 May 1911, p.13.

national military preparedness, at the same time as the new movement courted and received public support, it was difficult to retain the distinctiveness of Scouting in the midst of cadet requirements.

Baden-Powell's well-publicised 1912 lecture tour<sup>83</sup> was instrumental in reversing the drop in membership, as his personal mana and Scout rallies and displays combined to show off the movement to the public.<sup>84</sup> In the six months following his tour, 'new troops were formed, old ones revived, and there was a steady flow of new recruits' - and 1000 new enrolments.<sup>85</sup> Beyond the immediate tangible benefits came Baden-Powell's influential report to the government on junior cadets. He recommended their 'demilitarising', a stance that J. A. Hanan as Minister of Education endorsed. Hanan's preference was for 'a uniform system of physical culture' within the school curriculum instead of rigorous and regimented drill programmes for younger boys.<sup>86</sup> In November an amendment to the Defence Act was passed, removing the compulsory cadet membership requirement for 12-14 year old boys. Culliford's Scouting history records the extending of an olive branch from 'military authorities' towards the Boy Scouts, with the admission that

[t]he military training of children below the age of 14 is a mistake. With boys [and girls] below that age...the formation of character and the care and development of the body are of such paramount importance that any time that can be spared from actual lessons would seem to be better devoted to these objects than to playing at soldiers; and no better means could be devised for doing this than those offered by the Boy Scout organisation.<sup>87</sup>

With the demise of junior cadets and the abandonment of Cadet Scout Troops within the Senior Cadets, there was room for both Scouting and Cadets to co-exist in the New Zealand environment, and a clear demarcation between them. The tension that briefly existed between the groups in this period illustrated competition for a finite youth market, but also their differing aims and

---

<sup>83</sup> Baden-Powell also toured South Africa, Australia and the West Indies in this particular tour, having visited Canada in 1910 and the U.S.A. in 1912.

<sup>84</sup> Even in this tour, there was some metaphorical jostling between the Cadets and Scouts leadership, with both claiming Baden-Powell as their own through his military career and founder of Scouting. The *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 21 May 1912, p.5, reported rail concessions to parades for Baden-Powell, where the Commandant of the Junior Cadets 'hope[d] to see all junior cadets standing shoulder to shoulder with the Boy Scouts at these inspections.'

<sup>85</sup> Culliford, p.25.

<sup>86</sup> 'Boys - to be Boys. Not Miniature Soldiers', *Evening Post*, 18 June 1912, p.8.

<sup>87</sup> Culliford, p.25.

methods. While some within Scouting ranks had sympathy for the need for cadet corps for national defence purposes, the fundamental precept of the (voluntary) movement remained its wider citizenship training role.

### **Opportunities for service: war work, the influenza pandemic and public perceptions**

With the advent of war in 1914, young New Zealanders became involved to varying degrees through family connections, school fundraising and community displays of patriotism and solidarity with serving troops.<sup>88</sup> For Scouts the departures of Scoutmasters to the front, and regularly published casualty lists containing ex-Scouts, brought home the nearness of national service overseas – and the importance of playing their parts to support the ‘home front’.<sup>89</sup> Women often filled the gaps left by Scoutmasters deployed overseas, and many chose to stay with Scouting after the war. Miss Nancy Wilson, from a prominent Bulls family, was recruited into Scouting through her church youth work, and with her Assistant Scoutmaster Miss Myrtle Scott (‘a tower of strength’) quickly developed as imaginative and committed leaders.<sup>90</sup> There was much interest from, and involvement with, their local rural community. Local opportunities for service included helping enlisted men’s families, and raising money towards patriotic funds. One way in which the Bulls Scouts did this was to grow potatoes in a ½ acre paddock lent by a local farmer. The crops were bagged and sold for the Red Cross, with some kept aside for servicemen’s families.<sup>91</sup>

As in Britain, voluntary war work by both the Scouts and GPS raised and generally enhanced their public profile. Lt-Col Cossgrove offered their support when war was declared and, with other youth organisations and school groups,

---

<sup>88</sup> See Jeanine Graham, ‘Young New Zealanders and the Great War: exploring the impact and legacy of the First World War, 1914-2014’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 2008, v.44: n.4, pp.429 – 444; and Charlotte Bennett, ‘“Now the War is over, we have something else to worry us”: New Zealand Children’s Responses to Crises, 1914-1918’, MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2012, for accounts of how New Zealand children interacted with the war efforts in their communities.

<sup>89</sup> Newspaper reports of casualties and deaths often noted family, educational and vocational background details of the troops mentioned. Involvement with Scouts and Cadets is sometimes detailed too. For examples see *Evening Post*, 28 June 1917, p.7, ‘While Doing their Duty’ (3 years as a Khandallah Boy Scout); *Poverty Bay Herald*, 29 September 1916, p.6, ‘Roll of Honour’ (Scoutmaster of Devonport Boy Scout troop).

<sup>90</sup> Nancy Wilson, *My Scouting Memories*, Palmerston North: Keeling and Mundy, 1959, pp.7-8.

<sup>91</sup> Wilson, p.9.

became part of the larger patriotic war effort.<sup>92</sup> Displays for visiting Scouting dignitaries during this time focused on practical public service skills like fire fighting and ambulance work for Boy Scouts, while Girl Peace Scouts showed off their first aid and cooking skills. At Thames in 1917, Lt-Col Cossgrove addressed the forty nine Girl Peace Scouts on parade, reminding them that although their work

was intended to give pleasure to those partaking in it, its ultimate aim was to enable girls to develop into more useful and better women in every way. The knowledge they would acquire of elementary first aid, of nursing, of home and sick cooking, of the care of babies...might easily enable them to deal with emergencies, and might quite conceivably be the means of saving life.<sup>93</sup>

He also inspected the Boy Scouts, and remarked that he was ‘specially pleased to see a large attendance of parents and the general public’ as the night’s demonstrations would show that ‘Scouting was very useful work, albeit in part at least in the form of play.’<sup>94</sup> At a time of national emergency, both movements publicly demonstrated their practical value as training grounds for young citizens, while still taking care to reiterate the play aspects of the programme.

Hard on the heels of their war work came another avenue of public service for Boy Scouts and GPS. The worldwide influenza pandemic swept through New Zealand over two months in late 1918, causing major disruption to public and private lives. Borough councils and town boards established relief organisations, and called for volunteers.<sup>95</sup> Both the Boy Scouts and GPS movements stepped up, and members were utilised as depot messengers and food carriers to stricken households. Although health precautions were taken in visits to homes the work was not without risks to the Scouts’ own health, and demonstrated their commitment to public service and to the third Scout Law: ‘A Scout’s Duty is to be Useful and to Help Others’. Baden-Powell’s explanation

---

<sup>92</sup> *Evening Post*, 11 August 1914, p.9. In this report of a very early patriotic fundraising meeting, chaired by the Mayoress in response to a call from the Governor General’s wife, Cossgrove offered the services of Girl Peace Scouts to make ‘housewives’ and holdalls for troops’ possessions, and they also pledged £15 for Lady Liverpool’s fund, while ‘the Boy Scouts were ready to make themselves useful in any way that might be required’.

<sup>93</sup> *Thames Star*, 30 October 1917, p.2.

<sup>94</sup> *Thames Star*, 30 October 1917, p.2.

<sup>95</sup> The *Evening Post* carried advertisements from the Citizens’ Vigilance Committee requesting public help to supplement the work being done by the Red Cross, St Johns’ Ambulance and district nurses: ‘All efficient public-spirited citizens who can afford the time are earnestly requested to assist the Officers in Charge to their utmost ability.’ It added that ‘Boy Scouts are in attendance to report to different groups.’ *Evening Post*, 15 November 1918, p.2.



**Figure 5: Christchurch Boy Scout messengers during the 1918 influenza epidemic.**

These Scouts delivered medicines and food to stricken households throughout the epidemic, not without risk to themselves but cognisant of their Scout 'duty'. Press images like this bolstered the standing of the movement in public eyes.

Image: Courtesy of Christchurch City Libraries, File Reference: CCLPhotoCD 2, IMG0048. *The Weekly Press*, 4 December 1918, p.23.

of how this law could be manifested gave the young Scout a clear sense of his duty:

...[H]e is to do his duty before anything else, even though he gives up his own pleasure, or comfort, or safety to do it. When in difficulty to know which of two things to do, he must ask himself, 'Which is my duty?' that is, 'Which is best for other people?' – and do that one. He must Be Prepared at any time to save life, or to help injured persons. And *he must do a good turn* to somebody every day. [His emphasis]<sup>96</sup>

As the emergency abated, districts reviewed their mechanisms for dealing with the crisis. Press reports of these meetings include thanks to voluntary organisations: in Wellington the Boy Scouts were praised for their 'smart and efficient work', while the *Thames Star* referred to the 'invaluable work' of the 'Boy and Girl Scouts'.<sup>97</sup> In 1921, a Boy Scouts Commissioner in Thames noted the 'sympathetic response' he received when introducing Scouting to new areas, considering that 'the unique and unfaltering services rendered by the Boy

<sup>96</sup> Baden-Powell, Robert, *Scouting for Boys. A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, [Original 1908 edition text; edited with Introduction and Notes by Elleke Boehmer], Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p.45.

<sup>97</sup> *Evening Post*, 16 December 1918, p.2; *Thames Star*, 24 December 1918, p.1. Scout Leonard Moss received a certificate for his 'valuable service during the Epidemic as a voluntary Honorary worker, and is hereby awarded this thanks of the Government.' Leonard Moss certificate, courtesy of Scouts New Zealand archives.

Scouts during the War, and their fearlessness of contagion during the influenza epidemic may have something to do with this “atmosphere of sympathy”.<sup>98</sup>

### **‘Toeing the line’: New Zealand v. British movements?**

National crises past, the Boy Scouts and GPS movements worked at developing their infrastructures to build upon public approval and to support the growing number of troops and patrols throughout the country. As in any emergent movements, there were growing pains related to personality conflicts and control issues. Lt-Col Cossgrove (by now Dominion Commissioner), like Baden-Powell, felt strongly about actively leading the movement in his chosen direction. Some correspondence between Cossgrove and Baden-Powell tended towards the prickly on both sides, with Baden-Powell resolute on reinforcing the essential elements of the spirit and form of Scouting as he saw them – and Cossgrove similarly keen to retain New Zealand elements that had grown with his own antipodean nationalist vision. The Association’s Dominion Council had adopted a Constitution in 1913 that included a clause stating

The Organisation in New Zealand shall be affiliated with that in England, and shall recognise as its official head the Chief Scout. It shall reserve for itself, however, full powers of self-government for the more convenient working of the Movement in New Zealand.<sup>99</sup>

This became an issue when Baden-Powell and his Headquarters staff, fuelled by complaints from Scouters who had previously worked with British Scouting guidelines and were unconvinced about elements of Cossgrove’s programme, questioned Cossgrove’s authority and judgement. Baden-Powell wrote personally to Cossgrove in 1919, quoting from disgruntled Scouters and raising several alleged departures from the ‘authorised scheme of Scouting’. These included Cossgrove’s junior Scouting section (the Bull Pups, as opposed to the Wolf Cubs); local variations in testing, medals and badges; and Cossgrove’s tendency towards autocratic decision-making. Cossgrove’s response was detailed, and illustrated how he saw the New Zealand movement compared with its British parent. Rebuffing the claim that New Zealand had deviated from established Scouting standards Cossgrove pointed out that in 1908 there was no

---

<sup>98</sup> *The Dominion Headquarters Scout Gazette*, v.1, #2, 15 June 1921, p.4.

<sup>99</sup> Culliford, p.43.

infrastructural model to follow, and subsequent examinations of the way New Zealand Scouting had developed were lauded by visiting British Commissioners. He pointed out the terms of the Constitution, approved by Baden-Powell, allowing local organisation modes, and roundly rejected the claim that authority was concentrated in him and his Executive Committee: 'There is no centralisation of authority in New Zealand. Our people are too democratic to submit to such a thing even if we were foolish even to attempt it.' The New Zealand way of Scouting fitted New Zealand conditions, he contended, and any adaptations not only worked better than the generic model but also had the approval of the majority of those involved at different levels. Criticism of the Bull Pups as an inferior version of Wolf Cubs was also dismissed as being the petulant opinions of an 'ignorant or biased' Scouter, to be weighed against the esteem in which the New Zealand Minister of Education and Education Boards held Cossgrove's handbook, *Story of a Bull Pup*. Cossgrove could point to the *School Journal's* use of some of its parts, and its status as a supplementary reading text in schools as evidence of its appropriateness for New Zealand boys. Baden-Powell's letter suggested that Scouting in New Zealand was not the same as in Britain; Cossgrove's response confirmed and qualified this. It was not the same in all format details, but it was right for New Zealand.<sup>100</sup>

While Cossgrove personally felt strongly about the form and direction of Scouting in New Zealand, the problems between Imperial Headquarters and the Dominion Executive did not end with his death in 1920. A new constitution approved that year reorganised the makeup of the Dominion Council with elected positions, six of whose members made up the Executive Council. Although Captain David Cossgrove had succeeded his father as Chief Commissioner in late 1920, the new administration (headed by Brigadier-General A.W. Andrew) had effectively removed him from the position by mid 1922.<sup>101</sup> Having also taken the opportunity to dismiss his sister Muriel

---

<sup>100</sup> Contents included in the letters, and quotes from them, in this paragraph are from Culliford, pp.50-55.

<sup>101</sup> Brigadier-General Andrew was a career soldier and the first New Zealander to obtain a direct commission with the British Army. He had over 30 years in India, and also served in South Africa and World War One. He joined the Boy Scouts Association about 1919, and rose rapidly through the leadership hierarchy.

Cossgrove from her role as Headquarters Secretary – ‘on the somewhat specious grounds that her shorthand was not very good’ – the new brooms had swept the Dominion’s Scouting organisation clean of Cossgrove leadership.<sup>102</sup> The following year, the constitution was changed again so that New Zealand Scouting would largely follow the Policy Organisation and Rules (POR) of the British movement. Bull Pups, New Zealand’s version of Wolf Cubs, followed the trend. Under the leadership of career soldier Brigadier-General Andrew, New Zealand Scouting fell into line with its parent body, but lost some of the uniqueness of its origins and flavour.

This assimilation of the distinctly New Zealand-flavoured Scouting movement into the imperial – and global – movement also applied to the Girl Peace Scouts. Once again there was some tension between the homegrown version of GPS and the slightly younger British Girl Guides model.<sup>103</sup> GPS patrols and troops had spread throughout New Zealand, but were gradually interspersed with Girl Guides companies, seeded by immigrant (or returning expatriate) women with British Guiding experience. The international Guiding movement was rapidly growing under Olave Baden-Powell’s post-war leadership, and where indigenous manifestations of Guiding had developed there were conscious efforts to bring them under the control and tutelage of the London Headquarters. The Baden-Powells had extended such invitations in Cossgrove’s time, but he was determined to control the movement and retain the New Zealand flavour of the GPS.<sup>104</sup> He was supported in this by several prominent New Zealand-based figures: the Dominion Council included wives of current and former Prime Ministers; and successive Governors’ wives, Lady Liverpool and Lady Jellicoe, both rebuffed exhortations from Olave Baden-Powell to transfer their support from the GPS to the Girl Guides. Lady Baden-Powell’s arguments centred on the imperially-inclined Girl Guides as a more appropriate movement for a Dominion, and their ‘womanly’ training

---

<sup>102</sup> Culliford, p.60.

<sup>103</sup> Although Cossgrove’s NZ model and handbook clearly predated the Girl Guides organisation, Olave Baden-Powell refused to acknowledge it, stating that the NZ model had risen from the UK handbook, and should name and conduct itself accordingly. McCurdy, p.152.

<sup>104</sup> Dawber (2008) notes that with the [forced] departure of Agnes Baden-Powell, and the loss of her New Zealand records in a fire, there was little paperwork that detailed the extent of the Cossgroves’ work in establishing boys’ and girls’ Scouting in New Zealand. p.29. See also McCurdy, pp.152-153.

programme as a proper foundation for preparing girls for domestic roles.<sup>105</sup> Yet while strong connections with empire and maternal ideology remained significant in New Zealand, so too did the nationalist current that acknowledged an indigenous femininity – a femininity that allowed for physical capability and challenges for girls. McCurdy argues that the Girl Guides promoted a ‘constructed femininity within the broad western ideals of population ideology’<sup>106</sup>; while the GPS’s ‘distinctively New Zealand construction of femininity’ combined with the dominant imperial motherhood model in a way that reflected how New Zealand men and women ‘complement[ed] each other by their similarities rather than their differences.’<sup>107</sup> Official support for Cossgrove’s movement over the imperial British model suggests acknowledgement or acceptance of this nationalist perception of New Zealand’s distinctiveness. Yet within a decade, Girl Peace Scouting was gone, and Girl Guiding was steadily growing.

New Zealand newspapers carried local reports of both GPS activities and those of their British Girl Guide contemporaries, and the flow of information between Britain and New Zealand made exposure to Girl Guiding more and more available. Nelson girls became Girl Peace Scouts for the first time in 1920, in church-based troops, but by the end of 1924 were invited to trade in their khaki GPS uniforms for the Girl Guides’ blue.<sup>108</sup> This local transformation mirrored the general pattern for New Zealand: a motivated woman of means, energy and influence who had been ‘sold’ Guiding through contacts within the movement, in turn sold it to potential leaders and the wider community. For New Zealand, this was Mrs W. R. (Lucinda) Wilson, who met with Lady Baden-Powell on a visit ‘home’ to Britain. They saw eye to eye on the possibilities for Guiding in New Zealand, and in 1923 New Zealand was registered as a member country for the first time. Mrs Wilson, whose family was connected to the Wilson and Horton publishing firm, was active in women’s and children’s welfare work, and had become involved in the GPS movement in Auckland in

---

<sup>105</sup> McCurdy, pp.155-157.

<sup>106</sup> See Jill Julius Matthews, *Good and Mad Women. The Historical Construction of Femininity in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984, pp.74-75 for a discussion on population ideology. McCurdy’s quotes in this sentence are from p.8.

<sup>107</sup> McCurdy, p.20.

<sup>108</sup> Carol Dawber, *Guides Alive. The Nelson Story*, Nelson: Guides Nelson Archives, 2002, p.12.

the early 1920s.<sup>109</sup> After her contact with Lady Baden-Powell she travelled extensively throughout the country, recruiting locally prominent women to establish regional Girl Guides associations.



**Figure 6: All Saints Girl Guide Company, Palmerston North, 1925-1926**

This company, affiliated to All Saints' Anglican Church, was the first in Palmerston North, and was established through the efforts of the first District Commissioner, Miss Charlotte Warburton. Miss Warburton (seated fourth from the left in the second row) came from a prominent local family and combined the necessary elements for this 'missionary' work: private means, time and a desire to do community work. She was a strong advocate for physical activity and camping, and later became a Girl Guides Trainer in this area.

Image: Courtesy of [Palmerston North] Ian Matheson City Archives, Pataka Ipurangi, File Reference: 'All Saints Girl Guide Company, 1925-1926', 2007P\_Pg115\_GRO\_1126. Creator: Unknown.

In Nelson, Mrs Perrine Moncrieff took up her challenge and organised a public meeting to promote the little-known movement. Her marketing skills and status (and the role of her husband as an Assistant Provincial Commissioner for the Boy Scouts) were significant in attracting local interest, and a public meeting held in June 1924 had to move to a larger hall nearby to fit in the audience. They were told, as part of the chairman's proposal to establish a local association, that 'the [Girl Guides] movement was not a hobby horse of a few cranks. It was world-wide, and had proved of value in other lands.'<sup>110</sup> This

<sup>109</sup> Mrs Wilson was involved with the YWCA, the Order of St John, Door of Hope and physically and mentally disabled children's groups. She also founded the Auckland Women's Club (later the Lyceum Club) and with her husband donated their Takapuna home to establish a home for crippled children. An obituary in the *Evening Post* (30 October 1945, p.10) detailed her instrumental role in establishing Girl Guiding on a formal footing in New Zealand, and her 12 years as Chief Commissioner.

<sup>110</sup> *Evening Post*, 11 June 1924, 'Nelson News', p.6.

was probably a sly dig at the GPS, unique to New Zealand, as the chairman, T. E. Maunsell, was a Scoutmaster in the area and an advocate for the international Scouting movement over its largely ousted indigenous variant. Local people were assured of the respectability and standing of the new organisation, both within New Zealand and globally. In the Manawatu and Rangitikei regions, Miss Charlotte Warburton undertook a similar challenge, travelling throughout the area recruiting and establishing new companies of Girl Guides. Like Mrs Moncrieff in Nelson, she had the means, energy and motivation to take on this kind of work, and became the first District Commissioner.<sup>111</sup> They also shared an enthusiasm for nature and the outdoors, and saw this as an important aspect of the Girl Guides programme. Dawber suggests that, given her founding membership of the Nelson Bush and Bird Protection Society, ‘perhaps Perrine [Moncrieff] was won over by the Richmond Girl Peace Scouts, who were formed into Morepork, Pigeon and Kiwi Patrols’.<sup>112</sup> As the changeover from GPS to Girl Guides occurred, the Richmond girls and others were compelled to leave behind such distinctly New Zealand nomenclature in favour of British flora and fauna. Moreporks became Robins or Nightingales, and Kowhai and Rata Patrols gave way to Roses and Daisies.

Even in Canterbury, the foundational stronghold of Girl Peace Scouting, influential women leaders were making the ideological move towards Girl Guiding. The Cracroft Wilson family had strong connections with Cossgrove’s GPS movement, yet by May 1924 (only eight months after Auckland had established the official seat of Girl Guiding in New Zealand) there was a local Girl Guide Association in the city with their support.<sup>113</sup> Some leaders were active in both movements, working to bring them together. Cecilia O’Rorke, who had become a Guide whilst at school in England, returned home in 1919 with Lady Baden-Powell’s instructions on how to accomplish this. Using a polo

---

<sup>111</sup> While Charlotte Warburton had the advantage of an English public school education, her father opposed women working, and it was not until his death in 1922 that she was able to take on public roles – which she did in many directions throughout her life in Palmerston North. Weir, Margaret. ‘Warburton, Charlotte Eliot 1883 - 1961’. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>; Miss Warburton’s diaries detail her extensive efforts to form new, and support existing, Guiding groups in this period. Manawatu Province, Girl Guides records.

<sup>112</sup> Dawber (2002), p.14. See, also, Jennifer Hodge, ‘Nature’s trustee: Perrine ‘Moncrieff and nature conservation in New Zealand 1920-1950’, PhD thesis, Massey University, 1999.

<sup>113</sup> McCurdy, p.6.

analogy, where a player may ride alongside (rather than straight at) another in order to eventually nudge him away from the ball, Cecilia was told that, ‘The Chief suggests you should play polo with the peace scouts.’<sup>114</sup> After Lieutenant-Colonel Cossgrove’s death in 1920, and the Boy Scout Association’s routing of the next generation of Cossgroves, the strong independent vision of Girl Peace Scouts as a distinctly New Zealand movement with an affiliation to the Baden-Powell-led British movements waned. Having been frustrated by Cossgrove’s intransigence in the past, Olave Baden-Powell now saw the chance to claim New Zealand for Guiding – and Guiding as approved by Imperial Headquarters. The superior resources and infrastructure of the Girl Guides Association made it well-placed to effect the change, and while some groups regretted it they saw that resistance was futile. In 1925 the Girl Peace Scout Association was officially dissolved, and New Zealand girls became part of the expanding Guiding and Scouting world.

### **Interwar developments – occupying and expanding a niche in youth affairs**

#### **Imperial and global connections**

Both Scouting and Guiding in the interwar period were internationally focused, and the spread of both movements throughout the Empire and beyond was aided by Lord and Lady Baden-Powell’s well-publicised tours. For the Boy Scouts Association this international brotherhood focus provided an opportunity to transcend - and divert attention from - lingering accusations, and public perceptions, of direct military connections. This was also true for the New Zealand Scouting movement. In 1924 the Governor-General, Lord Jellicoe, suggested to the Dominion Commissioner that, as a counter to such perceptions, the Boy Scouts Association publicize the International Organisation of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides’ advisory role in the League of Nations committee on Child Welfare.<sup>115</sup> Dame Katharine Furse, who represented the movements at the League, had moved from wartime service

---

<sup>114</sup> Dawber (2008), p.32.

<sup>115</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, file #99-189-18/3, Historical Records 1910-1923, 1956-1957.

with the VAD, WRNS and Red Cross, to embodying their wider post-war imperial and international focus. By this time, Scouting and Guiding had sufficient international membership and influence to warrant inclusion, and their often-stated emphasis on citizenship training as the way to prevent further conflicts was in line with League objectives. At a local level such international associations also worked to further legitimize the movements for parents and supporters.

Links and travel between Britain and New Zealand fostered developments in training for Guiders and Scouters in the inter-war period. Annual reports refer to international meetings and jamborees where leaders from far-flung countries gathered to learn new skills in an environment of trans-national cooperation, and to have reiterated to them the movements' rhetoric of service and citizenship. Chief Commissioner Lucinda Wilson, reporting on the 1925 Stanwick Girl Guides Conference, quoted from Lady Baden-Powell's opening address: 'No man goeth on a more godly errand than he who careth for his own and other men's children.' Mrs Wilson's annual report continued,

Each of us who have shouldered the responsibility of Girl Guiding realise to the full the truth of this quotation and we further feel that we could not render better service to the Dominion than seek to develop our girls along these solid useful lines, fitting them to take their place in the future as useful, wise citizens, wide awake to their responsibilities and powers for good.<sup>116</sup>

Providing the best citizenship training for Scouts and Guides meant selecting the right people to lead troops and patrols, provinces and the national administrations. In New Zealand the Girl Guides Association had the good fortune to have energetic, strong and stable leadership in the interwar period, with only two Chief Commissioners (Lucinda Wilson and Ruth Herrick), and little evidence of internal arguments. For the Boy Scouts Association, however, leadership and administration styles were more contested, and sometimes fractious. After the Cossgrove rout of the early 1920s, executive councils headed by Dominion Chief Commissioners (DCCs) Andrew and Fenwick operated at a remove from the local organisations, which did not always feel

---

<sup>116</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2.

supported in their Scouting.<sup>117</sup> Culliford, in his history of the first 50 years of New Zealand Scouting, wrote that ‘the rank and file of Scouts and Scoutmasters had no say in the policy decisions of Headquarters and the Dominion Council; and many of the Dominion Council itself had never worn a Scout uniform.’ The future strength of the movement lay in those who lived and taught Scouting, he argued, ‘and during a period when the control of the movement...[fell] into more and more inept hands, it was from the ranks of the Scoutmasters themselves that the movement was saved.’<sup>118</sup> The pattern of establishment committees made up of socially prominent and influential older people that had initially aided, then dogged, British Scouting and frustrated Baden-Powell seemed to have its parallel in New Zealand, where direct knowledge of local Scouting necessary to develop the movement was lacking at national level. Added to this were Baden-Powell’s regular exhortations to Scout administrators and leaders concerning the ‘spirit versus the form’ of Scouting, and the importance of being an active Scout rather than a pedantic bureaucrat.<sup>119</sup> This position was entirely consistent with his endorsement of active citizenship.

With Hector Christie’s accession to the Dominion Chief Commissioner role at a special general meeting in 1937 the New Zealand Scouting movement once again had the impetus of a hands-on leader, in touch with the needs and concerns of local scouters. Reforms first suggested by Baden-Powell on visits in 1931 and 1935 had bluntly stated the need to replace ‘a Committee of gentlemen unacquainted with the details of Scouting’ with ‘expert head[s] for each of the different departments in our organisation’.<sup>120</sup> Baden-Powell, the master publicist, also argued for stronger communication channels to aid potential growth and support: internally through a Scouting magazine or bulletin; with the Girl Guides organisation, as part of a complementary and allied movement; and with government departments. Christie’s new administration, having weeded out some older executive committee members and replaced them with younger, experienced Scouters, introduced the reforms and put the movement on a firmer foundation for growth. Leaders like Nancy Wilson (Dominion

---

<sup>117</sup> Andrew was DCC from 1923-1929, although he acted in the position earlier; Fenwick from 1929-1937.

<sup>118</sup> Culliford, p.82.

<sup>119</sup> See *B-P’s Outlook*, pp.94 -95, 98-99.

<sup>120</sup> Culliford, p.88.

Commissioner for Wolf Cubs) and the Training section ably led by Major Sandford and J.R.H. Cooksey ('Little John') invigorated local districts where earlier reports indicated that they had 'suffered through lack of outside encouragement' to the extent that 'the movement is at rather a low ebb.'<sup>121</sup> Headquarters staff travelled extensively throughout the country seeding and supporting groups, and the earlier membership decline reversed.<sup>122</sup>

Guiding also prioritised training for adult leaders. The benefits of belonging to an international movement included opportunities for some leaders to attend training camps in England, and to attend camps held by British-trained Guiders in New Zealand.<sup>123</sup> Once Guiders had graduated from these, they could train others and establish a training programme throughout the country. One such recipient and promulgator was Mona Burgin, a schoolteacher from Auckland, who received training diplomas in New Zealand and England and became the Dominion Commissioner for Training in 1932.<sup>124</sup> Miss Burgin began her involvement with Girl Peace Scouts in 1921 and remained active in various Guiding training and advisory roles until the mid-1960s.<sup>125</sup>

Miss Burgin, and other ex-Girl Peace Scout leaders who often had considerable experience in leading camps, were also required to pass camping tests as Guiders and trainers in order to comply with the British system of programme administration.<sup>126</sup> Protocol satisfied, both leaders and girls generally enjoyed camping, and Guiding histories record the development of a culture of camps and outdoor education. Annual reports recorded increases in camping, even in the face of less than ideal camping conditions: 'The weather in most provinces was agin us, and some camps experienced every variation of it

---

<sup>121</sup> Culliford, p.98.

<sup>122</sup> In 1937, when DCC Christie took over, membership (including cubs, scouts and adult leaders) stood at 11090. The following year it was 12440, and within five years had reached just under 18000. Census table from Culliford, p.101.

<sup>123</sup> The first Dominion Training Camp was held in 1926, at Levin, and was led by Miss Alice Behrens, the Guider-in-Charge of Foxlease (the Guides' English rural training camp property).

<sup>124</sup> Marie Iles, *65 Years of Guiding in New Zealand*, Christchurch: GGANZ, 1976, p.13.

<sup>125</sup> Judith Bright. 'Burgin, Annie Mona 1903 - 1985'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007.

URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

<sup>126</sup> See Chapter Six for a more detailed discussion of Scout and Guide camping.

from blizzards to earthquakes.’<sup>127</sup> Some previously inexperienced girls learned as they went: a Tauranga company’s first camp in a farm paddock in 1925 went well despite the girls reversing the dimensions given for digging the latrine, resulting in a pit 2 feet deep and 4 feet wide.<sup>128</sup> Camping stories lingered well past the camps themselves, especially those involving weather, camp food and accidents - pity the unfortunate Huia Guides bitten by weasels whilst sleeping.<sup>129</sup> Such incidents, although not necessarily pleasant at the time, gave girls a taste of (and sometimes for) ‘roughing it’ in ways that weekly company nights could not. This built upon the concept of Girl Guides as capable of handling whatever came their way with equanimity, and was considered part of their Guiding education for active citizenship.

Camping was not uniform in its application or availability. Groups who had transport and connections with affluent landowners had different experiences from those less well-off town dwellers for whom parks and reserves within walking distance provided affordable and accessible space. However camping was manifested, both movements encouraged it as an integral part of Baden-Powell’s vision for growing good citizens. While small camps built up woodcraft knowledge and camaraderie within troops and patrols, large provincial or Dominion camps came of age in this period. The Scouts held their first Dominion Jamboree in Dunedin in 1926 with over 1000 attending, and special trains subsidised by the government to transport them. The Guides followed with a Dominion Camp at Trentham in 1930. Public displays of Scouting and Guiding in action, well-organised and teeming with productive pursuits, provided publicity for both movements at a time when they were striving to expand their membership. Newspaper coverage of camps was positive, and regular columns like ‘Scout Notes’ in the *Evening Post* provided practical camping information as well as reports from individual groups.<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2. Annual Report, 1931, p.11.

<sup>128</sup> Phyllis Santon and Thelma Reid (compilers), *Bay of Plenty Girl Guides, 1923-1979*, Whakatane: Whakatane & District Historical Society Monograph, 1984, p.34.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> *Evening Post*, 14 January 1931, p.17. The ‘Scout Notes’ column in this edition had reports of camps by various Wellington scout groups at Silverstream, Paekakariki, Ohariu and Otaki.

Demarcations between Scouting and Guiding had been officially imposed from the beginnings of both movements in New Zealand, in response to some public misgivings about the appropriateness of mixed-gender outings and activities. While groups in sparsely populated areas saw sense in combining some activities, especially where siblings were members, the GPS/Girl Guides and Boy Scouts administrations codified the separation (although they sometimes appeared in joint parades for special occasions). The Boy Scouts 1920 'Policy, Organisation and Rules' (POR) stated that while 'the Council is in sympathy with the objects of the Girl Peace Scouts...all Commissioners and Scoutmasters [should be aware] that the Girl Peace Scouts are an entirely separate organisation, under separate management, and it is most undesirable that Boy Scouts and Girl Peace Scouts should be trained together'.<sup>131</sup> While the movements shared a founder and strong links to their British headquarters, they developed as distinct organisations.

Part of the challenge of building upon early growth, especially for the Guides who had started in New Zealand as Girl Peace Scouts, was to establish and maintain a niche in the leisure market for young New Zealanders. The outdoor education emphasis at the core of both Scouting and Guiding was in danger of becoming less distinctively recognised as other educational and youth organisations developed physical aspects of curricula and programmes. The YMCA in this period put more resources into developing outdoor education for its 'boys' work' and developed a number of permanent campgrounds. Boys' Brigades also took their members camping.<sup>132</sup> While others girls' leisure groups were less focused on camping and bushcraft, Guides leaders reiterated the importance of maintaining the camping programme as a central part of New Zealand Guiding. The Chief Commissioner, Ruth Herrick, noting the 'regrettable' drop in membership in her 1936 Annual Report summary, attributed this in part to the worldwide depression, the 'perennial shortage' of Guiders, and the standards the movement required of them. But tellingly, she also argued that

---

<sup>131</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-18/1, 'The Dominion Boy Scout Association. Policy Organisation and Rules – July 1920'.

<sup>132</sup> See William T Garlick and Malvern E Lloyd, *Guyrope Gossip. The story of Boys' Brigade Camping in Canterbury, 1936-2004*, Christchurch: The Sure and Stedfast Trust, 2004.

...if we are to keep this Movement something which has vitality, a game or hobby which can appeal to the children of this country, we must grow with the present-day demands and keep abreast of the times.

We have to remember that more and more do we find school activities overlapping Guide work, and no intelligent girl wants to go to her Guide company and play the same games or sing the same songs as she has done in school.

It would seem that we must endeavour to bring more of the adventure side into our Guiding, and stress the Chief Scout's ideas on the importance of the out-of-doors, outside meetings, hikes and camping.<sup>133</sup>

In the important work of growing young New Zealand citizens the Girl Guides Association saw its role as complementary to that of others involved in the field, and especially to the formal educative role performed by the state. While state



**Figure 7: Wairarapa Girl Guides, late 1920s**

Although Guiding supplanted GPS in the 1920s and became subject to British standards, Girl Guides were still 'modern' New Zealand girls, with ready access to, and enthusiasm for, camping and outdoor recreation. In this photograph Nancy Carlyon (far right) and her fellow Guides appear at home in this environment.

Image: Courtesy of Wairarapa Archive, File Reference: 10-151/3-33. Creator unknown.

education had increased the amount and range of physical education within the curriculum - especially in girls' education – there was still a market niche for providing alternative leisure pursuits unavailable at school. Yet both movements were also aware of the competing time demands of school, work

<sup>133</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2, 1936 Girl Guides Annual Report, p.4.

and regular pack or company meetings. For the Scouts there was the concern that boys were becoming more used to being 'entertained' instead of adventuring on their own behalf, as had the roaming 'wild child' of earlier generations. This was attributed to the 'extensive amusement provided for young people', particularly in cities.<sup>134</sup> 'Today we find our outdoor Saturday expeditions and weekend camps clashing repeatedly with school team games and our week night meetings struggling to squeeze in an hour or two between homework lessons.' In the case of patrol leaders, the extra responsibilities of leadership sometimes conflicted with homework and night classes '...which today appear so vital to the boy of fifteen if he is to start out on a successful career...'<sup>135</sup> All the more important that the programme being offered to boys was stimulating and interesting enough to make their commitment to Scouting worthwhile. More training for adult leaders in both troop night programmes and camping leadership resulted, reinforcing Baden-Powell's contention that good leaders were trained in order to provide good programmes.

Camping filled two important functions for Scouting and Guiding in this and other periods: firstly, it captured and engaged those who participated in it, with the intended result that they would benefit from the practical lessons and character development to which it was explicitly linked; and secondly, it publicly displayed the best of what Scouting and Guiding had to offer to young members. Anticipated benefits flowing from positive public feedback ranged from the immediate to the more abstract. In the short term, greater willingness for parents to allow their children to join, and to perhaps join in themselves as adult volunteers would swell membership; while official approval from local and national government bodies for the valuable part the movements were playing in raising young citizens, may be followed by favourable responses to requests for grants or land for building dens and campsites. Even for those not directly able or willing to offer their children, time or money to the movements, widespread public recognition of Scouting and Guiding within the community resulted in greater influence as participants in youth work. Visitors' days at local camps were reported in newspapers' 'Scout Notes' columns, and larger

---

<sup>134</sup> Culliford, p.97.

<sup>135</sup> Culliford, p.97.

rallies of Scouts and Guides often brought public audiences to watch organised ‘entertainments’ that displayed acquired skills.<sup>136</sup> Where these were combined with visiting dignitaries, public attention was almost guaranteed. Lord and Lady Baden-Powell’s visit to New Zealand in 1931 included large rallies in the main centres. The *Evening Post* of 2 March 1931 recorded ‘a huge muster’ of over 5000 Cubs, Brownies, Scouts and Guides to greet the Chief Scout and Chief Guide at the Basin Reserve, with standing room only for many of the public audience at the ground.<sup>137</sup>

While the Scouts and Guides organisations were capable of marshalling their members into public performances, they were still subject to forces beyond their control. Extraordinary international events like the 1930s economic depression affected their ability to maintain and develop membership numbers, as more families struggled to afford ‘extras’ like membership fees and uniforms for their children. Scouts and Guides helped local charitable relief fundraising committees by collecting and distributing supplies.



**Figure 8:** These Christchurch Boy Scouts marched in a parade through the city centre for the 1932 ‘New Zealand Shopping Week’. The campaign aimed to boost local production and employment through following the precept spelled out on the letters, and the Scouts’ involvement indicated their community service ethos. Such appearances also provided the movement with valuable publicity.

Image courtesy of Christchurch City Libraries, File Reference: CCL PhotoCD 6, IMG0012. *The Press*, 6 April 1932, p.16.

New Zealand was represented at international jamborees by increasing numbers of Scouts, but the length of journeys due to New Zealand’s geographical isolation and their cost made this kind of experience unattainable

<sup>136</sup> See for example, the account of the St James and Lyall Bay troops combined camp at Mr Synott’s farm at Otaki in January 1931, *Evening Post*, 14 January 1931, p.17.

<sup>137</sup> *Evening Post*, 2 March 1931, p.7.

for most.<sup>138</sup> Recurrent outbreaks of poliomyelitis throughout the inter-war period also imposed limits on Scout and Guide programmes, as public health regulations and parental concerns about public gatherings restricted weekly activities and camping. Newspapers carried updates on Health Department notifications of cases, school closure dates and warnings about assemblies of children for recreational purposes.<sup>139</sup> Larger-scale camping was particularly affected, as it was usually carried out in the summer months when the risk of contagion was at its peak.

### **Inclusion and Outreach<sup>140</sup>**

Children affected by temporary or permanent physical incapacity were still able to be Brownies or Guides, Cubs or Scouts, in what was initially the 'Post' section.<sup>141</sup> The Girl Guides section had its own Commissioner, Standard and motto – 'Fight On' – and carried out many standard Guiding activities, adapting others to suit the abilities of members in their own homes, hospitals or institutions. Although the girls were not able to perform 'good turns' in the same way as their able-bodied sisters, they were still encouraged to 'look wide' and consider ways in which they could show their citizenship through community work. The 1<sup>st</sup> (Wellington) Blind Post Ranger Company began in 1931, led by a blind Guider, Miss Q. Roussel. Wishing her girls to have the same exposure to Guiding as everyone else, she liaised with the Braille Club to have the Guides' monthly newsletter translated into Braille.<sup>142</sup> The Crippled Children's Society (CCS) was established in 1935, and received ongoing

---

<sup>138</sup> Two Scouters and nine Scouts represented New Zealand at the Wembley jamboree in 1924. Culliford, p.63. In the 1930s closer Australian jamborees resulted in larger contingents – '241 in 1935 (*Evening Post*, 18 December 1934, p.16), and 600 in 1938-39' (*Evening Post*, 27 December 1938, p.11.)

<sup>139</sup> For example, *Evening Post*, 7 May 1937, p.11 'Warning against Crowds'.

<sup>140</sup> The sections and branches referred to here will be covered in more depth in the 'Outreach' chapter.

<sup>141</sup> The Scouts initially involved Cubs and Scouts with physical disabilities in the 'Lone Scout' scheme, alongside boys who were geographically isolated from involvement with packs and troops. By the end of the war, there was a separate Handicapped Scouts department.

<sup>142</sup> Iles (1976), p.17. The Braille Club worked with other social service agencies to improve access to written material for blind New Zealanders. See also newspaper reports on the work of the club e.g. *Evening Post*, 24 August 1933, p.15.

financial support from public and governmental sources.<sup>143</sup> Awareness of, and support for, these children's ongoing needs dovetailed with the Guides and Scouts movements' determination to extend membership to all who were interested. Alongside (and initially combined with) the Post section, the 'Lones' catered for boys and girls who lived in isolated parts of the country without access to conventional packs and troops.<sup>144</sup> Despite their distance, members could consider themselves part of the national – and international – family of Scouts and Guides, by wearing uniforms and completing badge work, as part of groups who communicated by post 'round-robin' circulars. In a precursor to contemporary online communities, Lone Scouting and Guiding provided membership of virtual groups, communicating by post and occasional residential camps.

Adapting the programme to meet potential members' cultural or religious requirements also allowed them to become part of the Guiding and Scouting families. Baden-Powell's insistence upon a non-denominational spiritual base for Scouting and Guiding meant that companies and troops could develop from existing affiliations. In this period many church-based groups formed, including high-church Anglican, Protestant non-conformist churches, and Catholic and Jewish groups. Jewish Guide companies formed in Auckland and Wellington in 1929.<sup>145</sup> Polish refugee children brought their Scouting and Guiding traditions with them to the Pahiataua refugee camp in the 1940s, where this small continuation of their previous European childhoods helped them adapt to much that was new. Distinctive self-identity could thus provide a basis for groups, and this was also true for Maori Scout and Guide groups. A number of these existed throughout New Zealand in this period, often linked with local marae, and led by people committed to community work. Maori deaconesses also played a role in running Scouts and Guides groups in their pastoral care

---

<sup>143</sup> See Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare. Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007, pp.100-101, for more information on the CCS's establishment and support base.

<sup>144</sup> 'Lones' will be discussed in greater detail in the Outreach chapter.

<sup>145</sup> Dawber (2008), p.57. The Union of Jewish Women was established the same year, and had branches in the four main centres. There were also Jewish ('Judean') Boys Scouts groups.

areas.<sup>146</sup> In Scouting too, there were some Maori troops, and official recognition of the importance of teaching and understanding Maori handicrafts<sup>147</sup>. Extending Scouting and Guiding across boundaries of religion, physical health and ethnicity reflected both the movements' desire to include as many potential members as possible, but also a reciprocal wish to be involved by members of these groups, who saw benefits for their children in Scouting and Guiding.

### **Official and public sources of financial support and/or political endorsement**

Official and public acceptance of, and support for, the principles of Scouting and Guiding was also important and this form of 'opting in' had potential financial benefits. Like many other voluntary organisations, Scouting and Guiding in the inter-war period enjoyed varying levels of state and local government support, as the level of available public funds fluctuated. Politicians publicly endorsed their work and, when funds permitted, supported it through grants for development and travel expenses.<sup>148</sup> Cultivating cordial relationships with Ministers of Internal Affairs and senior public servant staff was worthwhile in terms of income and influence.<sup>149</sup> Both movements also received annual grants from regional trusts, including the T. G. McCarthy Trust. This regional trust, with a youth education and welfare emphasis, provided both Scouts and Guides associations with grants in the inter-war period, although the Scouts received significantly higher levels of financial support.<sup>150</sup>

---

<sup>146</sup> *Waiapu Church Gazette*, 1 August 1921, reports the farewell of the Deaconess who had been responsible for both Scouts and Girl Peace Scout groups connected to the parish.

<sup>147</sup> For example, *Evening Post*, 12 February 1930, p.16, refers to the Porirua Maori Troop, under the leadership of Scoutmaster Elder Benson; there was also a Maori troop at Ohinemutu as early as 1911. [www.scouts.org.nz/ABOUTUS/OurHistory.aspx](http://www.scouts.org.nz/ABOUTUS/OurHistory.aspx), accessed 10 November 2010.

<sup>148</sup> The Dominion Exhibition Jamboree, in Dunedin, in 1926 – New Zealand's first – received travel funding of £2000 to subsidize travel for participants throughout the country. (Culliford, p.66) In addition national Scout and Guide leaders were eligible for subsidies on rail travel, although these ceased at the depth of the depression.

<sup>149</sup> This is covered in more detail in the Organisational History chapter, Funding section.

<sup>150</sup> Newspaper reports of the trust's annual disbursements repeatedly show grants for the Boy Scouts at double the rate for the Girl Guides: *Evening Post*, 29 July 1929, p. 7, detailed grants allocated to charitable groups since the trust's inception, including £1175 for Scouts and £275 for Guides. Although this reflects, in part, the older boys' organisation and the applications made over time the pattern persists in the pre WW2 era.

The 1937 Physical Welfare and Recreation Act, which closely followed similar legislation in the British parliament, aimed to provide a national and local framework for the provision of sporting and recreational facilities for New Zealanders by empowering local authorities to finance their communities' recreational requirements.<sup>151</sup> It was another step in legislating for public health education programmes, as had been apparent with earlier children's physical education school curriculum changes. Increased leisure hours as the result of decreased working hours were considered a potential threat to the nation's physical health and wellbeing if not used constructively, although some sporting organisations baulked at the idea of political interference in what was a voluntary sphere. W. E. (Bill) Parry, the Minister of Internal Affairs, had a strong personal interest in nutrition and physical fitness, and enthusiastically championed the bill. Ministry of Internal Affairs Permanent Undersecretary Joe Heenan, who held multiple voluntary sports organisation administration roles, supported him in its enactment.<sup>152</sup> While much of the focus was on negotiating with sporting bodies, the Minister acknowledged the part other voluntary organisations played in promoting healthy lifestyles and recreation. In this group he noted the 'very important' role of youth organisations like the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, YMCA/YWCA, Boys' Institutes and tramping clubs.<sup>153</sup> While legislation aimed to channel idle New Zealanders' leisure time to good and healthy effect some groups, including Scouting and Guiding, were already engaged with the ideals and practice therein.

## **Conclusion:**

By the end of the 1930s both movements were, after setbacks brought about by internal dysfunction or lack of funds and external nationwide events, on a firm footing in terms of their public profiles, membership numbers and internal infrastructures. Within thirty years of their establishment in 1908,

---

<sup>151</sup> See Charlotte Macdonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern. National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada 1935-1960*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2011.

<sup>152</sup> Barrowman, Rachel. 'Heenan, Joseph William Allan 1888 - 1951'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007

URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>; Gustafson, Barry. 'Parry, William Edward 1878 - 1952'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007

URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> .

<sup>153</sup> *Evening Post*, 'Sport and Recreation', 17 August 1937, p.10.

Scouting and Guiding had carved out niches for themselves within the expanding youth organisation 'market'. Early Scouting in New Zealand built upon Baden-Powell's stature as a hero of the empire, and the New Zealand public's subsequent reactivity to the movement he founded. Yet this was not, at the beginning, a direct transplant of British Scouting to a far-flung Dominion. In David Cossgrove, New Zealand Scouting and Girl Peace Scouting found a leader whose sensibilities were nationalist as well as imperial. New Zealand boys and girls joined the new movements for outdoor adventures and physical challenges as much as for citizenship training; and the New Zealand environment, both physical and cultural, seemed to provide a good fit. Scouting and GPS spread throughout the country, and were impeded most by lack of human and financial resources. However, by the early 1920s both Scouting and Girl Peace Scouting had been re-gathered into the increasingly international imperial Scouting and Guiding fold. Girl Guides 'rode alongside' GPS to the extent that by 1925 they had completely subsumed the indigenous movement, while Scouting moved into a post-Cossgrove era that closely followed the British model.

Scouts and Guides found ways to serve their communities, in wartime and in the influenza pandemic that immediately followed. In doing so they gained further public approval as youth organisations, and became the dominant uniformed organisations for both boys and girls in the inter-war period. Their public visibility, whether involved in Scouting and Guiding activities like rallies or camps, or in everyday or organised displays of active citizenship, aided the movements' growth and their subsequent ability to engage with the state. So too did their outreach, as they sought to extend Scouting and Guiding to young New Zealanders whose geographical or physical isolation made mainstream involvement difficult. By the late 1930s New Zealand Scouting and Guiding were well established and poised to once again take their place as active citizens in both wartime and the peace to follow.



## **CHAPTER THREE: ORGANISATIONAL HISTORIES**

### **Introduction:**

The Scouting and Guiding movements faced a series of organisational and infrastructural challenges throughout the twentieth century, relating to limitations on membership and resources at some times and unprecedented growth at others. As voluntary organisations dependent upon the goodwill and support of members, funders and the general public, they were constantly faced with adapting their administration and infrastructure to meet these fluctuations. This chapter will consider three key organisational elements of New Zealand Scouting and Guiding – membership, funding and infrastructure – and the importance of each to the promulgation and delivery of the movements’ ideals and goals. While the ideological goals of developing active young citizens through the movements’ programmes and public service were at the fore, maintaining organisational support was crucial to enable the movements to deliver this goal.

Although each of the three elements considered here had a distinct function, there was a high level of interconnectedness between them and changes to any of them affected the ability of the others to perform effectively. Maintaining good levels of funding – often the *bête noire* of voluntary organisations – was essential for the movements’ development. In the first decades of New Zealand Scouting and Guiding, establishing and developing relationships with public and private donors had provided funds for training leaders and ‘seeding’ the movements throughout the country. As membership grew, funds were used for infrastructure development. Higher membership in the post-war period, when there was a high percentage of children and young people in the population, allowed the movements to maximise their availability to potential recruits – and more members meant more opportunity to instil key Scouting and Guiding values and skills. Infrastructure played an important part in supporting this process by

providing the physical spaces in which the programme could best be delivered; and with which many members developed strong ties. The ‘trick’ to effective administration in this period was constant adaptation to changing circumstances, whilst keeping all of these organisational balls in the air at the same time. This was sometimes achieved very well, and at other times proved a challenge. As those who have read voluntary organisations’ reports will be aware, funding, membership and infrastructure are not always the most dynamic sections, but their effective management and governance are essential for their parent bodies to thrive. Throughout their histories, New Zealand Scouting and Guiding have experienced periods of dynamic growth and concerning decline, with fluctuations in membership and finances. Their organisational abilities to steer the movements through such times have played a large role in determining the extent to which they could disseminate their central values to young members.

## **SECTION 1: MEMBERSHIP**

### **Pre-war patterns and the template for post-war growth:**

To put into context later membership patterns it is pertinent to summarize the corresponding pre-war environment discussed in the previous chapter. Steady, if unspectacular, growth in membership from both movements’ beginnings in 1908 until the 1930s depression period was followed by restrictions that came from both outside events and internal constraints. Class and gender were both factors in accessibility to, and affordability of, Scouting and Guiding in hard times. The relative stability of membership in both movements throughout the 1930s depression may indicate that the bulk of their members came from middle class families who were more able to maintain leisure affiliations throughout the period. Poorer families were often forced to curtail their children’s access to these activities in the 1930s, although compared to the costs associated with belonging to sporting teams Scouting and Guiding were relatively inexpensive. They required little equipment, although the regular meeting costs (commonly between 1d. and

3d., depending on the group) sometimes proved prohibitive. For struggling families who had both boys and girls active in the movements, it could come down to a choice:

A leader who took both brownie and cub groups noticed that the small boys from the poorer areas still came, even though their parents were mainly unemployed. However, parents could not afford a penny for the little girls as well. As a result, there were no brownie packs in the whole South Dunedin area. Instead girls from ‘families who were more privileged’ came to her Caversham company from the hill suburbs.<sup>1</sup>

Knox Church Scout Group had a flourishing membership at this time on ‘the flat’ in North Dunedin, with boys mostly from the poorer flat and a few from the more prosperous hill suburbs.<sup>2</sup> It has also been argued that in an economic environment in which women’s wages were substantially lower than men’s, young working women (and those who worked in the home) could still be Guides or Rangers ‘whatever their circumstances’ with the help of local support committees: ‘A uniform was ideal but not essential, each girl contributed what she could and their activities were tailored to their circumstances.’<sup>3</sup> Although the movements tried to pare down and subsidize participation costs, working on the principle that it was more beneficial and important for members to stay involved than to leave through financial hardship, some families still found membership unaffordable.

For those boys, girls and leaders still active in Scouting and Guiding, the visit of Lord and Lady Baden-Powell in 1931 was a highly anticipated and discussed event. Their New Zealand visits,<sup>4</sup> usually part of an extensive

---

<sup>1</sup> Cox, p.77.

<sup>2</sup> Knox started a Cub Pack in 1932, with 28 boys. By 1937, when Les Carrick joined, there were four ‘sixes’, of which he recalled that all but three came from the flat. Alan McRobie, *These are the Times... A History of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dunedin (Knox Church) Scout Group*, Dunedin: The Group Historical Committee, 2000, p.103 and p.105.

<sup>3</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.58. Economic hardship in working class areas at this time affected the movements’ members in other countries too, with similar efforts made to share or subsidize uniforms in order to facilitate membership. See Julia Messner, “Good, Upright Young Citizens?” Lived Experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia’, M.A. thesis, University of Technology, Sydney, 2004, Appendix B, Table 7; Tammy M. Proctor, ‘(Uni)forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39’, *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 45, 1998, pp.108-109, 113.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Baden-Powell first visited New Zealand in 1912. He visited again with Lady Baden-Powell in 1931 and finally in 1935. After Baden-Powell’s death in 1941 (and the end of World War II), Lady Baden-Powell made another two visits in 1948 and 1967.

international itinerary, tended to reinvigorate the movements. Official endorsement in the form of government and local body receptions helped, as did frequent and detailed media reports of their activities and speeches throughout the Dominion.<sup>5</sup> At a rally at Carisbrook, Dunedin, an estimated 2000 Scouts and Guides listened to Lord Baden-Powell link Scouts' and Guides' previous emergency efforts in wartime with the current national emergency and voice his belief in their ability to contribute once again. Numbers in Otago Scout groups subsequently rose after this local visit, while the national Boy Scouts Association annual census for 1931 showed 'a remarkable increase' of 1797 Scouts and Scouters, compared with the previous year's slight increase of 296 throughout the Dominion.<sup>6</sup> Jack Walsh, who joined the St Aidans Scout Troop in Invercargill in the late 1920s, attended the Carisbrook rally along with many other Southland Scouts, but recalled that as the depression worsened, numbers in his troop fell sharply: 'It must have been around 1935-36 that the St Aidan's Scout troop folded up completely. Many of the boys were out of work and had to leave Invercargill and look for work elsewhere.' The boys' age and participation in the paid workforce meant that they were more mobile than younger school-aged members, and therefore groups found it harder to sustain membership numbers in some areas. From the remnants of troops church leaders made up a boys' and youth club. 'Then in 1936 with the first Labour Government in office and its policies really working, numbers of [ex-Scouts] who had been in the movement...found work once again in Invercargill and joined or rejoined these...clubs.'<sup>7</sup> With the outbreak of war, he noted that the clubs once again fell away as their members were now young men of armed services age. This same pattern could be observed in other Scout and Rover units throughout the country: 1<sup>st</sup> Mt Albert Scout Group recorded the disbanding of its Rover crew in 1934; its re-establishment and progress in 1941 'despite the disorganisation caused by members [going] into military camp'. Their numbers fluctuated throughout the

---

<sup>5</sup> Wellington's *Evening Post* had in excess of fifty references to the Baden-Powells for the twenty two days of their New Zealand tour, in the form of articles, photographs, travel advisories, advertisements and vignettes. See [www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz](http://www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz).

<sup>6</sup> Sinclair Jones, *Scouting in Otago. A Centennial History, 1908-2007*, Dunedin: Scouting Otago, 2007, p.49; *Evening Post*, 19 November 1930, p.13; 18 November 1931.

<sup>7</sup> Graeme Swale, *The History of Scouting in Southland*, Invercargill: Southland Scout Association, 1988, p.121.

war and only picked up again as Rovers were demobbed.<sup>8</sup> Scouting groups were particularly susceptible to major external events like depression and war, as both their young members and adult leaders were more likely than their female counterparts to move away from existing groups as a result of employment or armed services involvement.

Another significant challenge to increasing membership in this period was insufficient administrative infrastructure to support existing groups, and to encourage the development of new leadership and groups. This was particularly true for the Boy Scouts Association. The Girl Guides organisation benefited from stable and relatively cohesive leadership, under which a workable and generally harmonious hierarchy of districts and provinces developed, and from which membership growth could occur. In comparison, the Boy Scouts national executive was frequently at loggerheads with those working in districts and provinces. The Dunedin Scout Association had fought Dominion Headquarters' dismissal, and later scepticism, of their capability to host an inaugural national jamboree in 1926 after previous efforts had not come to fruition. When it was hailed a resounding success in terms of organisation, financial outcome, numbers attending and good publicity for the movement, Dominion Headquarters tried to claim the success as their own. Such dysfunctionality continued to hamper Scouting's development, even though membership increased, and 'year by year the divergence between the districts and the central headquarters [became] greater'.<sup>9</sup> Hector Christie's appointment as Dominion Chief Commissioner in 1937 marked a turnaround in the operations of the association. Better communication and more confidence in the executive resulted in reversing the declining membership trend of the preceding few years. The high point of Scouting's New Zealand membership - 14213 reached in 1933 - had declined to 11051 in 1937, but recovered by 1939 when

---

<sup>8</sup> Selwyn. M Paine, *1<sup>st</sup> Mt. Albert-St. Jude's Scout Group, 1926-2001: a brief history of 1<sup>st</sup> Mt. Albert Scout Group, St. Jude's Scout Group and the new group they became by merger in 1963*, Auckland: 1<sup>st</sup> Mt. Albert-St. Jude's Scout Group, 2001, pp.25-36 (committee minutes extracts for this period).

<sup>9</sup> Culliford, p.72. Culliford's history of the first fifty years of New Zealand Scouting devotes a complete chapter to the 1926 Jamboree held in Dunedin.

there were 14657 uniformed members.<sup>10</sup> From this point on the Scouting movement recorded membership increases each year until the end of the war, when there were just fewer than 20000 uniformed members.<sup>11</sup> An effective administrative foundation at this time proved to be important for future growth, particularly given lack of manpower during World War II, and subsequent rapid growth afterwards.

Manpower in Scouting also included womanpower, usually in Cub leadership. Although groups in other centres had Lady Cubmasters since the 1920s, Knox Scout Group recruited its first Lady Cubmasters (LCMs) in 1940, the last in the city to do so.<sup>12</sup> Most of its subsequent Cub leaders were women, many of whom stayed in the role for five years and over.<sup>13</sup> Nancy Wilson, 'Akela' to members of the movement from 1915-1954, became the Dominion Commissioner for Cubs in 1937. Like women in leadership roles in Guiding at this time, she had the time, independent means and energy to devote to her Wolf Cub work. She strongly influenced the direction of this section, and was a model for other women in the mostly male Scouting movement.<sup>14</sup> Cubbing was the Scout section where most women made their contributions, and where their perceived maternal instincts could be most usefully harnessed with younger boys.<sup>15</sup> The older Scout and Rover age groups were generally the domain of male leaders who were

---

<sup>10</sup> Total membership figures include all uniformed members, both youth members and adults. Figures from Culliford, p.91 and p.101. Although recovery from the depression also had a part to play in turning around the fall in membership numbers, the Girl Guides Association was slower to recover: their pre-World War II membership high of 11287 was reached in 1934, then declined to 8261 in 1937. However it was not until 1952 that the Guiding movement exceeded the 1934 figure, with 12344 members. Figures from ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2 Annual Reports 1928-1951, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967.

<sup>11</sup> Culliford, p.101; Rodgers, Appendix C: Census, pp.471-480.

<sup>12</sup> Packs in Auckland (*Auckland Star*, 25 June 1924, p.15) and Wellington (*Evening Post*, 6 April 1927) included women in Cubmaster and Assistant Cubmaster roles.

<sup>13</sup> McRobie, p.162.

<sup>14</sup> *Evening Post*, 22 August 1928, p.16, recorded a visit by Akela Wilson to Wellington, and a special meeting to be held between her and local Lady Cubmasters.

<sup>15</sup> *Evening Post*, 26 July 1944, p.8 described the awarding of a Scouting Medal of Merit for Lady Cubmaster Esma Elwyn Churchill of the Miramar Cub Pack. The citation noted the conscientious way she had 'exercised a splendid influence over a very large number of boys who have come under her care, and her admirable example of unselfishness and devotion.' Susanna Hoggard, whose involvement with Cubbing spanned 40 years, was also involved in other voluntary organisations connected with motherhood and children's issues, including the League of Mothers, Maori Women's Welfare League, and Plunket. Rodgers, p.400.

considered more suitable to lead adolescent boys into young manhood. Some Scout groups had a succession of interim male leaders in this period, while some either struggled on leaderless or went into recess until after the war.<sup>16</sup> Guiding experienced similar issues: although it grew and then maintained membership numbers in the early 1930s, reaching 11287 in 1934, a discernible downward trend followed, and by 1937 total membership was down to 8261.<sup>17</sup> In 1936 the Girl Guides Chief Commissioner had noted that ‘numbers have decreased considerably in the last year’. This she attributed to a similar tendency in other countries; and to ‘closing down companies due to the perennial shortage of Guiders.’<sup>18</sup> Finding sufficient numbers of suitable and willing leaders was a problem for both movements in the 1930s and, although both Scouting and Guiding had gained members by the end of the decade, annual reports note this as a limiting factor in membership growth.

In addition to the 1930s depression causing limits on participation in youth leisure activities for some, intermittent nationwide poliomyelitis outbreaks that closed schools and restricted public movements also curtailed Scouting and Guiding membership. Significant outbreaks occurred in New Zealand every decade between 1916 and 1956, with summertime presenting the greatest threat. As summertime was also the time when the Scouting and Guiding movements mainly operated their outdoor programmes like hiking and camping, opportunities for publicizing the movements and increasing membership were curtailed. The Salk polio vaccine arrived in New Zealand in 1956 and made an immediate impact on health outcomes and expectations, as well as on children’s capacity to maintain links with clubs and activities outside of the family.

---

<sup>16</sup> In some troops, an older Scout became an Assistant Scout Master (ASM) when adult Scouters were called up for active military service. See, for example, Harold Tuson, of New Plymouth’s Central Scout Group, who became an ASM at 17 years old. Bruce Bellini (ed.), *Scouting New Plymouth and North Taranaki. 100 Years of Scouting Memories*, Waitara: New Plymouth Scout Historical Committee, 2009, p.161, pp.163-164.

<sup>17</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2 Annual Reports, 1928-1951.

<sup>18</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2 Annual Reports, 1928-1951, GGANZ Annual Report, 1936, p.4.

## World War Two work

By the late 1930s it was evident that another world war was imminent. New Zealand, a strongly loyal member of the British Empire, lined up alongside Britain and once again prepared to 'do its bit'. For the Scouting and Guiding movements this entailed responding locally and nationally with services and 'manpower' to aid the war effort in New Zealand and Britain. Young members were expected to contribute their time and energies as active citizens, as they had in World War One.<sup>19</sup> Supporting servicemen's families remained a form of service that was accessible to most, yet other avenues of activity also developed. By July 1939 New Zealand Guiding had compiled a register of members aged eighteen and over who wished to serve. Practical skills learned in patrol evenings and camps, combined with those acquired in the workforce, contributed to a pool of young women who could assist with first aid, home nursing, transport (as drivers and mechanics) and a range of office proficiencies. Guides entered the armed forces and served in the Land Army. An *Evening Post* article on the British ATS referred to the service's young women being billeted out, sometimes with straw-filled palliasses, noting that 'to many hundreds of girls this has meant less hardship than it would have to their mothers and aunts, for since the last war many of them have become well-used to camping conditions as Girl Guides'.<sup>20</sup> Guides' ability to cope with rough conditions cheerfully was perceived as providing these girls (whether in England or New Zealand) with an advantage over non-members.

For girls too young to enter a service occupation there were numerous opportunities to be useful: Brownies and Guides collected ergot from grasses (for controlling bleeding in wounds) and agar from seaweed<sup>21</sup>; knotted camouflage nets

---

<sup>19</sup> Invercargill's Rawhiti Scout Troop were addressed by 'Little John' Cooksey, the Dominion Commissioner for Training in 1941, where he 'call[ed] on all to do their utmost in the cause of democracy and humanity and charging every scout to prepare himself for the onerous duties of citizenship in this changing world'. Swale, p.107.

<sup>20</sup> *Evening Post*, 30 December 1939, p.15.

<sup>21</sup> *Evening Post*, 16 January 1942, p.8. Young coastal foragers were instructed, via quotes from *Te Rama* (the Girl Guides magazine), on the physical characteristics of the favoured seaweed, along

for the New Zealand Army<sup>22</sup>; contributed funds to imperial Guides fundraising efforts for air ambulances and a motorised lifeboat<sup>23</sup>; ran door-to-door collections for clean rags, needed for plane and machinery maintenance<sup>24</sup>; and knitted thousands of garments and blankets for European refugees<sup>25</sup>, amongst other kinds of community service.<sup>26</sup>

The Scouting organization in New Zealand, with new hands-on leaders, was also ready to take its part in New Zealand's war effort. Scouts were encouraged to become involved in nationwide civil defence planning, as part of the Emergency Precautions Scheme, alongside other civil voluntary organisations. By October 1940 the Dominion Commissioner for Development, C. R. Bach, confidently asserted that 'it is safe to say that every district of any size is sufficiently well organised to be called out for duty at a moment's notice.'<sup>27</sup> To increase their suitability for this work, Scouts were encouraged to gain badges in areas that 'would be of direct value to the country in an emergency, including Ambulance, Missioner, Pathfinder, Camper, Public Healthman, Fireman, Signaller, Cyclist, Coast Watchman and Pilot.'<sup>28</sup> Active citizenship for Scouts entailed being prepared for whatever community roles they were assigned. While some were coordinated at a national or regional level, Scouts were also encouraged to help out on the home front:

---

with noting where it was found; how to dry it; and to contact a Girl Guides official for information on how to send it on.

<sup>22</sup> *Evening Post*, 29 January 1942. This article reports that the Girl Guides had become proficient in this work and were now instructing other groups, including the types of knots to use. Scouts also made nets, sometimes in conjunction with the WWSA (Women's War Service Auxiliary), Maori communities and schools. *Auckland Star*, 18 November 1943, p.3; *Hutt News*, 14 November 1942, p.5.

<sup>23</sup> *Evening Post*, 27 June 1940, p.13. The New Zealand Guides were asked for a contribution of £250 and raised, in the first week, just under £950.

<sup>24</sup> *Evening Post*, 21 April 1941, p.4.

<sup>25</sup> *Evening Post*, 11 June 1940, p.11.

<sup>26</sup> For the range of war work accomplished by Guides in Britain and elsewhere, see Janie Hampton, *How the Girl Guides Won the War*, London: HarperPress, 2011. This war work continued and expanded upon that achieved in World War One, that had increased the public profile of both Scouting and Guiding – and for Guiding, validated the movement to those who had previously been ambivalent or hostile to it. See sections on 'war work and service' in Chapters One and Two.

<sup>27</sup> *Evening Post*, 18 October 1940, p.9.

<sup>28</sup> Culliford, p.107.

Visit homes around your headquarters where menfolk are called up and offer services for odd jobs – cutting firewood, looking after children while mother goes shopping, cutting lawns, digging gardens, running errands, helping with washing. Start a troop vegetable garden. Take vegetables to homes where men are away. Collect moss for Red Cross when camping. Keep yourself fit and cheerful. Don't worry mother for money for the pictures.<sup>29</sup>

By giving their time and labour to help others, especially to servicemen's families, Scouts fulfilled three purposes: they provided practical assistance to those who benefited from it; they raised the public profile and approval of the movement as trainers of young citizens; and they continued their own self-development as exemplars of Baden-Powell's self-disciplined 'fit and cheerful' boys and young men. Whether they still managed to enjoy the occasional afternoon at the 'pictures' after their endeavours was not recorded.

Scouting suffered from a man shortage in the war years, as Scout leaders enlisted in various forms of national service. Guiding, run by women at all levels, found it easier to maintain leader numbers but still felt that more Guiders were needed. Ruth Herrick, the Girl Guides' Chief Commissioner was recruited to establish the Women's Royal New Zealand Naval Service (WRNZNS) in 1942, and applied the same rigorous high standards to recruiting Wrens as she did to her Guiding role.<sup>30</sup> She served with the WRNZNS until 1946, when she returned to her Chief Commissioner's position (filled in her absence by other senior Guide leaders). Women also filled the gaps in Scouting, especially in Cubs groups, as did older Scouts not yet eligible for call up.<sup>31</sup>

Despite these restrictions, Scouting membership grew during the war. The 1940 Annual Report reported an increase of 663 members over the previous year, to bring the total membership up to 15320, and in 1942, 17958.<sup>32</sup> The variety and

---

<sup>29</sup> Culliford, p.109, quoting from an undated article in *Scouting New Zealand*.

<sup>30</sup> Bright, Judith. 'Herrick, Hermione Ruth 1889 - 1983'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

<sup>31</sup> Of these women, some chose to continue their service after the war. See, for example, Chapter 6 case study of Mrs Collins, Akela of the West End Cubs in the 1940s and 1950s. Also see McRobie, p.164, for opportunities for Scouts to become leaders at this time; and Bellini (ed.), p.161 (Harold Tuson).

<sup>32</sup> Rodgers (upcoming), Appendix C: Census, p.476.



**Figure 9: The Governor-General, Sir Cyril Newall, and Lady Newall visiting Palmerston North, 9 July 1941.**

Scouting and Guiding established and maintained relationships with successive Governors-General and their wives, and were requested to supply members for parades and official functions. Sir Cyril Newall (Governor-General from 1941-1946) was particularly vocal in his endorsement of the movements.

Image: Courtesy of PNCL Ian Matheson City Archives. Pataka Ipurangi file 2008P\_O33a-A-E\_1309.

extent of the community war work done by Scouts and Guides, and clearly articulated approval by national political and civic leaders, undoubtedly added to the positive light in which Scouting and Guiding was largely held at this time. As the Governor-General and his wife were customarily given the titles and tasks of Dominion Chief Scout and Chief Guide upon their arrival in New Zealand, their attendance at rallies and public statements on Scouting and Guiding as exemplars of youth movements carried weight. Sir Cyril Newall became Governor-General in 1941, and his speech to the Scouts Association Dominion Council that year made clear his perception of the role of the movement - and its young members - in the current war and in the peace to follow:

We are fighting this war for the future of mankind, fighting to ensure that succeeding generations shall enjoy that freedom of thought and action without which the whole English-speaking world knows that life would not be worth living. Our constant care, therefore, must be that the children of today shall be brought up to recognise the value of freedom; and since true freedom demands self-discipline, we must see to it that they are given a sense of responsibility to the community as a whole, without which democracy must fail... Every child in New Zealand should be a scout or a guide or a wolf cub or a brownie.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Culliford, pp.110-111.

Citizenship was a goal for all New Zealanders, including the young – and as the Governor-General stated, it was an active citizenship based on a communal sense of duty and service.

1941 also brought the death of Lord Baden-Powell, aged 83, and subsequent appraisals of his life's work. Baden-Powell had been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize in 1939, but no prizes were awarded due to the war's onset. His contribution to youth work internationally through Scouting and Guiding garnered many tributes, and throughout New Zealand (as elsewhere throughout the world) church services marked his death and commemorated his life. Wellington's service at the Town Hall was attended by the Prime Minister, Governor-General, Minister of Defence, Chief Justice, Mayor, High Commissioners for Great Britain and Canada, two Chiefs of Staff and over 1800 Guides and Scouts. The Bishop of Wellington said of Baden-Powell, 'Service was the watch-word of the great movement he had created, because it had been the mainspring of his own life.'<sup>34</sup> Although Baden-Powell had retreated from hands-on Scouting in his later life, his last message to Scouts continued to be printed at the back of successive editions of *Scouting for Boys* as a link with the Founder and his understanding of the 'job' of Scouting – and of life. Yet his message also looked forward, encouraging boys to be happy and healthy, to appreciate the natural world, and to 'try and leave this world a little better than you found it', by helping others. By following this advice, and 'stick[ing] to your Scout Promise always', he envisaged that boys would contribute to the coming world as useful and happy men.<sup>35</sup> The Guides too, received a 'last message' from the Founder, although their message also incorporated their future roles as wives and mothers as ways in which they could improve the world: 'You will find that Heaven is not the kind of happiness somewhere up in the skies after you are dead, but right here and now in this world in your own home.'<sup>36</sup> Clearly, he had a gendered vision for Scouts and Guides in their roles as adult breadwinners

---

<sup>34</sup> *Evening Post*, 24 February 1941, p.5. 'An Inspiration'.

<sup>35</sup> [http://scout.org/en/about\\_scouting/facts\\_figures/baden\\_powell/b\\_p\\_gallery/b\\_p\\_s\\_last\\_message](http://scout.org/en/about_scouting/facts_figures/baden_powell/b_p_gallery/b_p_s_last_message), accessed 5 November 2010.

<sup>36</sup> [www.girlguides.org.sg/cos/o.x?c=/ggs/pagetree&func=view&rid=4576](http://www.girlguides.org.sg/cos/o.x?c=/ggs/pagetree&func=view&rid=4576) , accessed 5 November 2010.

and homemakers, but this was not intended to be the full extent of their citizenship. For both movements and their young members, the prospect of new directions after two generations who had been involved in world wars held promise and responsibility. Baden-Powell's instruction to 'look wide' suggested both new ways of approaching and developing Scouting and Guiding, but also of continuing to build international bridges with other such groups. For the post-war generations the world in which they did their Scouting and Guiding was due for change, and the movements' catch-cries of service and citizenship were deemed central to the task.

**Picking up the traces, picking up the pace – membership from the 1940s to the 1970s:**

Although war had brought disruptions many local units still kept up weekly meetings and camps. Both movements' overall memberships grew from the beginning of the war to its end – Scouting, from 14657 to 19941; and Guiding, from 8516 to 10587. At a national level, the movements' leaders were mindful of their roles in maintaining programmes throughout the war, of being actively involved in civilian war service, and of preparing for rebuilding both the movements and the country.

As New Zealanders once again reoriented themselves towards peacetime life, they focused on private security in the forms of employment, home ownership, and raising families, in what James Belich described as a 'cult' of 'romantic domesticity'; and on a future of national wellbeing through collective state welfare and shared citizenship values.<sup>37</sup> Belich contended that whereas 'it was unusually hard to provide a secure and affluent home for children' in the years 1929-45, '[i]n 1945-70 it was unusually easy.'<sup>38</sup> Government policies based on liveable wages, family benefits and shortened working hours provided a platform upon which

---

<sup>37</sup> Belich, 2001, p.490. In 1945, the government presented extended state social security as both a reward for wartime efforts, 'so that civilisation could be seen to gain something from the blood and tears which had been spilt', and as part of a social contract, whereby the receiving of social security accompanied 'a concomitant obligation to work for the common good.' McClure, p.104.

<sup>38</sup> Belich, 2001, p.493.

leisure time grew, and associational voluntary recreational and sport organisations thrived in this period.<sup>39</sup> More were established, catering to a wider range of interests, and their membership numbers grew markedly in the 1950s and 1960s, as New Zealanders had both the time and inclination to engage with groups outside of the work and domestic spheres. Adult service clubs, based on a similar blend of active citizenship values and actions as the Scouting and Guiding movements, illustrate this trend. Existing service clubs like Rotary and Jaycees experienced strong growth, while new 'brands' like Lions and Kiwanis quickly became large organisations.<sup>40</sup> Service clubs like these provided men with friendship and business links, and the opportunity to both physically and metaphorically build communities. This community service ethic was put to use as new suburbs developed and children's playgrounds and community facilities were required. The post-war baby boom was exemplified by early marriage and high fertility rates.<sup>41</sup> As the babies born in this period became school-age children, government health, welfare and educational services were stretched to capacity (and sometimes beyond) to meet unprecedented demands. Voluntary groups working with youth experienced similar problems in accommodating new recruits. While they welcomed opportunities to reach, and influence, more of their target markets they often found their existing models of administration and group structures were inadequate.

From the late 1940s until the 1970s New Zealand Scouting and Guiding experienced record membership growth. In the years immediately following the

---

<sup>39</sup> 'Overall, there was a post-war boom in sport and recreational activities after World War II, with the expansion of existing clubs and formation of new ones.' Tennant, O'Brien and Sanders, p.22.

<sup>40</sup> Tennant, O'Brien and Sanders, pp.22-23. Jaycees' national membership almost quadrupled from 1772 in 1945 to 6124 within two decades. Graham and Susan Butterworth, *Jaycee: developers of people, builders of communities*, Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2007, p.247.

<sup>41</sup> Although earlier figures were skewed by marriages immediately after the war, a pattern of earlier marriage became apparent: between 1950-1954, 64.43% of first marriages were between people aged 24 and under; this had risen to 70.7% for the period 1955-1959. As well as marrying earlier, women had children earlier. The European birth rate climbed to over 26% by 1950 (in comparison to 1936 census figures of around 16%) and remained around that rate until 1961, the peak of the baby boom, when nearly 65,500 babies were born in New Zealand. *The New Zealand Official Yearbook 1962*,

[www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1962/NZOYB\\_1962.html#idsect1\\_1\\_22547](http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1962/NZOYB_1962.html#idsect1_1_22547) accessed 20 October 2012.

end of World War II, however, there was a discernable dip in both movements' membership as adults put their energies into re-establishing their domestic and work lives. Scouting membership had increased to 19941 in 1945, then decreased and only regained lost numbers by 1949, when national membership reached 20948.<sup>42</sup> Guiding's 1946 Annual Report attributed their decrease in overall membership (from 10587 in 1945 to 9441 in 1946) to a shortage of trained Guiders to lead packs and companies.<sup>43</sup> This was exacerbated by the loss of 'many keen young, prospective Guiders...going as Lady Cub Masters', and the reasons surmised for this: 'perhaps we do not get sufficient outdoor work...[p]erhaps it is just the attraction of the opposite sex.'<sup>44</sup> The lure of fit, young Scouters notwithstanding, some young women chose to leave the gendered movement that they had grown up through, to work with boys rather than girls. While this undoubtedly aided Scouting leadership numbers, and added to the numbers of women in their ranks, it was a potential problem for the Guiding movement that had remained resolutely women-led.

Although understanding why many women were choosing marriage and prioritizing their domestic lives after they and their spouses had experienced wartime disturbances, the movement still appealed for their continued involvement in the post-war era:

It is, of course, only natural that, after the strenuous years of war many feel in need of more leisure time and are disinclined to tie themselves to a voluntary job which demands much of them; but may we remind those thinking this way that, if the six years of hard work and sacrifices are not to have been in vain, much must be done NOW to help our young people to live through the uncertain years that lie ahead. We, who believe in the training that Scouting and Guiding can give know that it can provide a way of life which will not only contribute towards good citizenship in

---

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>43</sup> Full Guiding census figures for this period show that Guider numbers changed little between these two years (849 to 846), and in general adult membership was stable. The drop in membership occurred in the girls' sections. It is likely that national leaders anticipated adult leader numbers dropping and hoped to ameliorate this effect. Guider numbers fell to 797 in 1948 but thereafter increased until the first dip in 1974. ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2 and 88-130-07/3 – Annual Reports, 1928-1967.

<sup>44</sup> Manawatu Province Girl Guide records. Box: 'History' – Dominion Commissioners' Conference, 1-6 May 1947, Report, p.27.

our own country, but, if lived to the fullest, will do much towards that goal which is the aim of every thinking person to-day – the peace of the world.<sup>45</sup>

Two things may be taken from this passage that also applied to, and appeared in, other youth organizations' post-war rhetoric. Firstly, the implication that attracting and retaining adult volunteers was difficult. Secondly, the clear message that adults were duty-bound to maintain their involvement with the movements so that Scouting and Guiding could purposefully attract young members, then train and develop a new generation of young citizens. Moreover, with their membership outreach and programmes Scouting and Guiding considered themselves most able to prepare aware young citizens to lead New Zealand into a prosperous and peaceful future. The movements' national leaders were representative of a generation that had lived through decades of global upheaval in the form of world wars and economic depression, and felt a strong responsibility to guide the country's youth. In an article entitled 'A Lesson in Being Prepared', written during the war but looking beyond to the peace to follow, Baden-Powell encouraged Scouters to look ahead knowing that 'the road to [lasting] peace will be the more easy and effective where the young men and women of different countries are already good friends and comrades, as in the Scouts and Guides.'<sup>46</sup> Post-war youth represented possibilities for a fresh start, and their potential should therefore be fostered. Politicians articulated similar attitudes: in an address to teacher trainees in December 1945, Prime Minister Peter Fraser stated that 'the youth of today are better than we were, and I believe that the young people of today have greater possibilities for good than in any other generation.'<sup>47</sup> Mindful of his audience he continued that New Zealand youth compared well internationally, and that education was the most important conduit to their development as citizens. Youth organizations saw themselves as complementing formal education, and supplementing the state curriculum with training in citizenship, outdoor skills and

---

<sup>45</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2 Annual Reports Girl Guides Association Annual Report, 1946.

<sup>46</sup> *B-P's Outlook*, pp.182-184.

<sup>47</sup> *Evening Post*, 12 December 1945, p.5.

religious or spiritual codes.<sup>48</sup> To do this they had to attract members, and were aware that if they failed to do so, other youth organisations would.

As children born in the 1940s and 1950s reached the age requirements for successive levels of Guiding and Scouting, the demand for membership increased dramatically. This brought to the fore shortages of trained adult leaders. The movements were adamant that skimping on training to meet the demand was unacceptable, as this would affect the quality of children's experiences and training. As waiting lists for Brownies and Cubs grew, increasingly it was parents who stepped into leadership roles in order that their children would have the opportunity to participate. One such parent recollected that 'Guiding began for me on a mid-winter evening in 1967 in Te Aroha', where she waited in the car, reading, while her daughter attended Brownies. However, 'someone had noticed a mother with 'nothing to do', and after all the usual protests I put down the book and agreed to help for that term while they found somebody else...The term passed. They forgot to look for somebody else and I forgot to leave.'<sup>49</sup> This story is remarkably common to regional histories in both Scouting and Guiding.<sup>50</sup> Packs, companies and troops could only start and develop when leaders volunteered their time. Whereas Baden-Powell's instruction to prospective Scouts in 1908 was to

---

<sup>48</sup> Civics and History were part of the earlier state school curriculum and were mentioned in the Education Amendment Act 1921, although with a strongly imperialist slant. The Thomas Committee Report of 1944 called for teaching of Social Studies as a core curriculum subject, aimed at encouraging students' participation in society. See Alexis Siteine, 'Which vehicle for citizenship transmission: Social Studies or Technology Education?', *ACE papers*, May 2003, issue 12, pp.43-57; E. Archer & R. Openshaw, 'Citizenship and identity as 'official' goals in Social Studies', in R. Openshaw (Ed.) *New Zealand Social Studies: Past, present and future*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1992, pp.19-33. In a brief summary entitled 'What We Try to Do', listed with the Law and Promise at the beginning of successive Annual Reports, the Girl Guides Association stated that training girls 'through a series of healthy, happy activities, while delighting them, will afford them a course of education outside the school.' [First seen in Annual Reports in 1948]. ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, file #88-130-07/12. Educationalists had also endorsed the movements for their ability to cater to those aspects of boyhood and girlhood that the state educational curriculum did not offer. See, for example, *Auckland Star*. 13 March, 1935, p.20.

<sup>49</sup> Elva Jolly, *The Footprints we made*, Tauranga: GGANZ – Bay of Plenty, 1993, p.45.

<sup>50</sup> Adults who had previous experience as leaders were sometimes brought back into the fold once this was known. (For example, Santon and Reid, p.21.) For this reason, on moving districts or provinces, the children of one ex-leader I met with swore her children to secrecy, as she did not have time to be involved with Guiding in her new town. (Conversation with author, September 2008.) The same pattern of recruiting new parents as leaders extended past the period of this study - Jean Thompson, 'Kim', became a Cub Leader in 1986: 'It started with my son Geoffrey joining Central Cubs...Before I knew it Diane...and I were the leaders.' Bellini, p.173.

find a suitable local man and recruit him as a Scoutmaster, in the post-war baby boom era the net was cast much closer to home - and mothers and fathers were frequently caught. This may well have been due to the ubiquity of married adults with children. Between 1945 and 1965 over one million babies were born in New Zealand, and the total fertility rate reached a high of 4.2 births per woman.<sup>51</sup> The natural consequences of this were that the pool of potential Scouting and Guiding recruits grew, with significant numbers of extra leaders needed if the demand was to be satisfied. Parents who anticipated having a long association with Scouting or Guiding through their family's sequential involvement sometimes chose to become leaders.

Although national membership numbers rose every year, the greatest impact was felt once baby boom children reached Brownies and Cubs age, and later Guides and Scouts. In 1959 Guiding and Scouting annual reports recorded that one in eight, or 12.5%, of New Zealand girls aged 7-11 were Brownies; and nearly 24% of boys aged 8-11 were in the Scout movement.<sup>52</sup> New packs, companies and troops were established in every district and province and grew in size and number. Local groups divided when numbers grew too great, as did districts, then divisions and in some cases new provinces were established from earlier groupings. Each of these actions brought ramifications for leadership, training, infrastructure and administration. From initially one Guide company and one Brownie pack in the 1940s, in what became the Mana Division of Wellington Province, there developed in the 1950s a rapid expansion in Guiding.<sup>53</sup> A District Commissioner was appointed in 1954. By 1956 there were three packs and two companies with associated adult support groups, and the following year this had increased to four companies and five packs. In 1958, the District was split in two,

---

<sup>51</sup> Len Cook, 'New Zealand's Current and Future Population Dynamics', a paper presented at the Population conference in Wellington on 12-14 November 1997. Downloaded as a .PDF file through [www2.stats.govt.nz](http://www2.stats.govt.nz), on 20 September 2011.

<sup>52</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, file #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967, Annual Report 1963, Census, pp.7-8; ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, file #99-241-6/3 Boy Scout Annual Reports, p.46.

<sup>53</sup> This Guiding division covered the developing Wellington suburbs of Tawa, Linden, Porirua and Titahi Bay.

as there were then six packs and six companies. By 1963 when a third District was established, halls had been built, more groups had opened, camping was in full swing and Sea Rangers were established. In the midst of all this local expansion the first indicator of checks on growth came with two groups forced into recess through lack of leaders. Lady Baden-Powell's New Zealand tour in 1967 provided valuable publicity and 'new units opened in all areas', including the first Senior Guide Company (followed by two more the following year). By 1973 the Mana Division encompassed one Sea Ranger unit, six Ranger Guide units, eighteen Guide companies, and twenty one Brownie packs, led by eighty four Guiders. This pattern of proliferation was repeated for both movements all over New Zealand, although in urban areas where there was significant suburban development and expansion it was particularly marked.<sup>54</sup> Scouting and Guiding leaders were aware of this potential, and their duty to be where youth was. As early as 1950 the Brownies section of Guiding's Annual Report noted that 'we are still conscious of our long waiting lists, the many requests for more packs, and the fact that so many of these requests come from the new Government Housing areas, where there is a growing need for work of this kind among young children during the free Saturday.'<sup>55</sup> The Wolf Cubs section of Scouting's 1962 Annual Report also noted this demographic change, and the imperative that accompanied it:

In all parts of New Zealand, new housing projects have meant alterations in the distribution of population. These new areas are where there are many boys of Cub age. It is hoped that all Districts are watching the position and endeavouring to form groups in these areas so that we can truly say that we are making Cubbing available to every boy.<sup>56</sup>

The following year's report related how districts were planning for this expansion by liaising with local bodies and education officials over new housing and schooling sites, in order to plan for new groups.<sup>57</sup> This was a perennial issue for Scouting and Guiding throughout the 1950s and 1960s, although by the late 1960s

---

<sup>54</sup>Information throughout this paragraph relating to the Mana District Girl Guides is from *Wellington Province Girl Guides Golden Jubilee 1924-1974*, pp.38-40.

<sup>55</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, # 88-130-07/2 Annual Reports, Girl Guides Association Annual Report, 1949-1950, p.26.

<sup>56</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Annual Reports, Annual Report 1962, Wolf Cubs section, p.20.

<sup>57</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Annual Reports, Annual Report 1963, Scouting in the Areas section, p.17.

the Guides were dealing with two very different membership issues. 1967's Annual Report Census noted both waiting list numbers, throughout the country, for Brownies and Guides (4968 and 1075 respectively) and 637 'dropouts' in the 14-15 age Guides.<sup>58</sup> Consequently, the following year's most urgent tasks were to reduce the waiting lists, to address the dropout problem, and to take Guiding to new housing areas. All of these were linked by the same underlying belief, that

in view of the pressures and problems that face all teen-age girls to-day, those adults who believe in the principles for which Guiding stands have an urgent duty to act now, and to explore every means possible of attracting more girls and giving them the help they need.<sup>59</sup>

Guiding leaders saw the movement as considerably more than simply a leisure option for girls – it was an aid to personal development as young women, and as young citizens. In order to reach as many girls as possible, and so influence as many girls as possible, they needed to be where families were. Location mattered, but so did making the programme attractive and relevant to all of their members so that, once enrolled, they chose to remain within the movement.

Scouting had similar issues at this time: a hard-to-meet demand at the younger end of the age groups and a developing concern at the slow leakage of older members. 1963's Annual Report noted with satisfaction an increase in overall membership of 2000 (a 5% increase over the previous year), although the author of the Cub Section report stated that, with long waiting lists in some areas, 'we are still far from our target of "every boy who wants to be a Scout can be one"'.<sup>60</sup> An anticipated 'very big advance in Scouting' for Senior Scout-aged boys, as a result of a blending with the Venturer section the following year, did not increase Venturer numbers.<sup>61</sup> The nationwide 'Once a Scout/Guide' campaign in 1965 aimed to reconnect ex-Scouts and ex-Guides with the movements. While the campaign was partly a fundraiser, it also aimed to encourage adult ex-members to

---

<sup>58</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967, Census section, p.16.

<sup>59</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967, Census section, p.16.

<sup>60</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, 99-241-6/3, Annual Reports, p.24.

<sup>61</sup> The 1963 census figure for Senior Scouts/Venturers was 2320, which declined over the following years until regaining that figure in 1970. See Appendix 1.

become leaders of packs, troops and companies so that those on waiting lists could experience Scouting or Guiding.<sup>62</sup>

### **‘Once a Scout/Guide’ Campaign, 1965**

When Lord Kitchener praised the comradeship, discipline and resourcefulness of Boy Scouts in 1911, he brought into being the phrase ‘Once a Scout, always a Scout’.<sup>63</sup> Since then, it has been repeatedly used as a rationale for organisational values and positions. Youth membership of Scouting and Guiding – and the training that ensued from it – provided, in principle, links with every other member in these worldwide movements; and members were encouraged to think of themselves as part of a very large family of like minds. Those who stayed within the movement through its age groups, and who had often achieved high levels of proficiency were more inclined to self-identify as Scouts or Guides – Jay Mechling, in the introduction to his study of American Boy Scouting, identifies himself by stating

I am a Boy Scout. Actually, I am an Eagle Scout, the organization’s highest earned rank. Note that I don’t say that I “was” an Eagle Scout; as Pete, the Scoutmaster in this study, says “Once an Eagle, always an Eagle”.<sup>64</sup>

For Mechling and others, membership extended beyond the years in which boys or girls were young uniformed members into their later lives.<sup>65</sup> ‘Once a Scout/Guide, always a Scout/Guide’ suggested that the experiences gained and lessons learned as a child or youth stayed with the adult, and permanently shaped their values and

---

<sup>62</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, 88-130-17/05 Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign.

<sup>63</sup> *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 April 1911, p.5. This particular event and speech was widely disseminated in New Zealand newspapers, and very similar copy can be found in a range of metropolitan and provincial papers around this date.

<sup>64</sup> Jay Mechling, *On My Honor: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth*, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, c.2001, p.xx.

<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Bill de la Mare, a Southland Scout who attended the 1947 Moisson Jamboree in France, was still attending reunions with his fellow New Zealand attendees fifty years later. The article mentioned 105 of the original 233 attended the latest reunion. de la Mare had left the movement in 1949, aged 25, but was later ‘enticed back’, saying ‘I have just been keeping my hands on, I feel I am still a scout – once a scout always a scout.’ *The Southland Times*, 14 August 1997, p.8.

ways of living. The implication was that this youthful permeation was entirely beneficial, not only to individuals, but to the societies of which they were a part.<sup>66</sup>

In 1964 Scouting and Guiding administrators planned a joint national door knocking campaign by current members to ‘round up’ an estimated ‘nearly half a million’ former members and encourage them to re-register. Marie Iles, the Girl Guides Association General Secretary, considered that

If only 5% of these could be encouraged into taking a more active interest in the Movement, all our difficulties with regard to Commissioners, Guiders, Local Association members, instructors and testers would be overcome.<sup>67</sup>

The Scouts Association also hoped to gain useful publicity for the movement by ‘showing the many top Management positions in New Zealand held by ex-Scouts’; and both movements hoped to garner some development income.<sup>68</sup> Considerable effort went into making the campaign as visible as possible, with attractive



**Figure 10: The Prime Minister, Hon. Keith Holyoake, and the Leader of the Opposition, Hon. Arnold Nordmeyer, during the 1965 ‘Once a Scout’ campaign.**

In this posed shot, both politicians as ex-Scouts showed their support for the campaign and for Scouting in general. Given the popularity of the movements at this time, there was also political capital to be had in aligning themselves in this way. The movements received generous bi-partisan financial support and endorsement from successive governments, in recognition of their voluntary youth work.

Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand. *The Scouting Year in New Zealand*, v. 1, no. 2, 1965/66, p.11.

<sup>66</sup> Recent studies within and outside of New Zealand have indicated that this organisational thinking has merit. See Taylor, Smith and Gallop (2008) for a New Zealand perspective; and Shannon (2009) and Youniss, McLellan and Yates (1997) for international studies.

<sup>67</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, circular letter provincial administrators, dated 27 November 1964, p.3.

<sup>68</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, Scouting planning document, dated 21 August 1964. They suggested that ex-Scouts who wanted to financially support the movement could pay the once-only equivalent of one year’s scout registration as a donation.

certificates and lapel badges for those re-registering, a national radio broadcast of the launch, press and magazine articles and the involvement of prominent people with Scouting or Guiding backgrounds. Scouting in particular made much of successful ex-Scouts – in the first week of the campaign, the Governor-General, Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition and ex-Scout mayors were called upon to lend their active support.

The Governor-General Sir Bernard Fergusson and Lady Fergusson, in their capacities as New Zealand's Chief Scout and Chief Guide, launched the 10-week campaign on Auckland's Mt Eden in February 1965, lighting a smoke candle and calling on Scouts and Guides on peaks throughout the country to raise puffs of smoke at a broadcast radio signal. Like others around New Zealand the Waimate Scouts, Cubs, Guides and Brownies gathered to be part of this symbolic gesture. They had limited success producing their 'puffs' but nevertheless considered themselves part of the bigger effort.<sup>69</sup> Young members' main efforts came as the interface between ex-members and the movements, as they canvassed households throughout New Zealand, handing out and hopefully getting back registration forms. Guides and Scouts were briefed on what to say to householders:

“Are there any ex Guides or ex Scouts living here?” If the answer is in the affirmative – “Will he or she please fill in their name and address on this form because we are trying to make a list of ex Guides in New Zealand?” When this is completed (be sure the Guide carries a biro) “May we leave this registration card to be filled in? It can be taken to the National Bank of New Zealand who are collecting them for the Associations.”<sup>70</sup>

Some Guide units declined to distribute forms or collect money, concentrating upon registering names only.<sup>71</sup> This subverted the universal message within and between the movements: that, for the campaign to succeed, everyone must be fully committed. It also indicated that if district or local leaders strongly disagreed with the principle behind headquarters directives – in this case, the door-to-door basis

---

<sup>69</sup> Rose Pirie, Natalie Campbell and Robert Todd (comp.) with Allan Shearer and Stewart Thomas, for 1909-1931, *Scouting in Waimate: the story of the movement in the Waimate district, 1931-1984*, Waimate: Waimate Publishing, 1988, no page numbers.

<sup>70</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, circular letter provincial administrators, dated 27 November 1964, p.3.

<sup>71</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, PR Campaign Committee minutes, 17 February 1964.

of collection for their girls, outside of their annual biscuit-selling venture – they did not always follow them.

Public reaction to the campaign was mixed. Media and community groups gave the event wide publicity and coverage. Service clubs, including Rotary and Jaycees, lent their support and women's magazines and professional journals ran articles. An article in *The New Zealand Nursing Journal* included a small registration form, as 'it is likely that a large number of Nurses who have been Brownies or Guides will be missed', due to shift work.<sup>72</sup> Targeting nurses, a profession in keeping with Guiding's service and citizenship ethos, was noteworthy, as a reply from one nurse demonstrated:

I have been wishing that I could help to repay the Guide movement in some small way for the wonderful work they did for me. Unfortunately I am on rostered duties but perhaps you can suggest some ways in which I can help.<sup>73</sup>

While this nurse's Guiding experiences had been positive and had perhaps influenced her choice of career, her subsequent inability to commit to hands-on support for the movement was indicative of Guiding's problems in recruiting leaders. 160,000 registration forms were distributed throughout New Zealand, and 80,000 returned completed. In the following five years both movements gained active leaders at higher rates than total membership increases: Scout leader numbers rose from 4985 to 6135 in 1965-1970, an increase of 23.1%; while Guide leaders increased from 2353 to 3601, a significant 53% increase.<sup>74</sup> Guiding also attracted large numbers of lay Local Association (LA) members in the same five year period, increasing from 2403 in 1965 to 4413 in 1970.<sup>75</sup> Although cheered by the interest taken and contacts made, the campaign fell short of the movements'

---

<sup>72</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, *The New Zealand Nursing Journal*, February 1965, p.21.

<sup>73</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, Campaign Progress Report #4, 23 March 1965.

<sup>74</sup> In the same period Scouting's total membership increased by 13.5%, and Guiding's by 50.3%. See Appendix 1.

<sup>75</sup> Local Associations supported the work of Guiding groups. LA members could be either enrolled in the movement, or un-enrolled. Guiding census figures distinguished between the two until the 1970s. Had they been combined in the 1970 figure, the number would have been 9626, a five-year increase of 5213 members.

expectations.<sup>76</sup> It did not cover costs, and some saw it as ‘another fundraising racket’, rather than primarily an attempt to reconnect with past members.<sup>77</sup> There was, however, some public support from those who had not been Scouts or Guides themselves, but who endorsed their youth work. One woman wrote of her five grandchildren in the movements and her Lady Cubmaster daughter, adding ‘I believe the movement to be of untold benefit to its members and the community. I cannot sign this precious certificate as “Once a Scout” so please I am sending 10/- as a “Grandma Scout” and hope it will be acceptable.’<sup>78</sup> In a campaign that lauded the numbers of ex-Scouts in management or political leadership positions those who could claim a connection largely did so, whether for the movements’ sake or their own publicity. Others who saw value in affiliating with the campaign also wrote in, as this excerpt from a Member of Parliament showed:

I am sorry that the Scouts won’t catch me in their round-up. I did not have the chance to be a Scout and this is something I shall always regret. I often wonder what our youth might have become without the Scout and Guides Movements influence.”<sup>79</sup>

These personal responses from non-members were unsurprising, since the campaign personally targeted individuals with slogans like ‘We were scouts’ and ‘Is your dad’s name here?’ on public displays.<sup>80</sup> The movements’ estimates of nearly half a million New Zealanders who had been or were members, in a population estimated at 2,594,420 in 1965,<sup>81</sup> showed that Scouting and Guiding had been a feature in many people’s lives, and the appeal focused on this group:

---

<sup>76</sup> Iles, p .80, notes that included in the 700 ex-Guides who registered with National Headquarters were many who immigrants who had done their Guiding overseas.

<sup>77</sup> Street collections by charities at this time were regular, and there was some public resistance to the frequency with which they were asked to support a wide range of worthy causes.

<sup>78</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, Campaign Progress report #4, 23 March 1965, correspondence received.

<sup>79</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, Campaign Progress report #4, 23 March 1965, correspondence received.

<sup>80</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, Scouting planning document, dated 21 August 1964.

<sup>81</sup> *New Zealand Official Year Book, 1965*, Population section. This was an estimated population figure, as the next census was in 1966. The previous national census, in 1961, showed a total population figure of 2,414,984.

To everyone in the community who has ever taken the “Promise” as Brownie, Guide, Cub, Scout or Leader, the Guide and Scout Associations say: “Welcome back, friend”.<sup>82</sup>

Here there was the reminder of the ‘Promise’, with the understanding that its obligations extended beyond the time of membership into continued active citizenship; and the proffering of the hand of comradeship as a member of the international Scouting and Guiding family. The proportion of older members in the movements increased with more leaders being recruited, growth in Local Associations numbers and the development of active Trefoil Guilds in Guiding contributing to the overall numerical strengths of the movements.<sup>83</sup>

### **Beginnings of membership decline – 1970s and beyond:**

The baby boom provided youth organisations with a large pool of potential members, and membership figures for Scouting and Guiding reflect this. Children born from the 1940s to the early 1960s made their way through age groups of the movements as a bulge in membership, in the same way that the unprecedented size of this group made demands on the education system, necessitating extra classrooms and large class sizes. In part, the decline in some areas of Scouting and Guiding membership in the 1970s and beyond was attributable to the aging of this demographic group. Yet there were other significant factors that made the movements less attractive, or other leisure options comparatively more attractive. National and regional leaders were aware of this and discussed it repeatedly over the years. Yet despite their awareness of this trend in the older age groups, and changes aimed at arresting it, their efforts were insufficient. In short, Scouts and Guides were opting out in favour of other leisure options. Leaders attributed some of the decline to modern teenagers’ attraction and access to popular culture

---

<sup>82</sup> ATL file #88-130-17/05, GGANZ: Publicity Campaign – Once a Scout/Guide Campaign, undated planning document from GGANZ.

<sup>83</sup> Trefoil Guilds were established for those who were not longer active in Guiding but wished to maintain contacts with others and support Guiding in their areas. Local Associations (LAs) provided administrative help and liaison between leaders and parents. In Guiding, the 1950 Annual Report showed a national LA membership of 142 and no Trefoil Guilds. By 1980 LA membership had reached 14124, and Trefoil Guilds 785. ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, 88-130-07/2 and 88-130-08/1.

choices; and some to their movements' failures to cater for teenagers in their programmes:

The emphasis is on giving girls greater responsibilities in planning, and this we must strive to do, and remind ourselves constantly that what satisfied our youth does not always appeal today when young people have wonderful scientific devices and modern appliances that were not dreamed of 60 years ago! If we cannot keep ahead of them let us keep abreast of the youth!<sup>84</sup>

The rise of the teenager was seen as a new – and somewhat problematic – concept in the post-war world, with potential to influence the direction of popular culture and even governmental youth policy.<sup>85</sup> Scout and Guide leaders were not alone in their concern over how teenagers were influenced by new forms of media and entertainments. A series of crimes involving teenagers in the 1950s, resulting in a nationwide moral panic, prompted a 1954 ministerial inquiry into juvenile moral delinquency, where witnesses (including representatives from the Boy Scouts Association and other youth organisations) offered diverse views on causes of, and cures for, juvenile delinquency.<sup>86</sup> The summary of conclusions noted that 'the work of all organisations which aim at building character is warmly recommended as they help to prevent children from becoming delinquent.'<sup>87</sup> Households throughout the country were sent copies of the report. It influenced both policy and perceptions about modern teenagers' supposed propensity towards disorder and disinclination to follow adult expectations.

The Scouting and Guiding movements, already concerned about their older youth members falling away, tried to reorient their programmes towards older teenagers. Some external factors were beyond the movements' control: compulsory military training for young men; and transience related to university or vocational

---

<sup>84</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-08/1, Annual Report, 1970, p.9.

<sup>85</sup> For a New Zealand perspective, see Redmer Yska, *All shook up: the flash bodgie and the rise of the New Zealand teenager in the fifties*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1993.

<sup>86</sup> Oswald Mazengarb headed the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents. The committee was convened, met and reported within sixty days. *Report of the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents AJHR*, 1954, H-47.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

study both affected members' abilities to maintain their membership.<sup>88</sup> Others, less tangible but no less significant, gave teenagers more social choices without the boundaries imposed by a uniformed movement. The tension for Scouting and Guiding was between allowing a more liberal attitude to self-regulation for older members, and so keeping them within the movements; and doing so without compromising fundamental values. Guiding introduced a Senior Guide section in 1964 and a Cadet branch for older Senior Guides in 1965, to bridge the age range between Guides and Rangers, and keep older girls active in Guiding. In the next five years this section went from 177 to 939 members whereas Rangers (Land, Sea, Air and Lone) numbers fluctuated between 467 and 576 over the same period.<sup>89</sup> Although the new section was meeting a need, national administrators continued to worry about the relatively small numbers of older girls in the movement.<sup>90</sup> The same pattern was evident in Scouting, where although Venturer numbers remained relatively stable between 1965-1969, they still only constituted 4.5% of total membership.<sup>91</sup> Both movements responded to the threat of falling membership in the 1970s by allowing Rangers, Venturers and Rovers greater

---

<sup>88</sup> Post-war compulsory military training was introduced in 1950, after the Compulsory Military Training Act 1949, and required males over the age of 18 to register and complete training and further commitments. It was abolished in 1958, and then re-introduced in 1962 for 20+ young men. It was finally abolished in 1972. In the same period, the number of young New Zealanders who undertook university study increased markedly: in 1950, there were 12,055 university students enrolled; by 1970, there were 31,908 internal students. (This figure was used, as internal students were more likely to be those affected by transience throughout the university year.) Figures from *New Zealand Yearbooks*. Manawatu Province Girl Guide leaders noted the issue loss of contact with Guiding when teenagers went away to universities: 'Young adults tend to be lost to the Movement when they attend tertiary colleges and universities. It was felt other Provinces should notify when the girls go to another area – perhaps a social could be held early in the year.' Minutes Executive Meeting of the Manawatu Province Girl Guide Association – Minute book: 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977, 7 October 1976. This province attempted to instigate a Massey University club for Guiding students the following year, without success. Minutes, 3 February 1977; 31 March 1977.

<sup>89</sup> Figures from annual Census returns for 1965-1969. Extending the comparison into the 1970s proved problematic, as the organisation changed the way it counted various sections. ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Annual Reports 1952-1967 and #88-130-08/1, Annual Reports 1968-1985.

<sup>90</sup> The 1972 Annual Report, Membership section (p.6) noted that 1 in every 8 New Zealand girls in the 7-10 and 10-14 age groups were members of Guiding, whereas for the 14-18 age group, the figure was 1 in every 40. ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-08/1. While this figure appears damning, percentages of Rangers membership against total membership from 1930 to 1980 shows that the 1970 figure of 4.7% (following the introduction of the 'New Look' programme) exceeded every other decade figure: 1930 = 4.6%; 1940 = 2.3%; 1950 = 2.6%; 1960 = 1.3%; 1970 = 4.7%; 1980 = 3%.

<sup>91</sup> Even with the older Rovers section added in, this end of the Scouting age range still accounted for less than 5%. ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3, Annual Reports.

autonomy to decide their programme focus within their units, and more supervised social interaction.<sup>92</sup> In 1976 Scouting trialled female Venturers, and made the change permanent in 1979, while Guiding preferred to maintain its single-gender status and keep interactions between Rangers, Venturers and Rovers to organized social events.<sup>93</sup> Guiding reorganised what had become an unwieldy arrangement of five separate sections for older girls into one Ranger branch in 1974. These responses showed the movements were responsive to membership trends, especially when these were considered in parallel with wider social trends.

Membership has always been a fundamental aspect, and concern, of the Scouting and Guiding movements. The re-invigoration and rapid growth that occurred from the later 1940s and lasted to the 1970s brought administration challenges in terms of capacity to meet demand, but also opportunities to reach more young New Zealanders. Once the effects of the ‘baby boom’ bulge had passed through the movements’ age stages the beginnings of older youth membership decline signalled a need for responses that would attract - and retain – teenage members.

---

<sup>92</sup> Jane Cox noted the differences in focus between ‘the earliest’ Otago Rangers and their peers from the 1940s and 1970s, with increasing levels of Ranger-initiated programmes and social events with Venturers and Rovers in each period. Cox, pp.108-109.

<sup>93</sup> This set the precedent for girls in the Scouting movement, and was followed by mixed Scout troops in 1987 and mixed Cubs and Keas, the youngest age group, in 1989. In the 1970s, Manawatu Girl Guides Province sent questionnaires to its Divisions on the suitability of closer working relationships with Scouting. Although most agreed that it was important to maintain the status quo (with some voiced concerns about being ‘overruled’ by Scouts, or of having different gendered needs in programmes for the same age groups) opportunities for older Scouting and Guiding members to fraternize more often were more favourably considered. Manawatu Province Girl Guides Association Executive Minute book: 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977, meeting 3 June 1976, Scout/Guide questionnaire, Divisional reports.

## **SECTION 2: FUNDING – BUILDING AND MAINTAINING RELATIONSHIPS WITH DONORS:**

‘The financing of a voluntary Youth Movement to-day is no easy task and when that Movement has no cash Reserve on which to draw, ...it is fraught with constant anxieties on ways and means of ‘making ends meet’.

GGANZ Annual Report. 1963

Voluntary organisations are seldom established purely for acquiring and disbursing funds, yet all have to deal with this prosaic but important administrative area. Adequate funding enables organisations to develop programmes that publicly illustrate or exemplify their core values; inadequate funding stifles and can ultimately choke the same process. Attracting donations and public support is therefore vital to the voluntary organisation life cycle. It is fundamentally linked to good publicity, attracting goodwill and developing fruitful relationships with both public and private funders. A 1964 British fundraising ideas handbook for Scouters, used in New Zealand, reminded its readers that

[B]ecause of their very nature all fund-raising efforts involve the public to a greater or lesser degree. If Scouting is to continue to enjoy the public’s approval and material support it is imperative that whatever we set our hands and minds to must be organised to the very best of our ability.<sup>94</sup>

Scouting and Guiding in New Zealand were, from their beginnings, acutely aware of a fundraising imperative to provide a foundation for expanding membership – and thus reaching more young New Zealanders. It was, however, always a balancing act between the ends and the means by which to achieve them. In *Scouting for Boys* Baden-Powell introduced the firm principle of packs, troops and companies earning funds rather than ‘begging’ for them, and this principle endured for uniformed members.<sup>95</sup> A 1981 booklet on Scout group management included, in capitals for emphasis, ‘The general principle is that money raised by Scouts for use by the movement must be either earned or value in some form

---

<sup>94</sup> *Raising the Wind. Some ideas on earning funds.* The Scouter’s Books no.24, London: Leveridge & Co.: The Boy Scouts Association, 1964, p.3.

<sup>95</sup> DCC Conference 1947: in response to a question from a Local Association about raffles – ‘the ruling in P.O.R. on Finance is – “The spirit of the Movement is that, on the part of the girls themselves, money should be earned and not solicited.” This does not apply to adult un-uniformed members of the Movement, provided Guides are not asked to take an active part in the raffles.’ Manawatu Province Girl Guides records.

given.<sup>96</sup> At one end of the fundraising continuum, then, boys and girls were reminded of their responsibility to be actively involved in fundraising while at the other end national administrators garnered large grants and donations from commercial entities and government departments. In a period of rapid membership growth, increased programme costs and expanding infrastructure needs, all fundraising avenues were required.

### **Local and regional initiatives – building community support:**

Scouting and Guiding's members came from local communities, and these communities were often targeted for financial support. Membership came with financial costs; apart from uniforms, members were expected to contribute modest regular – usually weekly – payments that contributed not only to their own projects but those of regional and national administrations. Following on from financial constraints caused by the 1930s depression and wartime measures, weekly fees were kept as affordable as possible for as many children as possible. District and provincial councils debated gradually raising local subscription fees from 1d. to 3d. to 6d.: accessibility mattered, but so too did meeting increasing costs and commitments.<sup>97</sup>

Local fundraising was often tagged to specific projects that captured public imagination. Halls and campsites became community facilities, especially in newly developed suburbs where they were otherwise lacking, and these fundraising efforts were well supported. Packs, troops and companies ran regular, and lucrative, bottle drives. Balclutha Scouts, like many others throughout the country,

---

<sup>96</sup> *Scout Group Management. A handbook for the Group Leader and the Group Committee. Little Scout Book No. 1*, Scout Association of New Zealand, 1981, p.33. Guiders' Training Course material c.1950s reiterates a similar message: 'Guiders should remember that the Girl Guide movement is in no way a charity movement and that all work or performances should be worth the money charged.' [Assignment 6, p.2] Manawatu Province Girl Guides records.

<sup>97</sup> McRobie, p.195, notes that Dunedin's Knox Scouts initially paid 1d. weekly in the 1930s, which had risen to 3d. by the late 1940s and 6d. (5c) in the 1960s. Jolly, p.40, mentions 1d. in the 1930s. and the Brownies spending half of that in a nearby shop while waiting for Brown Owl to arrive. A lecture on 'misappropriation of funds' followed; Manawatu Province Girl Guides Association Guides records – undated Guiders' Correspondence Training Course mentions 1d. – 3d.

used regular bottle drives as fundraisers for their own projects. Their February 1957 effort resulted in a net profit of £110.9.2, but after protests from neighbouring Scout groups about ‘overzealous collecting in the Stirling and Benhar areas’ they made compensatory payments to both groups.<sup>98</sup> Clearly, contested access to income sources was not confined to national grants applications. Matura Scouts records noted that their 1975 bottle drive collected 1700 dozen bottles from local residents, providing a good income source.<sup>99</sup> They also filled other functions - they recycled waste materials in the community, and importantly for the



**Figure 11: Paper Drive, Waitarere, 1969**

Fundraising efforts like this paper drive involved the goodwill of parents and adult leaders working with groups, and public willingness to contribute. Although the primary purpose was make money for group projects, community work of this kind contributed to the Scouting and Guiding movements’ wholesome public image.

Image: Courtesy of Kete Horowhenua and the Horowhenua Historical Society Inc., under a Creative Commons Licence. Creator: *Chronicle*, 8 July 1969. User reference: 1979.137.0155. `<div xmlns:cc="http://creativecommons.org/ns#" xmlns:dct="http://purl.org/dc/terms/" about="http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/images/show/1217-paper-drive-waitarere-1969"><span property="dct:title">Paper drive, Waitarere, 1969</span> (<a rel="cc:attributionURL" property="cc:attributionName" href="http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/account/show/1-kete-horowhenua">Kete Horowhenua</a>) / <a rel="license" href="http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/nz/">CC BY-NC-SA 3.0</a></div>`

<sup>98</sup> C. G. Richardson, *Scouting in Balclutha. A History of the Group, 1909-1986*, Balclutha: Balclutha Scout Group; South Otago Newspapers, 1986, p.33.

<sup>99</sup> Swale, p.98.

movements, displayed industrious and cheerful youth to the general public. Scouts and Guides were easily identifiable as such, and when working in and for the community banked not only funds but also goodwill. Local fundraisers covered a wide range of events and services, depending upon the skills and labour available to coordinate and manage them. Every permutation of events, from cake stalls run by Local Associations to sponsored hikes, was employed to raise local funds.<sup>100</sup> Having done so, local Scouters and Guiders were required to account for them through their own group accounts, which were scrutinized by Commissioners.

### **Bob-a-Job:**

The Bobs-for-Jobs scheme as a fundraising initiative was achieved at local level, but conceived at national level. Launched by New Zealand Scouting in 1950, it followed the recently introduced British Bob-a-Job model. Individual Scout groups were sent out to find work in their communities, for which the job-giver would pay them a 'bob' or shilling.<sup>101</sup> Household jobs were common, although some boys shone shoes on city streets or cleaned out fowl-houses. Detailed on each Cub or Scout's job card was an assurance that 'all money earned...will be devoted entirely to...Scouting. The only reward the boy will get is the satisfaction of knowing that he has done a good job for you and for Scouting.'<sup>102</sup> Cards were completed at the end of each job, and at the week's end the proceeds were collated and forwarded to the scheme's administrators. Once again, Baden-Powell's principle of 'no fundraising without work done' was reiterated throughout the movement and the community. A promotional flyer 'selling' the scheme to members of the Scouting community

---

<sup>100</sup> Riverton Scouts, at the bottom of the South Island, ran an annual 'Swede Drive'. Swedes, also known as rutabagas or turnips, are a cold weather crop in this part of New Zealand, and local farmers supported the Scouts in their fundraising using locally available resources. Swale, p.110.

<sup>101</sup> McRobie, p.193, states that the scheme was introduced in order to help Scout groups to raise money for their annual levies to the national body. Similar schemes were also used for regional fundraising – a 1948 Otago initiative aimed at raising funds for their regional campsite and farm was, perhaps unfortunately, known as the 'two-bob-a-knob' campaign, where all boys were asked to earn 2/- each. [same page]

<sup>102</sup> National Scout Museum: 1957 Bob-a-Job participant's card.

[www.nz museums.co.nz/account/3087/object/27412/1957 Bob-a-Job participants card](http://www.nz museums.co.nz/account/3087/object/27412/1957_Bob-a-Job_participants_card), accessed 25 August 2011.

asserted the need for such a widespread fundraising event, posing the rhetorical question ‘Why?’

Because we need 100,000 shillings to put our finances on a decent footing, and because Lord Rowallan, our Chief Scout, has called upon us to go out and earn a goodly proportion of the money we need. The Chief has faith in you. He knows you won’t let him down.<sup>103</sup>

The leaflet also referred to a decline in donations and bequests and a rise in taxation as being factors in the association’s financial strictures. The initial target based on membership numbers was £5235, but almost £7000 was raised. By 1954 the annual total topped £10000, and this doubled by 1958.<sup>104</sup> The scheme worked because it was relatively easy to administer, it involved members throughout the movement and it caught the public imagination through its catchy name and promotion of youthful industry. It also shared profits between participating groups and Dominion Headquarters. Otago records noted that over £500 was collected by almost 1500 members, with £144 paid to the national administration and the rest made available to groups.<sup>105</sup> The Girl Guides Association also adopted the scheme in its first year although it was called, less colloquially, ‘Work Week’ or ‘Guide Week’. The general public also responded positively to this initiative, although there was some resistance from parents who thought it inappropriate for girls to be soliciting work in this way.<sup>106</sup> The scheme was not as long-lived in Guiding as Scouting, which persevered for decades, and tapered off in the 1980s after concerns for the safety of young members.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> ‘1950 Bob for Job campaign, promotional leaflet for Scouts’, National Scout Museum, [www.nz museums.co.nz/account/3087/object/27407/1950\\_Bob\\_for\\_Job\\_campaign\\_promotional\\_leaflet\\_for\\_Scouts](http://www.nz museums.co.nz/account/3087/object/27407/1950_Bob_for_Job_campaign_promotional_leaflet_for_Scouts), accessed 23 August 2011.

<sup>104</sup> Culliford, p.124.

<sup>105</sup> Jones, p.78.

<sup>106</sup> Iles, p.69 A series of posed photographs of Girl Guides working as babysitters, gardeners, car washers and window cleaners were taken by an *Evening Post* photographer in the first year of this scheme. See, for example, ‘Girl Guide cleaning a car’. Negatives of the *Evening Post* newspaper. Ref: 114/202/10-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23215731>

<sup>107</sup> The name was changed to Scout Job Week in 1968 following currency decimalisation in 1967.

### **Girl Guide Biscuits:**

The Girl Guides' biscuit scheme was another long-lived annual national fundraiser launched in the 1950s. While it was new to New Zealand it followed the precedent, and financial success, of commercially baked American Girl Scout cookies.<sup>108</sup> Guide and Brownie groups throughout the country received the first batches of Girl Guide biscuits in 1957, for door-to-door selling. In early years the biscuits were packed in recyclable tins that, with the goodwill and assistance of both government and private freight services, were distributed throughout the country and returned to Dunedin's Cadbury Fry Hudson bakery when empty.<sup>109</sup> Over time, the recipe and distribution process were refined, and the biscuits became a significant source of funds for the association. Perhaps almost as significant was the publicity generated, and the widespread goodwill that grew with familiarity. Girl Guide biscuits have become as associated with the movement in New Zealand as their American Girl Scouts' counterparts, and past members' recollections often mention them as an integral part of their Guiding experiences. This may relate to the numbers of biscuits allocated to each group: often daunting quantities of packets for sale meant that a concerted effort was needed. Levin Guides received 130 tins in the scheme's first year, and by 1974 this had risen to 500 cartoons.<sup>110</sup> For provincial or district organisers the task was even larger – a cartoon in Otago's Girl Guide history shows their biscuit organiser counting sheep (each surrounding a carton of biscuits) as he lay awake considering how many more cartoons were still unsold<sup>111</sup>; while a Whakatane couple was forced to move 250 cartons from their flooding garage in the middle of the night.<sup>112</sup> Fundraising projects on this scale relied upon both public and private goodwill – willingness to purchase, and willingness to volunteer time to coordinate the girls' efforts.

---

<sup>108</sup> [www.girlscouts.org/program/gs\\_cookies/cookie\\_history/](http://www.girlscouts.org/program/gs_cookies/cookie_history/), accessed 25 August 2011.

<sup>109</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.103.

<sup>110</sup> (No author) Wellington Province Girl Guides golden Jubilee, 1924-1974, p.27.

<sup>111</sup> Cox, p.93. Alan Doig was the husband of an ex-Guider, and a lay supporter of the Otago Guiding movement in many capacities.

<sup>112</sup> Santon and Reid, pp.13-14.

### **Regional fundraising projects and schemes:**

Groups also fundraised for regional or national schemes, and were set financial targets. Regional projects often related to infrastructure development in this era, and campsites and provincial headquarters were common goals. Often this fundraising effort was in addition to those of groups working towards their own building projects. Wellington Province opened an appeal fund for a new Guide Headquarters in 1966, hoping that each of the province's 8000 members would raise £1 towards costs: Onslow District, comprising eight Guide and Brownie groups, received a target of £200.<sup>113</sup> As well as contributing to a common goal, Brownies and Guides were encouraged to consider the ninth Guide Law: 'A Guide is thrifty'. Fundraising for regional projects like campsites was often drawn out, as the costs were larger than for local projects and negotiations over suitable sites sometimes protracted. Once these projects had raised enough to buy the sites or buildings, ongoing costs for development and maintenance were also borne in large part by local or provincial groups. Where this occurred, it was important to maintain members' sense of ownership of the facilities. Campsites, where groups spent time both as campers and as maintenance crews upgrading 'their' camp, seemed to have an advantage in this respect, and were often regarded with considerable affection by those who had both contributed to them and enjoyed many camping experiences there.<sup>114</sup>

Following the pattern of earlier Scouting and Guiding in New Zealand, regional or provincial commissioners were often hand picked for their jobs by their predecessors or by national office-holders. This was based in part on their social standing in their communities, and previous Scouting or Guiding experience was not a prerequisite. While this indicated class divisions within the movements, there were also practical considerations to this selection process. Provincial histories repeatedly refer to the initiative and useful networks of Commissioners,

---

<sup>113</sup> Wellington Province Girl Guides Golden Jubilee 1924-1974, (no author), p.43.

<sup>114</sup> The acquisition and development of regional campsites is covered in more depth in the Infrastructure section of this chapter.

and the ways in which they were able to use their influence to further the movements' goals. In Scouting, ex-military officers were well represented in commissioner ranks in the two decades following the end of World War II.<sup>115</sup> In Guiding, mayoresses and the wives of professional men were approached to fill these roles. In both cases, their ability to offer time, organisational skills and influence within their communities was important. By utilizing their social networks and knowledge of charitable organisations these women were able to steer and help fund large projects: Otago Girl Guides Provincial Commissioner Beryl Sidey was a woman of considerable energy, influence and initiative, which she applied to numerous major fundraising projects in her province; and Camp Rutherford, a 10-acre piece of coastal land in south Auckland was purchased and developed 'largely due to the foresight of' Audrey Rutherford as Auckland Provincial Commissioner in the 1960s.<sup>116</sup> Over time, these important roles were more likely to be filled by those with experience in the lower ranks of the movements, although having the goodwill of local identities, politicians and business people was still advantageous to accessing funding in local communities and provinces. When ex-Scout Rodney Jones was visited at work by the Dominion Chief Commissioner and two well-known Taranaki Scouting leaders, he 'expect[ed] to be asked for financial support' but was instead asked to accept the position of District Commissioner.<sup>117</sup> He quickly realised that 'it was important to make sure the movement had the support of good, well known citizens' and recruited new officeholders including New Plymouth's deputy mayor and representatives of professions and the military.<sup>118</sup>

Regional administrators had the unenviable task of being financially responsible to those in their areas or provinces, and to those at the national level. They collected levies from groups, and disbursed them according to set ratios. Some remained with districts, some was allocated to provincial accounts and the

---

<sup>115</sup> In the aftermath of both world wars, the proportion of ex-military officers in the population was higher than otherwise might be expected, but many found their community service niche in uniformed youth movements like Scouting.

<sup>116</sup> [www.girlguidingnz.org.nz/about-us/our-properties](http://www.girlguidingnz.org.nz/about-us/our-properties), accessed 1 September 2011.

<sup>117</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.259.

<sup>118</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.260.

rest was claimed by national administrators for the movements' infrastructural, programme, training and organizational expenses. At each level, those responsible for annual budgets had to justify funds distribution in a period when membership growth meant extra demands on facilities and programme equipment. The Girl Guides 1947 Dominion Commissioners' Conference established an Expansion Fund, with Provinces having set targets, to provide a financially sound basis for the post war movement. Chief Commissioner Ruth Herrick justified this nationwide fundraising campaign by stating, 'If the Movement is to expand and go forward, Dominion Headquarters would need extra money as follows:

- 'Upkeep of Arahina<sup>119</sup> until it is established and able to finance itself.
- Development of Training – to procure a Trainer from Great Britain – to train suitable New Zealand Guiders as Instructors.
- Dominion Peace Camp
- Better Publicity and Propaganda
- Further development of Guiding throughout New Zealand.'

She continued, 'If we could raise 2/6d. a head per annum for the next 5 years this would give us approximately £1,000 a year. It was felt that if the need is explained to the children, and that the Fund is for the expansion of their own Movement, they will be keen to help.'<sup>120</sup> While the strategic thinking behind this fund was sound, particularly at the beginning of the movement's post-war growth, extra financial demands imposed on the membership were not always appreciated or achieved by those out in local packs and companies. Distance between Headquarters decision-makers and fundraisers brought some challenges. Between 1946 and 1956 Girl Guide membership doubled to 18000 girls, costs were growing while the government grant remained unchanged, and the movement was still being led by volunteers from their small Hastings office. Given these pressures, the movement's national leaders felt a strong imperative to acquire and develop funding sources. Yet some grumbling and dissension from provincial administrations over allocated targets occurred within both movements, and within the Girl Guides a (rare) outright confrontation developed. It arose after a

---

<sup>119</sup> Arahina was the national 'home' of Guiding, bought and developed at this time. It is covered in more depth in the Infrastructure section of this chapter.

<sup>120</sup> Manawatu Province Girl Guides Records: Dominion Commissioners' Conference, 1-6 May 1947, Report.

nationwide Girl Guide development fund was instigated in 1956. It was originally intended to raise £30,000 over a year, for four specific purposes: expanding Arahina; developing a new Dominion Headquarters; employing two fulltime paid training officers to travel throughout the country; and to develop Guiding in the Pacific Islands.<sup>121</sup> Each province was allocated a financial target based on their membership numbers, with the funds raised divided equally between National Headquarters and the provinces. Auckland province, the largest in the country, had the daunting task of raising £14,000, and Marlborough as the smallest £500.<sup>122</sup> The conflict arose when the target, agreed upon at national Commissioners conferences, was later doubled to £60,000 by a smaller group of Commissioners and executive officers. Southland Province claimed this was done without proper consultation and, led by Provincial Commissioner Christine Cumming, objected to both the size of their allocated target and the manner in which it had been imposed. They questioned the financial rationale behind doubling the levy, sought advice from local businessmen, and distributed their findings directly to other provinces. Although Southland's records indicated that other provinces were also unhappy at the decision, the Chief Commissioner's response to this perceived disloyalty was to make an example of Southland by withdrawing the leaders' warrants for the province's packs and companies.<sup>123</sup> Both women, and their supporters, held what they considered principled stances and neither was willing to yield. The standoff continued for a year, involved Invercargill's Mayor and Member of Parliament and eventually took the intervention of Dame Leslie Whately, the director of WAGGGS (the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts), to bring about a reconciliation between the mutually aggrieved parties – during which time the girls of the province could not carry on with their Guiding activities.<sup>124</sup> This episode,

---

<sup>121</sup> 'Miss Cumming Gives Full Facts About Guide Dispute', *Southland Daily News*, 11 July 1957, [clipped article, no page numbers given], Southland Girl Guides records, Invercargill City Libraries and Archives.

<sup>122</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.103.

<sup>123</sup> Letter dated 6 May, 1957, from Southland Girl Guides Hon. Secretary Mrs J. H. B. Scholefield to Miss M Iles, General Secretary, Girl Guides Association. Southland Guides records (ICA01.319), Invercargill City Libraries and Archives.

<sup>124</sup> The dispute came to involve Invercargill's Mayor and Member of Parliament (who raised it in the House.) *Parliamentary Debates*, 18 June 1958.

ostensibly over the development levy, was also indicative of the movement's leadership structure in a period of rapid change and growth:

The chief commissioner, appointed by Imperial Headquarters, had no term of office and there was no mechanism for challenging her authority or questioning her judgement except through the council she appointed. Leadership from the top down might have worked in the early days but the cracks were beginning to show.<sup>125</sup>

There are few major documented – and public – disagreements in the records of the New Zealand Guiding movement, and this incident combined provincial concerns over imposed funding loads, and the 'high-handed attitude' of the Chief Commissioner.<sup>126</sup> Both parties agreed that the publicity generated by this well bred but intransigent conflict was not the kind that the movement sought, and following its resolution 'people were sworn to say no more, a veil was drawn over the sad affair and the correspondence locked away'.<sup>127</sup> The development levy fell only slightly short of its ambitious £60,000 target, with National Headquarters receiving its share of £28,000 with which to fund its 4-point plan.

### **The role of central government as a funder and supporter:**

The Scouts Association also introduced a nationwide Development Fund in the 1950s, as part of a complete financial overhaul. In 1955 and 1956 their accounts showed a £2000 deficit, indicative of increased membership demands but also some administrative and executive dysfunction. The financial deficit was addressed by restructuring National Headquarters and Scout Shop or Equipment Section finances.<sup>128</sup> The association, in conjunction with the Girl Guides, also lobbied the Minister of Internal Affairs for an increase in annual funding, which was granted for the 1956 financial year. This particular change in funding was a major boost to the movements, which went from a fixed annual grant to an annuity

---

<sup>125</sup> Dawber, p.2008, p.105.

<sup>126</sup> Letter dated 1 July 1957, from Miss C. Cumming to parents of Southland Guides and Brownies. Southland Guides records (ICA01.319), Invercargill City Libraries and Archives.

<sup>127</sup> [www.stuff.co.nz/southland-times/news/features/3497967/Guiding-scandal-rediscovered](http://www.stuff.co.nz/southland-times/news/features/3497967/Guiding-scandal-rediscovered), accessed 2 September 2011.

<sup>128</sup> Culliford, p.127. Restructuring the Scout movement's leadership and executive makeup also occurred after a period of fractiousness in the 1950s. This will be covered in the programme (or adult volunteers) chapter.

linked to membership numbers – a distinct fillip for organisations experiencing rapid membership growth. In the previous year the Guides received a Ministry of Internal Affairs grant of £1000; under the new formula it jumped to £3330.<sup>129</sup> The Association's 1956 Annual Report acknowledged the state's generosity: 'Government has generously increased our grant on a pro rata basis of £15 per every 100 members...We are indebted to all Members of Parliament for their sympathetic understanding.'<sup>130</sup> Recognition was mutual, with politicians reinforcing the relationship between the financial contributions that central government was prepared to make and the perceived social value in supporting the movements. E. P. Aderman, Government MP for Taranaki, speaking at the opening of a new hall in his electorate in 1955, told his Scouting audience, 'You are now entitled to £15 per member [and] a grant of £2000 has been made for building headquarters in the Dominion. The Government is interested to support a movement that has got continuity and performance.'<sup>131</sup> While youth citizenship training was laudable and supported, so too was a proven track record in this area.

Central government played an important role in supporting and funding New Zealand Scouting and Guiding throughout the period of this study, until 1986 when it ceased all capitation grants to youth organisations. The Ministry of Internal Affairs had also supplied smaller annual grants in the pre-war era, but these ceased in the 1930s when government department budgets were drastically reduced and funding to voluntary organisations severely curtailed. Where grants continued, it was to organisations that provided immediate aid to struggling citizens, rather than ideological investment in future citizens. The Boy Scouts Association had their grant reinstated in the 1940s, as did the Girl Guides - although only after they somewhat indignantly (but politely) requested its resumption using the Scouts as a precedent.<sup>132</sup> Marie Iles, the Dominion

---

<sup>129</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, # 88-130-07/3 Annual Reports, 1952-1967, GGANZ Annual Reports, 1955 and 1957.

<sup>130</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, # 88-130-07/3 Annual Reports, 1952-1967, GGANZ Annual Report 1956, p.13.

<sup>131</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.86.

<sup>132</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-12/05, Girl Guides Association records, 'Government Departments 1943-1971'.

Secretary, wrote to Walter Nash as the Minister of Finance, pointing out that her association had made every effort to be self-supporting and ‘in order not to hamper the war effort’ had not made public appeals for funds since the beginning of the war. However, she continued, the association was now compelled to seek a bank overdraft to meet costs, and in order to continue their youth work they appealed to the government’s previous generosity and ongoing appreciation of the movement’s work. The Minister replied that he would recommend to the Minister of Internal Affairs that the grant be resumed, and that ‘it is a pleasure to give some recognition and small assistance’ to the Girl Guides.<sup>133</sup> Secretaries of both movements wrote directly to Ministers of the Crown to plead their case for continued funding at different times, on the grounds that Scouting and Guiding were instrumental in preparing young New Zealanders for active citizenship and service. As with other organisations that benefited from regular government grants and subsidies, relationships with the Ministers of Internal Affairs and Finance were largely cordial; and requests for funds, while not inevitably successful, were at least looked upon favourably.<sup>134</sup>

The brief post-war ‘blossoming’ of the Ministry of Internal Affairs’ Physical Welfare Branch was aided by Art Union lottery profits, which funded expansion into more community projects and funding.<sup>135</sup> The branch supported a range of recreational and sporting activities, including Scouting and Guiding initiatives, interpreting its role widely. Arthur Harper, the Secretary for Internal Affairs in 1951, saw his department’s goal thus:

There is a tendency to think of physical welfare and recreation work as teaching people just to do ‘drill’ and play games. This work has a much deeper significance

---

<sup>133</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-12/05, Girl Guides Association records, ‘Government Departments 1943-1971’.

<sup>134</sup> The ongoing nature of the state’s financial support for voluntary organisations over time is well-documented in Tennant (2007), pp.117-118, 132, 133, 185.

<sup>135</sup> Michael Bassett, *The mother of all departments: the history of the Department of Internal Affairs*, Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1997, p.147. For a wider discussion of the Branch’s aims and programmes see Chapter 2 (‘Leisure and Democracy. Physical Welfare as the People’s Entitlement in New Zealand’, pp.70-98), in Charlotte Macdonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern. National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935-1960*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2011.

in helping thousands of people to use their leisure time to greater advantage, not only to learn skills but to enrich their lives and help them become better citizens.<sup>136</sup>

Scout and Guide leaders also lamented a tendency to see their movements in stereotypical clichés, and welcomed government funding to facilitate their work in developing young citizens. Although this broad area of funding declined over time from the generous levels of the later 1940s (in 1949, £47,000 was allocated to various recreational and youth organisations) Scouting and Guiding still gained comparatively generous grants.<sup>137</sup>

In addition to annual grants, both organisations received large one-off grants in the mid-1960s, earmarked for establishing ‘loans to groups’ funds. These enabled local groups to complete dens and halls or to help purchase campsites. Both movements also gained funds from ‘Golden Kiwi’ lottery profits for special projects: in 1969 the Girl Guides Association received \$9000 towards a new hall at Arahina.<sup>138</sup> Earlier Art Union funding dispersal was entirely at the discretion of the Minister, but the Gaming Amendment Act 1962 changed this to grant oversight to a six-person board.<sup>139</sup> The Scouting and Guiding movements financially benefited from both manifestations of state lottery funding.<sup>140</sup> Continued successful grant applications indicated consecutive governments’ endorsement of Scouting and Guiding as sanctioned youth leisure options, especially in the somewhat alarmed social atmosphere following the Mazengarb Inquiry and Report.<sup>141</sup> The Physical Welfare Branch had narrowed its focus by the 1960s and ‘increasingly after the Mazengarb Inquiry it became known as the Youth Services Branch’, reflecting its

---

<sup>136</sup> Bassett, p.148.

<sup>137</sup> Bassett, p.147.

<sup>138</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, Annual Report, GGANZ, 1969,

<sup>139</sup> David Grant, *On a Roll. A History of Gambling & Lotteries in New Zealand*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994, pp.224-225. The six appointees still included the Minister of Internal Affairs, joined by the Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition and three nominees of the Governor-General. As support for Scouting and Guiding crossed the two main party political boundaries, and the Governor-General and his wife were the honorary titular heads of the New Zealand movements, it was likely that this group would continue to regard applications from these organisations favourably.

<sup>140</sup> Sports and other recreational organisations gained ‘vital sustenance’ from this source of funding, but were increasingly compelled to compete for funds. Macdonald, p.94.

<sup>141</sup> Leon Gotz, Minister of Internal Affairs in the 1960s, unilaterally reallocated available art union funding to favour youth, culture and the aged, but this was overturned to better represent the applicants. Grant, p.224.

predominant focus.<sup>142</sup> Governmental support for youth services, combined with increased lottery profits, translated into targeted generous grants for national youth organisations – of which the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides were the largest.<sup>143</sup> Keeping young New Zealanders engaged in officially approved leisure activities came at a cost, but it was a cost that successive governments – of both main political persuasions - were willing to pay.

### **Private donors – trusts and corporates:**

Private fundraising by local groups, and government grants and subsidies, provided most of the income for the Scouting and Guiding movements. Yet there were two other significant funding sources – charitable trusts and commercial sponsorships and donations. In both cases, their financial support indicated their connections with the movements; connections that were developed through personal or family membership, or through ideological endorsement of their youth work aims. As with every other form of fundraising, networks of association were important for the movements – seeking those with the means, and inclination, to financially back them.

Large charitable trusts like the J. R. McKenzie Trust (established in 1940) and regional trusts such as the T. G. McCarthy Trust, that had within their trust deeds the encouragement of youth work or education, were regular supporters of both Scouts and Guides. Regional trust administrators sometimes developed relationships with district or provincial Scout or Guide leaders within their areas. Manawatu Girl Guides received regular grants from the T.G. McCarthy Trust in the 1960s and 1970s, so when they wrote to the trustees in 1976 requesting not just a grant but a doubled grant (having completed the wrong form the previous year)

---

<sup>142</sup> Bassett, p.187.

<sup>143</sup> Bassett, p.187, notes that in the *AJHRs*, 1968, H-22, p.51, \$48,500 was given in grants to national youth organisations as part of the focus on youth leadership. The National Youth Council, YMCA and YWCA are mentioned in the *AJHR* as being major recipients. In addition, \$52,360 was paid out in capitation grants to uniformed youth movements. Of that total \$34,920 went to the Scouts and Guides movements.

their application was successful on both counts.<sup>144</sup> Both organisations' annual reports note McKenzie trust donations throughout the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>145</sup> Some trusts had direct connections with the movements, and were therefore well disposed to their funding requests. Sir Percy Sargood, a strong supporter of New Zealand Scouting who had served on its Dominion Executive, established the Sargood Trust. It developed the Sargood Training Plan in 1944-45, with an initial donation of £3000, aimed at providing trained leaders for the post-war movement.<sup>146</sup> As with networks of association within regional fundraising efforts, trustees with Scouting and Guiding connections may have been inclined to treat funding requests favourably.

Commercial or corporate donors fell into two camps: those that would donate when approached, and those that entered into sponsorship arrangements with the movements. Scouting and Guiding's wholesome public profile and governmental sanction was a good fit for many businesses, and ex-Scout businessmen in particular appear to have been amenable to giving donations.<sup>147</sup> When Scouting held a nationwide funding drive in 1967, the list of business donors detailed in the Annual Report's financial report was extensive, and representative of the range of corporate business in New Zealand.<sup>148</sup> The Girl Guides' list of business sponsors was less extensive, but still included a cross-section of the New Zealand business world. The difference between the movements' ability to generate business donations may have been attributable to the dearth of women in positions of responsibility in the business world, and therefore fewer ex-Guides.<sup>149</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> Manawatu Province Girl Guide Records: Minute book: Minutes of the Executive Meeting of the Girl Guides Association, Manawatu Province: 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977, 5 February 1976; 18 November 1976.

<sup>145</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967; SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Annual Reports.

<sup>146</sup> Wilson, p.53; *Evening Post*, 15 September 1945, p.9.

<sup>147</sup> While this is difficult to quantify, it may reflect the middle class element in Scouting, where boys from affluent areas were more likely to attain management roles in business, and therefore able to allocate funds; alternatively, that social aspiration was linked to Scouting and that boys who became Scouts, irrespective of background, developed into the 'right sort', who made their way in business management positions.

<sup>148</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Annual Reports.

<sup>149</sup> It is also possible that some of the business donations received came as a result of associations with Guiding through socially prominent Provincial or National Commissioners.

Some manufacturers and retailers saw benefits in building relationships with the Scouting and Guiding movements, particularly when their products were aimed at a youth market. At a 1981 jamboree, the Canteen Report noted ‘The Scout Association of New Zealand have an arrangement with Coca Cola to sell only their product as a special gesture in return for their sponsorship in many fields.’<sup>150</sup> What the association saw as a ‘special gesture’ in gratitude for sponsorship could alternatively be viewed as an effective youth marketing strategy for this major supplier. The major named sponsorship undertaken in this period for both the Scout and Guide movements was with the Bata Superstrong shoe company. For young people in this era, Bata shoes were common; ‘Bata Bullets’ for casual wear and ‘Bata Scouts’ for schoolwear. The naming of this range of school shoes was unlikely to have been coincidental, especially since a major selling point was the compass in the heel of some coveted models. Clearly the Bata company saw a business advantage in allying itself with Scouting and Guiding, but the sponsorship arrangement that they negotiated with the movements also reflected the philanthropic ethos of the international company’s owner, Tomas Bata and his wife Sonja.<sup>151</sup> The sponsorship deal consisted of funding annual competitions and prizes for Scouts and Guides for a period of five years, although the scheme lasted for a decade in total, as well as donations for specific purposes. Competitions differed in theme by year and by gender: in 1963 age groups in Scouting competed for the Bata Superstrong Camping and Hiking Award, whilst their female peers competed in a Bata Handcraft Exhibition. In both cases, winners in the three age group sections won trips to awards dinners in main centres, and their efforts (where applicable) were publicly displayed.<sup>152</sup> The company’s initial offer to sponsor a competition was intended ‘to encourage Scouts to participate in outdoor

---

<sup>150</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3 Jamboree Reports (9<sup>th</sup> NZ jamboree at Tomoana 1980-1981.)

<sup>151</sup> Mr Bata philanthropically supported Scouting and Guiding, as well as other youth and education ventures, throughout the world. Mrs Bata took an active interest in Guiding and was ‘a very keen Guide and a member of a Sub-Committee of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts’. ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967: Annual Report, 1964: Chief Commissioner’s Report.

<sup>152</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.109.

activities' and later Bata competitions for girls also incorporated camping as a theme – the 1972 Bata challenge for the Guide branch included an outdoor survival adventure, won by an Ashburton patrol.<sup>153</sup> Perhaps the most popular challenge for girls, and certainly the best publicized, was the Bata Bun Bake-Off in 1971, where pairs of girls competed to bake the best rock buns from a provided recipe.<sup>154</sup>



**Figure 12: Red Shield Brownies, cook-in competition, 1971.**

These 'Red Shield' Salvation Army Brownies took part in the first Bata Challenge for Brownies in 1971. Contestants competed at local, regional and national levels for prizes, wearing branded clothing. Their male peers competed in outdoor challenges this year, although in later years the gendered nature of the competitions was less overt, as girls too undertook camping challenges.

Image: Courtesy of Kete Horowhenua and the Horowhenua Historical Society, under a Creative Commons Licence. Creator:

*Chronicle* <div xmlns:cc="http://creativecommons.org/ns#" xmlns:dct="http://purl.org/dc/terms/" about="http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/images/show/9426-red-shield-brownies-cook-in-competition-1971"><span property="dct:title">Red Shield Brownies, cook-in competition, 1971</span> (<a rel="cc:attributionURL" property="cc:attributionName" href="http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/account/show/1-kete-horowhenua">Kete Horowhenua</a>) / <a rel="license" href="http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/nz/">CC BY-NC-SA 3.0</a></div>

Regional and national finals were public affairs, with the Bata brand strongly in evidence. The long-lived Bata sponsorship was a mixture of astute business marketing and the philanthropic ethos of the company's owners, which worked well for both the donors and the movements.

<sup>153</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, 99-241-6/3 Annual Reports: Annual Report, 1962, p.22; Dawber, 2008, p.146.

<sup>154</sup> Two Upper Moutere Brownies won their provincial Bata bake-off by 'being prepared' with soft butter to begin with, rather than through their superior culinary skills. Dawber, 2002, p.87.

At all levels, from local troops and companies to nationally coordinated events, the movements assiduously mined their communities, trusts and the state to provide sufficient funds to successfully promulgate their values and programmes – while trying to adhere to Baden-Powell’s ‘no funds without value given’ mantra. Some sources remained constant throughout, as local groups continued (and sometimes struggled) to find ways in which they could meet provide for themselves and meet national administration levies. Others, including the state, grew over time to become major funders of Scouting and Guiding, reinforcing their endorsement of their youth citizenship programmes with tangible support.

### **SECTION 3: INFRASTRUCTURE: BUILD IT AND THEY WILL COME?**

Cubs, Brownies, Scouts and Guides from all over North Taranaki formed a picturesque setting at the opening ceremony of the new Waitara Scout Hall...on May 28, 1955. The weather was brilliantly fine and there was a large attendance of parents and supporters.<sup>155</sup>

Building, in one way or another, was the predominant feature of Guiding and Scouting in the third quarter of the twentieth century. As discussed in the Membership section of this chapter, unprecedented membership growth required infrastructure built to support it. This reflected population growth in New Zealand, and a period of construction and infrastructure development in the public, commercial and civil sectors. On a concrete level, the Scouting and Guiding movements built or acquired a significant number of buildings in which to run programmes and train leaders. This body of real estate encompassed everything from small self-built halls or dens in rural areas, to provincial headquarters and national 'homes' for both Scouting and Guiding. While the development of permanent bases undoubtedly aided those running programmes for Scouts, Guides and leaders, the process involved in both attaining and maintaining them brought its own challenges. This section will look at local, regional and national property development – both in terms of land and buildings – and consider what effect this property development had on programmes. While a link between suburban Scout dens and the promulgation of citizenship values may seem to be drawing a long bow, these tangible and conceptual elements of Scouting and Guiding were undoubtedly linked. The section will also consider how declining membership affected local groups', and the national movements', ability to physically maintain and financially sustain these properties. Finally this section will examine the role that New Zealand Scouts and Guides played in supporting their movements' international bases for training and camps, and how this distant international aspect of Scouting and Guiding was 'sold' to members.

---

<sup>155</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.85.

### **Local ‘homes’ – dens and halls:**

Although many packs, companies and troops established in the pre-World War II era began their lives attached to church halls or schoolrooms, sharing spaces with other users was always a compromise. Weekly meeting resources had to be unpacked before they started and repacked afterwards, and bulky camping equipment stored where it was accessible but not inconvenient for others. These problems were compounded when different age groups of the movements shared spaces. The issue of collective identity and its displays was also an argument for acquiring purpose-built facilities. In their own spaces, Scouts and Guides could put on view their group ‘colours’, and fill the wall space with appropriate instructional or aspirational material. The space thus became theirs, provided a locus for their activities and reflected their group values. Local and regional histories, usually written by adults with long associations with Scouting or Guiding in their areas, devote considerable space to the process of acquiring dens or halls. Given the often-extensive negotiations with numerous interested parties, and volunteer hours involved in planning, fundraising, project managing and building, their obvious pride in achieving their ends is understandable.

When the Waitara Scout Hall was opened in May 1955, it was the culmination of years of planning and fundraising.<sup>156</sup> Mr V. C. Tate, as Chairman of the Parents Association, proudly addressed the large gathering that included two local Members of Parliament (with an apology from the Minister of Internal Affairs), the Mayor of Waitara and a number of Commissioners from both Scouts and Guides in the region.

For years we have been without a proper home. Some years ago we started to build a hall, but were prevented through lack of materials. In the meantime we have been buffeted from pillar to post, making up with temporary rooms in order to hold our identity and keep the Scout movement alive in Waitara. This new hall has taken us nearly 12 months to build,” he continued. “The dimensions are 90 feet by 30 feet and cost £3,000. It is not entirely debt free as we still owe £20, but we are not the least worried about that.<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> While there had been Scout troops in Waitara since 1911, they had always occupied church halls or warehouses. The push to obtain their own hall was a post-war initiative.

<sup>157</sup>Bellini, p.85.

Speakers stressed contemporary youth's role in society and the movements' part in preparing them for citizenship. The Mayor W. R. Yardley remarked favourably on the committee's foresight in allowing for anticipated membership growth in a time of rapid population growth. He expressed his admiration for such youth-oriented work, and to the assembled young members affirmed his belief that 'with the training you receive through the Scout and Guide movement your future can be assured'.<sup>158</sup> Assistant District Commissioner Reverend F. A. Fitzsimons' message linked building the new local hall with building up the welfare and capability of New Zealand's youth, declaring that 'We work together today for the Commonwealth and Nations of tomorrow. The opening of your building will not be the end of great work you have set out to do but rather the beginning of greater work.'<sup>159</sup> While such occasions lend themselves to public-spirited pronouncements, it is interesting that successive speakers considered that providing facilities for Scouts and Guides was part of a wider continuum of active citizenship in this period. Nor was such sentiment expressed purely in the abstract. The Waitara Scout Hall, along with many others throughout the country, was built upon land either donated by or leased from local government bodies at peppercorn rentals. In Waitara's case, a generous parcel of land bordering a reserve was leased from the Borough Council. When, in 1963, three sections of this land were surplus to local Scouting and Guiding needs, they asked the Borough Council to revoke the lease pertaining to them and incorporate the land into neighbouring Pennington Park. The strong links that developed between the movements and their local community, as evidenced in the development of the hall, provided a basis for mutual cooperation and goodwill.

Once opened, Scouts, Guides, Venturers, Cubs, Brownies, the Scout Group and Hall Committees and the district Local Association used this hall six days a week.<sup>160</sup> A Combined Hall Committee, whose twelve members were drawn equally

---

<sup>158</sup> Bellini (ed.). p.85.

<sup>159</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.86.

<sup>160</sup> A Local Association supplemented and supported the work of the movement leaders, and could include parents of members and interested members of the public.

from Scouting, Guiding and the Waitara public, administered and maintained the building and its surrounds. Community-based fundraising efforts were well supported; and there was tangible help in the form of borrowed trucks and volunteer labour when annual bottle drives involved large numbers of local members door-knocking houses, and collecting empty bottles for their refund value. For many years this proved such a good source of funds for hall maintenance that the committee split its funds 50/50 with the local Scouts and Guides groups.<sup>161</sup>

This snapshot of Waitara's Scout Hall development process is largely representative of similar efforts throughout the country in the 1950s and 1960s, the peak time for building Scout and Guide halls and dens in New Zealand. The general pattern was of an initial impetus driven by a small group of determined adult leaders towards acquiring an appropriate independent space; community fundraising and solicitations of physical skill-based help; acquiring suitable land; construction, or renovation of a relocated building; and finally, but importantly, the ongoing maintenance of the new facility. The organizing committee's initial targets, in terms of monetary donations or promises of labour, were members' families. Many families had both sons and daughters involved in local Scouting and Guiding, and worked to support combined and separate fundraising efforts. Palmerston North's West End Scout and Cub Committee directly appealed to parents by stressing the benefits for their sons that would accrue as a result of contributing to their fundraising efforts, in a 1949 note entitled 'Will you help us?':

The West End Scout and Cub Committee helps your boy, by providing us with funds. They are building a hall for him. A Gala Day is being held on April the 2<sup>nd</sup> in aid of this Hall for your sons.

At this Gala, Akela and Baloo are running a produce stall. Will you help us? It is for your boy. Will you give something, anything in the way of produce to stock our stall?

Bagheera, Kaa and Nuska are running a sweets stall. Will you help us? It is all to help your son. Can you give us either sweets already made? Or can you give us the ingredients so we can make them – sugar etc?

Everything, even a little, will help.

West End Cubmasters.<sup>162</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.86.

<sup>162</sup> Log Book, 3<sup>rd</sup> P.N. West End Cub Pack, 1948-49, West End Scout Group archives.

This was followed by often-extended periods of community fundraising and soliciting support in the form of building supplies and skilled labour. During a nationwide building boom materials were often hard to source, and the goodwill and advice of merchants and tradesmen was significant. Yet many groups completed their projects themselves, with generations working together: with the exception of laying concrete blocks the Mornington Scout hall was built entirely by volunteers, over an estimated '3300+ hours'.<sup>163</sup> Such self-reliance added to the community's goodwill, as they saw Scouts actively working on their own projects rather than relying solely upon professionals. Groups were also sometimes assisted by Department of Internal Affairs grants, some of which came through the Minister's individual discretionary distribution of art union lottery funds. This relied not only upon putting a good case to the Minister for such funding, but also on the warmth of the client-patron relationship between the Scout and Guide movements' and the Minister. By the mid-1960s the administration and disbursement of lottery funds was vested in an independent body. New Plymouth's Huatoki Scouts fundraised over eleven years to raise £500 for their den, and then applied to the Lotteries Commission in 1964 for the remaining £250. Receiving a grant of £200 allowed them to relocate the house they had purchased and open their den the following year.<sup>164</sup> Other national government funding came from community development recreation programmes run by the department's Physical Welfare Branch, or through cooperative joint ventures. Initial plans by Manawatu Province Girl Guides, in 1970, to build an overnight shelter and storage building on Mount Ruapehu (with the National Parks Board to erect an adjacent ablutions block) were buoyed by fundraising amongst local and provincial Guide companies. Donations from the regional Dudding Trust and Rotary service clubs supplemented this, and within eighteen months the amount raised exceeded \$5600. At this point Park Board rangers proposed taking over the funds and project, in order to qualify for a 2:1 government subsidy for building costs. Lengthy

---

<sup>163</sup> Jones, p.88.

<sup>164</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.129.

discussion ensued amongst the provincial guides administration about this joint venture, and agreement was reached. Mangawhero Lodge was opened in early 1974, and the Girl Guides Association was also granted a travel concession for transport between the lodge and the railway station. In this case, various funding sources combined with the resources of a government department provided the provincial association with a facility that exceeded their initial expectations.<sup>165</sup>

For most projects, once sufficient funds had been raised (or secured) to meet most anticipated costs representatives approached local government bodies seeking available land on which to build or relocate existing buildings for renovation. Their strike rate was favourable: of fifteen New Plymouth and North Taranaki Scout halls or dens built in the 1950s and 1960s over half were located on public land, whether as the single occupier or alongside other public facilities.<sup>166</sup> Dunedin's Mornington troop built a new Memorial Hall in 1958, to house the troop and to commemorate three Scout leaders, who had been killed in World War II, on land that had housed the old Borough Council offices.<sup>167</sup> Other donors of land for halls and dens included individuals or families, and churches.<sup>168</sup> In Motueka, the local Guides built their own hall on land set aside for them in a new public reserve - Thorp Bush - formed in 1952. One of the donors of the estate that formed the reserve was an ex-Guide and a Brownie Guider in Motueka.<sup>169</sup> Goodwill, in the form of land donations, was a tangible form of public support and approval for Scouting and Guiding's youth work. While most, like Motueka's Thorp family, had direct associations with one of the movements, other groups benefited from the philanthropy of individuals who saw Scouting and Guiding as worthwhile youth work.

---

<sup>165</sup> Details of this project from: Minutes, Executive Meeting of the Girl Guides Association, Manawatu Province – Minute book: 7 August 1968-6 October 1977. Manawatu Province Girl Guides Archives.

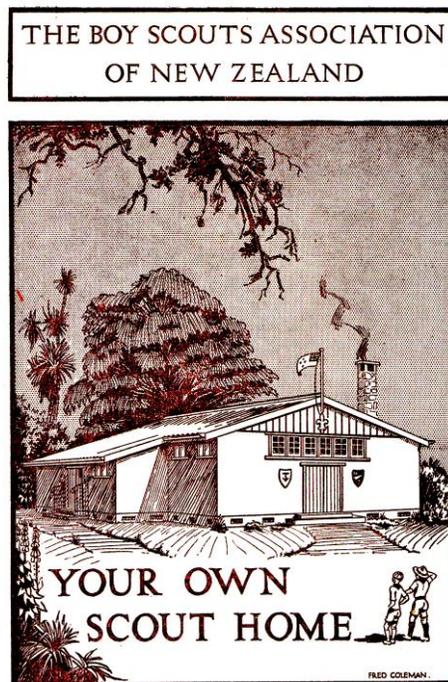
<sup>166</sup> Bellini (ed.) contains multiple entries for individual groups throughout New Plymouth and North Taranaki area.

<sup>167</sup> Jones, p.88.

<sup>168</sup> Bellini (ed.). Specific information in this paragraph comes from throughout this comprehensive regional history. Chapters on individual groups generally contain information on their den or hall acquisition, significant people behind the projects and fundraising efforts required to reach their goals.

<sup>169</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.69.

Designs and plans for halls and dens varied considerably: some groups allowed for continued expansion at the outset, while others added on over time as funds allowed. Buildings had to be functional, cost effective and relatively comfortable. (Making a den *too* comfortable ran the risk of downplaying the essentially outdoors nature of Scouting and Guiding.) Scouter Fred Coleman, a draughtsman with the Lands and Surveys Department, used his vocational skills in a Scout Aids booklet entitled 'Your Own Scout Home', published by the national association in 1956.<sup>170</sup> The booklet contained relatively detailed plans for a Scout hall that could be built by skilled volunteers if necessary. It was published at a time when groups throughout the country were feeling their way towards workable solutions for housing their burgeoning troops and packs; and when the national association was agitating for strong membership growth in the run-up to Scouting's 50<sup>th</sup> jubilee in 1958.



**Figure 13: Fred Coleman's Scout den booklet, 1956**

'Your Own Scout Home' was both a practical and ideological publication. The cover, showing a sturdy den, within a recognisably New Zealand environment of open space and surrounding native trees, invites Scout groups to consider having premises like these. The 'home' of the title is reflected in the comforting curl of smoke from the chimney, and the gaze of the Scouts.

Scouts, with their ethos of male self-reliance and capability, reflected wider male stereotypes of the time, when DIY building projects and a construction boom occupied many New Zealanders' 'leisure' time.

Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand. Creator: Fred Coleman, for the Scouts Association of New Zealand, 1956.

<sup>170</sup> Fred Coleman's draughting expertise and artistic skills were utilized by the Scout Association in various ways: badge designs that reflected New Zealand themes; standards; portraits; and jamboree design work. Bellini, p.203;

[www.nzmuseums.co.nz/account/3087/object/28819/Your Own Scout Home](http://www.nzmuseums.co.nz/account/3087/object/28819/Your_Own_Scout_Home), accessed 13 July 2011.

Planning for continuing membership growth, and for infrastructure to support this, was a logical and forward-thinking stance for Scouting and Guiding's national administrations in the 1950s. However, in terms of the physical and human costs of maintaining local buildings, it relied upon at least maintaining the levels of membership and voluntary support that existed at the planning and construction stages. When membership dwindled, and adult leaders became harder to find in the later 1960s and into the 1970s, local groups that owned halls found that the burden of their upkeep fell upon a smaller pool of people. Added to these local costs were those of supporting larger regional bases and a national 'home' for each movement. A sense of place and identity, much valued in Scouting and Guiding, came at some cost.

### **Regional and National Headquarters:**

Growth in voluntary movements brings its challenges. Small, self-contained organisations can generally cope with shared spaces and compact office space for simple administrative needs. Yet as membership grows, with increased workloads and complexity of services, the need for independent purpose-built regional and national administrative office space becomes more pressing. The Scouts' and Guides' Associations were no exception to this pattern. The Otago Girl Guides' Association had operated from a succession of domestic (a room in the Provincial Commissioner's home in the mid-1920s) and commercial spaces until they decided to buy a Dunedin building in 1960. Although their available funds were admittedly paltry, community fundraising through Rotary and grants – and extensive renovations completed by leaders and their spouses - allowed the building to be opened debt-free six months after purchase. They were doubtless aided by the energy and contacts of the Provincial Commissioner, Mrs Beryl Sidey, then Dunedin's Mayoress.<sup>171</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup> Information in this paragraph from Cox, pp.90-92.

Provincial or regional centres were designed to meet their associations' administrative needs. National centres were of two kinds and met two different objectives. National headquarters for Scouting and Guiding, in Wellington and Christchurch respectively, were the centres from which policy was formulated and disseminated and paid administrative staff housed.<sup>172</sup> Both centres were in large cities, where access to networks of supporters, transport and freight links and financial aid were easier. In essence, they were the corporate face of increasingly complex and influential voluntary organisations. When the Girl Guides opened their new purpose-built national headquarters in Christchurch in 1962 the three speakers included the Minister of Finance, the Leader of the Opposition and the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom.<sup>173</sup> The other national centres were practical spaces in which training and leader meetings occurred too, yet also represented a spiritual or ideological base for the movements. Although both centres welcomed important guests from outside of the movements, they were intended for Scouting and Guiding's membership to gather and train. Tatum Park for Scouting, and Arahina for Guiding, were both acquired in the 1940s, and served the movements for over fifty years.

The precedent for establishing national 'homes' for Scouting and Guiding in New Zealand was British, as were many others in the New Zealand movements' histories. Gilwell Park, in Essex, was gifted to the Boy Scouts Association in 1919, and Foxlease, the Hampshire equivalent for the Girl Guides, in 1922. Both were large country house estates, offering room for camping and training courses. They both became much more, as the rural 'homes' for the outdoor movements. For Scouters and Guiders from other countries, attending training courses at Gilwell or Foxlease imbued them with a sense that they were part of something more than a training course: they were part of a tradition. As Hobsbawm has argued, Scouting (and by association, Guiding) exemplifies the ways in which invented traditions

---

<sup>172</sup> At the beginning of the period, the Girl Guides national headquarters were in Hastings, and the Boy Scouts' in Christchurch.

<sup>173</sup> *The Press*, 12 March 1962, p.2; Official Programme, Manawatu Province Girl Guides records.

can quickly take root and become important to those within movements.<sup>174</sup> Indeed, those Scouters who had successfully completed a Wood Badge training Course elsewhere were entitled to consider themselves members of the 1<sup>st</sup> Gilwell Park Scout Group.<sup>175</sup> Within New Zealand's ranks of senior Scouters in the 1940s were members of this group, who envisaged developing New Zealand's own Gilwell Park. Robin 'Little John' Cooksey, who negotiated with Major Tatum to gift his Manakau property to the Boy Scouts Association, had been to Gilwell Park on a number of occasions. As Dominion Commissioner for Training in this period, when mobile training courses took place throughout the country, he saw the need for a suitable base. The estate had potential for this purpose, although it needed considerable work. The first Scout Wood Badge course was held at Tatum Park at the end of 1943, and its participants were conscious of establishing their own traditions for New Zealand Scouting. Father Bernard Miles later recalled:

The day to day routine, the sessions, the camp fires, the first class hike were the same that were experienced in many places and other parts of our country. But we were experiencing the finding of a home for Wood Badge training in New Zealand. On the hike from Gilwell they might have experienced fellowship in the 'Volunteer' pub in Epping Forest – we enjoyed toheroa stew on the Manakau beach.<sup>176</sup>

Guiding followed a similar pattern to that of the Scouts in both the donation of Foxlease, the English Guiding training base, and the post-war purchase and development of Arahina. There was a significant difference though - Scouting had been gifted Tatum Park, whereas Arahina was purchased by the Girl Guides Association in 1946. At £9000, it represented 'almost £1 for every Brownie, Guide, Ranger and leader in New Zealand', and fundraising by members was supplemented by donations from 'business friends'.<sup>177</sup> The house, originally named Astelot, was aspirationally renamed Arahina - 'to lead the way' - setting the tone for what the New Zealand Guiding movement hoped would represent its central place in promulgating training and the Guiding ethos.

---

<sup>174</sup> See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. The book's introduction gives Scouting as an example of an invented tradition. P.4.

<sup>175</sup> (no author given), *An Official History of Scouting*, London: Hamlyn, 2006, p.63.

<sup>176</sup> Tom Howarth, *Tatum: A Celebration. 50 Years of Tatum Park*, Levin: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1992, p.38.

<sup>177</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.78.

Both centres were large, English-style country houses reflecting, on a less grand scale, Gilwell Park and Foxlease. However, the New Zealand movements did not have the substantial philanthropic donation pool of their English counterparts, and conditions in both Tatum Park and Arahina were initially spartan. Senior Scouters and Guiders in charge of developing the facilities relied upon fundraising within, and outside of, the movements, and substantial amounts of voluntary labour. It was also important to foster within the membership a sense of connection to Tatum Park and Arahina: that this was a place that represented Scouting or Guiding; and that members had a part to play in its development, whether or not they ever set foot there.

By 1953 there was already some doubt within the Scouting Executive over the wisdom of retaining Tatum Park, given the amount of work it needed and past and future financial outlay.<sup>178</sup> This coincided with a stagnant period where Scouting management lacked direction and leadership, and when financial affairs were not well managed.<sup>179</sup> The arrival of Major-General Leslie Lockhart as Dominion Chief Commissioner in late 1953 reoriented the administration of the movement. His assertion to the May 1955 Executive meeting that ‘the value of Tatum could not be measured in terms of finance...it was a valuable centre of Scout spirit and inspiration’ eventually won out by 1958, the fiftieth anniversary of Scouting in New Zealand.<sup>180</sup> The decision to persevere with Tatum was reliant, however, not just on rhetoric but also on a sound financial base.<sup>181</sup> This extended discussion over the financial viability of maintaining a large property like Tatum Park versus the associational values it represented was echoed in other voluntary groups’ property decisions. For organisations with limited funding and high programme costs, maximising their budget resources involved closely examining whether retaining large properties fitted with their overall direction.

---

<sup>178</sup> Howarth, p.61; ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-18/2 Historical Records [1942-1962].

<sup>179</sup> See Culliford, p.126, for a summary of the leadership hiatus and consequent ‘lack of direction that was severely felt’.

<sup>180</sup> Howarth, p.64.

<sup>181</sup> Culliford, p.128.

Districts and local groups sponsored rooms or huts, and working bees built and upgraded tracks, camping facilities and other buildings. Both centres set up subscription-based ‘Friends’ groups in the 1950s to raise funds and oversee progress, recognizing that such facilities were an extraordinary expense for the movements and required ongoing support. Tatum Park’s ‘Friends’ held Work Weeks from 1964-1980, where Scouting families committed one week of their summer holidays to voluntary work at Tatum:

The idea of inviting friends of Tatum to come and spend a week at Tatum with free accommodation and the evening meal put on by the chefs was [Camp Chief] Ian Hutton’s idea, and it worked well. The idea was that the adults would work at various projects from painting to shifting the kitchen stove while the children could have the whole Park to play in, or they could help if they wanted to, and so ‘Work Week’ was born. Even though there was always plenty of things to do in the way of projects, it was still a marvellous way to have a break.<sup>182</sup>

Participants brought their work skills and knowledge to bear on the planned tasks (everything from painting and concrete paths to dam building), and although it was often hard work, families valued time to socialise in the evenings. This voluntary activity, on top of regular Scouting commitments, was a mark of affection for, and responsibility to, Tatum Park from those who had trained there.

When Tatum Park and Arahina were acquired, nearby rail links were considered important logistical planning assets. In the 1940s many people relied upon rail travel between centres, and government rail subsidies for large groups of travelling Scouts and Guides aided their ability to attend training courses and camps. Tatum Park and Arahina were both situated in the lower North Island, although other regional properties also catered for smaller courses and events. Over time, the properties no longer worked as well for the changing movements. Declining membership meant that maintenance costs were borne by fewer members, and increasingly it was considered that funds could be better used elsewhere. The movements’ infrastructural needs also changed in response to the ability of leaders to attend courses away from their homes. The importance of rail

---

<sup>182</sup> Don Kinnaird quote, Howarth, p.135.

diminished, as private car ownership increased and rail services decreased. In short, although valued for non-financial reasons, they no longer met the needs for which they had been developed. Both movements eventually sold their national 'homes', although not without considerable soul-searching.<sup>183</sup>

### **International homes – 'Our Chalet'?**

Local Scouting and Guiding groups were expected to contribute funds towards their own dens and halls, district or regional offices and national centres (the latter two through annual levies.) For each purpose, they were reminded of their connections as members of the movements - that they were contributing to the overall wellbeing and progress of Scouting or Guiding as a whole. For many - perhaps most - members, this connection was largely ideological rather than physical: their Scouting or Guiding was done in their group's own space, whether owned or borrowed. Regional offices were generally adult spaces for administrative tasks, and national headquarters even more removed from young members' day-to-day activities. In the case of Tatum Park and Arahina, some Scouts and Guides did get to camp there, whether as part of a large camping event or as a prize for their particular accomplishments in national competitions.<sup>184</sup> Most did not. Yet for New Zealand Cubs, Scouts, Brownies or Guides there was at least some sense of ownership of these assets, particularly where districts had sponsored the building or furnishing of huts or rooms. The distance between contributing and collective ownership was stretched further when New Zealand Scouts and Guides were asked to contribute to international centres.

The development of international Guiding and Scouting centres began with Swiss chalets in 1932 and 1923 respectively. WAGGGS strategically developed four World Centres in total: in Switzerland, in 1932; London, England, in 1939; Mexico, in 1957; and India, in 1966. These centres, to which New Zealand members

---

<sup>183</sup> Arahina was sold in 2000; Tatum Park in 2006.

<sup>184</sup> For Scouts, the 'Bata' series of annual competitions sometimes included a visit to Tatum Park as part of the winners' prize.

contributed through fundraising and Thinking Day gifts, were intended to provide loci for leaders and Guides to come together in a spirit of global sorority.<sup>185</sup> Their names suggested their collective ownership - Our Ark; Our Cabana; Our Chalet; and Sangam, Sanskrit for 'joining together' – and this rhetoric was evident in both British and New Zealand Guiding literature. For most New Zealand members, however, they were geographically distant sites in the Guiding world. The small number of Guides, Rangers or Guiders who did attend camps or courses at these centres enthused about their value, and gave talks on their trips to local Guiding groups upon returning home.<sup>186</sup>

### **Campsites: the earth beneath my feet...**

If overseas Guiding or Scouting 'homes' were at the distant end of the movements' ideological and physical properties, then permanent campsites were at the other, more tangible, end. Yet these too had ideology embedded in their acquisition and use – Guiding and Scouting were self-avowedly outdoor movements, and the development of campsites to which local and district groups could become personally attached reinforced this fundamental premise.

Permanent campsites owned by Scouting and Guiding provincial associations were often long-term projects, from an original (sometimes audacious) proposal through to the purchase and development of sites. Otago Province Scouters first raised the idea of a permanent campsite in the 1930s, but found the price of desirable land too steep in economically depressed times. Over the next decade they continued to fundraise and seek appropriate sites. A farm at

---

<sup>185</sup> Thinking Day, on 22 February, is the annual commemoration of the birthdays of Lord and Lady Baden-Powell, when Guiding members are asked to consider ways in which they can help others – and help Scouting and Guiding throughout the world. The Scouting equivalent for most international Scouting countries is Founder's Day.

<sup>186</sup> For example, *Evening Post*, 26 February 1934, p.13. In addition, international Guiding visitors shared their experiences with New Zealand groups. A Swiss Guider, Yvonne Cuenod ('Cigoyne'), who had been the Guider in Charge at Our Chalet, toured New Zealand talking to Guiding groups and was resident at Arahina in the 1950s. Santon and Reid, p.49.

Whare Flat, near Dunedin, became available and in 1947 negotiations and fundraising both accelerated. As it was a large undertaking - the farm covered over 800 hectares at a cost of approximately £6000 - County Commissioner Birchall suggested that all Otago Scouters look over the site, with the proviso that should they decide 'the hurdle was too big...the project would be dropped immediately.'<sup>187</sup> They saw its potential and committed to raising £10000 (the purchase price and an endowment fund), through Scouts' efforts and a well-coordinated public campaign. A newspaper advertisement noted opportunities for Scouts to gain farming experience and ongoing farm income from the property. It was described as 'an ideal campsite close to the city and the rugged country stretching to the Silverpeaks and beyond'.<sup>188</sup> The campaign clearly worked as the campsite, which Otago Scouts named Waiora, was almost debt-free by the time of its official opening in early 1949. This was due in large part to the energy of the fundraisers, but also due to the goodwill of the Dunedin and Otago public, who supported the project as a worthwhile facility for developing boys' and young men's outdoor skills and characters. County Commissioner Burchill ('Tawai')<sup>189</sup> recorded his impressions of the site in use over Labour Day Weekend in 1948 in the Warden's Log Book:

Experienced a real thrill as I walked up the valley and saw the Troops settling in, the fires going, realised that at last Otago Scouts had their own campsite. The hard work and worry of the past few years had been worthwhile. [Next day] ...up the valley and up to the Lookout, again when looking around from the Lookout and seeing the tents and fires dotted round the valley I...felt thankful to all those who had helped in securing this great site for Otago Scouts for all time ...Team work and cooperation had paid off and if continued in developing the property, would truly create for Otago Scouts a worthwhile endowment and a wonderful campsite.<sup>190</sup>

Over time, some initiatives proved too costly in time and investment. The farm on the property, which had supplied useful income for the provincial administration

---

<sup>187</sup> Jones, p.69.

<sup>188</sup> Jones, pp.70-71. The *Evening Star* copy was headed 'Benefit to Otago Scouts' Bush Camp Youth Venture' and was accompanied by photographs and maps of the site and Scouts at camp.

<sup>189</sup> Scouting and Guiding histories often refer to leaders' Scouting or Guiding names. These were often related either to early Scouting influences (Baden-Powell's works, or Kipling's *Jungle Book* characters for cub leaders), or to natural history (Matai, Rewa, Ruru and other New Zealand flora and fauna were common in this period).

<sup>190</sup> Jones, pp.72-73.

in Waiora's first decade, was operating at a loss by the late 1960s. It was leased in 1970 and then sold in the early 1990s.<sup>191</sup> The campsite remains in use.

Otago Scouts benefited from visionary leadership with a commitment to providing a suitable permanent campsite, even though it involved considerable fundraising. They developed one main provincial site, although other smaller sites in the province were also used for local camps. Their provincial Girl Guide peers leased their first permanent campsite at Berwick in 1955, but did not renew the 10-year lease as an upriver dam turned the property's 'placid stream' into a 'raging torrent' when the floodgates were opened.<sup>192</sup> In 1961 2½ acres of Crown land near Queenstown, overlooking the Remarkables Range and the lake, became available. Although a prime spot, it had been passed on from the Scouts to Girl Guides headquarters and back to the Crown due to lack of development funds. The Provincial Commissioner, Mrs Sidey, intervened and the Provincial Executive organized plans for a campsite and buildings. Equally importantly, Mrs Sidey once again used her considerable influence as Dunedin's mayoress to solicit large donations. The Sargood Trust made a substantial contribution and with local Guides' fundraising efforts, the Sargood Chalet opened the following year debt-free.<sup>193</sup> Not content with two major property acquisitions within five years, Otago Guiding looked for another permanent campsite close to Dunedin, that could be used for weekend camps and pack holidays. A run-down property at Waikouaiti was bought for £1600 – 'the entire amount in provincial funds' – and once again opened debt-free, in 1965.<sup>194</sup> It was named Sidey Lodge, in honour of the retiring Provincial Commissioner who had played a significant part in providing facilities for Otago Guides and Brownies. These examples have focused on how Otago Scouting and Guiding executives acquired and developed campsites, but the

---

<sup>191</sup> Jones, p.117.

<sup>192</sup> Cox, p.95.

<sup>193</sup> This was particularly impressive, as the Otago Girl Guides Association had recently completed the acquisition and renovation of a provincial headquarters, which also called upon the goodwill and financial support of Dunedinites.

<sup>194</sup> Cox, p.97.

pattern was illustrative of similar initiatives happening all over New Zealand in this period.<sup>195</sup>

Many provinces benefited from donated land on which to establish permanent campsites, often gifted by farming families who had associations with local Scouting or Guiding through family members. Local and regional histories document the process by which such donations occurred: in the case of the Nelson Girl Guides province a Lee Valley farming couple, Carol and Paddy Holland, were the donors. Mrs Holland had been a Brownie and Guide and was then an adult helper in Guiding, who later became a warranted leader.

It was about that time that we saw an advertisement in the paper, or an article, saying that the Nelson Girl Guides were looking for a provincial campsite. And I said to my husband, 'Look, we've got four daughters who are all going to be Guides and we could give them an area for a camp.' I said they'd probably get lots of answers and there'll be places they'll think better than up the Lee Valley, but anyway we rang CJ [Provincial Commissioner Marian Cocks-Johnston] and also Jocelyn MacKay who was the camp adviser, then they came out. We had this nice piece of land beside the creek down by the old woolshed. They were absolutely thrilled. They said it would be marvellous place for a camp... We couldn't give it straight out because it would be subject to gift duty so they had to pay us for it. They paid us one shilling.<sup>196</sup>

Those on both sides of this transaction seemed pleased with the outcome, and the Hollands remained involved with the site's governance for a considerable period. A relocated railway waiting room was bought and moved onto the property. Community donations of goods and services, fundraising and the voluntary work of 'husbands and fathers' resulted in 'Paretai' opening in 1958. The chair of the camp's support committee finished his annual report by writing '...may Paretai progress for the benefit of all, may all guides work for its advancement, for by so doing they will not only be helping this world-wide organisation, but will be greatly helping themselves.'<sup>197</sup> To adult helpers like Mr Webley, campsites like these represented more than just a locus for camping itself but also opportunities for

---

<sup>195</sup> For example, Santon and Reid, p.66, follows a pattern of philanthropy by a family associated with Guiding, a site used in Guide camping for decades, and a fundraising campaign that involved the wider community, before Ottawa Lodge was completed.

<sup>196</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.76.

<sup>197</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.77.

self-development for girl members as citizens, and as members of an international sorority.

Guides still camp at Paretai in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but other campsites did not endure. Encroaching suburbs and urban sprawl crowded out some; some proved too costly to retain as memberships fell and maintenance costs rose; and some became perceived as worryingly insecure for young campers. Guide campsites at Wanganui and Longburn had episodes where trespassers worried camp leaders, concerned for the safety of the girls. At Longburn in the mid-1970s a flurry of articles and letters to the local newspaper about the perceived threat posed by ‘bikies’ - motorcycle gangs – led the provincial executive to consider whether shifting the camp to another more secure site might be judicious.<sup>198</sup> By 1974 they had found such a site and with the help of Rotarians and a group of Guides’ fathers they gradually developed sanitation services and foundations for the main hut to be transported.<sup>199</sup> Such security considerations were seemingly gender-based, as no similar reasons for moving campsites have been found in the Scouting literature.

The heyday for developing permanent campsites largely coincided with that of acquiring halls and dens. The reasons for both were linked to growth, particularly the numerical strength of the movements in this time, and the evident community goodwill they enjoyed. Government subsidies for infrastructure were generous, as were various forms of philanthropic donations. In addition to these factors, the considerable financial acumen and energy of influential leaders in both movements, and at different levels in the national hierarchy, resulted in a substantial growth in local, provincial and national property developments.

---

<sup>198</sup> Manawatu Province Girl Guides Records, Provincial scrapbook, undated press clippings.

<sup>199</sup> Manawatu Province Girl Guides Records: Executive Meeting of the Girl Guide Association, Manawatu Province – Minute book: 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977.

**Conclusion:**

In terms of voluntary organisations' life cycles, most of the 1940s to 1970s period was characterised by unprecedented overall growth (although with a growing trend of decline amongst older teenagers). To some extent, the movements were in the right place at the right time, riding the wave of the post-war baby boom. Yet to be successful, and to grow at the rates that they did this was not in itself a sufficient explanation. Two major organisational elements had to be present. Firstly, their organisational infrastructure had to have a firm foundation upon which to grow when faced with strong demands from both young members and the adults who led them. This chapter has considered three fundamental aspects of Guiding and Scouting's organisational history: membership; funding; and physical infrastructure. Membership presented the movements with challenges when it was growing in every direction, and also when it became harder to attract and retain older youth members and adult leaders. Funding also developed strongly in this period, as the movements explored all possible avenues through which to financially support the programmes. This included state funding, which changed from fixed annual grants at the beginning of the period to per capita grants in the 1950s. These resulted in substantially increased state support for government-sanctioned youth organisations like Scouting and Guiding, at a time when government policies reflected the relative youth of the population. In addition to local efforts that funded equipment and events for small groups, increasingly the national administrations requested more from the regions to fund increased staffing and training, and to develop new national facilities. This infrastructural boom, evident in every area from Scout and Guide halls to new national headquarters and 'homes', reflected widespread community building, both physical and metaphorical, in New Zealand society at this time. Towards the end of the period, as Scouting and Guiding faced organisational threats associated with membership decline, infrastructural maintenance and retention was looming as a significant issue. Scouting and Guiding's second necessary organisational element for post-war development was the need to provide a comprehensive and attractive programme that appealed to New Zealanders in all age ranges of the

movements. While the three foundational features discussed in this chapter provided the movements with structure, the values and culture of the movements were also fundamentally important in determining their directions and their ‘face’ – whether it was the public face of the uniformed movements or the internal ways in which members felt themselves to be part of the Scouting and Guiding ‘families’. This following chapter explores cultural aspects of youth and adult membership of the movements – what being a Scout or Guide looked like.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: SCOUTING AND GUIDING CULTURE**

### **INTRODUCTION:**

Scouting and Guiding practice fitted alongside the movements' organisational frameworks, as outlined in the previous chapter. Beyond administrative tasks and developing infrastructure, another significant layer of the movements consisted of values and material and cultural displays, and the development of physical and social skills for youth and adult members. The rhetoric and practice of active citizenship featured prominently in the organisational culture of Scouting and Guiding's adults and young members. This chapter will consider ways in which the movements promulgated their organisational values and programme of practical skills, and how the New Zealand movements' organisational cultures were manifested.

The 'voices' of children and teenaged members, and the ways in which they went about being Cubs or Brownies, Scouts or Guides, complement and sometimes contrast with, those of adult members. Scouting and Guiding were predicated, and reliant, upon the membership and commitment of these two groups: adult leaders and supporters, and young uniformed members. As members of the same movements, their experiences were in many ways similar: they both represented Scouting or Guiding at public events; they both worked to achieve competency in new skills; and they both enjoyed or endured camp life at close quarters. To the uninitiated public, they looked similar. Their uniforms marked them out as members, whether adult or youth, giving them a collective identity; and their acceptance of the Law and Promise, to varying degrees, gave them common values. Yet for all their similarities, adult and child or youth members had different reasons for their membership, and brought different perspectives to their Scouting and Guiding in ways that helped to shape the movements throughout the twentieth century.

## **CHILDREN AND YOUTH MEMBERS**

Scouting and Guiding were made *for* boys and girls, and although the development of good young citizens by role model leaders was a major element in their programmes, there were two other important considerations. Firstly, it must be fun. Baden-Powell, who retained his puckish humour throughout his life, understood that fun was the conduit through which lessons for life, including citizenship, were best taught. Secondly, the boys or girls had to have some say in what happened in their patrols and in their larger groups. To Baden-Powell, these were the distinguishing factors between being a Scout and being a Boys' Brigade member or cadet. The challenge for the movements, particularly in the post-war, post-Baden-Powell era, was to maintain an ethos that encouraged young citizen development at the same time as providing engaging, instructive and entertaining leisure. Many leaders instinctively understood how to combine the strands to best effect. Others struggled to find that balance, leaning either too far on the side of authoritarian 'top-down' control that prioritised military-like discipline; or straying into a more laissez-faire model of leadership that did not challenge young members. Boys and girls who joined the movements and found like minds and activities that suited their interests stayed longer, although as they aged, they too sometimes drifted away. Shorter-term members tried the movements out for size and when they no longer met their needs, they left - Cubs did not become Scouts, and Scouts did not become Rovers or Venturers. Any discussion of children's and teenagers' experiences in the Scouting and Guiding movements must allow for a wide range of differences in experience, which affected whether they were only in the movements as children, remained in the movements as they became adults, or whether they returned at some point.

### **Children's Voices:**

The inherent difficulty in determining what children thought about being Brownies or Scouts is that most of the material available has been written by adults about

their childhoods. It is filtered through adult sensibilities that may attempt to ‘make sense’ of childhood. On the other hand, older people can have very detailed memories of childhood, and are often inclined to reflect upon them. Even those who feel that their experiences were not significant or important enough to be recorded can provide remarkably full recounts, complete with names, places and activities. The written recollections of ‘A Waimate Scout’ began, ‘When it comes to putting it down on paper, one is surprised by the shortness of one’s memory...’ and the apologetic qualifier that he did not remember names and dates. The following one and a half pages of names (and Scouting nicknames), events, camps, places and anecdotes suggested otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

Even in archives of youth organisations, adult voices and concerns predominate.<sup>2</sup> Yet there are contemporary sources that have come from the participants themselves. Troop or company log books were sometimes written by Scouts and Guides for their peers and leaders. They contain accounts written recently after the events they detail, and retain the energy and enthusiasm of the participants. They were written using the colloquialisms and slang of the time, and made frequent use of ‘in-jokes’, nicknames and doggerel. Patrol Leader Warwick Slinn’s log book of a Prices Valley camp in 1957-58 detailed a full programme of activities, competitive games and menus, befitting a fourteen year old author’s perspective. He also included maps and diagrams of the site and, with another Scout, wrote a poem about the olfactory perils of boys’ feet in confined spaces like tents. Verses Two and Three, with chorus, were as follows:

Last night as I lay on my pillow,  
 Last night as I lay on my bed,  
 I stuck my feet out of the window,  
 By morning the neighbours were dead.

Chorus:           Tootsies, Tootsies,  
                       Tootsies that smell in the dark, the dark

---

<sup>1</sup> Pirie, Campbell and Todd, unpaginated, ‘Reflections from a Waimate Scout’.

<sup>2</sup> As Kristine Alexander argues, ‘archives are reflections of existing power relationships’ and amongst the biases of some textual and sociological forms over others, she notes – even in youth organization archives - the privileging of ‘adult perspectives over youthful ones.’ Kristine Alexander, ‘Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children’s Voices in Archival Research’, *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, v.4 n.1, 2012, pp.132-145, p.132.

Tootsies, tootsies,  
Tootsies that knock people aht.

They said that my tootsies were 'orrible,  
They said they were very bad,  
They must have been pretty awful,  
'cause they knocked out my mother and dad.<sup>3</sup>

St Hilda's troop's report of their extensive 'bike hike' around Wellington in 1947 also reflected the humour and energy of the Scouts. It relayed their progress, on their 'trusty steeds', including tyre blowouts, stopping for lunch and 'a good big ice cream' and their 'hard steady pull up to Johnsonville':

Still they say, "Everything that goes up, must come down" and down the Ngauranga Gorge we "sure did come?!" I think every time "Skip" turned a corner he expected to find bits and pieces of Scout lying all over the place, however fortunately everybody made it safe to the bottom. From then on, till Home was reached, we had a tough head wind push, still we didn't mind as we had had a grand day out and were feeling very pleased with ourselves and proud of our effort.'<sup>4</sup>

In the same vein, although usually more formally, letters written by young members also expressed how they saw their Scouting or Guiding activities. Both movements encouraged their members to become pen pals with their Scouting or Guiding peers in other countries, and some continued the correspondence into their adult years.<sup>5</sup>

Photographs are another source of information from the time that children and teenagers were members of the movements. While some were always intended as publicity material in newspapers and other publications, others filled a variety of purposes. Some recorded groups of heavily-badged well-groomed King's or Queen's Scouts or Guides, who reflected well on their troops or companies; others were taken to mark the beginning or ending of a child's time in a unit, often posed with the leader's hand on a shoulder; and others were unposed candid snapshots

---

<sup>3</sup> Warwick Slinn, Bellbird Patrol, 1<sup>st</sup> Papanui Methodist Church Troop, 'Log Book, Prices Valley Camp, 1957-58'. The poem 'Tootsies', composed by W. Slinn and K. Broadhurst, 'can be sung with some difficulty to the tune of 'My Bonnie lies over the Ocean'.

<sup>4</sup> Cousins, pp.30-31.

<sup>5</sup> See, for an example of a long term correspondence between penpals that began when they were Guides, *The Dominion Post*, 11 January 2012, p.A5.

taken at camps or in dens. In each case, photographs convey something of lived experiences, and material identities, in the Scouting and Guiding worlds – and in the lives of young New Zealanders.



**Figure 14: Howard Clements, aged 10, in his new Scout uniform, with his parents in 1946.**

Photographs like this one, of a proud Scout in a newly acquired uniform, marked rites of passage in the Scouting and Guiding worlds, and in the worlds of childhood and adolescence. Howard was a keen Cub and Scout and his father, Stan, was also involved with the 1<sup>st</sup> Linden Troop. In this case, the Scouting connections remained strong and intergenerational, with Howard and both of his sons attaining King's and Queens' Scout awards.

Image: Courtesy of Howard Clements, from 'Howard Clement's own [unpublished] record of Scouting achievement, starting as a Cub in 1944 to Retirement and Silver Tui award in 1993.' Creator: Unknown photographer, Howard Clements, 2007.

The range of archival photographic material shows a variety of individuals, groups and events. These images add to our understanding of what being a Scout or Guide looked like and in some cases hint at what it meant to the participants. So too does an array of written material, some about and some by the members. Their experiences differed greatly, depending upon their personalities, backgrounds, the units they belonged to and their attitudes. Three broad categories present themselves: the enthusiasts; the mavericks; and the reluctant members, although some boys and girls moved between, or combined, these loose categories.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> J. Dudley Pank, in *The Man and the Boy, Scouter's Books No.3*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1953, identifies fifteen different categories of boys he encountered in troops, with notes on how to bring out the best (and suppress the worst) in them. His categories range from Keen, Shy and Bookish boys, through Persistent Humorists to Rebels, Nuisances and Delinquents. pp.10-35.

Enthusiastic members enjoyed their time in packs and troops, internalized the movements' values and presented themselves as proud representatives of, and ambassadors for, Scouting and Guiding. Although the pinnacle of outward success during this period was the attainment of Kings' or Queens' Scout and Guide awards, and group histories proudly record the names and dates of recipients, it was possible to be a good Scout or Guide without reaching this level. Members were encouraged to become '1<sup>st</sup> Class' and to work towards proficiency badges, as these indicated that useful physical skills had been acquired, along with reasonable levels of persistence and application. These were seen as indicators of someone prepared for community participation as an active citizen. However those perceived as overly motivated by badge acquisition tallies, rather than what the badges represented, could be seen as 'badge hogs'. While keenness was a virtue, this was perilously close to 'skiting' and not a desirable attribute for New Zealand Scouts or Guides.<sup>7</sup>

Programme elements that attracted recruits, and kept them interested, were often associated with physical activities. Ex-members recalled camping and hiking in general, and jamborees in particular.<sup>8</sup> Camping offered trips to rural locations not always available to some members in their lives outside Scouting or Guiding, and also a sense of shared endeavour and identity that they valued and remembered. Collective identity was physically evident anyway in uniformed movements, but less outwardly apparent badges of belonging were also significant. Group histories record those who, as adults long past active involvement, continued to think of themselves as a 'Knox' Scout or 'Cavell' Guide. Adults who thought in this way were more inclined to continue to conduct themselves according to the Scout or Guide Laws, to be active in their communities and to credit the movements with steps in their personal development.

---

<sup>7</sup> Skiting was/is a colloquial term for boasting. The West End Cub Pack records, discussed in this chapter, contain notations about 'skites'.

<sup>8</sup> Alan McRobie's 'Knox' history has a 'Memories' section that has been collated from individual recollections and contemporary accounts, pp. 231-294. At least half relates to Cubs, Scouts, Venturers and Rovers camping, hiking or attending jamborees or moots.

Social aspects of membership represented another strong source of identity and belonging in the movements. Gatherings of 'like minds' formed friendships with others in their units, and boys and girls who were already keen members recruited their friends. Groups that used school or church facilities for their meetings already had social connections, and these were often extended through Scouting or Guiding membership. When the patrol or troop system worked well, this also represented cohesive team spirit within the larger group. Another subset of members found a haven in Scouting or Guiding, where they could flourish under the mentoring of perceptive and supportive leaders. In his memoir *Gods and Little Fishes* Bruce Ansley wrote how 'the weak, the halt, the lame and (at least once) the blind found refuge and safety in Jess's [his mother's] Wolf Cub Pack' and how her quiet respect for them rubbed off on the other boys too. He recalled meeting some of those boys as men, and their affection and praise for the Akela who had made Cubs a welcoming and secure place to be when other sites of boyhood were not.<sup>9</sup> For those boys their pack identity, and the sense of belonging that they felt there, became a strong element of their sense of themselves in general.

Not all of those invested in the Scouting or Guiding movements were exemplars of keenness, obedience and application. While mavericks and iconoclasts tended not to be written up in group histories as often as their high-achieving peers, they also played a part. Baden-Powell encouraged leaders to consider the troublesome boy as the one who would most benefit from Scout training and values. Some did, while others just tested leaders' skills and patience. Even amongst 'good' Cubs or Guides incidents of larrikin behaviour reminded leaders that although the boys and girls in their units were subject to the Law and Promise, they were still young, and capable of mischief or 'bad' behaviour. Guides camping in the Waiotahi Valley in 1964 had a dead possum hurled at them by some passing youths in a truck, but returned the prank when the truck later returned by dousing its passengers with buckets of water as it passed.<sup>10</sup> Group committee minutes carried reports of complaints from neighbours about the

---

<sup>9</sup> Bruce Ansley, *Gods and little fishes: a boy and a beach*, Dunedin: Longacre Press, 2009. p.122

<sup>10</sup> Jolly, p.6.

seemingly popular pastime of stone throwing, and in Balclutha Cubs industriously but expensively used stones to block a resident's drain.<sup>11</sup> Waimate Scouts on their way to a 1972 jamboree ran riot on the overnight inter-island ferry: '...next activity was in the bathroom, find yourself a bath, fill it to the top, climb in and watch the water slop over the side with each roll of the ship.'<sup>12</sup> Even adults who had grown through the movements to become leaders had been capable of entertaining but inappropriate behaviour as children. Cecilia O'Rorke, an influential and admired leader in the early days of New Zealand Guiding, was part of a mixed-gender 'highly unofficial' Scout troop in 1909. Her Kea Patrol had supplemented Baden-Powell's rules with some of their own – 'A Scout always slams doors' – and their favourite game was 'stalking happy couples in the Mt Hobson Reserve'.<sup>13</sup> Anecdotes like these illustrate that despite adults' rules and boundaries there was room in Scouting and Guiding for those who were not always rule followers, but who accepted enough of the values and structure to remain members. Belich's 'wild child' was alive, well and very active in packs and troops throughout New Zealand.

The reluctant or unenthused were also well represented in Scouting and Guiding ranks, although their voices have not been recorded as assiduously as those who enjoyed their involvement with the movements. Some were despatched to Cubs or Brownies by their parents, who considered that it might be 'good for them' on some level – or that it might be good for the parents to have them attend.<sup>14</sup> Such parental approbation was not always endorsed by their offspring, and this tended to reflect in their achievements whilst in the movements and the rate at which they dropped out instead of 'going up' to the next level: 'I was a

---

<sup>11</sup> C. G. Richardson, *Scouting in Balclutha. A History of the Group, 1909-1986*, Balclutha: Balclutha Scout Group Committee with South Otago Newspapers, 1986, p.39.

<sup>12</sup> Pirie, Campbell and Todd, unpaginated, 1972 entry.

<sup>13</sup> Canterbury Girl Guide Province history, p.18. Also quoted in Belich, p.366 as an example of the continued existence of the colonial 'wild child' into the twentieth century.

<sup>14</sup> A 1970s Brownie noted, in conversation (June 2010) and correspondence (October 2012) with the author, that she and her sister were sent to Brownies by their mother in the late 1970s. Although she felt at the time that it was not her decision to enrol, she stayed in the movement as a Brownie, Guide and Ranger, and reflected from an adult perspective that as her parents were very active in their community it was not inconsistent to encourage their daughters to follow this pattern.

Brownie for a week, until I couldn't darn the socks and couldn't understand what all this dancing around toadstools was about. So I left.'<sup>15</sup> Others had enjoyed being a Cub or Brownie and had liked their leaders at that age group, but did not feel the same connection with the subsequent stage's programmes or leaders. Considerable hand wringing by national leaders over this drop-off resulted in some programme changes aimed at making the older groups more attractive, but to some degree individual choice could not be programmed.<sup>16</sup> Deciding whether to stay or leave represented agency at its most direct. Conversations with many ex-members from the baby-boom era showed a group for whom being a Cub, Scout, Brownie or Guide was an orthodox part of being a child of that time, but that they felt no strong connections with the movements then, or subsequently. There were also those who felt, for whatever reason, that they were not Scouting or Guiding material: they were admittedly hopeless at skills-based tasks like knots; their uniforms were not smart and their shoes seldom polished; they felt that they did not 'fit in'. Louise Carroll, an Auckland Brownie in the early 1970s, summed up her experience by stating, 'I was never much good at being a Brownie but I did try.'<sup>17</sup> Howard, a 1960s Scout, was 'bulldozed' into joining Scouts and also felt that he 'was never terribly good at it.' His First Class eluded him due to his inability to do Morse code, but on reflection he added, 'it was a good thing they had the morse in it because it taught me perseverance and to accept defeat – for want of a better word.' He later rejoined as an adult.<sup>18</sup>

### **Case study – 'the West End Boys':**

A boy is a piece of skin stretched over an appetite. He is a noise, covered with smudges. He is called a tornado because he comes in at the most unexpected times,

---

<sup>15</sup> David McGill, *Kiwi Baby Boomers. Growing up in New Zealand in the 40s, 50s and 60s*. Lower Hutt: Mills Publications, 1989, p.65.

<sup>16</sup> For programme and uniform changes to attract and retain Rangers, Venturers and Rovers, see the Organisational Histories chapter.

<sup>17</sup> [www.olfriends.co.nz/Memories.aspx?id=2652020&page=1](http://www.olfriends.co.nz/Memories.aspx?id=2652020&page=1), accessed 1 August 2012, quote courtesy of Louise Carroll.

<sup>18</sup> Alison Gray, *The Jones Men, 100 New Zealand men talk about their lives*, Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1983, p.34.

hits at the most unexpected places, and leaves everything a wreck behind him. He is a growing animal of superlative promise, to be fed, watered and kept warm. A joy forever, a periodic nuisance, the problem of our times, and the hope of a nation. Every boy born is evidence that God is not yet discouraged with man.<sup>19</sup>

This quote, written by the National Commissioner for Cubs in 1975, comes from a chapter entitled ‘What is a Boy?’ The author encourages leaders to try to understand the nature of boyhood, and the whole picture of a boy’s physiology, psychology and family background – to think ‘boywise’. While this chapter contained contemporary social science terminology and thinking, and Dugald McDonald’s ‘child as a psychological being’, it also echoed Baden-Powell’s original advice to Cubmasters in the 1910s.<sup>20</sup> Thinking boywise enabled leaders to build active and enthusiastic packs, and to impart Scouting ideals to best effect. The following case study considers the practical applications of this principle.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Palmerston North West End Scout Group’s Cub Pack started in 1938, at the same time as the innovative neighbouring Savage Crescent state housing ‘garden suburb’ was developing.<sup>21</sup> This and other residential developments provided the pack with a steady supply of Cubs, although some pack members also lived outside the western city boundary. The membership card records of the West End Cub Pack in the 1940s and 1950s provide a range of information about the boys who joined the pack, including their backgrounds, their Scouting paths and their individual characteristics and circumstances. In addition, information supplied on the cards relating to the boys’ family backgrounds indicates this pack’s catchment area and fathers’ occupations. The surrounding area was neither very poor nor very affluent, and fathers’ occupations ranged from factory workers and tradesmen through to white collar workers and professionals. West End School, where Scouting meetings were held until a Scout Hall was built in 1950 generally

---

<sup>19</sup> H.J. Dowling, *New Zealand Cub Leaders Handbook*, 1975, p.24.

<sup>20</sup> Dugald McDonald, p.49.

<sup>21</sup> This early state housing development, the first in the ‘provinces’, was built between 1938 and 1945, and designed around a central reserve, intended for children’s play and adults’ sport and recreation. For further information on this and other state housing areas, see Ben Schrader, with photography by Victoria Birkinshaw *We call it home: a history of state housing in New Zealand*, Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2005.

supported Scouting for its pupils, with the Headmaster and most teachers endorsing Cubbing. Most of the pack members were either present or past pupils of the school.<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 15: Mrs Evans helping at the West End Scout and Cub Gala Day, 1947**

This photograph was taken as part of a series by the Prime Minister's Department to show 'typical' New Zealand family life to prospective British immigrants. It shows Mrs Betty Evans, mother to a family of boys in the West End Scout Group and resident in the showcase Savage Crescent state housing garden suburb, and Ruby Morgan of the Cub Pack, making tea. In this case Scouting, with its British roots, was clearly a sanctioned and desirable facet of life in New Zealand - and a link with Britain.

As West End had a large pack, Akela Collins tried to build relationships with her Cubs' parents to provide tangible support and encouragement.

Image: Courtesy of PNCL Ian Matheson City Archives, Pataka Ipurangi. Evans Family Collection: Reference: 2010N\_A175-67-1\_004189, Creator: New Zealand Government.

Aware that family background could affect the progress of Cubs in the pack, the cards noted parental attitudes towards their son's Cubbing, and whether help could be relied on for transport, sports training, committees, providing suppers or badge testing. Particularly unhelpful parental interactions were also noted. Some West End Scout Group families contributed successive brothers to the Cub pack and Scout troop. This may have been indicative of larger family sizes in general, but also reflected the need to find physically active, gender-appropriate activities like Scouting for families that had only boys, or many boys. Leaders' comments recorded perceived family traits: one family had five sons, all considered 'slow and

<sup>22</sup> Mrs Collins, 'Akela', was aware of one teacher at the school who set his class extra homework on Scout troop nights so that the Scouts in his class were unable to attend weekly meetings, but this was the exception. Mrs Collins' Wood Badge work book, West End Scout Group Archives.

dumb’, while another noted of a Cub, ‘like all [family name]s’ – quick runners and good Cubs.<sup>23</sup>



**Figure 16: West End Cub Pack and Leaders, late 1940s**

This formal group photograph, taken at nearby West End School, shows a ‘healthy’ Cub Pack, in terms of boy numbers and uniformed leaders. Akela Collins, seated in the middle of the second row, had six assistants to help with planning and pack activities. Although she was undoubtedly the leader, having trained assistants distributed the workload and allowed a wide range of activities at weekly meetings.

Image: Courtesy of PNCL Ian Matheson City Archives, Pataka Ipurangi. Tony Evans Collection, Reference: 2010P\_IMCA-DigitalMaster\_004466. Creator: Embassy Studios, late 1940s.

Families’ religious affiliations were also marked on the cards: very few boys had no noted denominations, although one boy’s card noted that his parents were ‘atheists and ignorant’.<sup>24</sup> Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians were most prevalent, reflecting the mainstream Protestant churches’ support for Scouting, and there were smaller numbers of Baptists and Catholics, as well as Jewish and Hindu boys in the pack. This was an ecumenical pack in practice, that incorporated

<sup>23</sup> Where Cubs from the same family had differed markedly in their attitudes to, and achievements in, Cubbing the comment ‘not like his brother’ also appeared.

<sup>24</sup> Although at this time, New Zealand Scouting was largely ecumenical and tolerant of denominational affiliations, professed atheism was still a minority view. 1950s Census figures show that ‘No Religion’ and ‘Atheist’ categories combined were less than 1% of the population. Figures for 1951 and 1956 included in *New Zealand Population Census, 1956*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1956-1959.

‘Scout’s Own’ informal services as well as church parades in the programme. ‘Akela’ Collins led by example as an active churchgoer, and expected that her Cubs would follow, whatever their faiths.<sup>25</sup>

Comments on boys’ individual traits related to their physical health and capabilities, and to their developing characters. Mitigating health factors that affected boys’ abilities to take part in some Cub activities included chronic ill health and attendance at health camps, ‘nerve trouble’ and convalescence from infectious diseases like scarlet fever.<sup>26</sup> Notations about Cubs caught smoking, or known to be smokers, were quite common, reflecting the high rates of cigarette smoking in the adult population in this period and its social acceptability. Despite this, the West End pack was known for its sporting prowess, frequently winning at inter-pack games events. Competitive team sports like football and cricket were taken seriously, and particular prowess noted. Swimming and athletics used the school’s facilities, and boys pitted themselves against each other and other packs. Cub sports events also included chariot races, where Cubs lashed together poles to form a frame into which one Cub fitted to be dragged by others. As well as outdoor sports, the Cubs regularly played boisterous games as part of their weekly meetings, interspersed with singing, ‘improving’ talks on manners or qualities and periods of instruction for badge work and technical skills. In all areas of the pack’s programmes, focused activity was the pattern and expectation.

From the time that boys arrived and were subsequently enrolled, to the time they left the pack (ideally, but not always, going up to Scouts) their Cub leaders noted their strengths and weaknesses, and development as Cubs - and as boys.

---

<sup>25</sup> Summarizing the advice given throughout her 1951 book, *Duty to God in the Wolf Cub Pack* (London: Boys Scouts’ Association), Hazel Addis reminds Cub leaders that ‘[t]he Cub’s understanding of God circles from and around and back to Akela: Akela’s personal character, his or her example, his or her handling of the delicate organism which is the boy’s mind and his spiritual potentialities.’ p.82.

<sup>26</sup> From the 1940s onwards, the New Zealand government introduced an increasing range of vaccines to prevent serious infectious diseases in children, as part of its child health programme. While many children ‘caught’ infectious diseases like scarlet fever and measles, better health care reduced potential complications and spread. For details of the history of child vaccination, see Alison Day, ‘Child Immunisation: Reactions and Responses to New Zealand Government Policy 1920-1990’, PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2008.

One Cub was not initially promising Cub material ('a pain') but later caused the leaders to 'thrill' at his development.<sup>27</sup> Others were good all-rounders: 'keen, reliable, obedient, intelligent...grand footballer. A wonderful boy'; or 'one of the best Cubs in the pack'. Boys who fitted this profile often also had recorded their school honours – prefects, duxes, football captains and athletics champions. A few were definitely not considered 'Cub material' and did not stay while others' flaws were logged for further work, whether lacking humility – 'inclined to skite' or 'good runner and he knows it'; lacking gumption - 'is a sook'; or being overzealous in acquiring badges – 'bit of a badge hog'. Although some of the comments verge on the astringent, the overall tone is of affection for the boys in the pack, and an understanding of the terrain of mid-twentieth century boyhood. Cub 'A' was 'full of personality' and hated sago; Cub 'B', who intended to be a lawyer, 'talk[ed] all the time' and 'though unruly, we have grown to be fond of him'; Cub 'C' '...is a wag [but] not a leader'; and the comments 'corker kid' and lovable boy' could have applied to many of the pack. The cards and log books of this period provide an insight into a working Cub pack, and into the boys and leaders who peopled it.<sup>28</sup>

### **ENDURING VALUES AND TRADITIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD?**

...Our aim must be to develop kindness in the boys, willingness to do a job, readiness to lend a hand, and a good-natured acceptance of other people's deficiencies. In Scouting we are out to develop the boys' character along the best possible lines, and that we commence in Cubbing. If we can lay a good foundation for the training of the right sort of character, we shall be doing an excellent job of work. The Founder, Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell, saw this necessity so clearly, and his whole plan of Cubbing and Scouting is to that end, to develop the boy's character and to make him into a good, useful citizen with a healthy outlook on life. All this will be seen so clearly on reading the *Wolf Cub's Handbook* [italics in text]. The activities set out therein – the Law, Promise, Tests to be passed, and of course the Games to be played – all these are designed to widen the boy's outlook. They help him to be unselfish, thoughtful for others, dependent upon himself for his

---

<sup>27</sup> A similar transition was noted by New Plymouth's St Joseph's Cub Leader – as a new Cub in 1961 Tommy Brummer was 'inclined to be mischievous if not being watched but is keen on his Cubbing'. In 1968 he gained his Queen's Scout, a Chief Scouts Award and was selected as a member of a Queen's Scout journey to Antarctica. Bellini (ed.), pp.105-106.

<sup>28</sup> All of the quotes in this paragraph come from the Pack Record cards, West End Scout Group records.

happiness, and train him to **think**, and to enjoy as much of his life as is humanly possible.

'Gilcraft', *How to Run a Pack*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, revised edition 1948 [orig. 1945], pp.6-7.

This quote, although lengthy, illustrates two fundamental things about Scouting: its aim to develop individuals' character and sense of citizenship, through steps in the age group programme; and the clear sense that it was through working alongside boys, taking in to account their physiology and psychology, that the best results could be obtained. Baden-Powell wrote these tenets into his early handbooks for young members and for leaders. After his death, and operating in different social and political climates, the ways in which these tenets were interpreted and enacted varied. Decades where war and economic depression dominated, and shaped the lives and expectations of young people, gave way to post-war prosperity and far-reaching social change that brought new challenges. Throughout the decades that comprise this study, there have been some immutable fixtures of Scouting and Guiding. Core values remained, but their manifestations changed. Original wording that was appropriate for Scouting's Edwardian English foundation was replaced over time to better reflect the national or cultural beliefs of diverse national Scouting and Guiding movements throughout the world. The principles remained largely intact, due to the international governing bodies of both movements requiring adherence to those espoused by Baden-Powell.<sup>29</sup> New Zealand Scouting and Guiding closely followed the British imperial model until after World War Two when the movements became more autonomous, and began to introduce written material tailored for New

---

<sup>29</sup> WOSM (World Organisation of the Scout Movement) and WAGGGS (World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts), the international umbrella organisations, insist that 'All members of the Scout Movement are required to adhere to a Scout Promise and a Law reflecting, in language appropriate to the culture and civilization of each National Scout Organization and approved by the World Organization, the principles of Duty to God, Duty to others and Duty to self, and inspired by the Promise and Law conceived by the Founder of the Scout Movement' using as a basis Baden-Powell's original Promises and Laws.. [www.Scout.org/en/our\\_organisation/governance](http://www.Scout.org/en/our_organisation/governance), accessed 28 February 2012

Zealanders.<sup>30</sup> Although a new ‘up-to-date’ Guiding programme was introduced in 1970, the Guide Law still included the same principles as those drawn up sixty years earlier by Baden-Powell:

Original Guide Law:

1. A Guide’s honour is to be trusted.
2. A Guide is loyal.
3. A Guide’s duty is to be useful and help others.
4. A Guide is a friend to all, and a sister to every other Guide.
5. A Guide is courteous.
6. A Guide is kind to animals.
7. A Guide is obedient.
8. A Guide is cheerful under all difficulties.
9. A Guide is thrifty.
10. A Guide is pure in thought, word and in deed.

1970 Guide Law (New Zealand):

1. A Guide is to be trusted.
2. A Guide is loyal.
3. A Guide is useful and helps others at all times.
4. A Guide is friendly to all and a sister to every Guide.
5. A Guide is courteous.
6. A Guide is kind to animals.
7. A Guide is obedient.
8. A Guide is cheerful even under difficulties.
9. A Guide is thrifty.
10. A Guide is self-controlled in all she thinks, says and does.

Where changes occurred they were minimal, although the 10<sup>th</sup> Law’s wording shifted the emphasis from the constructed concept of purity to that of self-control. Both Scouts and Guides had an unofficial 11<sup>th</sup> Law, also written by Baden-Powell: ‘A Scout/Guide is not a fool.’<sup>31</sup> New Zealand Scouts altered their wording more. Baden-Powell’s original ten Scout Laws had been collapsed into seven by the mid-1970s, while the Cub Law no longer, poetically but somewhat cryptically to later generations, referred to Kipling’s *Jungle Book*:

---

<sup>30</sup> New Zealand Guiders began writing books and pamphlets on individual aspects of the programme in the 1950s, although handbooks were not specifically written for New Zealand members until 1970, following a complete revision of the programme.

<sup>31</sup> Baden-Powell, *Rovering to Success*, p.222. This unofficial 11<sup>th</sup> Law is the only one that is not a positive, aspirational statement, and some Scouting commentators have surmised that this is why Baden-Powell left it out.

Original Wolf Cub Law:

1. The Cub gives in to the Old Wolf;
2. The Cub does not give in to himself.

The Cub Law @ 1975:

A Cub always does his best,  
 thinks of others before himself  
 And does a good turn every day.<sup>32</sup>

Although wording changed, the concept and importance of ‘character’, shown through personal integrity and public service, remained.

The patrol system was another enduring principle for much of the twentieth century, instigated by Baden-Powell as a method of promoting group identity and loyalty and developing leadership skills. His initial model was that of the ‘gang’ of boys:

The patrol system is, after all, merely putting your boys into permanent gangs under the leadership of one of their own number, which is their natural organisation whether bent on mischief or amusement...It is generally the boy with the most character who rises to be the leader of a mischief gang. If you apply this natural scheme to your own needs it brings the best results. [1914]<sup>33</sup>

*Scouting for Boys* began by suggesting that boys organize themselves into patrols and then find a suitable adult leader. Inherent in this model are degrees of autonomy and self-identity when acting as a small group within a larger troop. Patrols had their own emblems to be worn on their uniforms, a patrol flag and, if they had their own den or hall, a patrol corner that reflected their sense of collective identity. Patrol leaders were usually older and more experienced members. They were expected to act in the interests of the group, to have gained 2<sup>nd</sup> Class and 1<sup>st</sup> Class badges and to model good Scouting spirit and behaviour. *The Patrol Leader’s Handbook*, published in 1950, discussed three styles of Patrol leadership: the first was no leadership, ‘a sort of perpetual muddling through’; the second, the dictatorship or ‘into the valley of death’ method; and the third, leadership by consent – ‘that is, you, the Patrol Leader, are leading because your

---

<sup>32</sup> H. J. Dowling, *New Zealand Cub Leaders’ Handbook*, Wellington: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1975, p.5.

<sup>33</sup> B-P’s Outlook, p.51.

gang accepts you, respects you, and wants to be led by you.’<sup>34</sup> Clearly the author thought little of the first two, and strongly approved of the latter. When Bernie (‘A Loyal Cub’) wrote to thank his Akela for presenting him with his second stripe, making him a Sixer (the Cub equivalent of a Patrol Leader), he reflected on taking the place of the previous Sixer: ‘I am sorry that Bryan has gone up into Scouts even though he has to...All the Yellow Six tried very hard to make it the best six for Bryan before he went and I’m sure they did their best for him and you.’<sup>35</sup> The same pattern for patrols existed for Girl Guides, and a simpler but similar model of ‘Sixes’ for Cubs and Brownies. One of the first forms of identity that came with membership was inclusion within a patrol or six, and group histories recognize the importance of this in their naming of patrol activities, as well as group activities and competitions. Dunedin’s Knox Church Scouts (established in 1931) had a number of patrol names that, by the 1950s, had settled into the ‘Owl’, ‘Kiwi’, ‘Stag’, ‘Eagle’ and ‘Beaver’ patrols. By the mid-1970s, New Zealand fauna had taken over, with the ‘Kiwis’ joined by the ‘Weka’, ‘Tui’ and ‘Fantail’ patrols.<sup>36</sup> New Plymouth’s West End Scout Group also used New Zealand birds as patrol names, although their Senior Scout patrols were named for explorers and war heroes.<sup>37</sup> In Guiding, Brownies could become Sprites, Fairies, Elves – or Turehu and Hakuturi in New Zealand - each with its own aspirational song: ‘Here we come, the sprightly Sprites, Brave and helpful like the knights’, and ‘We’re the Roro keen and strong, Always ready with a song’.<sup>38</sup> Even in the smallest units of Scouting and Guiding, the emphasis was on collective identity and forms of service.

Critics of Scouting and Guiding have pointed to the top-down, hierarchical nature of their internal organisation that demanded young members’ obedience

---

<sup>34</sup> John Thurman, *The Patrol Leader’s Handbook*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1950, pp.21-22.

<sup>35</sup> Letter dated 2 November 1946, in 1946 Log Book, 3<sup>rd</sup> P.N. West End Cub Pack, West End Scouts Archives.

<sup>36</sup> McRobie, p.71. Scouts and GPS formed in the Cossgrove era usually had native flora and fauna for emblems, but from the 1920s British models were dominant. As the New Zealand movements wrote more of their own handbooks and other material, native flora and fauna made a resurgence indicating ‘decolonisation’ rather than ‘recolonisation’ in the movements.

<sup>37</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.151.

<sup>38</sup> *The Brownie Handbook*, 1970, p.13.

without their input.<sup>39</sup> Yet the patrol system and Courts of Honour were both forms of self-governance within a larger group, built into Scouting and Guiding's foundations. The patrol system at its most effective not only developed leadership in some, but also provided a model whereby members had some agency over their direction, priorities and group identity. Courts of Honour, where patrol leaders and their adult leaders (in an advisory but non-voting capacity) met regularly to decide on programmes, camps, rewards or discipline, extended this agency to the troop or company. In this way, young members were not only the recipients of decisions made for them, but active participants in both the practical and ethical directions of their groups. This model reflects Marc Jans' model where 'the participation and involvement approach... offers the opportunity of children-sized citizenship.'<sup>40</sup> Adult leaders were instructed in ways to make the Court of Honour system efficient and representative of its participants: 'Give plenty of time for everyone to express her opinion [remembering] that some may be slow thinkers, and still slower in expressing themselves in words.' Yet meetings should also be 'business-like'...you are training future women citizens who may have to sit on important public committees later on.'<sup>41</sup> By taking participation and the acquisition of meeting protocol seriously leaders encouraged girls to consider themselves as not just future citizens, but current citizens. Youniss, McLellan and Yates' 1997 review that argued for the importance of 'meaningful participatory experiences', where young participants could 'discover their potency, assess their responsibility, acquire a sense of political processes, and commit to a moral-ethical ideology' had a practical application in these arenas.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, they were subject to the 7<sup>th</sup> Law – 'A Scout/Guide is obedient' - and required to follow the orders of those in positions of authority. This combination of agency and deference or discipline may seem contradictory, but it allowed Scouts and Guides to make

---

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, Rosenthal, who viewed most of the Scout Laws as based on obedience: 'While the Scout Law is interesting in a number of ways, it is above all else a marvellously variegated paean to the value of obedience.' p.8. Rosenthal repeats this refrain throughout the book (e.g. pp. 112-113).

<sup>40</sup> Jans, p.40.

<sup>41</sup> Manawatu Province Girl Guides records – 'History' box: undated [but possibly pre-war] Correspondence Training Course for Captains and Lieutenants.

<sup>42</sup> Youniss, McLellan and Yates, p.629.

contributions to programmes in their movements, within boundaries of organisational values.<sup>43</sup>

Rituals, ceremonies and traditions have played significant roles in Scouting and Guiding, as they have in other voluntary organisations as diverse as sports clubs, lodges and religious groups. At worst, they provide fodder for outsiders to mock what they see as militaristic, arcane or old-fashioned, but at their most enduring they are part of a highly valued shared identity. Formal ceremonies in Scouting and Guiding marked attainment of progressive achievement levels, as when Brownies were granted their ‘wings’ for ‘flying up’ to the Guide troop from their pack; or Church Parades, where units presented their ‘colours’. Cubs who collectively ‘howled’ and danced Bagheera’s dance, Brownies who could ‘look in the mirror and there see...myself’, Scouts and Guides who became 1<sup>st</sup> Class, and leaders who proudly wore their Wood Badge beads were expressing their membership of, and some level of commitment to, the Scouting or Guiding movements. Shared symbols and traditions, although subject to changes in format over time, are a form of glue, binding together sometimes disparate branches of the movements and those within them.

### **Skill and technical knowledge/Physical health and development:**

‘Only feed on wholesome fare;  
Through your nostrils breathe fresh air;  
Clean yourself inside and out;  
Twist and bend and run about.’  
[from *A Handbook for Brownies*, 1920]<sup>44</sup>

Some Scouters seem to have the idea that any game which contains a training content is necessarily less fun than a game which has very little training value. It is

---

<sup>43</sup> Courts of Honour also occurred for adult leaders in Guiding – Manawatu Guiders recorded meticulous minutes of their meetings over decades (Manawatu Province Girl Guides records), and Levin Guiders changed the name of their meetings to Guiders meetings in 1954, to better reflect their purpose (*Wellington History*, p.27.)

<sup>44</sup> This same rhyme appeared in the New Zealand Brownies Handbook fifty years later.

important to remember that Scouting is a Movement for training boys and not a Movement merely for entertaining them...

In the wider sphere there is no question whatever that the man who has his senses acutely developed is in a position to benefit more from all that life has to offer and, through being able to benefit, is able to make a more important contribution.

[from *Outdoor Games for Scouts*, 'Gilcraft' series, 1952, p.11.]

Healthy physical development and acquiring practical physical skills were two inter-related and fundamental tenets of Scouting and Guiding. Both were seen as necessary for developing well-rounded young citizens, capable of the active citizenship roles that Baden-Powell envisaged. Scores of books have been written by and for Scouters and Guiders to provide new leaders and old hands with programme aids. Such aids had to meet the movements' aims, and be useful for leaders, but also be interesting and enjoyable for young members.<sup>45</sup> These booklets, published by the British Scouting and Guiding movements, included plans for meetings, projects for badge work, teaching tracking and observation, health and hygiene and energetic physical activities.<sup>46</sup> Many were written in the 1920s and 1930s, but were still in use in New Zealand in the 1950s with minor revisions.<sup>47</sup> Instructions on how to counteract poor nutrition, weak posture and general lassitude in young members continued in the post-war era, although the original impetus of raising an imperial citizen workforce had given way to developing citizens capable of building local, national and global communities. In 1913, in an article entitled 'Where Drill Fails', Baden-Powell had argued that 'bring[ing] out each lad's character...to make them into good men for God and

---

<sup>45</sup> The Preface to *Scouter's Books No.12*, produced by the Boy Scouts Association in 1957, began, "You occasionally hear someone say "There are too many Scout books now: why print another?" He is invariably someone who (a) has never run a Troop or Pack or (b) run one very indifferently a long time ago...[New ideas] prevent [the Scoutmaster] from getting stale and the boys from getting bored.'

<sup>46</sup> The Boy Scouts Association produced a range of 'Scouter's Books' series, including *It's Troop Night Again. More Ideas for Troop Meetings*, 1954; and *Some Training Ideas for Scouts*, 1957; and another range aimed at Patrols – for example, *Pioneering for the Patrol*, 1958; *Training in Observation*, 1951; *The Patrol Year*, 1951.

<sup>47</sup> The longevity of many written resources throughout the mid-twentieth century was in part due to the economic straitening of the 1930s, and wartime rationing that continued throughout the 1940s and into the early 1950s. See, for example, *Guiding for the Guider*, Girl Guides Association, which went through 16 editions between 1923 and 1954; and Mrs Janson Potts, (comp.), *Hints on Girl Guide Badges*, 1935/36, and in use by New Zealander Joan McClure in her roles as a Patrol Leader in the 1<sup>st</sup> Taihape Company in 1943, and again when she became Captain of her own (10<sup>th</sup> Palmerston North, Heretaunga) company in Palmerston North in 1953.

their country' and developing qualities of honour, industry and fraternity through Scouting was a much more effective formula than mass drilling along strictly military lines. He further argued that by instilling that character and brotherhood into boys 'at home' and in the Dominions 'we shall forge a stronger link to that which at present holds the whole Empire together.'<sup>48</sup> The imperial emphasis shifted over time to encompass a wider sense of internationalism, reflecting the spread of the movements throughout the world, and the inexorable loosening of imperial bonds.<sup>49</sup> Messages about developing and maintaining healthy bodies, capable of strenuous activity, endured.

Individual responsibility for health and fitness was linked to the ability to help others – 'Your job as a Guide is to learn to keep yourself fit, so that you are ready to help whenever needed, so that you can enjoy life to the full, and so that you are not a trouble to other people.'<sup>50</sup> An early precedent for combining health and public service was set in Christchurch in 1928, where a Girl Guide Nursing Division was established, under the auspices of St Johns' Ambulance Brigade. Members undertook St Johns' training and volunteered at sports grounds, local hospitals and homes.<sup>51</sup> Younger members, too, were encouraged to learn enough first aid to either be helpful, or to know when adult help was needed – and which essential service to contact. Cubs and Brownies learned about hazards in their homes and neighbourhoods – 'Many Brownies have saved people from being seriously burned in accidents because they have kept calm and known what to do'.<sup>52</sup> Water safety and resuscitation techniques also featured in handbooks, with Cubs told to 'Be Prepared...There is no time to consult a textbook when a drowning

---

<sup>48</sup> *B-P-s Outlook*, p.43.

<sup>49</sup> John S. Wilson, *Scouting Round the World*, London: Blandford Press, 1959. Scouting's International Bureau was moved from London to Ottawa, Canada in 1958, reflecting a process of consciously promoting world Scouting in the post-war era. [p,139]. See the chapters (from 12 onwards) that relate to post-war developments beyond Europe, the Commonwealth and the Americas.

<sup>50</sup> *A Handbook for Guides*, GGANZ, 1970, p.143.

<sup>51</sup> *The Great Game (no author)*, pp.32-35. The Division was still functioning into the late 1960s.

<sup>52</sup> *The Brownie Book*, GGANZ in association with the GGA, 1965, p.70.

accident occurs...Learn what to do now.’<sup>53</sup> Tony A’Court, a 10 year old Wanganui Cub was nominated for a Scouting meritorious conduct award for resuscitating his baby sister after she had fallen in the family’s pool. Having learned the technique at Cubs he was able to take over from his mother (who was applying it incorrectly) until an ambulance arrived. The police report accompanying the citation stated that he

showed considerable courage for his age in the face of an extremely emotional situation. He effectively demonstrated his knowledge of resuscitation and how to summon emergency services. Once his mother was safely on the way to the hospital with his sister he commenced cleaning up and kept control of the house.<sup>54</sup>

Reports like this were exemplars of good practice within the Scouting programme – the boy had been taught the right skill, in a way that was meaningful, by a leader who followed both Scouting principles and practice. His ability to use what he had been taught in Cub meetings in a high-pressure situation epitomized Baden-Powell’s useful - and active - young citizen.

Presenting Scouts and Guides to the public as examples of healthy and well-disciplined youth did not obviate the need to reiterate to those members the need to look after themselves. By the 1960s and 1970s new temptations were everywhere. Modern threats to wholesome activity as favoured by Scouting and Guiding leaders included ‘the stultifying influence of TV’, and a tendency for more children (with more pocket money) to over-indulge in treats.<sup>55</sup> Official responses to counteract these trends included reiterating the tailoring of programmes to the relevant age group in ways that the preferred message ‘stuck’, and by making physical activities and games a central part of the weekly programmes. The

---

<sup>53</sup> *The Cub Book*, SANZ, 1977, p.84. Water Safety campaigns highlighting the need to know resuscitation techniques and How to Swim campaigns were both current in public health at this time. Archives New Zealand: Department of Internal Affairs – Water Safety Campaign, Minutes and Finance [1963-1978], record # IPS 18/13/4A.

<sup>54</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-01/1, SANZ, [Meritorious, Gallantry Awards].

<sup>55</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 SANZ, Annual Reports; Annual Report 1965, Wolf Cubs Report, p.27. Concern over good nutrition and the ‘sweets’ problem was not new – nearly thirty years before ‘Little John’ Cooksey, Commissioner for Training, had written ‘We all as boys enjoyed a good “tuck in”, but that is a very different matter to continual stuffing of lollies. Make physical fitness one of your troop traditions, so that the greedy chap soon finds himself unpopular.’ ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-11/06, Historical General. Dominion HQ Bulletin, June 1938, p.7.

suggested programme for Cubs in the 1975 handbook interspersed focused learning activities with opportunities for physical play. Playing a boisterous game immediately after the opening activities was ‘an opportunity for all the Pack to play an active game together, and to let off steam. Boys have masses of energy, and it is well released early in the programme.’<sup>56</sup> All Scouting and Guiding leaders were encouraged to fit their weekly programmes and skills work around the particular needs of their members at various ages and stages of development. Creating and maintaining a good fit of material and related activities in weekly Scouting or Guiding provided the best platform for imparting the programme successfully, but not clinically: ‘Cub leaders must be skilful enough to find ways to work Cubbing ideals into Pack activities in a truly natural way.’<sup>57</sup> Cubs and Brownies who enjoyed and learned from those programmes were more likely to learn, to stay in the movements and to progress to Scouts and Guides; and this goal too had to be mediated through ‘a spirit of adventurous activity [and] a happy family atmosphere’.<sup>58</sup>

Throughout the period of this study, and in all forms of communication emanating from both movements, physical health, keenness of mind and the acquisition of useful skills were at the forefront. As self-avowedly outdoor movements, in a country that prided itself on its close connections to land and sea, this is perhaps unsurprising. Such Scouting and Guiding institutions as camping, knotting and wide games provided members with physical challenges and the chance to ‘get outside’, but were also part of the movements’ wider plan to instil the principle and practice of capability in young members.

---

<sup>56</sup> Dowling, *Cub Leader’s Handbook*, 1975, p.208. Log books from the mid-1940s also show that effective programme planning reflected this combining of different elements of the Cub programme. – Log Book 3<sup>rd</sup> P.N. West End Cub Pack, 1946. This principle had been recognised in the 1928 ‘Gilcraft’ book, *Wolf Cubs*: ‘Games are the chief feature of Pack activities. If it were not so we should lose our hold on the boy, for the Pack would become nothing more than an extension of school. On the other hand we must never forget that a boy likes the feeling of progress, and in the majority of cases he is not satisfied unless he is given some definite work to do...’ p.96.

<sup>57</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Scout Association Annual Reports. Annual Report, 1966, p.15.

<sup>58</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Scout Association Annual Reports. Annual Report, 1965, p.27.

## Uniforms but not Uniform?

Uniforms mean many things, to those who wear them and those who see them, to those who order them worn, and to those denied them. Whether military or civilian, uniforms are complex social identities, laden with social connotations and having multiple purposes.<sup>59</sup>

Scouting and Guiding have always been uniformed youth movements, and as their membership grew, their uniforms became easily recognisable to the general populace. The quote above comes from an article equating women's willingness to wear forms of uniform with their push for full citizenship, and for youth the same principles applied. Uniforms can signify adherence to a set of institutional values and their wearers' willingness to publicly associate themselves with an organisation. While not all uniforms are worn willingly, as military service conscripts and school students have attested, those who joined voluntary organisations have, at some level, chosen to materially represent elements of their own beliefs and those of the organisation. As part of the material culture of the Scouting and Guiding movements, uniforms represented their values and rituals in ways that could be 'read' by those within and outside of the movements.<sup>60</sup>

Baden-Powell's original uniform for Boy Scouts was modelled on that of the South African Constabulary, for comfort and serviceability. It initially consisted of a wide-brimmed hat; a scarf in group colours ('very useful for an emergency bandage or making a ladder'); a shirt, preferably with the sleeves rolled up, so that a Scout might 'be prepared'; shorts and knee length socks. A stout wooden staff,

---

<sup>59</sup> Barton C. Hacker and Margaret Vining, 'Cutting a New Pattern: Uniforms and Women's Mobilization for War 1854-1919', *Textile History and the Military*, 41 (I) supplement, May 2010, pp.108-143. p. 109.

<sup>60</sup> See Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998, pp.60-61.

useful for everything from fending off mad dogs to beating out bush fires, completed the kit.<sup>61</sup> Early uniforms varied widely, as groups of boys fashioned themselves into patrols and troops, adapting where expedient. Their leaders' attire was similarly diverse, some affecting breeches, riding crops and other accoutrements of rank, while others – following the example of Baden-Powell – mirrored the boys' clothes. Girl Scouts, being unplanned for, were inventive in their choices of uniforms, but generally followed the advice given in *Scouting for Boys*, albeit with long skirts. As the movement's infrastructure developed, more standardisation followed. Baden-Powell reasoned that uniforms in the Boy Scout and then Girl Guides movements were a way to even out differences in class and wealth, and display equality as Scouts or Guides, in keeping with the 4<sup>th</sup> Law. To outsiders, Scouts and Guides presented a uniformed and uniform image. Yet, as Tammy Proctor has pointed out, interwar British uniform pieces were available in a variety of fabrics, and accompanied by a range of optional accessories for those who could afford them. This 'seductive consumer paradise' indicated to those within Scouting and Guiding that all members were not equal materially, as some but not all had access to a range of specialised consumer products.<sup>62</sup> Before the New Zealand movements developed their own shops for kit and associated paraphernalia, shops in main centres identified a lucrative niche market. Some developed Scouting sections within their stores. In 1910, Christchurch firm W. Strange and Coy. could supply a package deal of Scout shirt and pants 'in best military khaki drill', haversack and hat for 10/6, although this and other advertisements offer a single option, rather than grades of quality.<sup>63</sup> Advertisements in 1965/66's *The Scouting Year in New Zealand* reminded readers that 'Smartness in Scouting Always Starts with Uniform', and that they could play their part to 'make the Boy Scout movement the smartest uniformed youth

---

<sup>61</sup> Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 29<sup>th</sup> Edition, pp.50-51.

<sup>62</sup> Tammy Proctor, 2002, p.34. Susan A. Miller makes a similar point about ranges of uniform clothing in her discussion of the American Scouting 'brand' – 'Trademark: Scout', *Scouting Frontiers. Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (eds.), Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, pp.28-41, p.30.

<sup>63</sup> *The Press*, 15 January 1910, p.5; *The Dominion Headquarters Scouts Gazette*, v.1, no.2, 15 June 1921, full page advertisement on back cover.

organisation in New Zealand' by buying their uniforms from Scout shops and approved agents.<sup>64</sup>

For those unable to afford new uniforms, a thriving trade in second-hand outfits and hand-me-downs in families provided ways in which they could feel themselves to be, and in which others could identify them as, Scouts or Guides.<sup>65</sup> When Guider Georgina Boyd established a Girl Guide company in the Bay of Plenty in 1923, she considered that Guides who earned their uniforms would appreciate them more. The Guides mowed lawns and did small jobs, in return for suitable fabric from a local drapery. 'Guide hats were sent from Headquarters in Auckland. It was very exciting when a large box of hats arrived and were tried on for size.'<sup>66</sup> These girls had the ability to earn their complete uniforms over time and took pride in them, but some other Scouts or Guides could only afford small, symbolic uniform parts like group scarves to signify their membership. Allan Hubbard joined Dunedin's Knox Church Scout Group as a Cub in 1937 and his cap, jersey and Royal Stewart tartan Knox scarf were bought by a church elder to allow him to participate, when his family's circumstances made a uniform unaffordable.<sup>67</sup> Doris Clement, an Anderson's Bay Guide in the 1930s, took pride in her second-hand Guide uniform – 'I thought I was great being a Guide' - and earned her penny for the weekly Guide meeting by doing domestic jobs for her large family. She considered that 'having to earn my Guide money taught me to be a responsible adult', although she still missed out on some company excursions due to the cost.<sup>68</sup> Some groups worked with their members' families to provide suitable alternatives to shop-bought uniforms. 'Doug Markin's [resourceful]

---

<sup>64</sup> *The Scouting Year in New Zealand*, v.1, no.2, 1965/66, p.40.

<sup>65</sup> Newspaper small advertisement columns in daily newspapers regularly offered used uniforms for sale, or requested that they were 'wanted to buy': 'Guides uniform complete, fit girl 12-14, £1 1/, as new', *Auckland Star*, 29 March 1928, p.2; 'Wanted to Buy: Girl Guide uniform, in good condition, to fit girl 12...' *Auckland Star*, 4 April 1944, p.2; 'Scouts uniform, 15s....' *Evening Post*, 1 September 1945, p.1.

<sup>66</sup> Santon and Reid, p.1.

<sup>67</sup> Virginia Green, *Allan Hubbard. A Man Out of Time*, Auckland: Random House New Zealand, 2010, pp.42-43.

<sup>68</sup> Cox, p.77.

mother was responsible for both uniforms and tents' for the St Hilda's, Island Bay Scout Group:

It was the depression years and parents could not afford these luxuries. Doug purchased pre-World War I cadet uniforms and his mother dyed these in her copper to a very dark blue, then made up the red and white scarf with the small cross on the apex. The total uniform including an ex-Army lemon-squeezer cost 1/6...and this was repaid by the boys at a penny per meeting night. These dark blue uniforms were still worn by the boys of both St Hilda's and Wesley Groups until the change in uniforms in the '60s.<sup>69</sup>

For the succession of boys who wore these uniforms over decades, and for other boys and girls who turned up in recycled uniforms, belonging to the group may have been more significant than their uniforms' provenance.<sup>70</sup> Throughout the century, where families had more than one child going through Cubs or Brownies, uniforms were passed on.<sup>71</sup> Uniformed youth movements, catering as they do for growing children, have always been involved in 'making do' by handing on uniforms where possible so that their costs are kept to affordable levels for as many families as possible.

However uniforms were acquired, they came with rituals attached to their wearing. Hierarchies of achievement and rank were displayed, with 'stripes', lanyards, or stars; and they were worn with the implicit understanding that they should be symbolic of Scouting and Guiding's values. From the time that new members were invested, and so able to wear their group's uniform, they were instructed on correct methods of folding scarves, placement of badges, and general 'smartness'. Uniforms had a symbolic as well as a material presence that was meaningful to members of the movements, if not always to outsiders. When the

---

<sup>69</sup> Doug R Cousins, *Scouting in Island Bay. A History of the Scout movement in Island Bay. From its inception around 1910 until the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the St Hilda's -1<sup>st</sup> Island Bay group 1989*, Wellington: the Group, 1991, p.9.

<sup>70</sup> A reunion of Nelson's Trefoil Guild (ex-members of Guiding, who maintained links with the movement) as part of Women's Suffrage centenary celebrations in 1993 showed two members with the uniforms they wore as Guides in the 1920s, with markedly different provenances – one member had purchased her uniform from Harrods while the other had made hers. Both women had at least 65 years involvement with Guiding. Dawber, 2002, p.140.

<sup>71</sup> When the author joined Brownies in the early 1970s her uniform was inherited from her elder sister.

Wesley Scout Group was formed in 1942, their committee decided on a group scarf of 'red with an equilateral triangle of red in a circle of gold, denoting the four square life, physical, mental and social within the spiritual.'<sup>72</sup> For young members, their uniforms indicated 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> Class badges earned, patrol identity and leader status, and which proficiency badges they had earned. Such displays were symbolic of commitment to their movements, or of the movements' values. Scouts and Guides who had reached '1<sup>st</sup> Class' status, and who could thus display their achievement on their uniforms, reflected not only their personal endeavour but their acceptance and endorsement of the movements' aims for advancement, as initially laid out by Baden-Powell. Yet those young members less motivated by the acquisition of badges and status symbols could still internalise, and did to varying degrees, the movements' citizenship values through principles and hands-on activities.

New Zealand handbooks continually reinforced Baden-Powell's original message about being clean and tidy in uniform, and maintaining good posture. *Girl Guiding* and *Scouting for Boys* both frequently reminded readers to stand tall and present themselves well, and abbreviated initials like TIB (Tuck In Back) were dotted throughout the girls' handbook at regular intervals. Respect for their internal bodies in the form of good hygiene, nutrition and bodily care sat alongside respect for their outwardly uniformed selves, and therefore respect for the movements of which they were part. Encouraging Scouts and Guides to take pride in their uniformed selves did not necessarily mean that this was accepted or endorsed by some outside the movements. Early Boy Scouts were subject to name-calling and sometimes physical abuse, and this continued in the post-World War 2 period.<sup>73</sup> In November 1958 *The New Zealand Scout* noted that

It is not new to know that in some areas Scouts get a bit of "ragging" from a few ruffians and there is a limit as to how far this should be accepted. Recently two youths...assaulted a Scout in uniform by pulling him off his bike and hitting him over the head. The Magistrate who handled the case did not accept the explanation

---

<sup>72</sup> Cousins, p.38.

<sup>73</sup> Jeal, p.397, quotes the jeering rhyme directed at early British Boy Scouts, 'Here come the Brussel Sprouts, The stinking, blinking louts', often accompanied by thrown projectiles.

that the incident was just fun and placed one of the two youths on probation for twelve months.<sup>74</sup>

To the instigators of this assault the uniformed victim was easily identifiable as a Scout, and therefore a target.

Later handbooks from the 1960s and 1970s contained illustrations of ‘smart’ Scouts or Brownies, showing where various badges and emblems were placed.<sup>75</sup> *The New Zealand Scouts’ Handbook* of 1962 also reminded Scouts that ‘everybody recognises a Scout in uniform, and they will judge Scouting by the way you wear it...Wear all of it correctly, or none at all...’ The expectation was that the Scout would ‘be so proud of it that you will never want to cover it up with a coat unless it is raining or very cold.’<sup>76</sup> The 1978 handbook made explicit that the Scout uniform stood for three things – ‘brotherhood, service, and outdoor life.’ The uniform worn by all Scouts internationally represented brotherhood; service, by the ‘easily recognisable’ uniform for those in need of assistance; and outdoor life by its ‘rugged and practical’ design for active Scouts.<sup>77</sup> Uniforms were, then, ‘readable’ by both insiders and outsiders - and in both cases were intended to reflect well upon the movements.

New Zealand Scouting and Guiding modified their uniforms throughout the twentieth century, as did their British parent movements. The Scout uniform was subject to fewer changes, at least until the major ‘new look’ programme changes in the late 1960s. This may have reflected the original practicality of the uniform, which was largely based on variations of the kind of clothing worn by most boys anyway. Khaki had military associations, but was also readily available, affordable and hid dirt well. Cub green and Scout khaki, which also reflected the nature-outdoors ethos, remained Scouting’s dominant colour scheme until uniform

---

<sup>74</sup> *The New Zealand Scout*, v.3, no.3, November 1958, p.14.

<sup>75</sup> See, for example, *The Brownie Handbook*, 1970 edition, p.35; *New Zealand Scout Handbook*, revised edition, 1978, pp.3-4. The latter somewhat optimistically illustrated how to fold the uniform for later use, adding ‘you could perhaps use the same way of looking after all your clothes so that they will always be well cared for.’

<sup>76</sup> *The New Zealand Scouts’ Handbook*, 1962 edition, p.13.

<sup>77</sup> *New Zealand Scout Handbook*, 1978, p.3.



**Figure 17: Old and new Scouting uniforms, 1968**

In recognition of the movement's 'awakening...to the need for development and expansion and the great potential of Scouting...to meet the needs of the youth today', programme, administration and uniform changes were introduced. Men and older youths could now wear long trousers, after 60 years of knee-baring shorts. This move was partly driven by adult leaders, but also acknowledged that Scouting teenagers in the 1960s were increasingly conscious of moving beyond the trappings of boyhood.<sup>78</sup> The uniform remained military in style, although less so with each subsequent uniform change. Recent Scouting uniform changes have reverted back to a similar style shirt from the more casual styles of the 1980s-2000s. Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand. Creator: Unknown.

changes in the mid-1970s.<sup>79</sup> Changes in Guide and Brownie uniforms reflected those in female apparel, as hemlines rose and girls' clothing became simpler. Brownies, as their name suggests, wore variations in brown dresses, although post-war woollen berets replaced high-maintenance brimmed hats.<sup>80</sup> Guides wore blue belted dresses, while Rangers wore navy blue skirts and pale blue shirts. Fabrics changed from the original wool, to serviceable serge, to those incorporating synthetic blends from the late 1950s onwards. Uniform dresses had a remarkably long run; it was not until 1980 that Guides and Brownies dispensed with long-sleeved dresses in favour of simpler pinafores or tunics with separate sashes for badges. The British 1966 *Girl Guide Annual*, a popular Christmas gift for British

<sup>78</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, 99-241-6/3, SANZ Annual Reports.

<sup>79</sup> Sea and Air Scouts wore blue-toned uniforms in keeping with the elemental basis of their groups, and perhaps reflecting the military uniforms of sea and air forces. Some troops that had been in existence since the early days of New Zealand Scouting wore variations in uniform colours, and there were troops with Scottish links who were kilted Scouts.

<sup>80</sup> Both Brownies and Guides brimmed hats were problematic because, although they offered some protection from the weather and could be used for carrying things in if necessary, they were inclined to droop when wet, requiring stiffening with various concoctions, steaming and reshaping in order to meet the movement's requirement for smartness.

and New Zealand Guides, contained in its end papers a retrospective of British Guide and Guider uniforms from 1910 to the new uniforms introduced in 1965. Inside, an article asked ‘The New-Look Guide and Guider: how do you like her?’ Moving away from military-style leather belts and berets, the Guide uniform with an untucked, shaped shirt and brimless, structured cap was referred to as ‘air hostess-style’. This was a conscious decision in order to ‘keep [the] outlook modern and be alert to new trends’:

The new uniform is stylish, crisp, easily washed, and really belongs to the nineteen-sixties. In it you’re “with it”. It was designed especially for girls of eleven to sixteen, and that means YOU.<sup>81</sup>

The same trend was apparent in New Zealand Guiding, where changes to the uniform for older girls were intended to reflect more modern styling and age appropriate features. From 1969 Rangers, like their British peers, wore ‘air hostess’ hats and could forgo the white socks of their earlier Guide uniforms for stockings and short skirts, in keeping with other teenage girls’ clothing preferences.<sup>82</sup> Although this was part of a wider reappraisal of uniforms throughout the Guiding movement, as part of the ‘New Look’ of New Zealand Guiding introduced in 1970, finding ways of retaining teenage girls’ membership made accommodating their needs particularly important. Within Scouting too, there was some recognition of the way teenage members thought about uniforms, with an option for long trousers instead of the traditional shorts, and a gradual move away from the military association of khaki to teal and beige by the end of the period. Military-style detailing on Guiding uniforms – like pleated pockets on Brownie and Guide dresses – also gave way to simpler styling and light-weight, ‘wash and wear’ fabrics.

Uniformed adults were subject to the same expectations of smartness and of pride in progression through training levels reflected in their uniforms. Pre-war uniforms were more military in tone, with accoutrements like wide-brimmed cockaded hats and leather gauntlets to indicate higher ranks. Rationing during and

---

<sup>81</sup> The Girl Guide Annual, 1966, London: Purnell, p.48.

<sup>82</sup> See also, for British Girl Guides uniforms changes, Gledhill, pp.7-9.

after the war affected the movement's ability to acquire cloth of the same quality and in the same quantities as previously, although leaders were still expected to be presentable. Provincial commissioners, who sometimes came into the movements by invitation, rather than through internal promotion, were expected to wear well-fitting and immaculate uniforms since they represented the movement to those outside it, and were role models for those inside it. Photographs of highly ranked leaders at public gatherings seem to indicate that their uniforms may have been tailored rather than home-made or bought off the rack, as worn by lower adult leaders. Their personal standards were perceived to set the tone for others, in the same way that adult leaders were expected to set the tone for their own groups. As with young members, uniformed leaders sometimes struggled to meet uniform costs. Alma Knox, a Nelson Province Guider who had dual roles when she became a District Commissioner in the late 1960s, was asked at a Christchurch training meeting why she was still wearing a Guider's uniform instead of a Commissioner's suit. She questioned whether it was essential to have a suit, as it was an expensive ensemble, which the women had to provide for themselves.<sup>83</sup> Unlike uniforms for Brownies and Guides, second-hand suits were not readily available or necessarily a good fit. Whereas earlier commissioners were perhaps assumed financially capable of absorbing these extra costs, changing dynamics of women in leadership roles may have brought about a reappraisal of the financial as well as the time costs of their involvement. A 1981 booklet on Scout group management noted the uniform cost for leaders, adding that 'it is customary for most Group Committees to either provide their Scouters with full uniform or to make them an allowance towards [it].'<sup>84</sup> While this relied upon local committees being solvent enough to meet these costs, it acknowledged that the work of voluntary leaders, and the uniform costs that accompanied those roles, were worth supporting.

Uniformed youth movements like Scouting and Guiding played a number of roles. They provided an internal identity for members, who could 'read' markers of

---

<sup>83</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.91.

<sup>84</sup> *Scout Group Management. Little Scout Book No. 1*, Wellington: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1981, p.21.

geographical location, status and achievement; and an external identity, whereby members of the public outside of the movements could readily recognize them. Wearing uniforms required compliance, and conformity to the movements' expectations of neatness and respectability. Yet within these boundaries there was considerable variation between individuals and groups, depending upon internal standards, levels of affluence and accessibility of uniforms for members. For adults too, uniforms provided them with a collective and sometimes individual identity, as they acted as role models for their charges, and developed their own paths within the movements.

### **ADULT MEMBERS:**

Uniformed adult members had dual roles: they were expected to be role models of active and useful citizenship for their groups; and to instil the same habits of mind and civic engagement in their Brownies, Cubs, Scouts and Guides. Operating within a context of wide social change throughout the twentieth century, the ways in which the movements' messages were transmitted and received also changed. When the movements were young, so too were many of their troop or company leaders – often the age gap between leader and led was only a few years, and they were of the same generation. Those young leaders who maintained their membership sometimes 'grew up' through the movements, later taking on senior leadership positions in the post-World War 2 era.<sup>85</sup> In New Zealand Guiding there was a shift from a majority of young, unmarried women leaders to married women leaders, often with their own daughters of Brownie and Guide age, becoming the norm by the end of the period. This pattern also extended to the movement's leaders. While Guiding's aims remained the same, the ways in which they were perceived and promulgated by adults in different social contexts, life stages and positions were open to reassessment. This flowed on to the content of the

---

<sup>85</sup> Mona Burgin, who started her Guiding life with an Auckland Girl Peace Scout troop, was involved at various leadership and adviser levels in the movement for 55 years, and Marie Iles began her Guiding life as a Brownie leader before becoming the association's General Secretary, a post she held from 1934-1970.

programmes, the ways in which girls were instructed, and their subsequent levels of engagement.

Voluntary movements like Scouting and Guiding have always relied upon adult leaders' unpaid work and ideological commitment. They still do, despite having paid administrators who run increasingly complex organisations. Leaders who ran programmes and weekly meetings, developed policies, organised camping trips and maintained group records did so for a range of reasons. Some had long histories of involvement with the movements, initially as Cubs or Brownies and rising through the age groups until they became leaders themselves. Others became leaders because they were pressed into service while they had children in packs or troops – 'someone had to do it.' Still others were recruited as mature adults to fill commissioner roles, based on their community standing and ability to use their networks of influence for the movements. In all cases, there was an organisational expectation of service, goodwill, personal integrity, commitment and role modelling. Baden-Powell insisted that the best way to turn out good young citizens was to have good, well-trained leaders, and that skills and leadership training should be ongoing. Added to this requirement for training, meetings and camps was the ever-present impetus for fundraising. Those who fully committed to this package of personal and organisational requirements did so because they believed that their efforts in developing the characters and abilities of their groups were a worthwhile endeavour, and because they gained personal satisfaction from it.

### **Who became leaders, and why?**

Local Scouting histories and newspaper photographs often displayed entire families in Scouting and Guiding uniforms. One such was the McAlpine family of Oakura who, in 1965, represented Cubs, Brownies, Scouts, Guides, Venturers, Rangers, Guiders and a Scouting District Commissioner between them.<sup>86</sup> For this family, Scouting and Guiding occupied a significant part of their lives, in contrast

---

<sup>86</sup> Bellini, p.248.

to others for whom it was a much smaller aspect of their identities. Some young members stayed in the movements past the Rovers or Venturers and Rangers stages, to become leaders in their own right. The movements encouraged this development as leaders, as this group had built up their skills and knowledge over the years, and understood the organisational values and aims. Some groups fostered this progression amid a sense of collective camaraderie. The 17<sup>th</sup> Dunedin (Knox Church) Scout Group had, from its establishment in 1931 until the end of the 1970s, eighty three male leaders who filled various roles; of these, forty nine had been boy members of the group.<sup>87</sup> Although an understanding of duty and service as it related to Scouting was evident, many of these men continued to enjoy Scouting activities and to see new generations of boys develop as Cubs and Scouts. Beyond that, they hoped to shape them as men and citizens who were active in their communities.

Good leaders, who maintained discipline without discouraging initiative, were recognized as such by their groups. One of Les Carrick's Knox Scouts in the 1950s said of him:

He had a great way, an amazing ability to get the whole troop to do something because *they* thought that it was *their* idea when, in actual fact, Les had sown it in the first place.<sup>88</sup> (original emphasis)

This reflection came from an adult who was later active in Scouting, looking back on his boyhood with the understanding of what was involved in being a Scout leader. Authors of other local group histories noted that boys or girls did not necessarily appreciate their leaders' work at the time: Jack Worgan's St Hilda's Scouts were the happy recipients of well-planned and enjoyable two-week summer camping trips, without giving much thought to considering that it was also his summer leave.<sup>89</sup> Local histories, which often list every leader since the group's

---

<sup>87</sup> McRobie, pp.302-304. Some men filled more than one role in their Knox Scouting leadership careers, moving from assistant Cub or Scout leaders through to running their own packs or troops, and then becoming Group Scoutmasters or Group Leaders. Knox, in common with many other groups also had a strong female leadership element, mostly in the younger age groups – in the Cubbing section, women filled 40 of 66 positions in this period.

<sup>88</sup> McRobie, p.172.

<sup>89</sup> Cousins, p.14.

inception, afford the opportunities for well-regarded leaders to later be acknowledged or honoured for their efforts in formal printed form.<sup>90</sup> Memoirs, too, provided some the opportunity to reflect on leaders they had known. Jack Dowling, a later Commissioner in Cubbing, wrote of Nancy Wilson (Akela):

I was just a small Cub or was it a Bull pup when I first met Akela...Adults may be a necessary evil to a small boy, but occasionally someone makes an impact on their lives and to me that one person was Akela Wilson. I well remember her visiting our Pack and somehow or other she made us feel that Cubbing was something very near and dear to her heart and that we small boys were very important indeed.<sup>91</sup>

Where such tributes appeared, it was a mark of the affinity that such leaders held for the age group with which they were involved and the relationships they built. Leaders were sometimes recalled as being strict in their expectations of personal and Scouting or Guiding standards for their charges, seeing their own jobs as role models and guides through childhood and adolescence. While some long-serving leaders ranged through the age groups of their movements, filling vacant positions as needed, others found that they related best to particular age groups of children or teenagers. Those who led the younger Cubs or Brownies sections could expand into imaginative storytelling and play scenarios as part of their programmes or pack holidays. Kirsten Westerskov, an Otago Brownie leader in the 1960s led her pack holiday Brownies in fantastical adventures ‘Down the Rabbit Hole’ or into ‘the ‘Land of the Gnomes’, and Cub packs used Kipling’s ‘Jungle Book’ stories as part of their programmes and personas.<sup>92</sup> *The Wolf Cub’s Handbook*, first published in 1916 and still in use in New Zealand until the mid-1960s, was based around *The Jungle Book*, and included a series of pack dances characterising the main animal characters – each teaching a Cubbing value.<sup>93</sup> This was active Cubbing, made to allow for high energy levels of Cubs. New Zealand Cub leaders

---

<sup>90</sup> Cousins, p.14. The editor’s bracketed comment, referring to Jack Worgan-led camping expeditions was ‘Take a bow, Jack’. The New Plymouth and North Taranaki’ Scouting history recognised leaders whose contributions spanned decades, with personal entries, alongside troop information: Roy Hopkins (‘Ruru’) was a Scout in the 1918 influenza epidemic, and was awarded the prestigious Silver Tui award in 1968 Bellini, pp.188-190. George Bartlett (‘Toa’) took over New Plymouth’s St Joseph’s Scout Troop in 1957, when it lacked a leader. He retired in 1985, having led Scouts and Venturers, and filled District leadership roles. Bellini (ed.), pp.266-268.

<sup>91</sup> Wilson, p.74.

<sup>92</sup> Cox, p.106.

<sup>93</sup> *The Wolf Cub’s Handbook*, London: C. Arthur Pearson (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1916), 14<sup>th</sup> Edition, 1958, pp.26-29; 34-37; 47-48; 55-57.

were reminded to consider the physicality of their boys, as this 1966 report indicated:

It is worthwhile re-emphasising that Cubbing must always be active. It is, therefore, a scheme of activities based on the natural desires of a normal boy. Cub leaders must be skilful enough to find ways to work Cubbing ideals into Pack activities in a truly natural way.<sup>94</sup>

Books and leaflets on 'How to Run a Pack or Troop' were developed early in Scouting to aid the novice leader or to reinvigorate the 'old hand'. These and later publications reiterate the importance of understanding boys, as well as instilling the movement's aims<sup>95</sup>. A New Zealand Cub leader's 1960s-1970s handbook began by asking, 'What is Cubbing?' followed by 'What is a Boy?' Cubbing, from an adult leader's perspective, was 'an opportunity to provide an atmosphere where both leaders and parents can...help these boys to develop attitudes and values that will stand them in good stead as future citizens.'<sup>96</sup> To succeed, leaders had to understand the psychology and physiology of boyhood yet tread the middle ground between overdoing and neglecting to impose boundaries:

With the emphasis on right personal relationships, the need to be knowledgeable in human relations, group techniques, management of one's self and one's resources, I wonder whether we overlook something pretty important in the life of a boy. Is he being too busy doing good, being a model citizen to remember what it was like to have FUN? Is he being given so much 'flexibility' and 'freedom' that he is held captive by adults 'good intentions'?<sup>97</sup>

The tone of this reflection suggests some unease over undesirable extremes of rigid traditionalism and liberal 'laissez-faire' attitudes to raising boys in this period, and the need for Cub leaders to 'think boywise'. This in itself was remarkably close to Baden-Powell's foundational concept of the ideal Scout leaders as 'boy-men', capable of maintaining adult perspectives without losing sight of the boys they had been.

---

<sup>94</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Annual Reports [states 1973-74, but starts at 1960], SANZ, Annual Report, 1966, p.15.

<sup>95</sup> *How to Run a Pack*, one of the 'Gilcraft' series, first published in 1945, offers the 'man or woman who in a weak moment has consented to run a Wolf Cub Pack' advice on pack discipline, running games and dealing with 'the difficult boy', as well as programme aids.

<sup>96</sup> H. J. Dowling, *New Zealand Cub Leader's Handbook*, Wellington: SANZ, 1975, p.13.

<sup>97</sup> *New Zealand Cub Leader's Handbook*, p.29.

Adult leaders in the Guiding movement also considered how to appeal to girls and to best lead them towards womanhood - especially once perceptions of the 'teen problem' became more prevalent from the 1950s onwards - but there was less explicit discussion in the movement's literature about what made girls tick than there was for boys. What was apparent was a significant level of disquiet about the movement's seeming inability to retain its older girls, and discussion over whether the problem lay in the programmes offered, the way in which leaders implemented them, the array of popular culture options – or the girls themselves. They were not 'worse' than those of earlier Guiding generations but they were in some ways seen as different. In response, Guiders attempted to learn more about them psychologically and socially in order to reach them better. Guiding's 1967 Annual Report recognized the need to 'address dropouts' for the girls' sakes:

In view of the pressures and problems that face all teen-age girls to-day, those adults who believe in the principles for which Guiding stands have an urgent duty to act now, and to explore every means possible of attracting more girls and giving them the help they need.<sup>98</sup>

Similarly, Manawatu Guiders held a 'girl-centred' training session in 1974, with a talk by an unnamed Massey University lecturer entitled 'Understanding the Girl'.<sup>99</sup> Coming to terms with modern girls was clearly an ongoing task: in 1980, Jill Birch, of the National Planning Council, addressed Commissioners, saying, 'Those born before 1950 are immigrants in today's culture and yet still hold the seats of power. How can we help the young to grow into the new world we know so little about?' Her advice, and her challenge, to the audience was to employ both hearts and minds to the task, and to be open to change.<sup>100</sup>

### **Commissioners as recruits**

Early commissioners in both movements, whether at district, division, province or national levels, overwhelmingly came from affluent backgrounds. They were often

---

<sup>98</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, annual Reports, 1952-1967, 1967, p.16.

<sup>99</sup> Minutes of the Executive Meetings of the GGANZ, Manawatu Province – Minute book: 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977. Meeting 6 June 1974.

<sup>100</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-08/1, Annual Reports, 1968-1985, 1980 [unpaginated]

already notable public figures and involved in a range of community activities. For developing youth movements, as Scouting and Guiding were in the 1920s and 1930s, having leaders with influence and means was strategically sensible in terms of facilitating grants and subsidies for infrastructure and of providing social status. Most came into the movements directly at commissioner levels, without earlier experience as either youth or adult members.

Ruth Herrick, Girl Guides Chief Commissioner from 1934-1965, was recruited as Hawkes' Bay Provincial Commissioner in 1929, and served a Guiding apprenticeship of sorts by spending two years training in England and travelling around Guiding groups and events in Europe. Margaret Turnbull, who succeeded her, also joined as a Commissioner, at District level initially, rising through the ranks and becoming, in her Chief Commissioner role, a 'successful lobbyist' who 'understood the importance of good relationships within the Guide movement and with politicians and civic leaders'.<sup>101</sup> Judith Hay, Canterbury's Provincial Commissioner for 1974-1982, was also Christchurch's Mayoress. She had been a girl member, an adult unit leader and District Commissioner before taking on this role, where 'her administrative ability and acquaintance with local government...were of inestimable value.'<sup>102</sup> Group Guiding histories feature Commissioners recollecting their surprise and often apprehension at being asked to consider taking on leadership roles. Avis Peters received such a letter from the Chief Commissioner in 1972, despite having very limited experience in Guiding but a leadership role in the Plunket Society. She knew the incumbent and had met other national Commissioners socially through her. It was likely that she was being interviewed without being aware of it. She later considered 'what a lot I would have missed had I not accepted' and tellingly noted that:

---

<sup>101</sup> Dawber 2008, p.221. Subsequent Chief Commissioners or National Presidents were all, with one exception, youth members of the movement. A similar pattern was evident in the provinces – Canterbury's early Provincial Commissioners were selected without previous Guiding experience, although with community service or educational roles; those from the later 1950s onwards had all been involved in some aspect of Guiding previously. See *The Great Game*, (*passim*).

<sup>102</sup> *The Great Game*, p.99. Mrs Beryl Sidey, Provincial Commissioner for Otago, 1954-1965, was also a Mayoress (of Dunedin), who used her wide political and social networks effectively to aid the Girl Guide movement.

the constant need to search for suitable people who will take on the responsibility of Leadership is one of the most demanding facets of the position...Your friends are naturally the first to receive your attention and often are heard to say “Look out, she’s recruiting again”.<sup>103</sup>

Recognising leadership potential in suitable women invites the question of what determined suitability. Allied with class considerations educational achievement, and in some cases attendance at particular schools, was seen as an indicator of a woman’s ability to lead at this level. Jean Grear, a Nelson Provincial Commissioner from 1945-1950 considered the closure of Nelson College for Girls’ Guides company regrettable, ‘as I feel very strongly that it is from amongst the girls educated in these good schools that we must look for our future commissioners.’<sup>104</sup> As more women entered the fulltime workforce, and then re-entered it after raising children Commissioners, and other ranks within Guiding, came from a pool of women whose values included a commitment to active community service in otherwise busy lives. Many of them came from within Guiding, which suggests that they had enjoyed their earlier Guiding, and had learned the movement’s service ethos.

Leaders who lacked a background of voluntary or professional management accumulated skills that served three purposes. Primarily, they served the movement’s needs through administration and leadership; secondly, individuals developed desirable administrative skills, useful for professional applications and other voluntary groups; and thirdly, they often boosted self-perceptions of capability and worth. Women with limited work experience outside of the home found themselves in their Guiding lives taking charge of meetings, mixing with a wide range of people in the community through Brownie and Guide work and coping in camps with floods, food disasters and boisterous girls. For some women, this opened up new, significant avenues of interest. A Raumatī District Commissioner in the mid-1960s recalled that in a fast-growing area with many keen girls

---

<sup>103</sup> Jolly, p.25; Santon and Reid, pp.64-65.

<sup>104</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.62. The school’s Guide Company reopened in 1954.

every friend I had was roped in to help...I had the fun and frustration of meeting and making new friends, encouraging mothers to 'lend a hand'...One of those young interested mothers was June Oakley, who maintained that it was Guiding that brought her out as she went from strength to strength in her involvement in community, national and the Guiding world.<sup>105</sup>

For those who chose to stay on, and to complete more training, leadership roles could be very satisfying. Lorna Church, a Northland Guider, felt not only responsibility and affection for her Guides, but also satisfaction and pride in their accomplishments:

One year I was able to farewell six 14-year olds at an end-of-year function. In those days very few girls stayed until they were 14. That was very rewarding for me. My only regret is that I hadn't become a leader ten years earlier.<sup>106</sup>

### **Lifetime Leaders**

Scouting and Guiding attracted people for different reasons, and at different times in their lives. For some, the movements became a home of sorts, and their involvement lifelong. Their level of commitment was exceptional, and recognized as such locally through written histories and events, and at a national level. Leaders in this category exemplified the movements' service and citizenship ideals. Fred Coleman joined one of the first Scout troops in New Zealand, in New Plymouth in April 1908. He and his brother formed the Wild Duck patrol shortly after the family received the first serialised copy of *Scouting for Boys* from family in Wales. From that point on, he was committed to Scouting. He obtained his first warrant as a Scoutmaster in 1912 and, apart from active service in two world wars, remained actively involved for the rest of his life. Over decades he led Cub and Scout groups, filled Commissioner and training roles at county and national levels, and designed a range of certificates, badges and Scouting material as well as a set of working plans for Scout halls that was used throughout the country. His Scouting honours included the Silver Tui, the highest award given. Fred Coleman exemplified the Scouting ideals of industry, service, capability, respect and

---

<sup>105</sup> Jolly, p.42. Mrs Oakley later became the Wellington Provincial Camp Trainer.

<sup>106</sup> West, p.9.

observation. ‘Baloo’ to his Scouting community, he was remembered as ‘a remarkable character’ and was prepared for anything:

He carried secreted about his person practically everything that could reasonably be expected to be required in any Scouting activity. He had a knife and a small hand axe in sheaths on his belt, a folding saw, a pair of pliers, a file, scissors, rope, string, pencils, notebook, needles and thread, a candle, matches and perhaps most important of all a small quantity of toilet paper. At that time he was an aging septuagenarian who had joined the Scout movement at its inception in 1908 and was still active and keen 45 years later.<sup>107</sup>

Fred Coleman’s Scouting membership spanned most of the period of this study, and he was an example of a leader who maintained his interest in, and commitment to, Scouting. So too, was his wife, Alice Coleman or ‘Darzee’, who for fifteen years led two packs simultaneously - Westown Cubs from 1928-1954, and West End Cubs from 1930-1945 – before taking District leadership roles until 1970.<sup>108</sup> While the Taranaki Scouting movement was proud of the Colemans for their long-term commitment and involvement in many areas of Scouting, other provinces and districts also recorded in their histories those whose service had been particularly laudable. Occasionally leaders had such influence and longevity in their groups that their groups’ written histories talk of eras by their names. The Worgan era (1949-1963) at St Hilda’s Scouts and the Burgin (1921-1939) and Landels (1968-1996) eras at Cavell Guides were examples of this sustained commitment to their groups in total, and to the needs of their young members. National awards like the Medal Of Merit and the prestigious Silver Fish, Tiki or Tui granted by national committees on recommendations from districts and provinces recognised both the service and spirit in which these leaders carried out their Guiding and Scouting.

### **Leaders as recruits or volunteers?**

Many parents came to Scouting or Guiding through their children. It was often a case, particularly in the baby boom era, of volunteering as a leader so that a group

---

<sup>107</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.136. Coleman’s output was prodigious. Puke Ariki and the National Scout Museum have a range of his diaries and designs for Scout material.

<sup>108</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.137.

could be formed or retained. Anecdotally, parents had the experience of turning up to meetings as a parent and leaving, somewhat surprised, as a Cub leader or Tawny Owl. This method of recruiting was not unique to Scouting or Guiding, as those active in voluntary community organisations were, and are, aware. It relied upon people who, through their own sense of community service or self-interest as parents of young members, accepted responsibility for a time.

Val Signal, a Feilding mother of three boys who were Cubs in the 1970s, became a Cub leader for a short time when the previous leader left, but found that juggling this position with her fulltime teaching job and running a household was too much to handle.<sup>109</sup> She was not alone – as more women returned to the paid workforce when their children reached primary school (and Cub or Brownie) age, their available time and energy for running packs and training diminished, and tenure of leaders and assistants was frequently less than two years.<sup>110</sup> Family mobility was also a factor, as job promotions or postings plucked established leaders out of troops and companies. In leadership roles where women predominated – all Guiding positions and Cubs in the Scouting world – maternity was another limiting factor, although some leaders chose to return later. Mae King, who became a Tawny Owl in her daughter's Wellington Brownie pack in 1958, took leave for her son's birth and came back as a Brown Owl, where she continued into the mid-1970s. From her own Guiding perspective, she noted variations in quality of helpers, from those who 'one could leave carrying on no matter what happens' to those who 'were not really interested in Guiding.'<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Conversation with the author, May 2011.

<sup>110</sup> An Appendix on leadership in the 1<sup>st</sup> MT. Albert-St. Judes Scout Group shows the general trend towards shorter tenures of Cub leaders, most of whom were women, from the 1960s onwards: two packs (established in 1926 and 1948) combined into one in 1963. Prior to that, a total of 47 people were adult leaders in Cubbing; from 1963-2001 – a similar time period - the total of leaders in Cubs for one pack was 93. Married women in the workforce as a percentage of all women in the workforce rose from 17.7% in 1945 to 56.7% in 1976, and while there were variations over the age ranges of women, the general trend was for their return to the paid workforce as their dependent children aged. *New Zealand Official Year Book, 1981*, Employment Section: Women in the Labour Force.

[www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1981/NZOYB\\_1981.html#idchapter\\_1\\_24\\_3568](http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1981/NZOYB_1981.html#idchapter_1_24_3568) - accessed 30 October 2012.

<sup>111</sup> (No author) *Wellington Province Girl Guides golden Jubilee, 1924-1974*, p. 28.

Some people joined as a respite from the rest of their lives, and found a personal purpose through their service. Bruce Ansley wrote of his mother, Jess Ansley's, other life as a Wolf Cub Mistress, the pleasure she got from being part of the movement and how it 'shaped' her.

She became a Wolf Cub Mistress. She wore a green shirt and green dress and looked vaguely military, as the entire Scout movement did then in its pursuit of bushcraft, self-sufficiency, self-discipline and community spirit...

I don't know what drove her, but it was certainly not self-indulgence. Taking care of other people's kids once or twice a week was a largely thankless task, full of quibbles, injured feelings and complaints, although few of those from the kids themselves. She was to stick with it for the next thirty years.<sup>112</sup>

Domestic life was not enough for some mothers, even those like Jess Ansley who had six children of her own. Her decades of running a Cub pack was her form of community service and personal empowerment, in the same manner as women who remained active in the Plunket Society beyond their own children's pre-school years.

### **Case Study: 'Akela' – Mrs Collins of the West End Cub pack<sup>113</sup>**

Leaders who joined the movements and discovered that they had a particular aptitude for running packs, troops or companies sometimes progressed through the hierarchy as trainers for other leaders, or as Commissioners. This usually, but not always, meant that they no longer had the same level of day-to-day involvement with boys or girls. Others were seen as suitable for promotion, yet preferred to work at a local level, building relationships with children and parents.

One such leader was Mrs Annie Eliza Collins, Akela of the West End Cub Pack in Palmerston North between 1942 and 1954, having started as an assistant in 1941. Mrs Collins' experience as an Akela, and the availability of her notes and log books during this time make her an interesting case study. The developing suburb in which the West End Scout Group was situated also provides some insight into patterns of provincial life in mid-twentieth century New Zealand. Mrs Collins came

---

<sup>112</sup> Ansley, p.39 and p. 121.

<sup>113</sup> Primary material for this case study comes from the West End Scout Group Records.

from a Scouting family: her husband was the Group Scoutmaster of Palmerston North's West End Scouts and her son a Scouter, her sons had been Boy Scouts in the troop, and her daughters became assistants under her leadership. Her son William or Bill ('Manua') asked her to tend his pack while he was away on army training and then active service overseas. He was killed in action in July 1943, as a member of the New Zealand Commandos stationed in the New Hebrides.<sup>114</sup> Mrs Collins continued to tend the pack until her own death in 1954.

Akela Collins immersed herself in every aspect of Cubbing, and worked hard to ensure that weekly meetings were well planned, and fun for the boys. She wrote detailed entries in the pack's logs about every pack night, made a point of visiting her Cubs' families and took particular pleasure in the boys' sporting and badge efforts. Outside of the West End group, she regularly liaised with other Scouting groups in the city and contributed to meetings and inter-pack activity days, as well as maintaining other community links. Over the thirteen years that she was Akela at West End, she developed a clear sense of what qualities the boys in her pack possessed, and where their weaknesses lay. Individual record cards accumulated information about progress in the pack from investiture to 'going up' to Scouts, including incremental developments like service stars, 2<sup>nd</sup>, then 1<sup>st</sup> Class awards, and proficiency badges won. Those who worked hard to gain these Scouting symbols of capability and character were also more likely to have marked on their cards the dates on which they became leaders as second sixers or sixers when older boys 'went up' to Scouts. In addition to this pack data, Akela and her assistants noted information about boys' home lives that could have a bearing on their Cubbing and short notes on the personalities of the boys themselves. These notes were concise, perceptive and sometimes blunt – of one boy who she noted was good at football, cricket and was 'a good runner in a sack' she also noted that he was 'definitely not a good Cub. Wonderful at sports but has a swelled head'. This

---

<sup>114</sup>Oliver A Gillespie, *The Pacific*. Part of *The Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-1945* (Howard Kippenberger, ed.), Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, 1952, p.269. Sgt. W. A. Collins, a Scout by name and nature, was mentioned in despatches and awarded the Silver Star (U.S.). The Commando Cup, a memorial cup presented by the Group committee in his honour, was contested annually by the West End Scout Troop.

Cub did not go on to Scouts. Of another she initially wrote that he needed a firm hand as he was lazy, but later revised this opinion to 'Nice boy. Intelligent. Became much more interested when a 2<sup>nd</sup> Star'. Akela's often shrewd assessments included brief notes on how supportive Cubs' parents were, both in and out of Cubbing. Whereas one Cub's mother was 'keen, and kind to us', another's father was 'a nuisance'. Many 'fine homes' and 'good families' were noted, but she also referred to some boys being either 'spoiled' by overindulgent parents or sadly neglected.

West End Cubs in this era had considerable success in sporting competitions with other packs. Practices were incorporated into the programme, as well as during the week, and the pack was always competitive at swimming sports, athletic rallies and team sports like cricket and football. Akela's February 1952 report stated that, for the tenth year in a row, West End won the Cub Swimming Sports with a 'very high standard' of swimming and diving.<sup>115</sup> Log books and record cards contained notes on current and prospective football players and team lists for upcoming matches against other packs. Considerable effort went into these events, from weekday and meeting night practices to hosting the visitors before and after the match with Rovers and pack mothers dispensing 'eats'. When they hosted Longburn Cubs the West End pack won the match 27-0, Akela noting that due to their coaching they played 'very well' and were all 'worth a place in next year's team'.<sup>116</sup>

Camping and hiking was also a popular aspect of the Cub pack under Akela Collins' leadership. Camp log books for 1953 showed meticulous and detailed plans for the camp programme, menus, transport, permissions and rules (Camp motto: "Don't Moan"), and photos of both boys and leaders at Ashhurst Domain, a popular campsite located approximately 15 kilometres out of Palmerston North. While many Cub packs did not camp, considering it an incentive for reaching Scout ranks, West End Cubs enjoyed their short weekend camps. Some enjoyed

---

<sup>115</sup> West End Scout Group Records: 3<sup>Rd</sup> P.N. West End Cub Pack Monthly Reports June 1950 – February 1953.

<sup>116</sup> West End Scout Group Records: 3<sup>rd</sup> P.N. West End Cub Pack Log Book 1946, 22 June 1946.

them more than others: record cards bear comments ranging from ‘great camper’ to ‘rotten camper’. John Melhuish was a camp enthusiast, regarding it as a highlight of his Cubbing: ‘Great fun learning about out-door life and having to cook on open fires...Then there was always sitting around the campfire singing.’<sup>117</sup> Cubs at camp were kept busy with hikes, wide games, themed dress-up evenings and swimming, with compulsory rest periods in the afternoon where they stretched out on the grass and slept. Parents helped with cooking and transport, and a newspaper cutting from Akela’s log noted that sixty camp visitors came on Saturday afternoon.

Akela Collins had excellent support from her assistants, and from many of the boys’ parents. She worked to build relationships, and recognized the help she had in running a busy pack. Her 1947 annual report gratefully acknowledged the parents ‘who are so kind and generous to me. I know I could not do so well with the boys without your backing’; and her assistants Bagheera, Kaa, Sahi, Toomai, Manua and Blue Smoke, writing, ‘These are the people who make the success of the pack possible. Believe me, I am grateful to them.’<sup>118</sup> With a pack roll of 45 and a waiting list of 16, and a very full programme of Scouting and sporting activities, recruiting and retaining good helpers was crucial, and Akela’s skill at managing boys and adults was evident. Her leadership was recognized by the Awards Committee of the national Scouting organisation in 1952 when she was recommended for a Medal of Merit for the ‘admirable’ way she led the pack, ‘especially during the difficult war years’. The file also mentioned that ‘Mrs Collins has refused for personal reasons all requests to fill a more Executive position in the Movement, preferring the work and reward of the contact with the boys.’<sup>119</sup> Her personal commitment was focused on honouring her son’s request, and on getting the best she could from the boys in her pack, and in doing so she aided Scouting in general. Doing one’s best was not just a Cubbing slogan (as DYB and DOB) but

---

<sup>117</sup> Author’s correspondence with John Melhuish, June 2012.

<sup>118</sup> West End Scout Group Records: 3<sup>rd</sup> P.N. West End Cub Pack Log Book 1947.

<sup>119</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-1/03: Awards Committee – Minutes, 17 March 1952. The number of women nominated for awards in these minutes indicates the significant role played by women in Cubbing particularly, and their extensive commitment to their voluntary positions.

something to be practised daily, as a good citizen.<sup>120</sup> Mrs Collins applied this to herself as well as her Cubs, and studied her Wood Badge training courses in addition to her hands-on Cubbing.<sup>121</sup> As part of a written exercise, she was asked ‘How do you interest your Cubs in Scouting, locally and nationally?’ and answered that, ‘I think it is only natural that I should interest them in Scouting all the more that I am so keen on it myself.’<sup>122</sup> The cub who ‘couldn’t wait to get there each week’ and considered that his involvement in Scouting ‘certainly helped me during my life’ was testament to this.<sup>123</sup>

The Collins family, all ‘keen’ on Scouting, donated a block of land in Ferguson Street to the West End Scout Group upon which to build a Scout hall. Cub meetings were previously held at West End School, but like other packs and troops who shared facilities with schools and churches, they needed a purpose-built hall of their own for their burgeoning membership. Palmerston North’s Mayor, Mr Tremaine, opened the hall in February 1950. It was built from recycled army huts and the Chairman of the committee said that it ‘might not be an ornament to Palmerston North, but Scouting and Guiding are greater ornaments than any building in the city’ in helping to develop good citizens.<sup>124</sup> He named it Collins Hall in honour of the late Scouter Sgt. W. A. Collins. Mrs Collins continued her pack work there until shortly before her death in April 1954, her last log book entry twelve days before she died at the age of 53. A Scout altar of stone was built at the rear of the hall section, to her memory. Her daughter Dorothy then became the next Akela of the West End pack. Akela Collins was an example of active and committed leadership at a local level, and her abilities were recognised by both adults and boys. She expected high standards of behaviour and active citizenship from ‘her’ boys, and modelled it herself. A West End Cub of whom Akela had

---

<sup>120</sup> DYB = Do Your Best; and DOB, Do Our Best.

<sup>121</sup> Mrs Collins attended the first Cub Wood Badge Course held at Tatum Park in 1944 (it was the 23<sup>rd</sup> such New Zealand course in total). Howarth, p.290.

<sup>122</sup> West End Scout Group Records: 3<sup>rd</sup> P.N. West End Cub Pack, Wood Badge Study III [exercise book], 1942.

<sup>123</sup> Author’s correspondence with John Melhuish, June 2012.

<sup>124</sup> Undated and unattributed newspaper clipping, in 1949-1950 log book, West End Scout Group Records: 3<sup>rd</sup> P.N. West End Cub Pack. The hall was of a prosaic and utilitarian design, but met the needs of the group.

written 'Seems shy...but is keen and reliable' recalled how after her death, it was not the same without her.<sup>125</sup>

\*\*\*\*\*

Recruits to Scouting leadership also came from work colleagues. Baden-Powell's suggestion that Scouters should ascertain suitable men and 'sell' them Scouting was clearly followed on many occasions. Owen Rodgers, a Scouting Field Commissioner in the 1960s-1970s, recalled that the *modus operandi* for establishing Scouting in a town where it was not yet available was to make appointments with prominent townspeople and ask them who they thought would make good District Commissioners, and then approach the recommended individuals.<sup>126</sup> New Plymouth's 1<sup>st</sup> Mikotahi Sea Scout Troop gained effective leaders through personal recommendations, including their first Scoutmaster, Barry Slyfield, who felt that his recruitment by the District Commissioner in 1955 was based on his Yacht Club experience, as he knew little of Scouting.<sup>127</sup> John Hollewand worked with a member of a Scouts committee, who 'outlined a little of what "Scouts" were about and over a period of weeks convinced me to pay the 'Scout Night' meeting a visit.'<sup>128</sup> He became a very effective leader over many years. In both cases, Scouters with experience saw something in the character of these recruits that they considered would make them good leaders of boys.

For domestically-based women who did not have workmates to woo as prospective leaders, mothers' and women's groups of various kinds became places where prospective Brownie or Guide units - and who would lead them - were

---

<sup>125</sup> Comment posted on a members forum, and anonymity respected.

<sup>126</sup> Conversation with Owen Rodgers, Wellington, 28 June 2012. He considered that this generally worked well, in terms of the referrals garnered.

<sup>127</sup> Bellini, p.232.

<sup>128</sup> Bellini, p.236.

discussed.<sup>129</sup> In post-war new housing areas or where there were no existing packs or companies, some women collectively pooled their resources to share leadership:

Talking over a cup of tea and thinking how good it would be if Guides and Brownies could be started in the Plimmerton district..."Could we?" "Why not?"

This conversation resulted in forming a Brownie pack in 1956, followed the next year by a Guide company under two previously experienced Guiding recruits.<sup>130</sup>

In this case, the two Guiders who contributed their prior experience with other companies were English. The government's post-war resumption of assisted immigration for British skilled migrants in 1947 resulted in an influx of capable young people who settled in New Zealand in large numbers.<sup>131</sup> For New Zealand Scouting and Guiding, immigrants represented potential youth members and adult leaders. As representatives of both the Dominion and of Guiding, uniformed women met migrant ships in Wellington and Auckland, extending the hand of Guiding sisterhood.<sup>132</sup> The association also took advantage of the immigration scheme's sponsored employment provision to recruit Guiding shop and office staff for their new headquarters in Christchurch, and in 1959 four newly arrived members of the Guiding family took up their new jobs.<sup>133</sup> Although the constitutional cords of empire had been severed between New Zealand and Britain with the Statute of Westminster in 1947, strong bonds still existed in Scouting and Guiding ranks – echoing earlier imperial imperatives, a 1940 British Guiding magazine had written stirringly of 'Guides from the heart of Empire faring forth to

---

<sup>129</sup> Those who were Scout or Guide leaders were often also involved in other community volunteer positions like Women's Division of Federated Farmers (Wdff), Plunket, service clubs and with school committees and boards.

<sup>130</sup> Wellington Province 50<sup>th</sup> jubilee publication [no author] 1924-1974, p.39.

<sup>131</sup> Nearly 77,000 British migrants came to New Zealand under this scheme from 1947-1975, and preference was given to single, young, skilled migrants. It was extended to other European nationalities from 1950 and Dutch migrants made up a significant proportion of non-British migrants. Megan Hutching, *Long Journey for Sevenpence: Assisted Immigration to New Zealand from the United Kingdom 1947-1975*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs 1999, Appendix 2: Immigration to New Zealand, 1900-1976, p.178.

<sup>132</sup> ATL GGANZ MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2 GGANZ records: Annual Reports – up to c.1950. Annual report, 1949.

<sup>133</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.91. In this scheme, migrants who had guaranteed employment in New Zealand gained subsidized passages. Advertisements for the positions were placed in *The Guider*, the British adult Guiding magazine, clearly indicating that these positions were best suited to those women who could bring British Guiding experience to the New Zealand movement.

find their sister Guides'.<sup>134</sup> In part these connections were probably due to the class factor in the topmost ranks of both movements, many of whom had strong personal and movement links with 'home', as they were in a position to influence policy. Significantly, the influx of British immigrants in this period of strong growth aided the links, re-invigorating the New Zealand movements with new faces and different methods. It is interesting to consider whether these links with recent British Guiding practices provided an impetus for the New Zealand movement to develop its own variant of Guiding, or impeded that process by reinforcing the status quo. It seems possible that the overall trend was towards a greater new Zealand influence, yet within smaller groups individuals with extensive British Guiding experience could have a stronger influence. Ruth Herrick, in her Chief Commissioner's report for 1962, chided adult members as needing to 'shake ourselves out of that New Zealand disease of complacency' at a time when despite a population increase the movement was not perceived as progressing satisfactorily. She credited immigrants for their contributions, stating that 'the Movement owes much to our new New Zealanders, who are to be met as Commissioners and Guiders up and down the country in surprising numbers'.<sup>135</sup> For these women, becoming involved with Guiding in their new country provided continuity with their earlier lives and ways to become involved in their new communities. In Scouting, too, 'new New Zealanders' made their contributions at local and national level. Two British Scouters, both ex-military men, shook up New Zealand Scouting in the 1950s by bringing a fresh perspective to organisational structures. It was not always a comfortable process, for them or for the movement. John 'Bush' Harper, a Scotsman, became the first 'Camp Chief', and Director of Training, based at Tatum Park in 1951. He worked to develop the site and to promote training programmes at Tatum, sometimes in the face of opposition or dithering from the Executive Council.<sup>136</sup> He voiced his opinion that New Zealand Scouting was top-heavy with Commissioners, some of whom he

---

<sup>134</sup> *The Guider*, August 1940, p.197.

<sup>135</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130,- #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967. Annual Report, 1962, p.5.

<sup>136</sup> At this time, questions over the viability of Tatum Park and whether the movement should sell it unsettled those trying to develop a Scouting infrastructure.

considered were chiefly interested in promoting themselves rather than the movement. Similarly, Englishman Major-General Leslie Lockhart, the Dominion Chief Commissioner appointed in 1953, vigorously promoted change in Scouting governance for the next decade.<sup>137</sup>

### **Camaraderie amongst leaders:**

Being actively involved with packs, troops and companies required commitment to child and youth members. The most effective leaders were those who enjoyed their company, and who could see humour in otherwise challenging situations. Strong bonds developed between leaders faced with hours of organisational bureaucracy, devising varied weekly programmes and coping with water-logged camps, and some continued to deepen over years of shared day-to-day activities and leaders' meetings and conferences. Geoff Bennett, a Taranaki Scouter, recalled the organisational focus and debates at Scouters' conferences, but also appreciated the way in which Scouters could informally meet and discuss common concerns and issues:

Scouters' conferences were generally looked upon as being good for the Movement and a breath of fresh air once a year. They were not all-powerful and at times must have annoyed National HQ sorely, but they were the voice of the workers from the coal-face, people who were enthused enough to attend ...and express an opinion. Socially...they were a winner. During the Saturday night dances ideas were still being swapped. Many a District visit was arranged while the supper waltz whirled about. The euphoria created by so many excellent, good-intentioned people at such a get-together could not be planned for, it just happened.<sup>138</sup>

This particular meeting of like minds, able to share ideas and enthusiasm for their roles, was a feature of Scouting in the mid-twentieth century, yet died out in the early 1970s. A 1970s Scouter also appreciated the benefits to both boys and leaders from a 'general sharing of ideas' that occurred on combined troop camps: 'You talk

---

<sup>137</sup> Lockhart pruned the very large Dominion Council from over 400 members and changed the structure of the district and provincial organisations. He met considerable resistance from some quarters. ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-18/2, Historical Records [1942-1962] – 1959 Extraordinary General Meeting minutes and subsequent report by Francis Morgan; #99-241-6/3, Annual Reports, 1960-61 Annual Report.

<sup>138</sup> Bellini, p.283.

and share and observe and are taught and pick up ideas. It is incidental sort of training.’<sup>139</sup>

### **Problem Leaders:**

It isn't the problem boy that produces the problem troop, it's the problem Scouter. [J. Dudley Pank, *The Scouter's Job*, 1954]<sup>140</sup>

Working closely with children and teenagers required personal qualities of adaptability, patience, an understanding of those in the age group and ability to relate to them, and integrity. Some men and women tried their hands at unit leadership and found that it was not a comfortable ‘fit’ with their personalities, and left the movements. Others became subject to interventions from higher ranks, in order to either rehabilitate them towards accepted Scouting or Guiding standards or to remove them. ‘Problem’ leaders could be those who did not follow the programmes or model expected behaviours or appearance, therefore not reflecting well on the movements publicly, or to the youth membership. They could even be roughly categorized by their inadequacies: the ‘Unruly Scouter’; the ‘Possessive Scouter’; the ‘Slapdash Scouter’; and the ‘Genius Scouter’ were all generalised labels that nonetheless showed that their failings were common enough to allow such groupings.<sup>141</sup> Strategies were developed to reform less desirable elements of leadership styles, with varying degrees of success. In contrast to these rogue, non-conformist but physically harmless infractions, the strongest kind of intervention was necessary when leaders exploited positions of trust and sexually abused those in their care.

Paedophilia is associated with the Scouting movement rather than Guiding. The problem of paedophilic men in Scouting had been apparent from Scouting's

---

<sup>139</sup> G. B. Kitay, ‘Adult Leadership in the Scout Section. A report on research conducted for the Scout Association of New Zealand’ Department of Sociology, Australian National University, 1978, p.57.

<sup>140</sup> Pank, 1954, p.121.

<sup>141</sup> Pank, 1954, p.121. Of the ‘Genius Scouter’, who knew better than anyone else and was dismissive of existing protocols, the author concluded, ‘If it is correct that just a hairs-breadth separates genius from madness, then such a man should be able to find a far more natural place than Scouting in which to display his talents.’ p.128.

beginnings, and despite selection criteria and vetting that aimed to prevent them being accepted as leaders, throughout the movement's history there have been notorious cases of leaders abusing boys.<sup>142</sup> Although paedophiles have been attracted to youth organisations because of their opportunities for close proximity to children, the overwhelming majority of adults associated with Scouting had healthy and beneficial interactions with their groups. Scouting literature on new leader recruitment often referred obliquely to the potential threat of unsuitable applicants. *The Scouter's Job*, published in 1954, noted that an interim checking period between applying and being accepted, was not only necessary but laudable: 'Remember, the genuine man can take pride in proving that he is genuine; it is the man who has something to hide who wishes to be taken at his face value.'<sup>143</sup> The advice of a Canadian Commissioner at an international meeting in 1950 was similarly indirect: 'Do not advertise for new Scouters, it produces the wrong sort of man...'<sup>144</sup> For the 'right' sort of man working as a Scout or Cub leader, there were injunctions to 'Never put yourself into a position which could be misconstrued. (It is for this reason e.g., that a Scouter is not allowed to sleep in the same tent as a Scout.)'<sup>145</sup> It was a message that most Scouters became well aware of. When organisers at the 1978 Oamaru Jamboree neglected to screen off separate showers for leaders in the sub-camps, 'without exception, all sub-camps ended up erecting their own, as Leaders refused to shower with the boys.'<sup>146</sup> Deviant Scoutmasters became something of a media stereotype, and adverse press coverage surrounding prosecutions could – and did – rapidly erode public goodwill and trust that had been built up over a long time.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> Jeal, pp.509-510. In the 1920s and 1930s two trusted staff members at Gilwell, the spiritual home of Scouting, were dismissed for acts of pederasty with boys attending camps. Tammy Proctor, in her study of inter-war Scouting and Guiding, noted these incidents but found them to be 'isolated incidents' rather than a widespread pattern. Proctor, 2002, p.93.

<sup>143</sup> Pank, 1954, pp.13-14.

<sup>144</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-18/2. SANZ records: Historical Records [1942-1962]. 2<sup>nd</sup> International Commissioners "Get-Together", Forte des Maias, Oeiras, Nr. Lisbon, Portugal, September 1950, p.7.

<sup>145</sup> Rex Hazlewood, *The Scoutmaster's Guide. From A to Z* (revised edition), London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1960, p.v.

<sup>146</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3,: Jamboree Reports.

<sup>147</sup> In the early 2000s, the New Zealand Scouting movement, along with many other national Scouting organisations, tightened its screening procedures after former Scout leaders were convicted for sexual abuse crimes against boys in the movement. Press coverage and political

## Conclusion

The culture of a voluntary movement can be mutable, subject to changes of personnel and personality, morale, organisational values and the ways in which they were expressed. The organisational cultures of New Zealand Scouting and Guiding were expressed physically through the wearing of uniforms, but also through the ways in which both adult and youth members related to each other, and displayed and understood their membership. If the ‘membership, money and making’ aspects discussed in the previous chapter provided a concrete foundation upon which the movements could deliver their programmes, then the cultural elements discussed in this chapter were the internal values and outward expressions of Scouting and Guiding. This chapter illustrates the ways in which both young and adult members of the movements acceded to, or deviated from, the rhetoric espoused by the movements’ leaders and, in the case studies of the West End Cub Pack and their leader, the life of a pack. Active citizenship was manifested through material and cultural displays, and programmes that reiterated the importance of community service, from good turns to involvement with national and international campaigns.

Organisational programmes and culture came together in the movements’ directions and scope of their community outreach as they attempted to make Scouting and Guiding available to as many young New Zealanders as possible. It is to this outreach – the values that underpinned it, and the directions it took – that we now turn.

---

campaigns at the time kept the issue in the public eye. See, for example, ‘We’re no paedophile paradise, say Scouts’, *New Zealand Herald*, December 12, 2004. [www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?id=1&objectid=9002823](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?id=1&objectid=9002823), accessed 27 April 2012.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: OUTREACH**

### **Introduction**

The Scouting and Guiding movements have, throughout their histories, maintained a dual focus: looking inward to their membership's needs and outward to those of their communities. This chapter will consider ways in which the New Zealand movements have attempted to reach out into their communities, in keeping with their fundamental values of open access and community service. The chapter is split in to two sections. The first concerns outreach in the form of youth citizenship, as related to community service. It discusses the 'Good Turn' as an everyday manifestation of an organisational value, and ways in which groups and individuals performed good turns. These informal and sometimes unplanned good turns were executed at individual or local level, and were supplemented by the second form of community service examined here – active citizenship training through involvement in public campaigns. This form of service was more formal, on a larger scale, and sometimes undertaken in conjunction with government departments. The second section of the chapter focuses on the movements' programme outreach directions, with the intention of extending membership as widely as possible for young New Zealanders. It examines five areas of interest within this period: Maori membership; immigrant communities; the 'Lones' section for isolated members; Guiding and Scouting for young people with disabilities; and religious faith and the 'Duty to God' element in both movements' programmes. In each of these areas, Scouting and Guiding's outreach reflected social and demographic trends within New Zealand society. At times, the movements anticipated later social trends, as with early adoption of Scouting and Guiding for the disabled; at others, their responses complemented government policy, as happened with 1960s' engagement with urban Maori. In each case, interactions between the movements and other groups within New Zealand society indicated their niche within it, their awareness of social patterns within New Zealand, and conscious decisions about the directions they followed.

## YOUTH CITIZENSHIP AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

In making our young citizens...it is essential to try to get them into the habit of cheery co-operation, of forgetting their personal wishes and feelings in bringing about the good of the whole business in which they are engaged – whether it be work or play. One can teach the boy that it is exactly as in football. You must play in your place and play the game; don't try to be referee when you are playing half-back; don't stop playing because you have had enough of the game, but shove along, cheerily and hopefully, with an eye on the goal in order that your side may win, even though you may yourself get a kick in the shins or a muddy fall in helping it.

[Robert Baden-Powell, *B-P's Outlook*, 1910, p.15]

Citizenship has been defined briefly as “active loyalty to the community.” In a free country it is easy, and not unusual, to consider oneself a good citizen by being a law-abiding man, doing your work and expressing your choice in politics, sports, or activities, “leaving it to George” to worry about the nation's welfare. This is passive citizenship. But **PASSIVE** citizenship is not enough to uphold in the world the virtues of freedom, justice, and honour. Only **active** citizenship will do.

[Robert Baden-Powell, *Aids to Scoutmastership*, 1930, p.34.]

When Baden-Powell wrote of the importance of teaching boys to be ‘team players’, intent upon the greater good rather than just their own good, he was focused on inculcating the values of citizenship as he understood the concept. As can be seen from the quotes above, for him citizenship included the traits of loyalty, honour, love of freedom, industry, patriotism, and respect for the law and justice, combined with community action. Further, although he referred to ‘making’ or training young citizens for taking up future adult responsibilities and tasks, he also envisaged ways in which Scouts and Guides could participate in their communities as active citizens – before they became adults. This suggests that his concept of citizenship encompassed childhood, adolescence and adulthood, and that not only could children and young people contribute to society, but that they had a duty to do so. Benefits of this course of action were the immediate, tangible effects for the recipients of their community service, but also the long-term benefits of incrementally developing well-rounded community-minded citizens, rather than simply employable young men. Baden-Powell, in his *Aids to Scoutmastership* book, quoted Dean James Russell of Columbia University's Teachers' College:

By encouraging your Scouts in a healthy, cheery, and not in a sanctimonious looking-for-a-reward spirit to do Good Turns as a first step and to do service for the community as a development, you can do more for them even than by encouraging their proficiency or their discipline or their knowledge, because you are teaching them not *how to get a living* so much as *how to live*.<sup>1</sup>

Scouting's and Guiding's young members regularly publicly displayed active involvement in their local communities, as required by the movements' programmes and values. Movement leaders believed that developing positive attitudes towards public service while young made Scouts (and Guides) more likely to be useful and engaged adults, the aim being to 'make the lads individually efficient, morally and physically, with the object of using that efficiency for service for their fellow-men.'<sup>2</sup> Young men in the movement's upper age range were encouraged to consider themselves as future good employers or employees (and therefore good family providers), but also to extend their service beyond their own families. Wellington's Takatuma Rover Crew had been called out to man first aid stations when unemployed protestors rioted in Wellington in May 1932, and noted in their log their '80 hours of public service' that month.<sup>3</sup> The Dedication page at the front of this log book echoed, in words and presentation, Baden-Powell's chivalric model: 'Brother Rover – here is the torch of Service, may you with God's help carry it still further on life's Highway.'<sup>4</sup> Their commitment to public service, although not their crusade-like expression of it, was evident in the range of community work achieved by Scouting's members throughout the next half-century. Wellington's Orongorongo Rover Crew was not formed until the mid-1960s, yet retained the same service ethic, working on projects to improve

---

<sup>1</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, *Aids to Scoutmastership. A Guide Book for Scoutmasters on the Theory of Scout Training*. World Brotherhood Edition, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1949 [from earlier book of same name 1920, revised 1930], p.33. Emphasis as in original text.

<sup>2</sup> *Aids to Scoutmastership*, p.34. Nearly fifty years later, this principle was investigated by James Youniss, Jeffrey A. McLellan and Miranda Yates, who reviewed six studies that catalogued American teenagers', and subsequent adult, civic engagement. They concluded that 'participation in organized groups during the adolescence-youth era has a lasting impact for two reasons. First, on a practical level, it introduces youth to the basic roles and processes...required for adult civic engagement. Second, on a personal level, it helps youth incorporate civic involvement into their identity during an opportune moment in its formative stages.' 'What We Know About Engendering Civic Identity', *American Behavioural Scientist*, v. 40, 1997, pp. 620-631, pp.623-624.

<sup>3</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #MSY-6127, Takatuma Rover Crew – log book [3 October 1931-9 May 1933].

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Scouting campsites, gardening for senior citizens, aiding charity appeals and Civil Defence in their community.<sup>5</sup>

Gender divisions were evident in the avenues of service envisaged by movement leaders and shown in handbooks. The same principle of training for community-minded service applied to the Girl Guides, although the ways in which it was manifested varied over time. Girls too were encouraged to consider their future adult lives, and ways in which they could contribute as citizens. Their roles as prospective wives and mothers featured strongly in official Guide and Ranger handbooks used until the 1960s, and work in this private sphere was portrayed as a valuable and vocational mode of public service. In 1938, *Girl Guiding*, the movement's first official British handbook, considered that a mother's influence on her children determined their later development and 'if she recognises this and shoulders her duty with that idea in mind she can, in forming her children's character, do a tremendous thing for each of them, and, again, valuable service for the nation.'<sup>6</sup> The subsequent 1946 Guides handbook devoted forty detailed pages to 'Homecraft' as a way in which Guides could be good citizens, but by the 1970 New Zealand edition this had reduced to eight generalised pages.<sup>7</sup> Running a well ordered home from which to raise and care for a family may have been an approved form of Guiding citizenship, but it was never considered the only avenue for community service. Mary Aickin Rothschild has argued of the American Girl Scout movement that throughout its history it had altered aspects of its programme, yet retained two central and constant themes: 'One is the teaching of

---

<sup>5</sup> Howard Clements, *In the beginning...The History of Scouting in Wainuiomata, 1910-1987*, Raumati Beach: self-published, 1988, pp.37-38. Taranaki's 1<sup>st</sup> Mikotahi Rover crew took part in a Police Search and Rescue exercise that earned them and their leader praise, as 'the boys...are getting well experienced and can give great assistance to the Police Squad in most facets of S.A.R. work.' Their leader, Vic Rhodes, noted that his experience in this area was built up through his time as a Cub, Scout and Rover. Bellini, p.285.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, *Girl Guiding*, 1918, revised edition 1938, p.117-118. This section was titled 'The Woman's Reward', the reward and 'greatest joy' being marriage, housewifery and motherhood, after success in her earlier professional career.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. Maynard, *Be Prepared. The Official Handbook for Guides*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1946: 'Homecraft', pp.139-179. In the same volume, fifty three pages are devoted to 'Woodcraft and Campcraft', indicating that although girls were expected to become domestically competent, they were still members of an active outdoors movement; English and Landels, *A Handbook for Guides*, 1970, pp.134-141.

traditional domestic tasks for women and the other is a kind of practical feminism which embodies physical fitness, survival skills, camping, citizenship training, and career preparation.’ These themes, also evident in New Zealand Guiding, may have altered in relative importance within the movement in the twentieth century, but this reflected what was happening outside it – ‘[Domesticity and feminism] are often at odds in the Girl Scout programme as they are in women’s lives and that programme ambivalence continues to reflect, and perhaps affect, women’s lives in the twentieth century.’<sup>8</sup> In 1928 the 1<sup>st</sup> Dunedin Ranger Company had preferred learning ambulance or fire training to homemaking skills as their avenues of service, despite their leader being sent for Home Science tuition at Otago University by the local executive. Although keen to serve, their orientation at that time of their lives was determinedly not domestic.<sup>9</sup> Other contemporary Ranger units, under different leadership, happily listened to phonograph records while knitting at their meetings.<sup>10</sup> A similar continuum undoubtedly existed for their peers in the 1970s, although official expectations of service now encompassed interacting with public agencies like Civil Defence and the Forest Service, as well as helping out in old people’s homes.<sup>11</sup>

### **The Good Turn:**

Scouting has many facets, many activities, and training that covers a wide range: if out of the whole lot I were asked to nominate one single thing that makes the greatest contribution to the formation of character, I should select the daily Good Turn.<sup>12</sup>

The Good Turn was the simplest and most fundamental way for boys and girls to demonstrate their understanding of active citizenship; and throughout the Scouting and Guiding world its continuing importance was reiterated to young and

---

<sup>8</sup> Mary Aickin Rothschild, ‘To Scout or to Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941,’ *Frontiers: A Journal of Women’s Studies*, v.6, n.3 (Autumn 1981): 115.

<sup>9</sup> Cox, pp.68-69. The author notes that 26 of the company later married.

<sup>10</sup> Manawatu Province Girl Guides records: Ranger Co. Log Book, early 1930s.

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Wood, *Ranger Guide Handbook*, Christchurch: GGANZ, 1974, p.71; Dawber, 2002, p.106.

<sup>12</sup> Pank, p.45.

adult members alike. Baden-Powell saw kindness as one of the chivalric virtues, and the Good Turn as its practical expression – ‘Something good ought to be done each day of your life, and you should start today to carry out this rule, and never forget it during the remaining days of your life.’<sup>13</sup> Marie Iles, the Girl Guides Association National Secretary, in her 1957 report, quoted from a speech by Canada’s Chief Commissioner at a World Conference:

Guiding throughout the World speaks with many tongues but it speaks with one voice: The voice was given to us by Baden-Powell. Its syllables were clear and its words were simple. Baden-Powell said to his Brownies and Guides ‘do one good turn every day’. He called it a magic formula. We, as grown-ups, know that it is. We know that in service to others lies our only happiness. We know that this formula for happiness is one of the finest things we can give to the young citizens of this world.<sup>14</sup>

Personal happiness and fulfilment came in this case through public service, filtered through the Guiding movement. Echoes of the muscular Christianity that influenced Baden-Powell in his Victorian youth were evident in this particular form of active citizenship, and were still considered appropriate for developing mid-twentieth century youth citizenship. Although over time less overt emphasis was placed on this form of public service, the Good Turn remains a valued principle in current Scouting and Guiding practice.<sup>15</sup> Good Turns – which were to be found and accomplished in addition to everyday chores, and for which no payment could be taken - ranged in form from individuals helping their families and neighbours with domestic tasks, through to organized group efforts. In each case the focus was on considering others’ needs and translating this into useful action, as when Cavell Guide Company organized a holiday for a struggling family in 1935, hiring a cottage and supplying food, blankets, toys and books.<sup>16</sup> Other group efforts included selling poppies for the Returned Services Association’s annual Anzac Day Appeal, planting native trees, collecting for Telethons or selling

---

<sup>13</sup> *Scouting for Boys*, 29<sup>th</sup> edition, 1955, p.225.

<sup>14</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967. Annual Report 1957, p.17.

<sup>15</sup> From the website of Auckland’s Glen Eden Scouts, accessed 16 October 2012: ‘The Good Turn concept is a major part of the personal growth method of Scouting. They grow as they participate in community service projects and do Good Turns for others. Probably no device is as successful in developing a basis for personal growth as the daily Good Turn.’

<sup>16</sup> Landels, 1996, p.10.



**Figure 18: Boy Scouts preparing to sell Health Stamps, Island Bay, Wellington, 1956.**

The poster held by the Scouter in this photograph is captioned ‘Help restore the glow of health to pale young cheeks’, and the Scouting and Guiding movements’ involvement in such youth-oriented national campaigns reiterated their own healthy and wholesome image, and their willingness to actively support governmental campaigns.

Image: ‘Boy Scouts outside Island Bay Post Office. Negatives of the Evening Post newspaper. Ref: EP/1956/2264-F. Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.’ <http://beta.natlib.govt.nz/records/22715852>

Health Stamps door-to-door.<sup>17</sup> The kinds of group Good Turns undertaken reflected contemporary community concerns and causes, both within New Zealand and overseas. Bay of Plenty Guides sent food parcels to Britain during and after World War Two, but also extended their international goodwill in other directions. In 1960, they raised money to build a hut for Arab refugees; in 1965 they sent aid parcels to India and supported CORSO and other relief organisations, and in 1975 Rangers were involved in ‘Freedom from Hunger’ and World Vision campaigns.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> McRobie, p.101. Telethons were popular nationally-broadcast fundraisers for community groups in New Zealand, mostly in the 1970s and 1980s; Health Stamps, some featuring Scouts and Guides, were a valuable source of funds for Health Camps – see Margaret Tennant, *Children’s Health, the Nation’s Wealth. A History of Children’s Health Camps*, for further information about Health Stamps. This book’s author notes (p.3.) that she too sold Health Stamps as a Brownie.

<sup>18</sup> Santon and Reid, pp.55-56. The *Whakatane Beacon* covered the handover of funds for the Arab refugee hut, and reported the symbolic exchange of the funds to the Mayor, and his gift of ‘a miniature mud hut to three Brownies dressed up as Arab refugees’.

Sometimes groups were approached by members of the public, aware of the well-publicized Good Turn philosophy, who needed help: 'A Mr H\_\_\_\_, who is blind, would very much appreciate having his lawns mowed, if any Scout could fit it in.'<sup>19</sup> Parents and other adults endorsed the Good Turn principle, and sometimes wrote to movement leaders detailing their actions, as in this letter from the mother of an East Coast Maori Lone Cub:

I have been proud of the boys since they have been Cubs. They have been doing their best to help others by doing odd jobs and following the Cub laws. It is not boasting on my part. I will tell you what one of them did. On his way home from the store, a fifteen-mile ride, he brought mail and parcels for many people. He had a large parcel for the lady at the sheep station. She offered him money. My boy did not tell me, but when I visited her she told me. He would not take the money, but told her it was not the Law of the Cubs to receive money for a service he did of his own free will. In fact if she insisted, he would not bring her mail again. I think you will agree with me that it's a good start in life.<sup>20</sup>

Publicity about, and arising from, Good Turns over decades of Scouting and Guiding was valuable for the movements in their promotional and funding campaigns – they could, and did, argue that they did worthwhile work developing young citizens who took part in their communities, and were therefore worthy of support from those communities at local, regional or national levels.<sup>21</sup>

Good turns that arose from members using their training to save those in danger were recognised through the movements' awards systems.<sup>22</sup> Scouting recognized differing levels of awards, dependent upon such variables as the subject's prior conduct and commitment to the movement, as well as the personal risk and skill involved in performing the meritorious deed. Wayne Ditchfield, a 12 year old Wanganui Scout, was awarded the Gilt Cross for Gallantry in 1975 after

---

<sup>19</sup> Paine, [1964 committee minutes], p.65.

<sup>20</sup> Wilson, pp.48-49.

<sup>21</sup> See as an example of this reciprocity, a request by Hutt Valley and Bays Boy Scouts to the Hutt County Council for financial assistance to buy a property: 'As some justification for this...I would point out that the assistance of the Scouts has always been available for Community Service when called upon...' ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #1293-119/14 Miscellaneous Records (2387-2540), Hutt County Council, letter dated 13 March 1944; and of help received: 'Judging by the many Press reports on Guiding and by the help we receive in many ways we have a sympathetic and understanding public behind us.' ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports, 1952-1967, 1960 Annual Report, Census Report.

<sup>22</sup> Adult leaders lodged award applications with their District Commissioners who forwarded them, with supporting evidence, to a Headquarters panel.

rescuing a small child from railway tracks and an oncoming train. His quick thinking and the imminent danger to both him and the child were taken into account in awarding this high honour.<sup>23</sup> Media publicity sometimes accompanied events for which Scouts were nominated: this editorial from the *Auckland Star* in 1970, entitled ‘The Other Side of Youth’, initially discusses the efforts of Barry Haydon, a 15-year old Orakei Sea Scout:

All too frequently adults are prone to dismiss the youth of today as a violent, lawless, undisciplined and dangerous mob. But it can be quite wrong and totally unfair to take the noisy exhibitionism and vandalism of the minority as representative of the whole. For youth has its “silent majority” too – and the country can be proud of the quality of the best of them.

Barry Haydon, of Orakei, is a fine example. On Saturday this 15 year old youth spent 75 minutes applying resuscitation in an effort to save a drowning man. How many older people would have known what to do in such an emergency? Barry learnt mouth-to-mouth resuscitation in the Sea Scouts. He is only one of the thousands of young people who are learning useful skills in a variety of youth clubs throughout the country.<sup>24</sup>

The editorial went on to discuss youth organisations, their welfare and community focus and the ‘staggering’ response from young people wanting to help in their communities. It concluded with:

Normally we don’t hear very much about these sort of activities. But they are more truly representative of the spirit and quality of today’s youth than the troublemakers. With such young people about there is no need to fear for the future of this country.<sup>25</sup>

‘Today’s youth’ in 1970 were the subject of some unease, as the editorial showed, with media interest often centred on any manifestations of disinclination to follow social norms as understood by earlier generations. Generational differences were, and are, perennial but this editorial noted the continuation of recognisably shared citizenship values, combined with the application of practical skills. There was also an element of reassurance from the writer to the reader that, despite other media reports painting a less laudatory picture of ‘modern youth’, members of youth groups were still conversant with the principle of the unselfish ‘good turn’.

---

<sup>23</sup>ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-01/1 [Meritorious, Gallantry awards], SANZ.

<sup>24</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-01/1 [Meritorious, Gallantry awards], SANZ. Press clipping accompanying application from *Auckland Star*, 2 March 1970.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

### **Active Young Citizens and Public Campaigns:**

The movements also undertook public campaigns, sometimes in conjunction with the state, to raise awareness of national issues. With the advent of more comprehensive governmental welfare programmes covering children's health, education and family housing in New Zealand from the 1930s onwards, the Scouting and Guiding movements focused their physical programmes on personal health regimes - dental hygiene, eating well and exercise, in addition to optional health and fitness badges. Both movements had links with government departments promoting public awareness projects that were mutually advantageous. Brownies wearing white pillowcases arranged as a mouthful of teeth and others carrying a 'massive' toothbrush with which to clean them not only provided an appealing display at a large public rally in 1935, but also promoted the Health Department's focus on children's dental health.<sup>26</sup> Once developed these relationships often endured. Correspondence between the Department of Health and the Girl Guides Association in 1969, following Dental Health Badge work by some groups, led to Brownies and Guides posing for a Health Department calendar on the subject, providing worthwhile publicity for both parties.<sup>27</sup>

The Scout movement played a leading role in instigating the 1969 National Conservation Campaign, which they considered 'greatly enhanced the image of Scouting in the eyes of the public and Government'.<sup>28</sup> Conservation was a natural fit with an outdoors youth movement, and at this time in New Zealand's history

---

<sup>26</sup> Jolly, p.40. The display was part of the Dunedin rally for Lord and Lady Baden-Powell during their 1935 tour of the country, and the recollection came from Marie Trickett. A similarly visual display was held at a 1928 Guides and Brownies rally, where an ivory castle was stormed by germs and defended through dental care – summarized as 'an illustrative battle calculated to appeal more to young minds than a deal of verbal instruction in dental hygiene'. *Evening Post*, 28 November 1928, p.15.

<sup>27</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-12/05, GGANZ, Government Departments, 1943-1971, incoming letter dated 17 July 1969.

<sup>28</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3, Annual Reports, 1970, p.7.

was a ‘hot’ topic of debate and citizen participation.<sup>29</sup> The Scouts Association developed an ‘Outdoor Code’ that included clauses relating to modelling personal responsibility and promoting public awareness: ‘I will learn how to practice conservation of soil, waters, forests, minerals, grasslands and wild life; *and urge others to do the same.*’<sup>30</sup> This Scouting initiative was not aimed solely at those within the movement, but at facilitating changes in the wider community. In 1970, Scouting considered that it had recently ‘become the conservation conscience of the nation’.<sup>31</sup> Guiding was also conservation-minded in this period, offering a Conservation Badge as well as the traditional Woodcraft lore.<sup>32</sup> The Larnach Sea Rangers took on a roadside cleanup in the mid-1970s that gained the appreciation of some ‘older folk’ but their log book recorded that not everyone recognised or lauded their efforts: ‘most people going past in their car thought we were one big joke and threw some rubbish for us to pick up.’<sup>33</sup> While Scouting and Guiding had always incorporated knowledge of and respect for the environment, their association with national and local conservation projects boosted their public profiles.

The Guiding movement’s expectations for members’ active citizenship extended beyond physical aid, into conceptual and political areas. 1970s Guides working towards the ‘Citizen’ badge had to meet the following criteria:

1. ‘Know the requirements for citizenship in New Zealand and what qualities are required of a good citizen, at home, among friends and in the community.
2. Know –
  - a. How your Local Authority is elected and how it operates.
  - b. How your Local Authority rates are levied and for what they are used.
3. Write a short paper on how the Guide Patrol System can lead to democratic government.’<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> The state’s plan to dam scenic Lake Manapouri in order to construct a hydroelectric dam became very controversial in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and a widespread public campaign to overturn the policy was successful. Early 1970s native forest conservation campaigns also focused public attention on environmental issues.

<sup>30</sup> *New Zealand Scouts Handbook*, revised edition, 1978, p.32. My emphasis.

<sup>31</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-11/06, SANZ, Historical General. Paper written by Selwyn Field for inclusion in *Recreation in New Zealand, Volume I*, Auckland: Auckland Regional Authority, 1971.

<sup>32</sup> *A Handbook for Guides*, GGANZ, 1970, p.164. The Scouts had introduced a conservation badge in the early 1960s.

<sup>33</sup> Cox, p.110.

<sup>34</sup> *A Handbook for Guides*, 1970, p.164.

This indicates a wide view of what constituted a citizen, including political representation and participation; legal status; collective values of groups in New Zealand society; and the development of active citizens. Linking the patrol system, whereby small groups of Guides or Scouts had a group identity and purpose within their larger company or troop, to the wider adult concept of democratic government and participatory engagement showed the movement's attempts to foster members' perceptions of themselves as aware and involved members of society.

### **OUTREACH DIRECTIONS**

A common, if unarticulated, assumption about the Scouting and Guiding movements is that they were middle-class institutions, catering for the well-scrubbed, well-socialised offspring of conservative European/Pakeha suburban households. While parts of that stereotype may have some basis in fact – groups usually flourished in middle class and affluent areas, and photographic evidence suggests that most members were of European extraction – it does not fully represent the movements' membership or community outreach.<sup>35</sup> Baden-Powell's vision of inclusive organisations that allowed for individual differences was shown in his attitude towards the movements' uniforms: 'A uniform hides all differences and makes for equality. More important still, it covers the differences of country and race and makes all feel that they are members of one organisation.'<sup>36</sup> In practice this rhetoric was harder to achieve in places where cultural or religious differences clashed with the Scouting and Guiding programmes, and

---

<sup>35</sup> Many of these perceptions, although prevalent in public forums or blog sites, have not been critically examined. Academics have considered this combination of class, ethnicity and gender in Scouting and Guiding – see for example, David McLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA and Their Forerunners 1870-1920*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983, where he notes early American Boy Scout membership as 'disproportionately middle-class' p.212; or Rothschild of American Girl Scouting's pre-World War Two membership, 'although the membership was predominantly white and middle class, it was also multi-raced and multi-cultural.' p.116. New Zealand Guiding's magazine, *Te Rama*, (Summer 2011) addressed this in an interview with Hon. Hekia Parata, MP: 'GirlGuiding NZ is often perceived as a white, middle class group whereas it is open to all and actively trying to engage girls and adults from all ethnicities, particularly Maori...' p.18.

<sup>36</sup> Maloney, p.30.

accommodations reflected this.<sup>37</sup> The New Zealand movements' attempts to encourage membership in sections of the community with strong cultural norms also involved targeting their programmes to ways in which such groups could feel involved, and yet retain important practices or beliefs. Outreach also targeted faith communities beyond the mainstream religious affiliations most often associated with the movements. As with other developments, this changed over time. The introduction of the 'Duty to God' emblem in the 1960s illustrated Scouting and Guiding's relationship with churches in New Zealand, but also increasingly pervasive secularisation in this period.

### **MAORI:**

New Zealand's Scouting and Guiding movements had, from their beginnings, incorporated Maori elements in their names, games, skills and displays. Some individual Maori members joined troops and companies in the same way that their Pakeha peers did, seeking the same organised activities: one of New Zealand's first Scout patrols, in Kaiapoi, included Eruera Tirakatene, later a cabinet minister in Labour governments; and in some areas of strong Maori identity or population separate troops and companies developed.<sup>38</sup> Rotorua's Ohinemutu Marae had a Scout troop in 1911, and Whakarewarewa Brownies and Otakau Guides were active in the 1930s.<sup>39</sup> Where separate Maori groups developed, it was often with

---

<sup>37</sup> For examples of literature examining this process of resistance, negotiation and accommodation between the Scouting and Guiding movements and developing international connections, see Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout movement in British Colonial Africa*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004; Carey A. Watt, "The Promise of 'character' and the spectre of sedition: The boy scout movement and colonial consternation in India, 1908-1921", *South Asia: Journal of South Asian studies*, v.22 n.2, 1999, pp.37-62; Tammy M. Proctor, "A Separate Path": Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v.42, n.3, July 2000, pp.605-631; Keith David Watenpaugh, 'Scouting in the Interwar Arab Middle East: Youth, Colonialism and the Problems of Middle-Class Modernity', in Block and Proctor (eds.), 2009, pp.89-105.

<sup>38</sup> Eruera Tirakatene, Ngai Tahu leader and MP was a member of Cossgrove's first Boy Scout troop in 1908 - Angela Ballara. 'Tirikatene, Eruera Tihema Te Aika - 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/4t18/1>, accessed 6 July 2012; Nancy Wilson, the first New Zealand Commissioner for Wolf Cubs, noted that the 'good number of boys' who became her first troop in 1916 included some Maori boys. Wilson, p.7.

<sup>39</sup> [www.scouts.org.nz/about\\_us/our\\_history](http://www.scouts.org.nz/about_us/our_history), accessed 23 February 2012; Iles, p.15; Cox, p.25.

significant input from influential members of their communities: the 1<sup>st</sup> Otakau Company, based at Otakau marae at the head of the Otago harbour, was led by ‘some of the most prominent women of the Ngai Tahu’ who saw Guiding as beneficial to help their girls ‘stand side by side with their sister, the pakeha’.<sup>40</sup> By establishing their own groups, Maori in rural areas could harness the parts of Scouting and Guiding that appealed yet retain their own cultural practices or tikanga.<sup>41</sup> National Commissioner for Cubs Nancy Wilson recounted visiting a Rotorua cub pack run by Miss Niania, who considered Cub training ‘eminently suitable for the Maori boy’ adding that they took the Law and Promise very seriously.<sup>42</sup> A similar sentiment was expressed in a letter from Baden-Powell to George Forbes, then Prime Minister, in 1931. Baden-Powell, summarizing various cooperative ventures between the movements and the New Zealand government, wrote, ‘As regards the Native Department, I am glad to see that Scouting has been adopted among the Maoris, as also the Guide work, and that these children seem to respond well to our training for making healthy and happy helpful people.’<sup>43</sup> In the pre-war period when the Maori population was predominantly rural, the movements’ national planning showed little evidence of explicit outreach to Maori, although the 1941 Scouting Commissioners’ Conference recommended the establishment of a Maori Commissioner.<sup>44</sup> Where enthusiastic trained leaders were present in communities with high Maori populations, including church mission areas, groups were more likely to be seeded.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Cox, p.25.

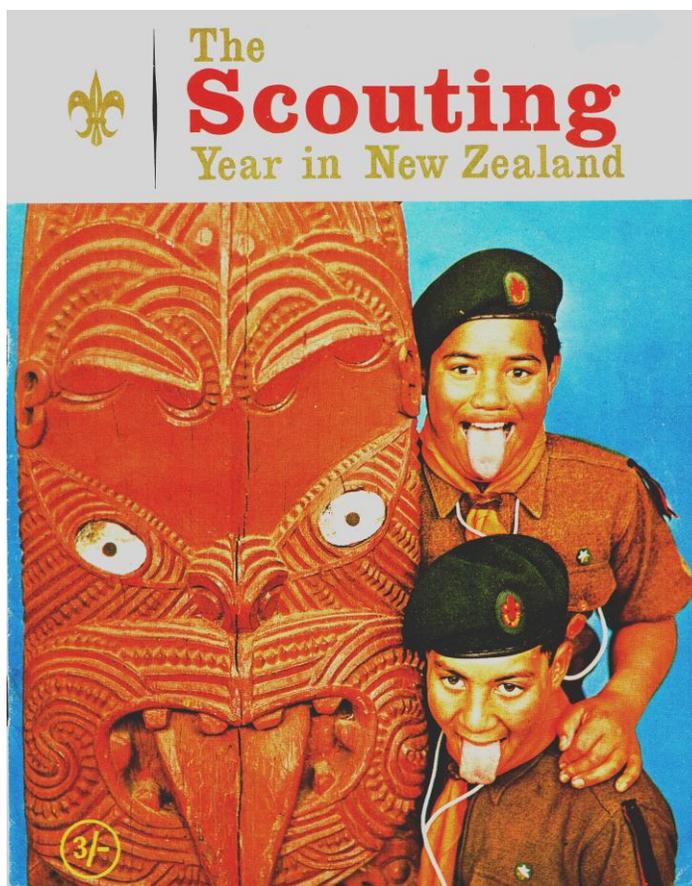
<sup>41</sup> A Scoutmaster from Paroa, writing to the Prime Minister about the need for Health Camps for Maori children, referred to local Maori boys’ preference for separate troops and scout camps, saying that ‘[I]n plain words they have in their race a different way of expressing themselves also things in common that we have not with them.’ Tennant, 1994, p.130.

<sup>42</sup> Wilson, p.46.

<sup>43</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-18/1, Historical Records. Correspondence from Robert Baden-Powell to George Forbes, dated 2 March 1931. (written while the Baden-Powells were touring New Zealand.)

<sup>44</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #MSY 3777. The Association’s Standing Committee discussed the recommendation but does not appear to have acted upon it at this time. Minutes 7 October 1941. The same committee had earlier passed the adoption of a Maori Badge – minutes of 15 September 1941.

<sup>45</sup> *Waiapu Church Gazette*, 1 October 1939, p.8.



**Figure 19: Cover page of *The Scouting Year in New Zealand*, 1965/1966, v.1, n.2**

The placement of Maori Scouts on the cover of this annual Scouting publication reinforced the movement's outreach to Maori at this time. Although New Zealand Scouting and Guiding had always included aspects of Maori culture in their programmes and displays, the rapidly growing urban Maori population and associated governmental policies focused their attention on recruiting Maori members.

Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand. Creator: Unknown.

Rapid Maori urbanisation occurred after World War Two: in the period 1936-1971 the percentage of the Maori population living in urban areas rose from 10% to over 58%.<sup>46</sup> Government policies, many stemming from the 1961 Hunn Report, and aimed at integrating or assimilating urban Maori, extended to encouraging links between the Department of Maori Affairs and established youth organisations like Scouting and Guiding. For the movements, urbanisation brought a large young Maori population closer to established districts: as well as

<sup>46</sup> *New Zealand Official Year Book*, Wellington, 1973, p.67.

becoming increasingly urban, by 1961 50% of Maori were under fifteen years old.<sup>47</sup> When the Scouting movement approached the Department of Maori Affairs about ‘the development of Scouting among Maori boys’ in 1963, the Minister promised support and praised the movement ‘for what it has done and is doing for the youth of the country’.<sup>48</sup> William Herewini, the Controller of Maori Welfare, became a departmental advisor on Scouting and Maori youth. Scouting’s annual report for that year expressed hope that ‘it will be possible to advise Areas and Districts the best approaches to make and action to take to obtain the support of the Maori people and give their youth the benefits of Scouting’, stating that new members would be integrated into existing groups wherever possible. The only exception would be ‘in those areas where the population is predominantly or entirely Maori.’<sup>49</sup> In subsequent years the movement’s campaign to ‘explain Scouting and arouse the interest of the Maori people as a whole’ was extended to include a Guiding representative on the sub-committee, and Mr Herewini’s nomination of local area advisors. Endorsements followed from the Maori Council and the Maori Women’s Welfare League.<sup>50</sup>

In 1971 Shell Oil New Zealand gave New Zealand Guiding a ‘very generous’ 5-year grant to work with Maori and Polynesian youth.<sup>51</sup> It aimed to develop urban support networks for young women, noting that ‘[f]or those moving from rural surroundings or from isolated islands, the metropolitan life of Auckland is

---

<sup>47</sup> Graeme Dunstall, ‘The Social Pattern’, in W. H. Oliver with B. R. Williams (ed.) *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.396-429, p.401.

<sup>48</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325 #99-241-6/3, Annual Report 1963, p.23.

<sup>49</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Scouts Association Annual Reports, Annual Report 1963, p.23.

<sup>50</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3, Scouts Association Annual Reports, 1964, p.17; 1965, p.9; ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Girl Guides Annual Reports 1952-1967, 1964, p.11. *Te Ao Hou*, a monthly magazine for Maori, also mentioned interactions between the Maori Council and Scouting’s National Executive at this time, as with an address to the Maori Council from the ‘Chief Executive Commissioner’ in September 1964. *Te Ao Hou*, n.48, September 1964, p.44, and an account of a MWWL member’s son, Ian Heperi from Takapau, being selected for the New Zealand Scout Contingent to the 9th World Scout Jamboree in Birmingham in August 1957. The Heretaunga District Council of the MWWL noted that ‘One of the highlights of the year was the selection of a member’s son to attend the Scout Jamboree in England. The branches were so proud that they gave donations amounting to £26 towards the cost of the trip.’ *Te Ao Hou*, n.23 (July 1958) p.59; and n.19 (August 1957), p.11.

<sup>51</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Annual Reports 1952-1967, Annual Report, 1971, p.8.

confusing and formidable.’<sup>52</sup> The movement hired Ani Pihema, of Ngati Whatua, who had experience as a Maori Affairs Welfare Officer, teacher and community leader.<sup>53</sup> She based the project and her team at Orakei Marae, and encouraged the development of marae-based packs and companies, with Maori and Pacifica women in leadership roles. She was followed by other Pacifica women community leaders in Auckland, and by similar initiatives in Wellington.<sup>54</sup>

Local initiatives, started with good intentions and a commitment to sharing Guiding, were sometimes difficult to sustain in practice. Many of the same issues that affected other groups were present in separate Maori groups – leaders came and went, as did their charges. The Manawatu Province fostered a Brownie pack and Guide company at Ratana Pa, near Wanganui, in the mid-1970s. 1974 Provincial minutes noted rostering of leaders from elsewhere in the province to provide continuous leadership to the pack, but by the following year both groups had closed. Although there was a rueful admission that ‘more effort should have been made to persevere with this area’ the combination of cultural differences, physical isolation and lack of leaders proved too difficult to sustain.<sup>55</sup> A more successful combined Brownie and Guide group was launched in the small Bay of Plenty settlement of Tawera, also in 1974. It had strong community support from families, kaumatua and kuia from three local marae, the local school and its Education Board, and the provincial Guiding network. Kathleen Hinehou Campbell, one of the group’s three leaders, was clear about the motivation for bringing Guiding to the community at that time:

Guiding, in accordance with our interpretation, was the opportunity for us as a community to help our children appreciate those moral and social standards of worth in the European society, and to likewise retain the same standards of worth

---

<sup>52</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Annual Reports 1952-1967, Annual Report, 1971, p.8.

<sup>53</sup> Ani Pihema, 1924-2002, [www.geni.com/people/Ani-Masefield-Pihema/6000000006778666741](http://www.geni.com/people/Ani-Masefield-Pihema/6000000006778666741), accessed 24 September 2012.

<sup>54</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.131; Wellington Girl Guides History, p.38.

<sup>55</sup> Manawatu Province Girl Guides Records, Minutes of the Executive Meeting of the Girl Guides Association, Manawatu Province – Minute Book 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977: meetings 15 August 1974; 5 February 1975; 1 April 1976.

in our own society. We make the assumption that our children, through becoming exposed to these values, will perform confidently in the total society.<sup>56</sup>

In this case, the outreach was from both sides, and support was widespread: examiners and demonstrators for badge work came from throughout the community; mother helpers went on camp with the girls; and the Guides held Disco evenings at Rewa Rewa Marae in nearby Ruatoki, and in Taneatua, proceeds of which were used for marae sport and recreation programmes. This system of mutual aid and benefit was also evident at the school where meetings were held. Rostered girls prepared lunches from donated food and funds from this enterprise were shared between the school and the Guide company. The group also played an active part in provincial Guiding activities. Provincial and national leaders supported this combined Brownie-Guide unit, and were reportedly ‘enthralled at the rapport of the two cultures and the high standard engendered by it.’ This group – ‘unique in New Zealand Guiding history’ – worked well because it had all of the elements necessary to succeed – acceptance of Guiding’s values, alongside a strong Maori identity and community, with respect on both sides. It is interesting that this successful collaboration occurred between Tuhoe, an iwi with a history of fractious or radical relationships with the state; and the Guiding movement, sometimes seen as being an ‘establishment’ organisation of middle class, white women. This group was an effective blend of Tuhoetanga, Maoritanga and Guiding, tailored for the community of which it became a part.<sup>57</sup>

For most urban areas, however, the impetus was towards inclusive packs, troops and companies, where it was hoped and envisaged that the common ground of Scouting and Guiding programmes would unify children and teenagers from different ethnicities, levels of ability and background.

---

<sup>56</sup> Santon and Reid, p.19. Kristine Alexander (2012, p.140) has noted a similar pattern of agency and engagement with Guiding in Canadian Aboriginal communities, stating that ‘some Canadian Aboriginal girls, like many of their other “Guide sisters” across the British Empire and the world, enjoyed and took what they wanted from the movement without necessarily agreeing or engaging with some of its broader ideological goals.’

<sup>57</sup> Santon and Reid, pp.18-20. This combined pack and company was reportedly unique, but in Bay of Plenty settlements where Maori were strongly represented in population, there were many other groups at different times.

## IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES:

In New Zealand, the movements actively tried to overcome cultural differences, with varying degrees of success. The 4<sup>th</sup> Scout and Guide Law – ‘A Scout/Guide is a friend to all and a brother/sister to every other Scout/Guide’ – became a touchstone when 733 traumatized Polish refugee children and their guardians arrived at the Pahiatua Polish Children’s Camp in 1944. Despite language and cultural barriers, ‘the New Zealand Girl Guides and Boy Scouts accepted the Polish children as fellow Scouts, and helped them find their feet in this new land through friendship and shared experiences’.<sup>58</sup> In this case, the rhetoric of overcoming differences and looking for common ground found its practical application, with goodwill shown by both Polish and New Zealand Scouts and Guides.<sup>59</sup> At a time when they faced major life changes and found much that was unfamiliar, the outreach of the Scouting and Guiding movements was a thread that linked their previous lives with their new home.

British immigrants, many already familiar with Scouting and Guiding, had historically seeded and influenced the Scouting and Guiding movements in New Zealand. With the strong wave of post-war British immigration, another generation of British Scouts, Guides and leaders linked into New Zealand packs, troops and companies.<sup>60</sup> Outreach within New Zealand, for other immigrant communities and for Maori as tangata whenua, aimed to broaden the movements’

---

<sup>58</sup> Polish Children’s Reunion Committee, *New Zealand’s First Refugees: Pahiatua’s Polish Children*, Wellington: Polish Children’s Reunion Committee, 2004. p.323. While many of the refugees had been Polish Scouts in their homeland, when they reached refugee camps in Iran, ‘Scout companies were formed even before schools were established’ so that when they arrived in New Zealand ‘three quarters of the children were in established Girl Guide and Boy Scout troops, Brownies and Cubs.’ p.322.

<sup>59</sup> Bay of Plenty Scouts invited the Polish Scouts to attend their annual camp at Lake Rotoma in the summer of 1945, noting that although they probably needed onsite interpreters, ‘it is hoped that the boys, should they be able to come will speedily make themselves at home and establish friendships with the boys from the Bay in true Scouting manner.’ *Bay of Plenty Beacon*, 15 December 1944, p.5. In this case, the invitation was regretfully declined, on the grounds that the Polish boys needed to make up for missed lessons and learn sufficient English to enable them to accept future invitations. *Bay of Plenty Beacon*, 12 January 1945, p.5.

<sup>60</sup> See the Adults section, Chapter Four.

membership base to better represent the youth population. Pacific Island immigration rose in the 1960s and 1970s, with significant communities developing in Auckland and Wellington. As many of these immigrants were, initially, ostensibly ‘visitors’ on short term work permits, ‘they resisted assimilation [and] to some European and Maori they became the new aliens.’<sup>61</sup> This inclination to preserve cultural traditions and to base communities around church life did not pre-dispose young Pacific Islanders towards joining Scouts or Guides, which had the added barrier of membership costs. The ‘Polynesian Project’, funded by Shell Oil, tried to bridge these barriers by establishing Guiding in communities with strong Maori and Pacific Island populations, initially in Auckland in 1971. Wellington’s Mana Division Commissioner, Norma Whitt, established Polynesian Guide and Brownie units in Porirua the following year, and included Cook Island, Samoan, Tokelau and Maori girls and leaders.<sup>62</sup>

### **LONES BRANCH:**

The establishment of ‘lone’ groups within Scouting and Guiding was another outreach direction, aimed at extending membership to as many boys and girls as possible and, by association, promulgating their character development as young citizens. Lone groups were spread over isolated areas of New Zealand where regular access to existing groups was unfeasible. Initially, lone members kept in touch with their leader and each other by post in ‘round robin’ packages of programme material, from their homes in lighthouses, on islands or on backblock farms. ‘Lones’ numbers grew steadily in the 1920s, with the Scouts reporting twenty four lone troops in 1924, and fifty seven by 1929.<sup>63</sup> After the end of World War II the Scouts reorganised their Lone Section under the leadership of a fulltime paid Organiser, reflecting both the time needed to effectively manage Lone groups

---

<sup>61</sup> Dunstall, p.457.

<sup>62</sup> Wellington Girl Guides Province History, p.38; Dawber, 2008, p.131, notes that these units ran ‘for a number of years’, although information about their demise, or integration into other units, is lacking in archival sources.

<sup>63</sup> *Evening Post*, 10 November 1924, p.6; 4 December 1929, p.18.

and the priority given to this outreach.<sup>64</sup> Lone Guiding started in New Zealand in 1926, and spread to both Rangers and Brownies in the 1930s.<sup>65</sup> Lones had their own motto: 'Solae Sed Sodales – Lones but of a sisterhood'. Through the scheme, young members could feel part of the movements, and participate as fully as possible in their programmes. It required personal effort to maintain distant involvement without the benefits of regular meetings and social contact with their peers, and some younger members struggled to sustain their initial interest. The 1936 Girl Guides Association Annual Report bemoaned this inconsistency in numbers of lone Brownies:

These, as usual, vary tremendously over even a short period, as girls so often join enthusiastically only to find that they can't be bothered when they realise they must do something themselves. In one Company alone, sixteen girls entered, and in three months eleven of these had resigned.<sup>66</sup>

Lones were still expected to fulfil the programme's public service elements, albeit at a distance, and as many other aspects of Scouting or Guiding as possible. Lone Guides and Brownies made toys and garments for distribution to charities, and both boys and girls were encouraged to find ways in which they could be helpful at home. Parents played an important part in their children's lone membership, working beside them to fulfil badge work or handwork projects and transporting them to occasional meetings with other Lones when possible. Heather Kaye, an Otago Lone Guide Adviser, considered that her work 'seemed to get right into the heart of the home', with parents taking an active interest in their daughters' posted material.<sup>67</sup>

The movements facilitated, in addition to postal contact with fellow members and their leader, regular state radio broadcasts.<sup>68</sup> These programmes, on air from the 1930s to the 1950s, were regional in nature and produced by Scouters

---

<sup>64</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-18/2,: Historical Records [1942-1962].

<sup>65</sup> Dawber, 2008, pp.48-49.

<sup>66</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2 Annual Reports – up to c.1950, Annual Report 1936, p.7.

<sup>67</sup> Cox, p.117.

<sup>68</sup> Proctor, 2009, p.107, notes that radio was used by Guide leaders in other countries where isolation or distance were significant: Australian and Canadian Guiding both sponsored radio shows in the heyday of radio's popularity as a broadcast medium.

and Guiders primarily for Lones, although regular members – and non-members – also listened in.<sup>69</sup> Funding regular broadcasting slots showed successive governments support for, and endorsement of, the movements' youth work in this period. Another aspect of this was the movements' congenial relationship with the Department of Education's Correspondence School. In 1933 the Boy Scouts Association and the School had made arrangements for establishing Lone troops amongst their pupils, and appealed for Scouters to lead these 'boys in the backblocks' who, it was argued, would otherwise miss out on the character development that Scouting afforded.<sup>70</sup> Both sides recognised a synergy in their work with isolated school-aged youth, and worked together to provide opportunities for Lone Scouts and Guides.<sup>71</sup> The Correspondence School provided its remote pupils with 'extra class-room activities of ordinary school life' through interest groups and clubs, seeing this as rounding out the education taught by its staff; while the Scouting and Guiding movements considered their programmes complemented formal 'classroom' education.<sup>72</sup>

While Lones could be particularly isolated – some were enrolled by post in the earlier days of the branch, and one 1940s Nelson Province Lone Guide was enrolled by telephone 'with another listening in on a party line'<sup>73</sup> - parents helped in transporting them to rendezvous points for occasional meetings, and Lones of both genders sometimes attended camps with other Lones, or large national jamborees or camps. Over time, improved transport and roads helped to lessen many Lones' geographical isolation and the Girl Guides' 1960 Lones census figure

---

<sup>69</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.81; *Evening Post*, 14 September 1938, p.23. Dawber notes that 'by 1958 the National Broadcasting Service had begun reducing its allocations to youth groups' but that some regional programmes continued after this time.

<sup>70</sup> *Evening Post*, 7 March 1934, p.15.

<sup>71</sup> *Evening Post*, 6 May 1936, p.20, reported the school holidays visit of five Lone Scouts to Wellington 'under the auspices of the...Correspondence School', where they would be boarded with and entertained by local Scouts.

<sup>72</sup> *Evening Post*, 5 September 1934, p.11.

<sup>73</sup> Dawber, 2002, pp.53-54. Party lines were shared telephone lines, where subscribers each had different ring tones, but could listen on in other subscribers in the same area.

of 622 had shrunk to 311 by 1980.<sup>74</sup> For those still remote from towns, technological advances in telecommunications provided new ways to ‘meet’.<sup>75</sup>

### **POST/HANDICAPPED/EXTENSION BRANCH:**

While physical isolation prevented Lones from joining regular packs, troops and companies, another group of potential recruits was prevented from doing so by their health or institutionalisation. In 1926, the Girl Guides established the Post Branch to bring Guiding to girls who could not attend meetings. Within a year, it became clear that the branch encompassed two distinct groups with differing needs, and was split into the Lone and Post branches. In an era when poliomyelitis was a constant threat to children’s health, ‘crippled’ children, who were either confined to bed rest or indoors, made up a large proportion of Post members. Others included chronically invalid boys or girls, the deaf or blind, or those affected by serious illnesses like tuberculosis. As with Lones, the impetus was towards extending membership where possible, so that Scouting and Guiding values and programmes could also be widely promulgated.

Summarizing the activities of Brownie, Guide and Ranger Post groups in the Wellington area in the mid-1930s, an *Evening Post* reporter expressed the opinion that ‘the work gives children... an immense interest and a wonderful outlook on life.’<sup>76</sup> Guiding, in this context, was a connection with the world outside the sickroom and lessened their isolation from other girls. It not only entertained girls through long periods of incapacitation but also provided them with a wider purpose. They too could be Brownies or Guides, as well as active citizens, and feel

---

<sup>74</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, # 88-130-07/3, Annual Reports 1952-1967; 88-130-08/1, Annual Reports 1968-1985.

<sup>75</sup> Amateur radio jamborees, or Jamboree on the Air (JOTA) became an international extension of distance Scouting and Guiding. JOTA was established in 1957 and became an annual gathering of participants, reinforcing the links rather than the distance between the movements’ members throughout the world. Recent JOTA have involved over 750,000 members, and been supplemented by JOTI, a similar exercise using the internet and social media.

[www.scout.org/en/information\\_events/events/jota/all\\_about\\_jota\\_and\\_how\\_to\\_join\\_in](http://www.scout.org/en/information_events/events/jota/all_about_jota_and_how_to_join_in), accessed 13 February 2012.

<sup>76</sup> *Evening Post*, 25 October 1934, p.19. (Contained in a summary of the Wellington Girl Guides Association 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Report, entitled ‘Many Good Activities’).

themselves to be part of communities of interest. The local Braille Society aided the dissemination of material by transcribing, binding and sending out copies of the Post Ranger 'Budget' monthly newsletter to blind Rangers in New Zealand, Queensland and Tasmania.<sup>77</sup> Adaptations to programmes and resources for these members were still designed for active citizenship and to follow as closely as possible their able-bodied peers, rather than focusing on what was not achievable.<sup>78</sup> Group leaders, sometimes with their own disabilities, felt a special affinity for their charges. Mrs Huntington, the Post Branch's first Head, was based in Wellington but corresponded with Post Guides and Guiders throughout the country. As a paraplegic, she understood both their physical limitations and also their desire to be as fully involved in Guiding as possible. Gwynneth Jones was active in her company, although confined to bed in Nelson, and worked through Guiding projects – 'I continued to work for badges, such as collectors, embroiderers, nature lovers, because I was able to observe birds and flowers at first hand. Mother tied suet to a wisteria vine and silvereyes came in their swarms...'<sup>79</sup> Her enthusiasm for Guiding undimmed, she later took over from Mrs Huntington as Guider.<sup>80</sup>

Scouting and Guiding sought and developed links with voluntary disability support and advocacy organisations. Margaret Mills, then Girl Guides Extension [Post] Branch Commissioner, wrote in the Association's 1949-1950 Annual Report that:

We depend to a large extent on the interest and cooperation of the Crippled Children Society in finding new girls for our Post groups, and value these contacts. The CCS, however, handles cases of bone or muscle crippling, and we feel sure that the general public – particularly our own active sister guides – must be the avenue through which we should hear of children with other types of handicapping. There

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> See for example the Girl Guides Association Annual Report for 1951, which shows as part of the Extension Branch Report images of Extension Brownies in their Pow-wow ring (p.23) and Extension Guides at Silverstream Hospital (p.24). ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2, Annual Reports c.1950.; Sophie Witteman, in her chapter, 'The Double Concept of Citizen and Subject at the Heart of Scouting and Guiding' contends that in Belgian Guiding, the 'individual specificity of the handicapped girl' was emphasised, in comparison to Scouting's policy for handicapped boys 'Act like all others'. Pp.67-68. Block and Proctor (eds.) 2009, pp.56-71.

<sup>79</sup> Dawber, 2002, pp.26-27.

<sup>80</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.37.

are the children with asthma, the hard of hearing, or the Brownie who, for reasons of her long treatment has been placed in a special class in her school. There is also the temporarily handicapped girl, perhaps already enrolled, who brings the breath of the out-of-doors through her letters to her Post company.<sup>81</sup>

Actively seeking new ways in which other girls could be Brownies or Guides led to links with branches of the newly formed Intellectually Handicapped Children's Parents' Association, later called IHC, the following year.<sup>82</sup> The movement collaborated with both of these groups to develop resources and to further understanding of their members' particular needs. Further connections with other voluntary and charitable organisations working with youth followed, including government departments overseeing institutions in which packs, troops and companies were established. While primarily motivated by meeting their disabled members' needs, other benefits for the movements included strengthening community and governmental links and gaining effective publicity. Showing uniformed girls having their weekly meetings in institutional settings did not just illustrate the movement's work, and the girls' willingness, but also publicly displayed their commitment to inclusiveness. The branch's nomenclature changed over the years, reflecting both the movements' shifts in emphasis and wider societal shifts in attitude and policy towards the physically and mentally disabled. Internal correspondence from Dominion Headquarters to Scout Commissioners in 1930 had noted that the original Department for Disabled Scouts was altered as 'the stigma implied in the title caused so much indignation among the boys and their leaders - for they considered themselves remarkably able to do marvellous things in spite of disability' that they chose a less pejorative name.<sup>83</sup> 'Post' indicated the way programme material was originally sent in the 1920s; after

---

<sup>81</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2, Annual Reports c.1950. Extension Branch report, 1949-1950, p.31.

<sup>82</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS- Group-88-130, #88-130-07/2, Annual Reports c.1950. Extension Branch report, 1951, p.23.

<sup>83</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-18/1 Historical Records. Letter from General Secretary to Commissioners, dated 17/1/1930. In 1928 British Scouting also changed the branch name, from 'Disabled' to 'Special Tests'; in 1936 it changed again to Handicapped Scouts Branch. *An Official History of Scouting (no author)*, p.172, 174. Some boys, like Alex Hardgreaves from Taranaki's Westown troop, chose to enrol in mainstream troops anyway. A double amputee, he took a full part in Scout activities, and attended the 1938 Sydney Jamboree. Bellini (ed.), p.111.



**Figure 20: Extension Brownie Pack meeting at Silverstream Hospital, 1950.**

Where Brownies could not attend mainstream packs due to their often long-term sojourns in hospitals or institutions, the movement came to them. In every feasible way their experiences were intended to match their mainstream peers, down to Brown Owls and toadstools.<sup>84</sup>

Image: 'Brownies visiting the Silverstream Hospital. Negatives of the Evening Post newspaper. Ref: 114/236/01-G. Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <http://beta.natlib.govt.nz/records/22898911>'

the war Post became Extension; and in the early 1960s, following international trends in the movements, the branch became known as Handicapped Scouts or Guides.<sup>85</sup> Over time, the outreach changed in emphasis: increasingly members with physical disabilities were incorporated into mainstream groups, and the remaining units focused on young people living in institutions. Guiding tightened the membership criteria for extension Brownie packs in the late 1950s, to preclude girls who were capable of walking, biking or bussing to school. The 1958 Annual Report noted that this followed an international trend away from focusing on

<sup>84</sup> Although the ATL credit that accompanies this image suggests that these Brownies were visiting the hospital, it is highly likely that they were residents there, as the hospital had its own packs.

<sup>85</sup> Guiding reverted to the Extension name in the 1970s, although Scouting was still referring to handicapped members at this time. Later the movements, in keeping with other organisations, came to use the term 'Special Needs' to reflect the diversity of members' needs.

'cripples'.<sup>86</sup> The following year's report stated that most of the remaining Extension members were associated with institutions.<sup>87</sup> By the mid-1960s packs and companies had been established at Health Camps, Schools for the Deaf and Blind, CCS homes, psychiatric institutions and Homes of Compassion.<sup>88</sup> Games regarded as particularly suitable 'For Guides in Hospital' also appeared in Guiders' aid material in the 1960s.<sup>89</sup> The boundaries of what was possible were extended throughout this decade and the next, including the first overseas camp attended by disabled New Zealand Guides. Assisted by a team of volunteers and leaders, twelve girls attended an Australian national camp in 1970. The girls sometimes surprised parents and leaders with their previously undiscovered capabilities: the contingent leader's camp highlight was 'the morning a normally wheelchair-bound Guide went temporarily missing and was found with other active Guides climbing a tree.'<sup>90</sup>

New Zealanders also helped develop and expand international Scouting and Guiding literature on disabled youth members. Vivien Beavis, Commissioner for Handicapped Scouting in the 1960s, wrote material on New Zealand Scouting's programme adaptations for disabled Scouts and Cubs for a South-East Asia Regional Scout Conference in 1966. This innovative material was immediately published by WOSM for use in other countries in a booklet, *These our brothers: a*

---

<sup>86</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, # 88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967, GGANZ Annual Report, 1958, p.36. The same year, An Australian Handicapped Scouting conference noted that 'in Victoria the public were becoming increasingly 'handicapped conscious' and... anxious that those with disabilities should find a useful place in the community, and that handicapped boys and girls and adults should be made to feel as normal as possible and should mix with other children and grownups as much as possible.' A. R. Milne and C. B. Heward, *Those Boy Scouts. A Story of Scouting in Victoria*, Melbourne: Victorian Scout Archives with Hudson Publishing, 1987, pp.141-42.

<sup>87</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, # 88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967, GGANZ Annual Report, 1959, p.43.

<sup>88</sup> See ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967, GGANZ Annual Report, 1953, p.28, and Dawber (2008), p.132.

<sup>89</sup> Maureen Price (compiler), *Two Hundred Games for Guides*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1969, pp.45-46.

<sup>90</sup> Dawber (2008), pp.134-135. Her account of this trip also noted that although the chosen girls had to meet some requirements to show they could cope away from home, it was sometimes their parents who saw limits on capabilities, rather than the girls themselves.

*guide to Scouting with the handicapped*.<sup>91</sup> In 1965 New Zealand Scouting published the booklet *Alternative activities for cubs with a physical or intellectual handicap*, once again promoting inclusion by detailing ways boys could participate as fully as possible in the Scouting programme, and sharing it with Scouting organisations in other countries. Although New Zealand Scouting and Guiding had been the recipients of a great deal of imported – largely British - programme material that influenced local programmes this was another example of exporting local knowledge and practice to the international Scouting and Guiding worlds.<sup>92</sup>

The trend towards mainstreaming was evident in Scouting by the early 1960s. 1962's Annual Report asserted that:

The most encouraging feature of the past year has been the growing, unquestioning acceptance of the boy with a handicap by non-handicapped members of the Movement, both lay and uniformed, at all levels. It seems to be more fully realised that this is not really a separate Section at all, but is, in fact, a part of every Section – Cub, Scout, Senior Scouts and so on. Approximately 40% of the total of Cubs and Scouts with handicaps of varying degrees are invested in able-bodied Packs and Troops. Boys and Scouters are very happy.<sup>93</sup>

National Scouting leaders promoting the Association's integration policy expressed their hopes 'that everyone...will realise the opportunities all round us, and the crying need for handicapped boys to be gathered in with upright well-disciplined Scouts and Scouters.'<sup>94</sup> In this statement there is an echo of Baden-Powell's exhortations to 'good men' on behalf of urban street boys decades earlier – a sense that if these boys were to achieve their potential they needed the right direction at the right time in their lives, and that Scouting had it to offer. As in that case, the principle of inclusion was also evident throughout contemporary reports: national

---

<sup>91</sup> Rodgers, p.125; ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3, Annual Reports, (1967, p.23), #99-241-6/3; *Scouting with the Disabled*, World Organisation of the Scout Movement (WOSM), 2000, pp.21-22.

[www.scout.org/en/node/64/node/199/reaching\\_out/disabilities/resources/scouting\\_with\\_the\\_disabled](http://www.scout.org/en/node/64/node/199/reaching_out/disabilities/resources/scouting_with_the_disabled), accessed 8 July 2012.

<sup>92</sup> Vivien Beavis's work was not the first example of this – Cossgrove's manual for GPS was sent to Britain and other overseas territories that requested it – but it was acknowledged in this case that New Zealand's approach to Scouting with the disabled was internationally innovative and worthy of wide dissemination.

<sup>93</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 SANZ Annual Reports, Annual Report, 1962, p.19.

<sup>94</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 SANZ Annual Reports, Annual Report, 1966, p.18.

administrators thanked Cub and Scout leaders who had enrolled disabled boys, and sent a reminder ‘to those who are willing to try, if you remember boy first, handicap last, it’s just the same as all other Scouting activities.’<sup>95</sup> While the younger sections of the movement embraced the idea of inclusion, Venturer and Rover branches did not accept the challenge with the same alacrity. Scouting’s 1967 Annual Report chided them for this, adding that

the two main challenges to society as a whole today are the adolescent who is for some reason a misfit or emotionally disturbed, and the person who has a physical or intellectual handicap. If New Zealand Scouting as a whole is judged by the way in which it rejects or accepts these two challenges, it cannot be said to show up in a very good light. Serious re-thinking is required at all levels as to how far we have become “a sort of amenity for the good (or able-bodied, or sound-minded, or socially acceptable) boy”.<sup>96</sup>

Scouting’s national leaders considered this outreach area was important for individual boys; but also for the movement to be seen as an active participant in wider youth affairs, and aware of its responsibilities as such. At the same time, new Cub and Scout groups were formed in institutions, led by institutional staff.<sup>97</sup> As in Guiding, expansion in this area continued into the mid-1960s.<sup>98</sup> Government policy changes in the 1970s, including the 1972 Royal Commission into Psychopaedic Hospitals and the Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act of 1975, signalled further changes in services and expectations for disabled people in the community. When the Scout Association completely revised the *Cub Leader’s Handbook* in 1975, it included a section for Cub leaders on aspects of disability that they may encounter in their packs. It prefaced these by stating the need for boys to feel welcome: ‘They need to be involved in the fun and training. They want to be Cubs and many groups have the means at hand to enable them to join the movement.’<sup>99</sup> While there was consensus about the importance of outreach and accessibility, not all leaders agreed on how this should be achieved. Some 1970s leaders considered that members benefited from separate Extension units with a

---

<sup>95</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 SANZ Annual Reports [says 1973-74, but starts at 1960], Annual Report, 1968, p.17.

<sup>96</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3, SANZ Annual Reports, 1967, p.23.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 SANZ Annual Reports [says 1973-74, but starts at 1960], Annual Report, 1963, p.26.

<sup>99</sup> H. J. Dowling, *New Zealand Cub Leaders’ Handbook*, Wellington: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1975, p.289. [Section pp.289-293]

collective identity, which could also access financial and practical resources from outside agencies; others thought that mainstream units provided opportunities to focus on Scouting or Guiding first rather than disabilities.<sup>100</sup> 1980s developments included the International Year of Disabled Persons (1981) and governmental policy aimed at deinstitutionalisation. As with many other voluntary groups at this time Scouting and Guiding, with their history of inclusion for disabled boys and girls, adapted to mainstreaming these members into active units.

### **RELIGION AND ‘DUTY TO GOD’:**

Religion can only be “caught,” not “taught”. It is not a dressing donned from outside, put on for Sunday wear. It is a true part of a boy’s character, a development of soul, and not a veneer that may peel off. It is a matter of personality, of inner conviction, not of instruction...On the practical side, however, the Scoutmaster can...do an immense amount towards helping the religious teacher, just as he can help the schoolmaster by inculcating in his boys...the practical application of what they have been learning in theory in school.<sup>101</sup>

Religion’s role within the Scouting and Guiding movements has been central yet occasionally contentious. When Baden-Powell established the Boy Scouts he wrote of religion as ‘a very simple thing: 1st. Love and serve God. 2nd. Love and serve your neighbour.’<sup>102</sup> His was a practical rather than intellectual or evangelical Christianity, linked to nature and to actions – ‘It is something to be good, but it is far better to do good.’<sup>103</sup> He believed that boys needed active faiths for character development, yet was resolute that in order for membership to be as inclusive as possible no particular denomination should be dominant in Scouting. Religion was absent from the Scout Laws, yet the Promise required boys to do their ‘duty to God’. When Girl Guides were formally established, their Promise and Laws

---

<sup>100</sup> Dawber (2008), p.135; in 1977, Manawatu Province Executive Committee minutes, 3 February 1977, record that ‘the Feilding Extension Brownie Leader is resigning and she thinks it would be in the Brownies best interest to be incorporated into active Packs.’ The following month, 31 March 1977, there was a Headquarters National Advisory Board recommendation that ‘Extension leaders should encourage their girls and not protect them.’ Manawatu Province Girl Guides records: Executive Committee Minute book: 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977.

<sup>101</sup> Baden-Powell, 1930, p.58-59.

<sup>102</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 29<sup>th</sup> Edition, 1955, p.237.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*

followed those of the Boy Scouts in this respect, although in New Zealand the GPS' second Law stated that 'A Scout is loyal to God and the King.' The movements quickly became associated with mainstream Christianity; and churches saw benefits for their own youth outreach in allying themselves with the popular Scouting and Guiding movements.<sup>104</sup> Many denominations established troops and packs in their parishes, often with clergy in leadership roles.<sup>105</sup> Prayers were routinely recited at the end of troop or company meetings, and both Scout and Guide literature included books of prayers and readings appropriate for every contingency and occasion.<sup>106</sup> Even on camp, Scouts and Guides held religious services, often tailored to the natural environment in which they were living. These 'Scouts' Own' (or 'Guides' Own') were intended to be relatively brief, reverent, interdenominational and held outside wherever possible.<sup>107</sup> Their content reflected Baden-Powell's own belief in the spirituality of nature: 'O God Almighty, who spreadeth out the heavens as a tent to dwell in, graciously behold us thy sons who stand at the dawn of another day...'<sup>108</sup> The emphasis was on developing individual character within a natural physical and spiritual environment, with collective Christian values.

---

<sup>104</sup> Olssen, pp.265-6, observed that by 1911 Sunday School attendance was beginning to decline at a time when it was maybe 'less than coincidental' that families with children had other options, including Boy Scouts and the cinema.

<sup>105</sup> Internationally, religious accommodations were necessary as Scouting and Guiding developed in countries where other belief systems were dominant, and in some cases this is a continuing discourse. See, for example, chapters by Jay Mechling, Sarah Mills and Eitan Bar-Yosef in Block and Proctor (eds.), 2009. In addition, directions taken by the movement's leaders in some countries have resulted in a considerably more overt and conservative religious ethos within Scouting. See both Mechling's chapter and his book *On My Honour: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001 and David Macleod's *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA and their Forerunners, 1870-1920* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983 for their work on the Boy Scouts of America's religious stance over time.

<sup>106</sup> Small books, like *Prayers for Use in the Brotherhood of Scouts* (first published by the Boy Scouts Association in 1927 and used in revised additions until at least the late 1960s), were designed to fit into uniform pockets and to be a compendium of appropriate pieces for use with both adults and boys.

<sup>107</sup> Many permanent campsites, in both movements, had purpose-built open-air chapels, used for Sundays in camps and for specific occasions.

<sup>108</sup> Boy Scouts Association, *Prayers for Use in the Brotherhood of Scouts*, (revised edition 1967), Rochester: Staples Printers, 1967, p.78.

When the movements developed in New Zealand, civic buildings were not always available, and church-based activities were often the hub of small communities.<sup>109</sup> Scouting and Guiding groups often used church halls; and there was some crossover with Sunday School membership, particularly in ‘closed’ groups where Scout or Guide membership was dependent upon church membership.<sup>110</sup> This close relationship between Scouting, Guiding and mainstream churches was endorsed by those in national leadership positions, many of whom had strong personal faiths and connections with churches. Miss Nancy Wilson, who became the Dominion Headquarters Commissioner for Wolf Cubs in 1937, instigated a Scouters’ Fellowship of Prayer in 1948, suggesting that each Wednesday members ‘should pray for our Movement and thus be united in a prayer circle all over New Zealand’.<sup>111</sup> While the objective was spiritual rather than physical support, she reported of at least one Scouter who successfully prayed for more parent help with his troop.<sup>112</sup> Although some church communities required those in closed groups to be active church members Carol Dawber noted in her New Zealand Guiding history that in the post-war period ‘no district could establish a company attached to a church unless there was first an ‘open’ company for girls with no affiliations’, so guaranteeing accessibility for all. Further, once Guide enrolment forms containing religious affiliation information had been completed for a new recruit, no further commitment was required beyond her

---

<sup>109</sup> For information on New Zealand’s religious history, see, for example, Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: a history of church and society (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*, Wellington: Education For Ministry, 2004; Geoffrey Troughton and Hugh Morrison (eds.), *The spirit of the past: essays on Christianity in New Zealand history*, Wellington [N.Z.]: Victoria University Press, 2011; John Stenhouse (ed.), assisted by G.A. Wood, *Christianity, modernity and culture: new perspectives on New Zealand history*, Adelaide: ATF Press, 2005.

<sup>110</sup> Having ‘closed’ troops or companies allowed churches, as sponsors, to regulate their membership and enforce religious observance, as only those who were members of the church were eligible to join. Knox Church, in Dunedin initially had closed Scout and Guide groups. Allan Hubbard, who attended Sunday School at Knox, was introduced to Scouting at Knox this way. Green, p.40-42. In the Cossgrove era of Scouting, denominations in cities where there were a number of church-sponsored groups could form Diocesan Districts. Anglican Diocesan districts were formed in Auckland and Christchurch, in order to build up church allegiance, using Scouting, in their youth membership. Rodgers, pp.74-75.

<sup>111</sup> Wilson, p.58. Miss Wilson had small, pocket-sized cards printed with suitable prayers for Scouters who wished to join. For an example of these cards, see [www.nz museums.co.nz/account/3087/object/126950/1948 Scouters Fellowship of Prayer](http://www.nz museums.co.nz/account/3087/object/126950/1948_Scouters_Fellowship_of_Prayer), accessed 7 July 2012.

<sup>112</sup> Wilson, p.58.

Guide's 'duty to God' promise.<sup>113</sup> In New Zealand, Protestant denominations were highly represented, but Catholic, Mormon, Jewish and Salvation Army Scouting and Guiding groups also developed.<sup>114</sup> The Salvation Army had its own branch of Scouting and Guiding known as the Red Shield groups, another form of its own community outreach.<sup>115</sup> Mrs Brigadier P. Smith, spokeswoman for Red Shield Guiding in 1961 wrote that

Guiding is contributing a great deal to New Zealand girls and we are trying to bring into our Packs and Companies girls who really need what the Movement has to offer. Many of them have no Church affiliation, but we hope to give them foundation teaching in skills and citizenship, and, we believe, save some from the problem of delinquency. Official approaches have been made to us in this connection by welfare workers. This recent challenge may not always add to the efficiency of Pack or Company, but we feel sure will be of service to New Zealand in the best Guiding tradition.<sup>116</sup>

For this branch of Guiding, the Salvation Army's mission of 'going where the need is' encouraged them to use Guiding in order to reach girls at risk, and prevent delinquency. In most respects Red Shield groups followed the national programme, modifying their practice only when it contravened their own organisational values. Baden-Powell's founding principle of non-sectarianism in the movements was faithfully adhered to in New Zealand models, despite a wide range of religious belief and personal convictions.

However over the course of the twentieth century the relative strength and influence of churches shifted within an increasingly secular society. This was reflected in the Scouting and Guiding movements' programmes and the place of religion within them. Church parades, where local troops and companies formally marched to local church services to have their colours blessed, had become less of a feature of the movements by the 1970s. The Duty to God emblem was introduced

---

<sup>113</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.106.

<sup>114</sup> Rodgers, pp.81-82, details New Zealand Scouting's negotiations with the Church of the Latter Day Saints over its required conditions for its troops, from which a booklet 'Scouting and the LDS Church' was published. This partnership ended in the late 1990s.

<sup>115</sup> Red Shield Guiding was established in 1958 and continued until 2006; Red Shield Scouting began in 1941 and continued until at least 1980. ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-06/2, Registration forms and closing down notification of Red Shield cub and scout groups [1943-1980].

<sup>116</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Annual Reports 1952-1967, 1961, p.36.

in the early 1960s, on the recommendation of the combined Religious Advisory Panel.<sup>117</sup> Faced with ‘open’ groups where young members had little or no church affiliation, and church attendance statistics that showed a trend away from active church involvement, the emblem and an accompanying booklet were designed to help leaders spiritually guide their groups.<sup>118</sup> It was an optional incentive programme, as were proficiency badges in Scouting and Guiding handbooks. By the late 1970s the New Zealand movements had removed an early requirement that emphasised an active and committed parish-based faith, on the grounds that ‘the principle of the Emblem is meant to ENCOURAGE not to TEST a boy’s church attendance’.<sup>119</sup> Annual reports noted fewer young members gaining Duty to God emblems: the 1963 Brownies report interestingly notes an increase in International Guiding activities in pack records, at the same time as considerable variation in Brownies throughout the provinces completing Duty to God requirements.<sup>120</sup> While such results may have reflected the sustained effort needed for badge or emblem work by both aspirants and leaders it is also possible that these trends reflected their own interests or priorities. In 1970 the Religious Advisory Panel chided Cub and Scout leaders over ‘a somewhat disturbing lack of interest in and knowledge of the Emblem [which] is unfortunately becoming apparent.’ This undermined their own efforts to make the Duty to God emblem ‘a worthwhile achievement for the boy’, and their report reminded leaders of their personal and group responsibility:

---

<sup>117</sup> The Religious Advisory Panel was made up of representatives from Scouting and Guiding, and ten religious denominations active in New Zealand.

<sup>118</sup> Belich, (2001), pp.514-515, described the ‘collapse’ of mainstream religious adherence from the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s, and John Stenhouse confirms this ‘secularising trend’, adding that ‘with parents no longer routinely sending their children to Sunday School or bible Class, many were growing up with little knowledge of any world religions.’ John Stenhouse, ‘Religion and Society’, Giselle Byrnes (ed.) *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp.323-356, p.352.

<sup>119</sup> Emphasis as in original text. This quote came from the *Scout Badge Book. Little Scout Book #4*, Scout Association of New Zealand, 1979, p.60, but the wording is consistent with both Guide and Cub books from the same period. The *Cub Leader’s Handbook* (1975) has a chapter on ‘Duty to God’ that emphasises the role of Cub Leaders in modelling religious belief in everyday life, and notes that ‘young children are terrifyingly perceptive and can very soon tell whether a belief is part of an adult’s life or merely something to which he gives lip service.’ p.158.

<sup>120</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3 Annual Reports 1952-1967.

Information of the requirements of the Emblem is readily available in the Badge Book and very little effort on the part of Leaders is required to pass this on to their boys. It is hoped that Leaders will carry out their obligations in this respect.<sup>121</sup>

A 1978 survey that asked Scout leaders to rate the relative importance of 'achievement', 'service to others', 'personal growth' and 'morality' in the Scout programme resulted in over 90% of respondents ranking the first three as being very important or of some importance. Morality was conspicuous for its divergence from this pattern. Only 13% considered it very important, while over 34% considered it of minor or no importance.<sup>122</sup> Chaplains at the 1978 Asia-Pacific Jamboree in Oamaru, who felt disconcertingly redundant within the wider programme, echoed this concern about religion's changing place in the movements:

Some sub-camp staff seemed embarrassed with the appointment of a chaplain at this Jamboree. They did not know what to do with them, particularly since they were not used in the Achievement Award programme (and this latter we can only deplore).<sup>123</sup>

In keeping with other Scouting or Guiding programmes targeting 'modern' youth, 1980s jamborees marketed religion in ways designed to be more relevant to teenagers used to TV culture: 1985 jamboree organisers provided a multi-media Duty to God drop-in tent, and booked Ian Grant (who was then the presenter of 'The Herd', a youth-oriented religious television programme) and the 'Certain Sounds' pop-gospel band to provide a non-traditional gospel service cum concert.<sup>124</sup> There were mixed reactions to this form of less traditional outreach from both boys and leaders. Efforts like these, to 'jazz up' Christianity and make it more appealing to young people within Scouting and Guiding reflected what was

---

<sup>121</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3 Annual Reports.

<sup>122</sup> Kitay, p.85. 'Morality' for this question included criteria like 'Encourage boys to have respect for tradition', 'Ensure that boys fill their religious obligations', 'Improve the standard of smartness and manners among boys' and 'Promote an understanding of a boy's duty to the Queen'. Although religious adherence is only one aspect of this category, the relatively low scores indicate social shifts that included less traditionally conservative positions on these areas.

<sup>123</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3, SANZ Jamboree Reports. Chaplains were often clergy or church lay personnel who volunteered their time at jamborees, although some came from within Scouting's ranks. The Achievement Award mentioned here was an in-camp series of Scouting challenges, resulting in a special badge for successful applicants.

<sup>124</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3 Jamboree Reports. 'Certain Sounds' used a combination of Christian pop and gospel testimony in their concerts at secondary schools in this era. There too, they elicited mixed reactions from audiences.

happening outside the movements. By the end of the period some leaders were still as fervent in their belief that an active faith was essential to good Scouting or Guiding as their peers had been in earlier decades, while others saw the Promise's Duty to God as a strand amongst others, in a full programme, in the development of good members and good citizens.

### **Conclusion:**

Outreach was a conscious decision for the movements, and they chose to engage in it for a number of reasons. These can be summarised in terms of elements that reflected and exemplified Scouting and Guiding's fundamental values; and those that reflected the society in which the movements operated. Community service, covered in the first section by discussing everyday 'good turns' by individual members and the movements' involvement with larger scale public campaigns, incorporated values that were fundamental to the Scouting and Guiding programmes. Getting members actively involved in community service, at varying levels, reiterated to them the centrality of the movements' Laws and their own part in making them manifest. At the same time, in the doing, those outside the movements saw the movements' members performing community service as active young citizens. This reflected well upon the movements, and served to increase stocks of goodwill and recruits over time.

The five forms of programme outreach discussed in this chapter also had the effect of increasing public goodwill, and membership, by developing relationships with other groups active in civil society. Some, like the 'Lones' and 'Post' branches, were driven by an organisational imperative to extend membership to those who wanted it – who were reaching out themselves towards Scouting and Guiding. Once established, they developed in ways that suited the needs of members and adapted both their criteria and their programmes for these groups in relation to wider changes in society. For the Lones, technological and infrastructural developments like improved telecommunications, roading and transport brought them closer to their peers in mainstream groups. The Post

members underwent a number of name changes that better reflected the changing roles of people with physical or intellectual disabilities within New Zealand society. Similarly, adaptations to Scouting and Guiding programmes reflected a trend away from institutional care towards mainstreaming. In addition to developing programme areas for those with particular physical or geographical requirements, at various time the movements also extended their outreach towards cultural or ethnic groups. Scouting and Guiding's internationalist links, emphasising bonds between members irrespective of national or cultural differences, provided a way in which immigrants could make connections as new New Zealanders. Beyond the rhetoric, this involved going to where immigrant communities had developed and finding new ways to bridge cultural differences. This principle also applied when the movements sought to attract more Maori members to the movements. Maori children had been involved in Scouting and Guiding from their New Zealand beginnings, but the strong trend towards Maori post-war urbanisation - and subsequent state attention and policies - provided a new outreach impetus. Corporate grants to support this outreach, like Shell Oil's funding of the 'Polynesian Project' in the 1970s, reflected support for the movements in this work and attention to youth issues. State support for aspects of these outreach directions reflected the welfare state's youth and family focus, funding voluntary organisations like Scouting and Guiding in their voluntary youth work. Yet at the same time as outreach programmes were directed towards those in new urban suburbs, cooperative relationships between rural Maori and the movements found common ground. The final outreach direction considered the role of faith and interactions between churches and the movements over time. While some churches had been early partners in New Zealand Scouting and Guiding, others sought and sometimes subsequently moved away from involvement. These relationships took place in a social environment that became increasingly secular, and the role of faith and its manifestations within the movements reflected this. Outreach, in many directions, involved often complex interactions over time between the movements, the targeted groups and other interested associated state or civil agencies. At its core, however, it represented Scouting and Guiding's dual focus, on internal membership values, and the communities in which its members

lived. The following chapter, on camping in Scouting and Guiding, also captures this dual focus.

## **CHAPTER SIX: CAMPING – ‘THE REAL SCHOOL OF THE OUT-OF-DOORS’<sup>1</sup>**

Scouting and backwoodsmanship is what we're out for, and what the boys most want. Let them have it good and strong.

It is in camp that the Scoutmaster has his opportunity for inculcating under pleasing means the four main points of training. Character, service for others, skill, and bodily health. But beside all it is his golden chance to bring the boy to God through the direct appeal of Nature and her store of wonders.

[R. Baden-Powell, *B-P's Outlook*, 1917, pp.64-65.]

One of the greatest differences between our Movement and other organizations is the fostering of the love of outdoor life. Every Guide has a great longing – and that is to go to camp. Guides love camp, and it is life in camp with its friendliness, routine work, wide activities and games which gives a wonderful opportunity for character building. Camp teaches a Guide to be self-reliant and industrious, it develops team spirit and a sense of responsibility. These words may sound abstract. To the Guide, the main impression is that of fun and friendship. Nowhere is this spirit more evident than round the campfire, and when other memories have faded, the joy of campfire remains. [Olwyn Haylock, radio broadcast, 1949]<sup>2</sup>

When Mona Burgin, then New Zealand Girl Guides Commissioner of Camping and Training, addressed a 1945 Guiding Commissioners' Conference on the importance of taking Girl Guides camping, she quoted Walt Whitman: 'Now I see the secret of the making of the best persons – it is to grow in the open air and to eat and sleep with the earth.'<sup>3</sup> To Miss Burgin, her Scouting counterparts, and the founder Robert Baden-Powell, the experience of living communally under canvas trained and fed mind, body and spirit.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, they believed that this kind of training in youth developed better young and adult citizens. To Baden-Powell, good campers made good people, and good people were good citizens. This chapter will

---

<sup>1</sup> *B-P'S Outlook*, 1917, p.123.

<sup>2</sup> Broadcast on 2ZA (Palmerston North) during 1949 Guides Week. Box labelled 'History', Manawatu Province Girl Guides archives collection.

<sup>3</sup> *Te Rama*, August 1945, ATL file #88-130-31.

<sup>4</sup> This sentiment was also evident in the YMCA – a November 1933 editorial in 'Dunedin Manhood' stated: 'Camping out arouses within every real red-blooded boy all the historic instincts of the great out-doors...the wonders of nature, the mastery of Himself.' Justine Smith, 'This game of living: the YMCA in Dunedin 1933-1938', John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson (eds.), *Building God's Own Country. Historical Essays on Religions in New Zealand*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004, pp.185-195, p.189.

examine the range of camping rhetoric within the Scouting and Guiding movements, and look at the ways in which this rhetoric was physically manifested in large and small camps throughout New Zealand and beyond. It will consider the New Zealand environment as a fit with Baden-Powell's nature-camping model, and ways in which this was both asserted and tested. It will also consider the adult training programme, and the effects this had upon volunteer camp leaders and their camps with Scouts and Guides. Baden-Powell's assertion that it was in camp that the real Scouting and Guiding was achieved – and where young people best learned the programme's lessons about citizenship and character-building – will be compared with the experiences of New Zealand Scouts and Guides.

### **New Zealand – an ideal camping environment?**

During [the summer] months no other country on earth expends so much fervid energy on the pursuits of the open-air. Nowhere else may one see such a universal conglomeration of tents, bubbling billies, flickering camp-fires and tanned torsos... The New Zealander is a monarch in the sphere of open-air recreation.<sup>5</sup>

This excerpt from a book aimed at potential British immigrants after World War Two portrayed a sun-dappled summer arcadia peopled with healthy and happy campers, industriously and capably providing for themselves in pockets of unspoiled New Zealand countryside. It is, as it was intended to be, a compelling picture. In mid-twentieth century New Zealand outdoor recreation flourished as a result of increased annual leave entitlements for wage earners and family-based leisure choices, and the growth in private car ownership, all supported by a high level of national prosperity. Despite increasing urbanisation New Zealanders continued to consider themselves as people with strong connections to the land, and their everyday urban lives increased their desire to re-connect with coastal and country locations at holiday times.<sup>6</sup> Some New Zealanders had camped through

---

<sup>5</sup> Michael Hutt, *New Zealand – Your Future*, London: Todd, 1948, p.120.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonald (2011), p.173, notes that this urban desire for rural 'wilderness' was also present in Canadian city dwellers seeking 'an antidote to over-civilisation', citing Sharon Walls' study of Ontario summer camps between the 1920s and 1950s, *The Nature of Nurture: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009.

necessity rather than pleasure as pioneering families, depression relief workers, 1931 earthquake refugees in Napier, and in early children's health camps. Yet camping had been embraced as an affordable and desirable leisure option by large numbers of New Zealanders by the 1930s.

Quantitative information about the extent of camping as a leisure choice is not abundant, although the development of motor camps from the 1920s is well documented in press reports.<sup>7</sup> Transport, whether in trains, buses or private cars, was the key to the widespread development of this form of organised camping. It provided city dwellers with the opportunity to experience coastal or country holidays, whilst rural New Zealanders could use motor camps provided by metropolitan councils and entrepreneurs to visit the city sights. The attractions of this type of holiday were its relative cheapness and the freedom it promised: newspaper headers like 'Free as Air – No Fixed Schedule – Dress as You Please. Joys of Motor Camping' emphasised New Zealanders' ability to leave behind restrictions of daily life, and temporarily enjoy a simpler lifestyle. Degrees of roughing it were also allowed for: 'For young people anywhere does for a camp, provided there are wood and water handy, and it is seldom that property owners object if permission is sought in a sensible way. For older folk, or even the comfort-loving younger set, there are motor camps.'<sup>8</sup> For those inclined to camp, variations in the style and location of camping holidays mattered less than 'getting away' to spend weekends and holidays in New Zealand's countryside and coastal areas.

Yet the natural wonders of New Zealand were not universally valued. Kirstie Ross's study of twentieth century New Zealanders' relationship to nature portrays a range of responses, ranging from those who saw themselves as appreciators or conservators of the environment through to those who acted primarily as casual consumers and sometimes despoilers: 'Some Pakeha had little or no natural desire

---

<sup>7</sup> In the 1930s the *Evening Post* had regular 'Car and Tent' columns in the summer months, discussing the relative merits of camps throughout the country. Advertisements in the same paper record sales of motor camp plots, in addition to reporting negotiations between local bodies, landowners and local residents over siting.

<sup>8</sup> *Evening Post*, 4 December 1937, p.9.

to know the landscape and no appreciation of what they were missing. Interest in nature could not be universally cultivated and many members of the public were happy to disregard rules and regulations.<sup>9</sup> As both local and central government agencies became more involved in the management of the natural environment through domains, parks and reserves, official messages about its proper use proliferated in various forms. An active citizenry was central to such communications. An *Evening Post* article on Health Week in 1926 drew parallels between cleaning up the city and cleaning up citizens' attitudes: education had a role in inculcating 'the value of the right way of living', resulting in citizens who would 'discard unhealthy habits as they discard old tins.' Further, the writer asserted, when the good habits included 'fresh air, exercise and suitable clothing' health benefits and resistance to illness would ensue. Such education, while valuable for all, had its most marked and long-lived effect when applied to the young, and later in the article an argument was made for promoting conservation and re-forestation through timely education of children: 'We have two or three generations of forest-destruction habits to live down, and if we are to do this we must educate the younger generation...'<sup>10</sup> Conservation and nature awareness programmes involving the state education system and other government departments were developed to encourage young New Zealanders to use and value the public spaces set aside for their recreational use. Voluntary outdoor recreation and youth groups complemented these programmes with their own activities that encouraged active but respectful environmental engagement. Scouting and Guiding, as self-avowedly outdoors movements, modelled these values to their young members, and to the general public.

Hardy types who belonged to tramping and mountain clubs explored more isolated parts of the country. These clubs proliferated in the mid-twentieth century, in a 'golden age of tramping clubs [which] lasted from the 1940s to the

---

<sup>9</sup> Kirstie Ross, *Going Bush. New Zealanders and Nature in the Twentieth Century*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008, p.4.

<sup>10</sup> 'Topics of the Day', *Evening Post*, 12 September 1926, p.8.

1970s.<sup>11</sup> A network of national parks, managed from 1952 by central government, provided a range of experiences. Of the country's fourteen national parks, half were established between the 1940s and the 1960s.<sup>12</sup> The Abel Tasman National Park came into being partly through the persistent lobbying of Perrine Moncrieff, a Nelson conservationist and Girl Guide Provincial Commissioner. Her efforts to preserve land in its natural form for wider public enjoyment reflected Baden-Powell's appreciation of the restorative benefits of rural recreation. His connecting of the physical actions and processes of camping in the open air of the countryside, away from what he considered the malign influences of cities, and the ensuing beneficial effects on the whole person demand some investigation. Why did he (and later leaders) consider this combination of action and effect so profound in the development of young people's characters; and how did the movement in New Zealand endorse and implement this aspect of the Scouting and Guiding programme?

### **Baden-Powell's rationale for camping as a conduit for character development:**

For Baden-Powell, a enthusiastic hands-on Scouter himself, providing children and young people with the opportunity to test themselves in nature encapsulated Scouting principles and values. Originally aimed at British Edwardian urban working class boys, the principles and practice of Scout and Guide camping nonetheless managed to disseminate throughout the British Empire and the ever-increasing number of countries in which Scouting and Guiding took hold. Baden-Powell stressed, from Scouting's beginnings, the importance of camping in meeting both boys' and Scoutmasters' needs:

The object of a camp is (a) to meet the boy's desire for the open-air life of the Scout, and (b) to put him completely in the hands of his Scoutmaster for a definite period for individual training in character and initiative and in physical and moral development.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Carl Walrond. 'Tramping - New Zealand tramping, clubs and culture', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 2 March 2009

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/tramping/1>

<sup>12</sup> The earliest of the parks, Tongariro, was gifted in 1887 and the most recent, Rakuira, was established in 2002.

<sup>13</sup> *B-P's Outlook*, p.9.

The camp environment worked, he said, because it appealed to the boys' sense of adventure and imagination, a fundamental entry point into wider instruction; and because they could apply the practical skills that they had learned in weekly den meetings, at the same time as being exposed to the mentoring of experienced Scoutmasters as fellow campers. Baden-Powell stressed the need for camps to test young campers – they should not be too comfortable, and Scouters and Guiders had to walk the line between effective camp planning and doing too much for the campers. Baden-Powell distinguished 'camp life' with its need for resourcefulness from merely 'living under canvas', arguing that 'any ass, so to speak, can live under canvas where he is one of a herd with everything done for him; but he might just as well stop at home for all the good it is likely to do him.'<sup>14</sup> It was in the working out of problems and challenges, whether physical or social, that character development occurred. In addition, Baden-Powell argued, the time taken to perform camp tasks obviated the need for camp programmes filled with artificial, time-filling instruction and drill, as the mind and body were well employed in carrying out practical work and attendant nature study and exercise. Small camps provided the best environment for Scouts and Guides to learn from camp leaders, whether as role models or as instructors. Desirable qualities like co-operation, resourcefulness, resilience, practicality and fair play, developed in this environment and at this stage in their lives, would prepare Scouts and Guides for the challenges of the adult world.

New Zealand's Dominion Commissioner for Rover Scouts, Sir Robert Clark-Hall, wrote in 1937 that:

What strikes a newly arrived immigrant like myself is the magnificent opportunity this country affords for hiking, camping and out-of-doors Scouting in general. I doubt if our rising generation realises what a tremendous advantage they have in this respect over people in the more developed and more densely populated countries of Europe.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> *Aids to Scoutmastership*, p.71.

<sup>15</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-11/06, Dominion HQ Bulletin, October 1937.

He added that the introduction of a shortened working week increased the potential for more Scouting outdoor recreation, leading to more Rovers remaining in the movement - thus preventing Scouts' undesirable 'drift' away from Scouting 'at an impressionable and early age'.<sup>16</sup> Camping was seen as both a draw card and a means of retaining young members against the pull of less sanctioned youth activities. The rise of teenage culture in the post-war period exacerbated this issue, as the movements worked to provide 'appropriate' activities in a social climate where teenagers had increasing access to other, more 'modern' leisure choices.

In practice, post-war New Zealand Scout and Guide camping experiences varied considerably depending upon a number of interdependent factors: the experience and enthusiasm of camp leaders and campers; camp size (from small patrol camps to national jamborees and camps held to mark significant milestones in Scouting or Guiding history); the material and financial resources available to groups; and the physical spaces they had at their disposal. Whatever forms camps took, the principles of Baden-Powell's camping remained the same - Scouting and Guiding were, fundamentally, camping and outdoor youth movements; and the more camping young members did, the greater the benefits to them and their communities through the citizenship training they received. This message was constantly reinforced throughout the post-war period in official and internal publications. National headquarters memoranda and literature aimed at Scouters and Guiders reiterated the importance of getting boys and girls out of halls and dens as often as possible. Ideological rhetoric notwithstanding, camping provided the Scouting and Guiding movements with a strong promotional tool. It was used to attract recruits to the movements, and then to retain them (Brownies and Cubs did not usually camp as such, but had the incentive of Scout and Guide camping to aspire to), and as an advertisement for wholesome youth activities.

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

**International amity through the medium of Scout and Guide  
International Camps:**

From Te Ika e Maui  
From Te Wai Pounamu  
From plains and snow-clad mountains.  
We bring Scout Greetings to you.

*All New Zealand Boy Scouts, are we,  
Over for the Jamboree,  
From the land where Kiwis roam.  
From Ao-te-a-roa.*

He Kia-Ora, aho mai  
Haere mai, Haere mai,  
That's a Maori greeting  
To brother Scouts.  
Kapai!<sup>17</sup>

The Scouting and Guiding movements were quick to realize the value of international gatherings. Although the Scouts' inaugural World Jamboree in London in 1920 had been intended as a showcase for Scouting's first ten years, intertwined with the marketing focus and public spectacle another significant aspect of Scouting emerged.<sup>18</sup> Baden-Powell consciously evoked the spirit of imperial and international brotherhood, and of fostering and re-building bonds between nations in the wake of World War One. His jamboree objectives included 'promot[ing] the spirit of brotherhood among the rising generation throughout the world... [and] inculcat[ing]...the fundamentals of good and happy citizenship.'<sup>19</sup> Citizenship, in this context, went beyond that practised in local communities and into the realm of global cooperation and amity. This internationalist focus has endured as a strong tenet of both Scouting and Guiding, as shown in the fourth Scout/Guide Law: 'A Scout/Guide is a friend to all and a brother/sister to every

---

<sup>17</sup> *Songs for New Zealand Scouts*, Dunedin: Boy Scouts Association of New Zealand, c1962, p.17.

<sup>18</sup> The Jamboree was originally intended for 1918, but war intervened. By the time it was held in 1920, Baden-Powell was referring to the emergent League of Nations as a complement to his Scouting aims of forming strong international citizenship bonds. *An Official History of Scouting*, [no author given], London: Hamlyn, 2006, p.64.

<sup>19</sup> *An Official History of Scouting*, p.64.

other Scout/Guide...'<sup>20</sup> Jamborees and international camps provided a forum in which the rhetoric of global Scouting's trans-national friendships could be tested and reaffirmed. Despite New Zealand's physical isolation and distance from countries hosting international camps and jamborees, Scouting and Guiding contingents regularly attended overseas international jamborees and Guide camps. Invariably, international travel costs limited the numbers of attendees, and as Scouts and Guides were forbidden from soliciting donations towards their expenses opportunities for boys from working class families were considerably reduced.<sup>21</sup> For those who could attend, however, the experience was seen as a lifetime opportunity to represent New Zealand Scouting or Guiding amongst their peers from other countries. Dominion Chief Commissioner Hector Christie wrote to Scouts' parents in 1938 about the upcoming Sydney Jamboree:

Your boy will look back on the Jamboree in years to come with pride and happy memories. He will carry the impression and inspirations gathered here throughout his life. It is not only a great international gathering of youth but is an education for the boys in national customs and understanding. Your boy will make many friendships, which will be of lasting benefit to him.<sup>22</sup>

Parents were encouraged to supply the 'moral and practical support' necessary for their sons to attend, and were assured that they would be 'well repaid for any sacrifice you may make' towards this end.<sup>23</sup> Wellington Scout Howard Clements, who represented his 1<sup>st</sup> Linden Troop as a member of the New Zealand contingent at an Austrian Jamboree in 1951, recalled the joint fundraising effort to pay his £265 costs, including gathering coxfoot grass seed heads for £10 a sack.<sup>24</sup> Attending camps like these was contended (and intended) to be not only an

---

<sup>20</sup> This wording is taken from the original Scout and Guide Laws, which have been modified throughout the movements' histories to reflect contemporary language and the emphasis that different countries have chosen to place on the Laws. The intent, however, remains.

<sup>21</sup> The Dominion Boy Scout Association's 1920 *Policy, Organisation and Rules* booklet included: 'Begging: Scouts are not allowed to solicit money for Troop funds or any other purpose. It is bad for the boy, and lends itself to fraud by outsiders.' [p.18]

Although Scouts and Guides were able – and encouraged - to work for funds towards travel expenses it was still a stretch for many families to achieve this end.

<sup>22</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-18/1, Historical Records c.1916-1960.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Howard Clements personal Scouting memoir, courtesy of the author, p.30. Howard Clements also wrote *In the beginning... The History of Scouting in Wainuiomata, 1910-1987*, and noted that his jamboree costs were supported by troop fundraising, as well as contributions from his parents, the group committee and local well-wishers. P.13.

extension of boys' everyday Scouting, but of their development as good men and citizens of the world. The 1947 Moisson jamboree (the 'Jamboree of Peace') held particular significance as the first since the end of the war, and was aimed at reunifying global Scouting for a post-war future.<sup>25</sup> Twenty five thousand campers identified themselves according to recognizable national symbols at their sub-camp entrances - 'a tall square gateway gave access to Morocco, a huge wooden shoe, made of canvas, betrayed the whereabouts of Holland; ...a sphinx guarded the tents of Egypt; wigwams dotted America'<sup>26</sup> - but also identified themselves as members of the international Scouting brotherhood. In the aftermath of a world war it was these young citizens who were invested (or burdened) with hopes for peaceful cooperation: 'At Moisson they learnt in a few days a lesson which their elders are still slow to apprehend, and in so doing set an example the world would be well advised to follow.'<sup>27</sup> David Rathbone, a Dunedin Scout, wrote to his friend, 'I can't count the number of people I met but I have 20 or 30 addresses of people I hope to write to. I was very glad of the little French I know, & by the end of the jamboree I was speaking more French than English...'<sup>28</sup> Scouts interacting with other Scouts who were, in some respects, quite different from those they had previously met yet Scouting 'brothers', was considered a conduit to greater international understanding – within and outside the movement.

New Zealand sent a large contingent of 233 adults and boys, who entertained their peers with an 'extremely popular' display consisting of 'two Maori tribes meeting with hakas, singing and stick games'.<sup>29</sup> The ways in which New Zealand Scouts chose to represent their homeland overseas varied little over the years, with Maori motifs (or sometimes approximations of such), songs, crafts and games to the fore. The New Zealand contingent's area at the 11<sup>th</sup> World Jamboree

---

<sup>25</sup> The significance of this first post-war international jamboree extended to Scouting fiction – see F. Haydn Dimmock, *Jamboree Journey. A story of the years 1937 to 1947 based very liberally on fact*, Bath: Venturebooks, 1948. The book follows an international group of Scouts attending the 1937 Vogelenzang Jamboree and ends with the Moisson Jamboree in 1947.

<sup>26</sup> Hilary St George Saunders, *The Left Handshake. The Boy Scout Movement during the War 1939-1945*, London: Collins, 1948, p.240.

<sup>27</sup> St George Saunders, p.242.

<sup>28</sup> McRobie, p.268.

<sup>29</sup> Culliford, p.119.

in Greece in 1963, laid out as ‘a small Maori village’ was the subject of ‘much interest and was much photographed especially on the occasions when the boys were tattooed and dressed in native costume to welcome or entertain VIP guests with hakas and action songs.’<sup>30</sup> Scout contingents overwhelmingly chose this indigenous facet of New Zealand life and culture over national sporting heroes or geographical features to represent New Zealand’s unique character. Over time Maori cultural symbols became strongly associated with New Zealand contingents of both Scouts and Guides, as uniquely representative and easily identifiable markers, in the same way that New Zealand’s sporting teams used or appropriated them.<sup>31</sup> New Zealand Scouts at the 1929 World Jamboree, at Arrowe Park in England, found receptive audiences for their Maori concerts, and performed at



**Figure 21: New Zealand contingent, 1929 3<sup>rd</sup> World Jamboree at Arrowe Park, Birmingham, England – practising with taiaha.**

New Zealand Scouting sent a contingent of 35 Scouts and leaders to this jamboree and their cultural display, a Maori concert party, was in strong demand for the duration of the camp. Although the pattern for later contingents had been set, representations of clothing, architecture and implements show considerable variation, and later efforts were more consistent in tone. Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand. Alexander Turnbull Library, Scouts New Zealand Collection.

<sup>30</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-11/06, Historical General [1910-1964] file.

<sup>31</sup> Some academics see such representations as appropriations of Maori art and culture: see ‘The Maori House Down in the Garden: a Benign Colonialist Response to Maori Art and the Maori Counter Response’, by Roger Neich, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, v.112, n.4, 2003, pp.331-368. The author, referring to the commissioning of a carved archway for Gilwell Park by a New Zealand Scout contingent to the 1947 World Jamboree, saw it as ‘a clear example of the national appropriation of Maori carving as a symbol of their New Zealand identity, even though the majority of the Scouts in this party would have been of non-Maori ancestry.’ p.359.

least once nightly throughout the jamboree. Although they were Scouts they were still boys, and not above playing tricks on their unsuspecting audiences: their recitation of the Lords' Prayer in Maori was instead a list of railway stations between Wellington and Palmerston North.<sup>32</sup> The 600-strong New Zealand contingent to the 1938/1939 Sydney Jamboree, whose camp was based on 'an elaborate Maori pa' planned and executed a range of entertainments under the



**Figure 22: New Zealand Scouts at international jamboree.**

These Scouts and their leader are clad in a distinctively New Zealand way. Their pūi pūi were probably handmade by members of the contingent before leaving New Zealand, in an attempt at closer authenticity, in comparison to the previous image. While their Scout shirts were similar to those worn by Scouts internationally, their practical (and ubiquitous, in this era) 'Roman' sandals also marked them out as New Zealanders.

Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand.

supervision of Display Scouters E. Manthorp of Timaru and A. W. Gordon of Rotorua.<sup>33</sup> Scouter Gordon, described in a Scouting memoir as having 'lived much with the Maoris' had the job of 'train[ing] our boys in Maori lore.'<sup>34</sup> The intention was to avoid 'imitations of Maori dances and hakas...by pakeha boys, as it was not

<sup>32</sup> Rodgers, (upcoming), p.391.

<sup>33</sup> *Evening Post*, 29 December 1938, p.9.

<sup>34</sup> J. R. H. Cooksey, *My Job*, Hastings: (self-published), 1964, p.131.

desired to stage what might appear burlesque.<sup>35</sup> While not all of the movement's representations of Maoritanga were authentic and sensitive, Scouters who understood Maori tikanga were chosen to oversee representations of Maoritanga at international camps. The movement took this aspect of its jamboree expeditions seriously, including making Scouts part of the process. Scout Owen Rodgers recalled that as a contingent member for the 1947 Moisson Jamboree, he and other Scouts made their own piu piu for use in Maori concert parties.<sup>36</sup> The Guides, too, used Maori imagery, songs and action games to represent New Zealand to their peers at international camps. A Maori Ranger company from Te Karaka, Gisborne, under the leadership of Lena Ruru, performed as a concert party at the 1935 Melbourne Centennial Camp. They also made, at Chief Commissioner Ruth Herrick's request, a model of Popoia pa for display in Melbourne.<sup>37</sup> Miss Ruru's stature in Maoridom, and her willingness to oversee displays of Maori culture at national and international Guiding events, provided the overwhelmingly Pakeha European Guiding leadership with representations of Maoritanga that were authentic, rather than approximate.

New Zealand Scouting and Guiding overseas contingents were very conscious of representing their movements, and New Zealand, on a world stage. Touring parties attended government farewells at Parliament, and were subject to press attention on disembarkation.<sup>38</sup> Scouters and Guiders who led contingents in this period were usually those who had British training or overseas experience in

---

<sup>35</sup> *Evening Post*, 15 September 1938, p.5.

<sup>36</sup> Conversation with Owen Rodgers, Wellington, 28 June 2012. A 'piu piu' is a skirt-like garment, made from harakeke (flax) and worn in ceremonies that included dancing and kapa haka.

<sup>37</sup> Tum Glover. 'Ruru, Lena Matewai - 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/5r30/1>, accessed 7 April 2011.

<sup>38</sup> *Evening Post*, 28 December 1938, p.9, records the Minister of Defence, representing the government, farewelling the New Zealand Contingent to the 1938-1939 Jamboree in Sydney; 'Little John' Cooksey's memoir (1964) details his leadership of the New Zealand contingent to the 1929 Arrowe Park Jamboree in England, and the 'host of Press reporters and photographers' who met their party at Waterloo Station, p71. This trend of official farewells and receptions continued after the war, with every subsequent Scout jamboree contingent farewelled at Parliament. Owen Rodgers, who was part of the 1947 Moisson Jamboree contingent, noted how well-received New Zealand Scouts were in England and talked of 'a particular relationship' between Britons and New Zealanders, based on shared wartime experiences and allegiances. Conversation with Owen Rodgers, Wellington, 28 June 2012.

Scouting or Guiding, and who therefore understood the protocols of such expeditions. Relationships forged in training courses with Scouters or Guiders from other countries were renewed at international camps, and the camping environment was considered ideal for developing new friendships under sometimes trying living conditions. Formal camp programmes included national contingent parades and camp concerts featuring cultural items. Informal interactions that facilitated communication between Scouts or Guides from different countries included exchanging badges (to be added to camp blankets) and memorabilia that had often been made by the campers in troop or patrol nights. While some contemporary reports extolled the universal language of Scouting or Guiding as overcoming any language barriers, interpreters were sometimes attached to contingents to ease their way around camps in non-English speaking countries.<sup>39</sup> The all-encompassing rhetoric remained that of the international spirit of fraternity and sorority found when Scouts and Guides gathered in world camps; and of its enduring nature, through contacts made and future visits, after contingents had returned to their own countries. Continuing communications between participants and their overseas peers indicated that this rhetoric had substance for New Zealanders who, in light of their physical isolation, maintained postal friendships over time.

### **Large New Zealand camps: Jamborees, Provincial camps, Dominion Camps**

In New Zealand, planning and running national camps provided the Scouting and Guiding movements with both opportunities and challenges. The opportunities included generating valuable (and generally positive) publicity for the movements; providing young members with pre-requisite badge work incentives to attend these large and complex events; and the potential to embody the spirit of Scouting or Guiding by demonstrating how groups of campers within and outside New Zealand

---

<sup>39</sup> *Evening Post*, 15 July 1939, p.11. The inaugural Pax Ting (or World Guide Camp, so called for its association with peace, and because the Scouting movement requested that the Guides movement did not use the term 'Jamboree'), in Hungary in 1939, supplied bilingual Hungarian Girl Scouts as contingent-based interpreters.

shared more similarities than differences. Each of these opportunities also presented challenges in logistics and planning at all levels, managing large groups and sub-groups of people and harnessing talents and energies towards a cohesive whole. Within Scouting and Guiding, local troops and patrols, regional organisations and national administrators contributed towards this end. Local government and local businesses' support were vital, as was national government assistance with transport subsidies through the state rail and ferry network. This section will investigate the physical logistics and ideological foundations of large scale camping in New Zealand, and how successful such camps were for the young campers and the adult volunteers upon whom they depended.

The inaugural New Zealand national camps for both Scouts and Guides (1926 and 1930 respectively) had attracted public interest, media attention, subsidized public transport and, for the Scouts, a generous £2000 government travel subsidy.<sup>40</sup> Both events included elaborate public displays, designed to demonstrate aspects of the programme whilst presenting Scouts and Guides in the best possible light. The 1930 Guides camp had planned an elaborate pageant in Wellington's Newtown Park, involving 1000 girls and showcasing Guiding's internationalism, with Guide campers from nineteen countries as far afield as Palestine, Japan, South Africa and New Guinea.<sup>41</sup> Rain, another prominent feature of camping, forced its transfer to the Garrison Hall, but although restricted by the hall's dimensions the girls still managed an impressive display for the Governor-General, his wife and other local dignitaries.<sup>42</sup> It incorporated a simulated explosion and ambulance drill representing first aid and service; Greek games displaying physical fitness; a representation of a Maori pa; and St George and dragon illustrating the Scouting and Guiding values of honour and chivalry. Brownies, too, played their part in a 'charming interlude' in which 'Brownie packs...dressed as various articles of tableware, demonstrated part of their second-

---

<sup>40</sup> Culliford, p.66.

<sup>41</sup> *Evening Post*. 13 January 1930, p.4 'A Fine Display'.

<sup>42</sup> Public attendance was also very strong, with the *Evening Post* noting some 'congestion' due to the smaller venue. *Evening Post*. 13 January 1930, p.4 'A Fine Display'.

class test: how to lay a table.’<sup>43</sup> This pattern of encouraging public access on particular days at long camps continued throughout the period of this study, although the organized spectacle of earlier events tended to give way to demonstrations of skills-based activities covered in the camp’s programme.



**Figure 23: 1959 Pan-Pacific Jamboree poster**

This poster, made in 1958, was both internal and external advertising for the Scouting movement, encouraging Scouts to attend; and local residents to see the spectacle of a large camp, and public displays, in action.

Image: Courtesy Scouts New Zealand

### **Large camp logistics**

While it was undoubtedly important to show the general public what Scout and Guide national camps were about (and Publicity Sections became a significant part of the planning cycle for major camps and jamborees), most logistical effort went into two main areas: preparing the young campers to participate; and preparing the chosen campsite and camp programme for an influx of thousands of Scouts or Guides and their adult leaders. In the post-war heyday of national camps, camp

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

populations varied from approximately 1000 to over 8000.<sup>44</sup> Regional associations gained prestige from hosting such large events and showing what their provinces had to offer, but they also had the responsibility of ensuring that everything went smoothly. Enlisting strong local support to supplement national administration funds became a necessary planning element. Goodwill and tangible help came from those in the community who endorsed the Scouting and Guiding movements' youth work and the citizenship values they articulated, whether or not they had direct connections with the movements. Local service clubs pitched in to help in many different capacities, including 24-hour security, while householders sometimes ended up providing home care for flooded-out campers or those missing home comforts.<sup>45</sup> The logistics of transporting thousands of campers and their equipment from all over the country, usually at peak summer travel times, required planning and cooperation from government agencies and private transport companies. The transport sub-committee for the 1962 Waiora Jamboree met with representatives from Otago Road Services, the Union Steam Ship Company, National Airways Corporation (NAC), the New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau, New Zealand Railways, the New Zealand Army and the Government Transport Department.<sup>46</sup> The armed services, which provided skilled labour, and camping and cooking equipment, were another form of official support.<sup>47</sup> Subsidies and support aside, camp fees were always a feature, with those who lived closest subsidizing those who had the furthest to travel. For the Waiora jamboree, each boy paid £20, which included 2<sup>nd</sup> class rail and ferry fares.

---

<sup>44</sup> The 1962 Jamboree at Waiora, Otago, catered for approximately 3000 campers (youth and adult), while the Pan-Pacific and Asia-Pacific jamborees with their wider demographic ranged between approximately 7000 campers at Oamaru in 1978 and approximately 8000 campers at Auckland in 1959.

<sup>45</sup> At the 1975 Tokoroa Jamboree, Rotary and Kiwanis service clubs served as gatekeepers and security on 24-hour rosters for the duration of the camp. ATL file #2000-093-03/3: Jamboree Reports. Reports following the 3<sup>rd</sup> Asia-Pacific Jamboree at Oamaru in January 1978 mention around 200 local families either helping on site or having boys in their own homes. The report writer acknowledged the 'need for care' in this situation, but considered that local knowledge in a relatively small area was a positive feature of having the Jamboree in Oamaru. ATL #2000-093-03/3: Jamboree reports.

<sup>46</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/1: Jamboree Reports 1939-66, Waiora Jamboree reports, 1962,

<sup>47</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/1: Jamboree Reports 1939-66, Waiora Jamboree reports, 1962.

Health and contingency planning was also a significant feature of large camps, with well-equipped camp hospitals catering to everything from insect stings to influenza epidemics. Activity programmes involving physical challenges and large numbers of young participants invariably led to broken limbs and sprained joints, and the cooperation of nearby government health services was essential. Some health events at camps were unavoidable, as with the influenza epidemic at the 1959 Pan-Pacific Jamboree in Auckland where, of the 8000 campers, there were 710 hospital cases during the jamboree – all but 66 of them for influenza. The Medical Officer's subsequent report noted that they had anticipated some transmission due to outbreaks in other parts of the country: 'On the whole, the cases were light, but there were a few cases of severe complications such as pneumonia and a number of relapses. It was fortunate that there was not one fatality.' While the camp hospital was able to care for 294 of these patients, the rest were admitted to other Auckland hospitals.<sup>48</sup> Other jamboree reports noted common sources of camp sickness as exhaustion (particularly for younger campers), sunburn and digestive upsets. The last of these brought astringent comments from some medical report writers about 'individuals [who] roamed about the base camp site with a fist full of [snack] food' and suggested that 'tummy upsets' and 'gross obesity' could be lessened and controlled if pocket money for 'rubbish' was restricted.<sup>49</sup>

Provisioning such a large encampment was a major undertaking, and Quartermasters aimed to provide plentiful and nourishing food for physically active young campers. As sub-camps were generally responsible for cooking their own food from stores provided, recipes had to be simple and tasty. The *Tiki Times*, an in-camp newspaper published daily during jamborees, provided boys at the 1972 Pukekohe Jamboree with recipes for their evening meals, including stews, roast beef and braised sausages. The latter recipe, perhaps surprisingly, suggested that the addition of 'some tins of spaghetti left over from breakfast and a few peas

---

<sup>48</sup> Information in this paragraph relating to the 1959 jamboree is from ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/1: Jamboree Reports 1939-66.

<sup>49</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3: Jamboree reports.

from lunch...greatly improves the flavour and appearance of the braised sausages.’<sup>50</sup> The Quartermaster’s report following a 1955 Canterbury Jamboree detailed a daily milk allocation of 1 pint per boy, presumably to accompany the 80lbs of Creamota<sup>51</sup> and 96lbs of Weetbix consumed daily in camp – ‘good plain food and lots of it...’<sup>52</sup> Leaders ate a similar diet to their young charges, although the top tier of Scout management at some jamborees attracted criticism from other Scouters for the fine dining atmosphere of their hospitality tent:

I detected a rather disconcerting gap between the boy Scouts and the upper echelons of the Movement at this Jamboree, and would like to have seen a closer relationship between the Camp Chief’s staff and National Headquarters staff for instance, and the boys. There were some extremely busy men at the Jamboree but the fact that a Jamboree is for the Boy Scouts should not be lost sight of, no matter how sophisticated the Movement becomes. <sup>53</sup>

Such criticisms were not confined to senior Scouting officeholders’ camp menus, with distribution of adult labour also a cause for disgruntlement. Managing a large (and overwhelmingly voluntary) workforce had its logistical challenges. Debrief reports after some jamborees indicated that some hands-on Scouters felt that their around-the-clock efforts in their sub-camps greatly outweighed those of paid Scout Headquarters staff. While the Scouters were prepared to work hard for the boys’ benefit, and to give up their annual leave to do so, they sometimes expressed their frustration about ‘freeloading’ Headquarters staff: ‘Do we really need a very large range of Leaders at a Jamboree who are just there to enjoy themselves – meet friends and in their own words do as little as possible...?’<sup>54</sup> While these expressed opinions echoed other concerns about tensions between Scouting as lived in troops and in the national administration at different times, they were not universal and some Camp Chiefs enjoyed participating - and being seen to be participating - in activities with the Scouts in camp.<sup>55</sup> Baden-Powell’s ‘boy man’, the Scouter who

---

<sup>50</sup> *Tiki Times*, 1 January 1972, p.4. [author’s collection]

<sup>51</sup> Creamota was a porridge-like hot cereal, then very popular as a breakfast food.

<sup>52</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/1. This report also noted the purchase of broken Weetbix, at a considerable cost saving.

<sup>53</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3, Tokoroa Jamboree, 1975.

<sup>54</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3, Tokoroa Jamboree, 1975.

<sup>55</sup> *Tiki Times*, 7 January 1972, p.1: ‘The Oldies Can Do It Too! Leaders Prove It’. This front page article showed three of the senior camp staff tackling the Challenge Valley obstacle course in camp:

still revelled in physical challenges with his Scouts and was not afraid of dirt, was the model for Jamboree staff. The Girl Guides' national camps were fewer in number, and do not seem to have been riven by the same tensions between hands-on and titular Scouters. At their 2<sup>nd</sup> Dominion camp at Porewa in 1957, celebrating Baden-Powell's centenary, some VIPs were housed at the Guide Association's Arahina homestead eight miles from the main campsite. When torrential rain made the campers' evacuation necessary, the VIPs became the providers, rather than the recipients of, hospitality for a large contingent of Guides.<sup>56</sup>



**Figure 24: ‘The Pageant of the Golden Balls’, 1957 Girl Guides’ Baden-Powell centenary camp at Porewa.**

Despite disruptions due to rain, large camps like this one steadfastly continued with organised programmes and events wherever possible. This mass spectacle, where all of the campers threw golden balls into the air while marching, was attended by families and friends on a designated and well attended ‘open day’.

Image: ‘Girl Guides parading at the Dominion Camp, Porewa, Rangitikei District, including crowd watching. Negatives of the Evening Post newspaper. Ref: EP/1957/0048-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.’ <http://beta.natlib.govt.nz/records/22430764>

Logistical planning for large camps had to include activities programmes that met the physical, social and age group needs of campers, and the range of activities offered varied over time to include new technology and leisure options. Earlier pre-war camps had concentrated upon activities like hiking and swimming,

---

‘Followed by a large crowd of envious onlookers [they] came through with flying colours and several pounds of best Pukekohe mud adorning their persons.’

<sup>56</sup> Iles, p.55.

utilizing the camp environment and surrounds, and although these remained popular elements of the programme at later camps they were supplemented by other, more sophisticated, activities. Boys at the 1972 Jamboree also had the options of surfcasting, 'Rolf Harris' painting, taxidermy and attending the nearby New Zealand Grand Prix whilst at camp. While some activities were purely recreational, others were in-camp challenges that represented aspects of Scouting or Guiding ideals and capabilities. Girls at the 1957 'B-P' camp at Porewa, near Marton, were presented with the Golden Arrow challenge, which required them to consider aspects of their own Guiding, but also to engage with Guides from other areas and countries:

1. Know 3 B-P quotations and 6 facts about the Founder.
2. Do 3 secret good turns.
3. Get the name and address of one Guide from every Province and also of one Guide from every country.
4. Make a good camp gadget.
5. Draw two flags from each Continent represented at Camp.
6. Spend ½ hour alone and in silence.<sup>57</sup>

Each Guide would mark her progress by tying a knot in a purpose-held bootlace on completing each part of the test. The requirements relating to learning more about other Guides and international Guiding reflected the 4<sup>th</sup> Guide Law – 'A Guide is a friend to all, and a sister to every other Guide'. In the post World War Two period fostering internationalism within the movements was aided by Scouts' and Guides' interactions within New Zealand national camps, and by regular overseas expeditions to camps held in other countries. The movements' consistent rhetoric reiterated the similarities and links between members of the movements - whatever their home countries - rather than their differences. Penny Tinkler notes that the same awareness and promulgation of Guiding citizenship was evident in 1940s British Ranger programmes, filtered through British Guiding literature that predicated understanding of countries where Guiding existed.<sup>58</sup> The New Zealand movements fostered neighbouring South Pacific states' Scouting and Guiding by bringing campers to New Zealand, in addition to financial grants to develop their

---

<sup>57</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-23/04.

<sup>58</sup> Tinkler, 2001, p.116.

own movements.<sup>59</sup> As with international gatherings overseas, camp concerts featured aspects of each country's culture, and campers were encouraged to meet and swap memorabilia. National camps provided an environment in which theoretical international goodwill could be tested and affirmed, and campers were encouraged to extend the hand of friendship.

Camps that catered for an age range of younger Scouts and Guides through to the young adult Venturers and Rangers sometimes offered split programmes to accommodate differing age-related requirements for challenge and extension. Later camps in this period divided the two age groups completely, recognizing older teenage members' more adult needs, and wish to distance themselves from younger campers' activities – and the need to make such camps attractive to older youth members. The call for separate camps came both from Scout and Venturer leaders. Venturer leaders advocated for activities and camps that met the increasingly sophisticated 'modern' needs of their groups, arguing that without acknowledging their age, and allowing some licence because of it, these older youths would leave the movement. This issue of the movements' appeal to 'modern youth' was evident throughout the 1960s in all aspects of Scouting and Guiding, and often tied to perceived rapid social changes. From the Taranaki District in 1967 came this plaintive, and broadly representative, view: 'Life in all spheres is progressing so rapidly – education, transport, space adventure, science and even Sex – that Scouting is being left behind in its appeal to Youth'. The author drew parallels with contemporary educational changes in methods, rather than content, of teaching methods (retaining the same material), concluding that 'unless there is a more adventurous "modern youth" approach to Scouting in practice, we will lose more and more support.'<sup>60</sup> In general, this translated into providing camping programmes that challenged older boys and youths, and having hands-on leaders

---

<sup>59</sup> *Tiki Times*, 5 January 1972, p.1, ran a headline of 'International Brotherhood' detailing the overseas contingents at camp; Annual Reports of the Girl Guides Association from the 1950s note an 'Island Development Grant' that was paid from the government's annual grant to the movement, for disbursement to the Cook Islands and Western Samoa. ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Annual Reports 1952-1967.

<sup>60</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3. Annual Report, 1967, pp.31-32. Capitalisation as in original.

who had an affinity with them. The onus was upon leaders to get their groups out camping more often, and in response to the complaint that older boys were uninterested in regular camping came the response: ‘if this is so it is because your camp programmes are too dull and stereotyped and the Patrols are not allowed to create their own adventures [via] the Patrol System.’<sup>61</sup> Leaders needed to equip themselves with training and new ideas in order to provide the best experience for their groups. Yet the boundaries between leaders and Venturers could become less distinct, especially when the age gap was small, and Venturers were often already in the paid workforce. Scouting standards, and respect for authority, had to be upheld. A debrief report after the combined 1985 Jamboree and Venture<sup>62</sup> at Feilding commented on a drunken leader, sexual activity and confiscated alcohol in the Venturer camp, and refuted the underlying belief by some in Scouting that this age group needed more freedom if they were to be retained in the Movement:

I believe that any Venturer who wants to drop out because sex, booze and drugs are prohibited should do just that. Any Leader who isn't prepared to accept and enforce these rules should go the same way. Unless this type of behaviour is stamped out now it will spread further through the ranks.<sup>63</sup>

The Leaders who took their Scouting Laws and practice seriously, and wanted their teenaged Scouts to do so too, were loath to share their Jamboree campsite with Venturers exhibiting the very social ills that they hoped to avert in their members. The Venturers, who were the smallest age group section within the movement, thereafter held separate Ventures. This incident in camp illustrates a range of beliefs - and some tensions between leaders - about the overall role of Scouting: whether its function was to keep boys from the malign influences of modern life within a codified moral environment, or to influence their choices within the wider social framework in which they lived.

Drinking alcohol at large camps was not sanctioned within the Guiding movement, and camp reports do not mention it.<sup>64</sup> However in Scouting, an

---

<sup>61</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3. SANZ Annual Report, 1967, pp.31-32.

<sup>62</sup> A Venture was the equivalent national camp for Venturers.

<sup>63</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3 Jamboree Records.

<sup>64</sup> Alcohol was seldom mentioned in any Guide records examined in this period. An exception was a report from a 1977 Rangers meeting, ‘marred apparently by the presence of drink’, resulting in

increasingly liberal attitude towards adult leaders sharing a beer at the end of their camp working days developed by the 1970s. The Pukekohe Jamboree in 1972 initiated a leaders' bar, although not without considerable Jamboree Police scrutiny in its planning and execution: 'To get this off the ground one had to have the skin of an elephant, the patience of Job and almost live with the Police Force to understand the Liquor Law.'<sup>65</sup> By the 1978 Jamboree in Oamaru, the 'Scouter's Club', open for two one-hour sessions in the later afternoon and evening, was very busy and 'tend[ing] towards a swill'.<sup>66</sup> This increasingly liberal approach to alcohol use at jamborees reflected what was happening outside of the movement, indicating that although some in the movement sought to retain the practices of earlier generations of Scouts and Scouters the movement was not immune to wider social influences.

### **Challenges for, and at, camp**

The weather was always a consideration at national camps, even though most of these events occurred in January, at the peak of the New Zealand summer. The first three Girl Guides' Dominion or National camps<sup>67</sup> (1930, 1957 and 1971) were all flooded out at some point, although official reports of each focused unwaveringly on positive aspects of this inconvenience. Nelson's Trafalgar Company ended up sleeping on the seats and floors of the Marton racecourse grandstand after the camp was temporarily flooded, but had an unexpected bonus from their experience:

We weren't allowed back to camp as it was still wet underfoot, so it was arranged for us all to attend the local picture theatre to see *Rock Around the Clock* starring Bill spot of bother with a few girls wanting to rock and roll and sing well after lights out.<sup>68</sup>

---

Rangers being warned that any recurrence would result in them being *escorted* home. Executive Meeting of the Girl Guide Association, Manawatu Province, Minute Book 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977, 2 June 1977 meeting.

<sup>65</sup>, ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/2, Sixth New Zealand Jamboree, Pukekohe 1972.

<sup>66</sup> Over the course of the Jamboree, leaders drank their way through 920 dozen cans of beer and 78 bottles of spirits. ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3, Jamboree Reports.

<sup>67</sup> There was also a Centennial camp held at Featherston in 1940, in line with other New Zealand centennial commemorations, but owing to the war it was a low-key event – although mercifully dry.

<sup>68</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.74.

While some parents may not have appreciated their daughters viewing a rock and roll film and their exuberant reaction to it, they did appreciate practical support and kindness from local people in drying out gear and billeting campers.<sup>69</sup> What was hard work in difficult circumstances for the camp staff sometimes became, for the campers, the source of long-remembered anecdotes about ‘how I floated out of my tent on a lilo’, and coped.<sup>70</sup>

Organisers fostered goodwill within the camp and welcomed it from campsite neighbours, and girls whose bedding and belongings were sodden were still expected to remember the 8<sup>th</sup> Guide Law: ‘A Guide is cheerful even under difficulties’.<sup>71</sup> Even flooding became a test of Guiding values and character. Current world events reported in the camp newspaper, the *Daily Arrow*, included President Nasser’s closing of the Suez Canal: this prompted the girls from Panama unit in ‘The Americas’ sub-camp to close the canal that had developed between them and surrounding units. This they achieved, with much industry and humour, in pyjamas and togs.<sup>72</sup> The same resolute attitude was expected from Scouts. A report from Halberg sub-camp at the 1972 Jamboree noted that ‘Morale is still higher than water or mud level, which means it’s quite high.’<sup>73</sup> For boys, it was almost taken for granted that mud was a welcome addition to jamboree environments, and where Scouts were quoted in camp newspapers they displayed their Scouting character through cheerful resilience: when a Scouter asked a wet and muddy Australian Scout ‘what he would do if it continued raining. Came the

---

<sup>69</sup> Dawber, 2008, p.95.

<sup>70</sup> A ‘lilo’ is an inflatable air mattress. Quote from Iles, 1976, p.55. For authors of group or local histories, camping material and recollections are readily recalled: Dorothy West, who compiled a Northland Guiding history wrote that ‘More than fifty percent of the replies to my request for Guiding memories related to camping...There is no doubt in my mind that it is the single most popular part of the programme for both leaders and girls. Dorothy West (comp.), *The Story of Guiding in Northland: Celebrating Thirty-Five Years as a Province*, Whangarei: Girl Guide Association, Northland, 1995, p.10.

<sup>71</sup> This version is taken from the 1970 GGANZ’s *A Handbook for Guides*. The original wording was ‘A Guide sings and smiles under all difficulties.’

<sup>72</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-23/04. ‘Togs’ is a New Zealand colloquialism for bathing costumes.

<sup>73</sup> *Tiki Times*, 5 January 1972, p.4.

cheery reply: “Same things, I suppose, but it’ll be more fun.”<sup>74</sup> To some extent, the scale of large camps did not allow for campers who were less than resolute in their responses to unforeseen weather events, and pre-camp 1<sup>st</sup> Class and 2<sup>nd</sup> Class badge testing filtered aspiring Jamboree campers. This provided Scouts and Guides with incentives to complete these qualifications to meet national camp eligibility requirements, but it also met the national associations’ goals of having skilled, resourceful, qualified members. The jaunty campfire song written for the 1962 Waiora Jamboree included the verse ‘We’re the Scouts who had to be, First class for the Jamboree [clap], Now we sing out loud with glee, [clap] Waiora [clap] Jamboree’.<sup>75</sup> Reports after the event conveyed differing opinions about the quality of Scout campers, even though all had achieved the required standard. Although one writer referred to some Scouts attaining their 1<sup>st</sup> Class ‘almost on a pressure cooker system’, he suggested that as a means to an end, it was still preferable to the boys not otherwise reaching this [desirable] goal. Sub-camp leaders also commented on the range of abilities and character shown by the Scouts - from slackers through to ‘first class’ 1<sup>st</sup> Class scouts - and the extent to which the boys had developed and demonstrated their understanding of Scouting’s deeper values. One leader opined that ‘as far as the mechanics of Scouting these Scouts may have passed the tests but many boys did not live up to the Law and Promise’, while another wrote:

We had a sample of “Troops” in our sub-camp ranging from well-organised, well-prepared, well led boys to the rabble type who had little idea of what a Jamboree was, of what 1<sup>st</sup> Class means in Scouting. Fortunately the good troops outnumbered the weak ones.<sup>76</sup>

In every case, the senior Scouters writing these reports noted that the quality of the Scouter in charge of smaller groups had a direct bearing on the quality of his Scouts. Cohesion, discipline and hygiene were all mentioned as important elements of well-run smaller groups within sub-camps, but the overall emphasis was on the value of the boys’ Jamboree experience. Scouters shouldered the dual

---

<sup>74</sup> *Tiki Times*, 5 January 1972, p.3.

<sup>75</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/1, 1962 Waiora Jamboree, Jamboree Reports, 1939-1966.

<sup>76</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/1, 1962 Waiora Jamboree, Jamboree Reports, 1939-1966.

responsibility for ensuring that their charges had a fulfilling and happy Jamboree; and also meeting senior Scouters' expectations in terms of their personal character, interactions with boys and overall Scouting capability. Scouters at the Waiora Jamboree were mostly deemed to be 'the better class of Scouter...good, genuine types, interested in the welfare of the boy', while those who deviated from the ideal of Jamboree leadership also stood out:

...It was very noticeable that good Scouters moulded their boys into good troops and that inexperienced or slap happy Scouters experienced many difficulties, and failed to make the Jamboree a fully satisfactory adventure for their boys.<sup>77</sup>

For Scouting's and Guiding's national administrations, preparedness for such large and complex events included having enough experienced, willing and capable youth-oriented leaders to successfully accomplish camp objectives. Not only must large camps run smoothly and provide thousands of campers with challenges, fun and well-being in equal measure, but the hands-on leaders had to maintain their authority, equanimity and sense of humour throughout. They were, ideally, models of Scouting and Guiding citizenship for the movements' young members - working cheerfully, in whatever the camp's circumstances threw up, for the good of the whole. In order to achieve this, the movements argued, Scouters and Guiders needed thorough and on-going training as camp leaders.

### **Training for Camp leaders**

New Zealand's first camping and woodcraft advisors and trainers had received their formal training at English residential courses at Gilwell Park and Foxlease, the rural 'spiritual homes' of Scouting and Guiding respectively. They then brought their expertise home to seed the development of a trained leadership stratum. For the Guides, Mona Burgin became a fervent advocate for the joys and worth of camping in the Guiding programme. As a keen camper herself she understood how much Guides valued a good camping experience, and the importance of providing it. She was able to bridge the gap between hands-on

---

<sup>77</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/1, 1962 Waiora Jamboree, Jamboree Reports, 1939-1966.

Guiders and Commissioners or national administrators with her experience of both, and her personal mana in the movement. At a national Commissioners' Conference in 1945, Miss Burgin took the listeners on a virtual tour of a Guide camp from its establishment to dismantlement:

...The Guides arrive at the campsite with their luggage piled on a lorry; the field is empty, it is theirs to make into a home for a week. It is a marvellous training in citizenship. They have a barefield, trees and perhaps a river – nothing that man has made. By their own efforts they turn it into a home. It is the Guides themselves who do it. They have been trained and they know what to do.<sup>78</sup>

Her tour continued with the sense of harmonious order and community developed over the week in this natural environment, and the 'tremendous thrill' Guides felt when putting into practice the things they had learned in weekly meetings during the year. Expressing her regret that more Guides could not camp due to the scarcity of trained Guiders, she tasked the Commissioners with selecting and supporting suitable Guiders:

...when you choose a new Guider would you look at her and say this: "Guiding is an outdoor movement. Can I visualize this new Guider out on the hills with her Guides? If I cannot...have I any right to choose her to be a leader in an outdoor movement?" Next...help [your Guiders] not to feel that camping is something only some people do...help them to feel that if they do not camp their Guiding is incomplete; that it is an essential part of Guiding...<sup>79</sup>

The objective was to have more Guides camping; and the means, to develop new ways of providing trained camp leaders. Reorganizing Camping Advisers' training, and their subsequent ability to train other Guiders in the movement's preferred practices, reinvigorated Guides camping in the immediate post-war period. However this entailed a considerable commitment by both Camp Advisers and trainers, and those whom they trained. Prospective camp leaders served an apprenticeship of sorts, taking on increasing levels of responsibility as their camping and people management skills developed in small camp environments. Eagle-eyed Camp Advisers reported on their abilities to cope with everything from adverse weather conditions and earthquakes to suspected measles cases and the siting of latrines. A 1958 Havelock North Guide camp report remarked upon its

---

<sup>78</sup> *Te Rama*, August 1945, ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-31.

<sup>79</sup> *Te Rama*, August 1945, ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-31.

hygiene and food standards: 'Grease pit working well although rather a long way from kitchen. Square tent for stoves and a good hanging larder. Milk stood in creek and kept very well.' The Camp Adviser's overall impression was of 'a very happy camp...working very well together...'<sup>80</sup> Other Guiders were not so judged so favourably: the Ariki Guide Company's Henderson camp in 1946 was deemed to have 'too much gear and [to be] too comfortable for a Guide camp.'<sup>81</sup> Resourcefulness and adaptability, fundamental values of Scout and Guide camping, were not developed by providing campers with too many luxuries, and the Guider in charge of this camp would be left in no doubt about the Camp Adviser's opinion.

Along with practical experience came theoretical coursework covering every aspect of planning for, and executing, successful and happy camps. Administrative procedures made up much of the correspondence work, but other important aspects included how to get the best from campers of varying temperaments and experience, and practical on-site considerations: those sitting the Quartermasters Test Paper might well be asked how rusty dixies (large cooking pots) could be cleaned, or what dishes could be concocted with scraps of cold meat, rice, vegetables, bread and dairy products.<sup>82</sup> Completion of coursework, and the requisite number of camps, qualified developing camp leaders for residential courses to complete their training.

Residential courses for Scouters and Guiders were demanding of both trainers and applicants. Standards were high and there were no guarantees that

---

<sup>80</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-18/1, Camp Advisers Report Book.

<sup>81</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-18/1, Camp Advisers Report Book.

<sup>82</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-14/09, Camp Advisers Conference Minutes Book. Judging sufficient quantities of food to last for the camp's duration was part skill, part guesswork: unexpected Scouting or Guiding visitors to camps stretched resources and ingenuity. 'Chil', Susanna Hoggard, assisted at Cubmaster training camps with 'Akela' Nancy Wilson, where 'huge Rovers and such like turned up, with nothing but thumb sticks and huge appetites...', when remaining stores had to be eked out to cover extra guests. Wilson, p.18.

those attending would be passed.<sup>83</sup> For those who had imposed upon the goodwill of their employers and families, and organised their work commitments and domestic affairs to accommodate their absence it was a daunting prospect to face rejection and another later attempt. One Scouter, reflecting on his Wood Badge course on its last night, ‘thought of the time I had sacrificed to Scouting, of my wife, with the none too easy task back home, running the farm as well as looking after two pre-school children, and all the other difficulties I had overcome just to attend the course. The thought of failure precipitated even darker thoughts.’<sup>84</sup> For women, it was often harder to make space to leave families and commitments in order to meet the training commitments of Scouting or Guiding leadership. Increasingly in the post-war baby-boom era hands-on Guiders were wives and mothers, and this brought new challenges for the movement as they negotiated the timing and duration of training courses and camps. A Camp Advisers’ conference in 1951 recommended that ‘action be taken’ about Guiders taking their small children on Guide camps, as it interfered with the camping ethos, and in 1953 ‘encouraged [Guiders] to make other arrangements for their children’. Where this was not possible, then a Ranger could supervise the children ‘and keep them apart from the main camp as much as possible’.<sup>85</sup> Some Guiders had nonetheless quietly organised camps that included childcare for their babies and toddlers, as in the case of Phyllis Santon, later a Bay of Plenty Provincial Commissioner. By combining the testing for two on-site Rangers’ Child Care requirements with a ten day Guide camp Mrs Santon was able to meet both her parental and Guiding commitments.<sup>86</sup> Undoubtedly she also modelled for the girls excellent time-management and multi-tasking skills.

It was expected that, whilst in camp, Guiders would focus on the campers rather than their own families. More Guiders sought camp training and testing

---

<sup>83</sup> Jim Hudson, as Director of Training at Tatum Park in the 1950s, held ‘enormously high standards for Scouting’, and especially for courses under his supervision – ‘it was almost as if he was the keeper of the Grail so protective was he of Wood Badge standards.’ Howarth, p.76.

<sup>84</sup>Howarth, pp.186-187. This Scouter passed at his first attempt and at the time of printing was still a warranted Scout leader 32 years later.

<sup>85</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, 88-130-19/04

<sup>86</sup> Santon and Reid, p.36.

near their homes but the official response at this time, when national leaders were single women, was that larger groups were logistically easier and that Guiding women benefited from travelling to other parts of the country. By the late 1950s the Girl Guides Association was noting a definite increase in numbers of married Guiders, and by 1959 the Chief Commissioner's annual report noted that they constituted almost two thirds of all Guiders. Noting the shift occurring in the balance of unmarried to married women in the movement, and its implications for Guide camping, Miss Herrick wrote:

This is an encouraging sign as it is realised that some of them are ex-Guides, now grown-up with families of their own who are willing to give up the time because they want to hand on to the next generation the fun and pleasure they had in their guide days. The particular problems of married Guiders should receive sympathetic consideration, especially in providing camping for their companies in cases where mothers of families are unable to get away to take their own Guides to camp.<sup>87</sup>

This softening of a once-firmly held official position allowed many women to take small children on their patrol camps, and by 1965 Bay of Plenty Guiders took toddlers with them to a Provincial Camp for the first time.<sup>88</sup>

Married Guiders sometimes also wanted, or needed, to take their husbands on Guide camps and official attitudes to this too changed over time. In the 1950s, this was still a vexed issue for policy makers intent upon preserving the ethos, security and integrity of all-female camps. Those seeking to circumvent this required official permission. Over time, the movement pragmatically came to recognize that committed volunteer leaders were worth accommodating, especially in a period of unprecedented growth and demand. Tolerance of this unorthodox arrangement was then encouraged – within limits. Husbands could attend their wives' camps where necessary, but were not allowed to act as camp staff and should have an independent camp nearby. As compromises went, this was imperfect from all sides: the Girl Guide Association took camping seriously and preferred the undivided attention of camp leaders, in an all-female camping environment; and spouses could have no meaningful interactions for the life of the

---

<sup>87</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Annual Reports,.

<sup>88</sup> Santon and Reid, p.39.

camp.<sup>89</sup> However, by 1970 the demand for adult leaders at the upcoming Rangatahi National Camp was such that ‘camping qualifications are not necessary, and husbands also welcome!’<sup>90</sup>

While the Guiding movement gradually accommodated - within limits - the occasional presence of men in camps by the end of this period, women had been attending Scout Jamborees for some time. Many Lady Cubmasters volunteered as Jamboree staff, although their own packs were too young to attend. While they were adult leaders in camp, they sometimes felt sidelined or undervalued in what was a strongly male gendered environment. The Publicity Director for the 1972 Pukekohe Jamboree submitted his post-camp report, noting that his editorial staff had commented on long hours worked and ‘little time off to enjoy what is supposed to be their holidays’, qualifying this by adding that

it must be appreciated that approximately 70% of the personal (sic) in my branch consisted of women. All of whom were tremendous workers but subject to a wide range of emotional problems.<sup>91</sup>

He singled out three of his staff for particular commendation during the Jamboree – none of them women. While his opinion may have been a singular response, the feedback of women volunteers was not. The Ladies Sub-Camp leader at the 1978 Oamaru Asia-Pacific Jamboree reiterated ‘working holiday’ concerns, noting that although they were willing volunteers and shared the work, better job allocation would have helped. She also considered that the sub-camp was too far away from the rest of the Jamboree, and that being closer to the boys would have been preferable as women volunteers could provide them with maternal care and first aid. She concluded:

If you want responsible women to work at the Jamboree then more consideration should be given to requirements for these ladies at the beginning. There were times when we had the feeling “out of sight out of mind” or ‘if you ignore it long enough it will go away’.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> ATL # 88-130-19/04, GGANZ records, Camp Advisers conference.

<sup>90</sup> Minutes, Executive Meeting of the Girl Guide Association Manawatu Province – Minute book: 7 August 1968 – 6 October 1977. Manawatu Girl Guides Records.

<sup>91</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/3, Jamboree Reports.

<sup>92</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #2000-093-03/2, , Jamboree Reports.



**Figure 25: Lady Cubmasters march past at the 1959 Pan-Pacific Jamboree, Auckland**

A long line of crisply turned out leaders parade past the dignitaries at the jamboree. Although Scout jamborees were an undoubtedly male environment, many uniformed women leaders volunteered as part of the large adult workforce needed to run large camps. Those who felt that their work was undervalued, and that they were kept at the periphery of such events, increasingly voiced their grievances in post-camp de-brief reports by the 1970s.

Image: Courtesy of Scouts New Zealand.

At a time when women's movements in New Zealand were stepping up campaigns for equal opportunities and pay, these women clearly felt that they were being marginalised as Jamboree workers in a male-dominated environment – and were, perhaps, less inclined than previously to remain so. For both movements, retaining their single-gender ethos was clearly important, within the camp environment and as a general principle. Accommodations were often expedient at local level, but policymakers were inclined to guard the gendered nature of their movements against encroachments.

Compromises in the length and frequency of camps were also evident. While pre-war and early post-war camps were ideally at least a week in duration, by 1962 the Girl Guides' Camping Branch reported a 'new trend...away from the

Company standing camp to the Company or Patrol weekend'. This was attributed in part to the predominance of married Guiders, and their unwillingness or inability to commit to longer camps. As the movement's aim was by then to 'get every Guide to camp for at least one night in her Guide life' (itself a considerable compromise on the regular camping in nature ideal espoused by Baden-Powell), it was deemed 'a pity if the only camps are short rather hectic weekends spent on close-to-home campsites.' The compromised solution 'to counter this trend and to give the added experience of staying and enjoying the campsite for a longer period [was to suggest] that a larger Provincial camp be held every four or five years.'<sup>93</sup> Faced with unparalleled numbers of girls wishing to join the movement, adult volunteers with less time to commit and the retirement of older unmarried women from Camping Adviser positions, national administrators worked to provide camping experiences that still adhered to the underlying principles of Girl Guide camping, albeit in a different form.

Different groups within Scouting and Guiding sometimes had different camping priorities, and the resulting tension required negotiation and goodwill to achieve workable compromises. Trainers and Camp Advisers, who had themselves met demanding standards for their roles, often held fast to camping rules and principles and were initially less willing to deviate from the ideal of small group week-long camping. People who excelled in training others usually had an eye for detail and were sticklers for established regulations. However it was also important that they conveyed the spirit and joy of camping to both camp leaders under training and the young campers for whom they were working. The training arm of the Guiding movement had developed to ensure good standard practice throughout the country, and defended itself against those who jibbed at its perceived rigidity. There was also some concern amongst the adult ranks that the voluntary ethos of Guiding was under threat of being subsumed by standardized procedures: a 1949 Dominion Training Committee debated whether 'there was a danger of the Movement becoming too professional, and people refusing to join

---

<sup>93</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Annual Report, 1962.

because Guiding was no longer fun.<sup>94</sup> Unsurprisingly, the committee's members rejected any questioning of the continuing need for a training section. This decision reflected their own attitudes towards raising standards for adult leaders, but also perhaps reflected their status within the movement and the commitment they had invested in attaining it. Report books indicate that some Camp Advisers were hard taskmasters whose praise was not easily earned, while others were more encouraging of developing camp leaders.<sup>95</sup> Jocelyn MacKay, a Nelson Provincial Camp Adviser, took care over her written assessments, which were 'beautifully written and very positive'.<sup>96</sup> Awareness of a tendency to become unbending where rules were concerned was evident in the incoming Commissioner for Camping's address to Camp Advisers at their 1951 conference, where she asked them to remember two things: 'first, that we represent the children and must keep a good sense of proportion in all our discussions; secondly, that the Camp Advisers should not only think of local problems but must look at everything from the point of view of the whole Dominion.'<sup>97</sup> 'More girls camping more often' was the overall aim, and training Guiders in camping skills the means to achieve it. Miss Absolom, like her predecessor Miss Burgin, retained her personal enjoyment of camping's simple pleasures and advocated for Guides' rights to enjoy them too:

Let us train our Guides to stand firmly on their own, let them find things out for themselves. Don't frighten them off with too much efficiency, or hem them in with too much fussiness. Let us stick to our Camping Rules by all means, this is only common sense, but let us have fun and adventure as our watchwords for this season's camping.<sup>98</sup>

There are clear echoes of Baden-Powell's own attitude towards camping - and towards the unfortunate tendency towards red tape amongst otherwise well-intentioned leaders - in such diplomatic but firm reminders.

---

<sup>94</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-14/09, Camp Advisers Conference Minutes Book.

<sup>95</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-18/1, Camp Advisers report book.

<sup>96</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.75.

<sup>97</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-14/09, Camp Advisers Conference Minutes Book.

<sup>98</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-07/3, Annual Report, 1954, p.32.

The Scouts also appreciated the importance of fun as a conduit to further learning and development in Scoutcraft. Recognizing the importance of smaller camps, as well as major jamboree events, they provided incentives for patrols to excel at camping practice. The Scouts Association instituted a Dominion Patrol Camping Event in 1962, invoking Baden-Powell's belief that every time he had camped he had learned something as a rationale: 'it is our aim and objective at this forthcoming event to encourage more and more Boy Scouts to learn the joys of Camping by way of the distinguishing feature of Scouting, the Patrol System.' The competition had local, regional and national levels, with regional winners earning a trip to Tatum Park, the national Scouting training facility. Scouters were advised that 'all these three camping events must first of all be fun, for how else can Camping remain our key activity, and our main method of acquiring the skills of Scoutcraft, which civilisation somehow helps us to forget.'<sup>99</sup> Within this quote lie the fundamentals of Scout camping: that it be fun for the campers; that it be instructive in wider Scouting skills and values, especially in Woodcraft; and that it be a natural corrective to the implied negative aspects of modern life.

### **Camping within provinces – building character and campsites**

National camps and jamborees had a special role in Scouting and Guiding, but they were exceptional in scale and expectations. The intensive planning and expense involved limited their frequency and even amongst Guiding Camp Advisers there was some ambivalence about the worth of national camps. Conference papers from 1963 mention 'very mixed feelings' about the level of logistical planning and work involved: 'A number of Guiders were known to have left the Movement after previous large camps and a number felt the children had not gained as much as was hoped from being about in great numbers.'<sup>100</sup> Small

---

<sup>99</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-241-6/3, Annual Report, 1962.

<sup>100</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-19/04, Camp Advisers Conference. The sustained effort involved in planning for and running these camps resulted in 'burn-out' for other youth organisations' officers too – the Boys' Brigade held their Silver Jubilee camp in Summer 1950/1951, after which 'many senior officers...quietly retired from active involvement'. William T. Garlick, and Malvern E. Lloyd (comp.), *Guyrope Gossip. The story of Boys' Brigade Camping in Canterbury 1936-2004*, Christchurch, 2004, p.12.

camps, in contrast, offered a more intimate environment and the ability to work together on skills and activities. Such 'bread and butter' local camping was the basis for all other related events, and provinces or districts met the challenge of maintaining camping standards and numbers in different ways. In the immediate post-war period, camping was hampered by recurrent outbreaks of poliomyelitis, and other prevalent childhood diseases. Camp leaders could be called upon to deal with, in addition to the usual scrapes and bruises, suspected outbreaks of measles or Spanish 'flu. When a Nelson Guide camper's sister was diagnosed with diphtheria and the Guide sent home, her fellow campers recalled being 'lined up along the back fence gargling with Condy's Crystals' as a preventative.<sup>101</sup> Yet most camp reports document the participants' good health and appetites, and considerable amounts of healthy exercise in the form of hiking, swimming and 'wide games'.<sup>102</sup> Initiates to camping who looked in danger of succumbing to homesickness were to be kept busy, kept an eye on and sent to bed early if necessary, in order to benefit from the restorative value of a good sleep. Judging the optimal amount and types of camp activities was a key component of running a successful camp: too little and the campers were bored and failed to gain practical woodcraft knowledge; too much and some were inclined to resent what they considered hard work. Either way, disharmony disrupted the smooth running of a camp, and made it difficult to impart either appropriate character-building experiences or a genuine love of camping. It was not an easy balance for camp leaders to achieve: a 1958 Guides camp at Pauatahanui was considered generally well-run by the Camp Adviser, but she noted that the Guides 'would have been much happier if organized activities had been arranged'; while another at Akatarawa in 1955-1956, where the Guider was teaching the girls to make taniko (woven Maori panels using prepared flax), resulted in that Camp Adviser's opinion that she 'always had the feeling Guides are over organized.'<sup>103</sup> This awareness of the middle ground between idleness and heavily timetabled activities contrasts

---

<sup>101</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.58.

<sup>102</sup> Wide games were a feature of outdoor activities for Scout troops and Guide companies, encompassing a combination of tracking, observation and cross-country running or hiking in pursuit of a target or treasure.

<sup>103</sup> Both excerpts from Camp Advisers Report Book. ATL GGANZ records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-18/1.

with the ‘careful scheduling and incessant busyness’ reported by David Macleod of early American Scout camps and Kristine Alexander of early English Guide camps, although it may also reflect an evolution in camp programming.<sup>104</sup>

Scout camping documents and manuals tended to focus on the importance of discipline within the troop as the foundation for good camping. Experienced Scouters noted that self-disciplined Scouts, who had developed good habits and respect for the Scouter throughout the year, needed little active control when on camp. In *Scouting for Boys* Baden-Powell wrote that ‘there is no room for the shirker or the grouser – well there is no room for them in the Boy Scouts at all, but least of all in camp.’ Everyone, he continued, had a responsibility to help cheerfully for the benefit of all: ‘in this way comradeship grows’.<sup>105</sup> Within the confines of a small camp, those who declined to become fully involved in camp life through physical laziness or bad attitudes were particularly obvious. A 1955-56 Wellington Guides camp scheduled for eleven days struck camp after seven due to rain and the ‘non-cooperation and [non]-obedience of [the] Guides’. The attendant Camp Adviser reported that the ‘general atmosphere was not a happy one [and] the Guides, especially the older ones, did not pull their weight.’<sup>106</sup> But for those who cooperated and gained a sense of camaraderie within camp, the experiences stayed with them long after. This may have been allied to a particular association or recollection, as with the Bay of Plenty Guides who clustered around a radio in their pyjamas and blankets to listen to the wedding of Princess Margaret in 1960; projects undertaken and ingenious ‘gadgets’ built; or testing weather conditions, which were frequently recalled by campers throughout the country and the movements’ history. This sense of collective identity - and strength in numbers - was evident in the Guides camping at Waikanae in 1957 who, faced with teenage boy intruders on their way home from a hunting trip (some carrying air guns and knives), chased them from their campsite. One unfortunate youth was caught and

---

<sup>104</sup> David Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: the Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their forerunners, 1870-1920*, Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1983, p.247, cited in Kristine Alexander, ‘Similarity and Difference at Girl Guide Camps in England, Canada and India’, Block, and Proctor (eds.), 2009, pp.106-120.

<sup>105</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys. 29<sup>th</sup> ed*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1955, p.115.

<sup>106</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-18/1.

tied to a tree, a strong warning to he and his peers that their attention was unwanted and would not be tolerated.<sup>107</sup> In echoes of earlier pranking or harassment of Scouts and Guides, the Cavell Company Guides, camping at Whangaparaoa in 1966, had their tents let down three nights running, the nuisance value being exacerbated by wet weather.<sup>108</sup> ‘Hooligans’ were occasionally a problem at Guide camps, but not usually a serious one, with ‘firm handling from the Guider and no encouragement from the Guides’ as the best deterrent.<sup>109</sup>

Uninvited guests and inclement weather notwithstanding many, if not most, campers enjoyed the camping environment and time away from home, school and everyday lives. For some, the challenges of floods and unfamiliar, sometimes dubious, food specifically featured in their reasons for their enjoyment, and such challenges were sometimes scheduled as character-building exercises: Scouter Roy Hopkins (‘Ruru’), of New Plymouth’s Fitzroy troop, who led camps for over thirty years, included in the permission slips sent home with Scouts an invitation to name boys’ unliked foods – which became the basis for the camp menu.<sup>110</sup> Scout and Guide movement rhetoric about character development through overcoming obstacles found a practical application in this environment. This is exemplified in a Southland Guide’s poem written after a camping trip to Stewart Island:

Have you ever been a-sailing  
When the sea is rather high,  
And the ship is thrown from side to side,  
Then right up to the sky?

Have you ever tasted bacon  
That is shrivelled up and burnt,  
And scrambled eggs, all curdled  
Spite of what the cooks have learnt?

Have you ever watched a new Guide  
Stepping nimbly on her toes,  
When suddenly, ‘Oh help me!’

---

<sup>107</sup> As a postscript, the Guides summoned the Police, who warned the boys but took no further action. This incident was reported, with some evident enjoyment, in the Baden-Powell Centennial Camp (being held at the same time) newspaper the following day. ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-23/04.

<sup>108</sup> Landels, 1996, p.22.

<sup>109</sup> ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, #88-130-19/04, Camp Advisers conference.

<sup>110</sup> Bellini, p.188.

As she down the grease-pit goes?

Have you ever been awakened  
When you're just on dreamland bent,  
And realised the noisy wind  
Is blowing down your tent?

If you haven't tasted joys like these,  
The place for you is camp.  
We know you will enjoy it all  
Ev'n when the weather's damp.<sup>111</sup>

Sharing camping experiences, even under less than ideal conditions, served to bond groups of Scouts or Guides at the same time as individual physical skills were being developed or honed. Camping is one of the most frequently mentioned aspects of Scouting and Guiding in written recollections and conversations, for both adult and young members, in New Zealand and elsewhere.<sup>112</sup>

Adult leaders volunteered their time to take their groups camping, but most reports seem to indicate that they largely enjoyed the camp environment, despite having to be in control at all times. Parents provided practical support by transporting groups and becoming camp quartermasters, and for some this was the beginning of their own Scouting and Guiding that lasted well beyond their own children's membership. The extent to which leaders valued the positive feedback they received from parents is shown in this letter, received (and kept) by a Nelson Camp Adviser and Guider in 1957:

I do want to add a special thank you from a grateful mother. With your special work you are giving the girls in the province a chance of learning interesting and fascinating guide work to occupy minds that might have been left to silly thoughts. Please don't regret giving up some holidays to such good work, even if you feel the girls are not as serious and responsible as might be for their age. They will never regret what they learnt as guides and the happy time in camp.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> Christine L. Cumming, *Forty years of guiding in Southland*, Invercargill: Craig Printing, 1965, pp. 32-33.

<sup>112</sup> David McGill's evocation of New Zealand baby-boomer childhoods included this quote: 'Camps were the big thing in Scouts. There was cooking, endless games and tramping and exploration. The promise to the Queen, flag parade and church parade you took as paying the rent for all you got from camp.' p.66. For an Australian perspective, see Julia Messner, "Good upright young citizens"? Lived experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia', M.A. thesis, University of Technology, Sydney, 2004, p.62.

<sup>113</sup> Dawber 2002, p.75.

Camp filled many functions – it was a place where New Zealand Scouts and Guides could have fun; learn practical skills; have some respite from the perceived demands and temptations of being a modern teenager in their everyday lives; consolidate the values of Scouting and Guiding; take part in camping rituals and campfires; and gather memories. It was a curious mix of the ideological, practical, physical and romantic, and with the right leader - one who also felt that imagination mattered as much as latrine duties - it could be a powerful experience.

### **The lure of the camp fire**

It is fitting to conclude this chapter with some discussion, or evocation, of the campfire. Jay Mechling, both an academic and American Eagle Scout, wrote of ‘The Magic of the Boy Scout Campfire’, in which he detailed the folkloric aspects of one troop’s camp fire experiences.<sup>114</sup> Each aspect, from gathering and lighting the fire, irreverent songs and skits through to the more formal and spiritual closing rituals where Scouts were reminded of their Scout Promise and Laws, had its appeal and purpose. Mechling sees the intentional siting of the camp fire, away from the everyday camp, as ‘almost sacred space’, and certainly this collective experience around the fire served to bond those present, who were both audience and participants.<sup>115</sup> Experienced camp fire leaders have written books solely about the role of the campfire in Scouting and Guiding: books that provide camp fire leaders with a range of ‘yells’, games, Scouts Own, funny and solemn songs, skits and yarns to entertain, but also to gather as a group and participate in shared rituals and traditions.<sup>116</sup> Rex Hazlewood and John Thurman, both British camp fire leaders, wrote in 1950 that the camp fire’s purpose in Scouting related to its citizenship training value:

---

<sup>114</sup> Jay Mechling, ‘The Magic of the Boy Scout Campfire’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, v.93, n.367 (January- March 1980), pp.35-56.

<sup>115</sup> Mechling, 1980, p.51.

<sup>116</sup> See, for example, John Thurman and Rex Hazlewood (eds.), *The Gilwell Camp fire Book. Songs and Yells from Fifty Years of Scouting*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1957; Thurman and Hazlewood (eds.), *The Camp Fire Leader’s Book*, London: The Boy Scouts Association, 1950; and a later New Zealand effort, *All About Camp Fires, incorporating “Sing a Scouting Song”*. *Little Scout Book No.5*, Wellington: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1988.

...Not citizenship in the narrow conception of civics, council meetings, sewage treatment and other delightful pursuits, but an education and an experience in the art of how to enjoy life. Perhaps most of all, training in the art of learning to entertain ourselves rather than coming, as so many people are today, to rely exclusively on the hand-out graciously bestowed by the film industry and the broadcasting companies.<sup>117</sup>

This reference to the campfire as a simple and active form of traditional gathering, in comparison with passive ‘modern’ entertainments, was part of a wider discussion within – and outside of – Scouting and Guiding. The movements championed wholesomeness, especially when combined with a natural setting, as increasingly important for young people.

The Scout camp fire was undoubtedly an invented tradition, devised by Baden-Powell at the first Brownsea Island camp in 1907 (although related to his army scouting), but its longevity as a special part of the camp experience owed much to its enduring appeal to both young and adult campers. Every group history details memorable camp fires, with campers wrapped in blankets around well-constructed fires, listening to tall tales and singing old songs.<sup>118</sup> Geoff Bennett, a Taranaki Scouter, recalled a District Camp in the 1950s where:

[t]he highlight of the weekend was a truly grand campfire, a terrific sing-along that was topped off by an amazing “Dance of the seven army campfire blankets”, performed by the Group Scoutmaster for Welbourn, Eddie Collins.<sup>119</sup>

The authority vested in uniformed leaders could be temporarily set aside at such times and a mutually agreed licence given to fool around, in an understanding that participants at such events were somehow collectively bonded by the experience. Camp fires in this sense were combinations of organised entertainment, licence to set aside formality, ritual and tradition in their form and format, and evocations of what it meant to be a member of the Scouting or Guiding movement.

---

<sup>117</sup> Hazlewood and Thurman, 1950, p.10.

<sup>118</sup> Songbooks for different levels of boys and girls within the movements abound in the literature. Most in the author’s collection are well-thumbed and many have annotations of variations in words, or suggestions of how to adapt lyrics for particular circumstances or events. They read as a fascinating archaeology of both popular music over the life of Scouting and Guiding, and of the focus of the movements in terms of moral or spiritual values and entertainment value for young campers.

<sup>119</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.211.

Although many aspects of the movements' programmes adapted over time (including formats of the camps themselves), camp fires have remained an important aspect of the camping experience. While some fires were smaller, some leaders less imaginative and some camp fire programmes less inspired than others, their capacity to delight and engage has endured, as the visual image provided by Joan Lees' floating camp fires 'on the estuary side of the Kina Peninsula at high tide' at a Ruby Bay camp illustrates:

DCC Alison Lewis: 'It was a perfect night... When you make a floating campfire you make a raft and you build your cob house fire on it, attach a rope to it, light it and push it out into the sea and there is the reflection of the flames in the water... I think all guides should have that in their store of memories, it is absolutely magical. I think campfire is part of the tradition of guiding, and I'm all for tradition.'<sup>120</sup>

### **Conclusion:**

Camping, in all of its diverse manifestations, and over decades, has caught the imagination of Scout and Guide campers and leaders – and provided a physical environment in which the values and programmes promulgated by the movements could be effectively tested and played out in 'nature'. Baden-Powell's personal enjoyment of the camp environment, woven through Scouting and Guiding literature, shaped the form and ideology of Scout and Guide camps. Yet forces outside of the movements also affected them over the course of decades. For adults, the time needed for training courses and long camps, combined with women's familial commitments and increasing participation in the paid workforce, limited their availability and longevity as camp leaders, in contrast with earlier generations of unmarried leaders. In addition, the increasing sophistication of larger camping experiences made camping logistics more complex. Young campers in the 1920s and 1930s had relished camping as an adventurous alternative to their everyday lives; while their post-war peers had an expanding range of leisure options available to them, in which Scout or Guide camping - and indeed Scouting and Guiding themselves – had to compete for attention. That so many group histories, where memories of previous members are recorded, mention camping as

---

<sup>120</sup> Dawber, 2002, p.108.

a major part of their Scouting and Guiding indicates its continuing appeal – despite or perhaps because of other, urban, attractions. There is much still to be unpacked in the multifarious history of Scout and Guide camping, and Allen Warren’s recent comment that ‘no history of the Scout and Guide movements will be fully convincing without examining the multiple and multi-layered experiences of adults and children as worked out in the environment of the camp’ bears consideration.<sup>121</sup> For the purposes of this study, the camp is a locus of the intersection of citizenship training and development rhetoric, and a physical and social environment in which both adults and children expressed their collective membership of their movements. It was also a formula for adventure, a modicum of character building discomfort and most of all, fun in the company of like minds. Murray Winmill was a New Plymouth Scout in the 1950s when ‘about every third weekend our patrol was either camping or hiking...At the smell of a tent or backpack we would get restless and be ready for action. Surprisingly, our parents did not seem to mind, as long as we were in Scouts.’<sup>122</sup> The freedom to roam, to test themselves as competent young New Zealanders and to become familiar with the surrounding countryside led him to consider, when looking back, that:

I am sure any boy who attended Fitzroy scouts knew how to travel over land, was loyal, trustworthy, knew companionship and how to be a team member and mostly how to survive. Most became excellent leaders in their working lives.<sup>123</sup>

This description of what camping offered and imparted to participants reflected Baden-Powell’s original ambition for Scout and Guide camping: that in the process of camping, and in its aftermath, young campers should be ‘happy, healthy and helpful citizens’.

---

<sup>121</sup> Warren, ‘Foreword’ in Block and Proctor, 2009, p.xxii.

<sup>122</sup> Bellini (ed.), p.181.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*

## CONCLUSION:

I began this thesis by saying that my own joining of Brownies had little to do with any sense of developing citizenship awareness or skills. I suspect very few children thought in those terms. When I spoke with Owen Rodgers, who joined Oamaru's St. Paul's Scout Group as a Cub in 1938, he agreed: 'You don't join Scouts to be a good citizen.' However he continued, '...It develops as you go through, especially when you become a leader.'<sup>1</sup> Owen's membership of Scouting has spanned over 70 years, as Cub, Scout, King's Scout, Scoutmaster, leadership positions in Otago and then paid positions as Field Commissioners and then in NHQ. Throughout his Scouting his awareness of, and development in, active citizenship has grown. This is consistent with studies that have shown that people who have been involved in voluntary youth organisations when young are twice as likely to be involved as adults, and three times as likely to be officers in such groups than those who were not involved in youth organisations like 4-H and Scouting.<sup>2</sup> This thesis demonstrates how the New Zealand Scouting and Guiding movements have attempted to shape their young members' perceptions about their own citizenship and encouraged them to be active members of their communities – communities at local, national and international levels. To Baden-Powell, and countless Scouting and Guiding leaders who followed him, citizenship was not just an adult destination - a tape to be breached at the end of a race towards it - but an evolutionary or developmental process where boys and girls built upon their understanding of what it meant to be active citizens.

When the Scouting and Guiding movements began, they offered something different from existing youth organisations' variations on drill and sermons, and their immediate popularity was reflected in steadily rising membership figures. Throughout the mid twentieth century the movements grew within and across state borders, crossing imperial and international boundaries while consciously fostering those transnational bonds. As with other voluntary organisations, they

---

<sup>1</sup> Conversation with Owen Rodgers, Wellington, 28 June 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Youniss, McLellan and Yates, p.622.

adapted internally to meet members' needs and reflected wider social changes while maintaining their fundamental values and programmes. Social changes included those affecting children and young people, in New Zealand as elsewhere. By Scouting's 60<sup>th</sup> jubilee in 1968 young New Zealanders had an unprecedented range of options for their leisure time and many were increasingly questioning 'traditional' values. In Scouting and Guiding, teenagers in particular were not being retained as members in the same numbers as they had previously, although the younger age groups continued to grow. The movements' concern was that young members did not stay in the movement long enough to receive the programmes' perceived full benefits, or to become adult members. By the end of the 1970s, despite uniform and programme changes to make Scouting and Guiding more appealing to 'modern' youth, many teenagers saw the movements as representing establishment values in outdated ways. Younger age groups remained at high levels for longer, but they too dropped away towards the end of the century. The balancing act of staying true to foundational values while remaining relevant to the membership has always been difficult to maintain. At times there have been expressions of bewilderment or frustration from national leaders that young people were less community-minded than previous generations and less inclined to put service first and themselves last. To some extent, this has been a perennial generational observation, but declining membership numbers in Scouting and Guiding by the 1980s also showed that the anecdotal had some basis in fact. To the public, the movements were increasingly seen as old-fashioned and conservative – at best, taken for granted as always there and at worst, worthy of derision and dismissal. Scouting's Chief Executive Commissioner Selwyn Field recognized this perception as early as 1970 and argued from an insider's perspective that:

the community generally takes Scouting for granted. It is regarded as a good thing for boys to belong to and a good thing to have in the community because it collects empty bottles and waste paper and collects for Corso and the Blind and so forth, and helps to teach young people manners and helpfulness...and keeps them off the streets. Few members of the community stop to think just how good a thing it is and to realise that Scouting is one of the nurseries – and perhaps the most important nursery – of citizenship in the community.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> ATL SANZ Records MS-Group-0325, #99-189-11/06, , Historical General, Written by Selwyn Field for inclusion in *Recreation in New Zealand Vol. I* (1971).

When this piece was written, New Zealand Scouting had just topped 50000 youth and adult members, and Guiding's membership exceeded 53500 members. The movements should have been feeling buoyant and optimistic as the wave of baby boomers carried them along with it, yet both organisations had voiced their concerns about sustaining and developing membership. By the beginning of the 1980s, when this study ends, Scouting was still at the same level and Guiding had risen to over 60000 members. This was aided by increasing adult membership that masked declines in youth membership, particularly in the older youth sections. However an overall trend of sharp and largely unchecked decline began in the 1980s, and accelerated in the 1990s and beyond. In 1990 Scouting's membership had fallen to 41007; five years later, to 30214; and by 2000 to 21165.<sup>4</sup> It is only in recent years that an upward trend is again noticeable, and it is unlikely that membership will ever reach earlier peaks.

Once again, both organisations have re-oriented themselves towards attracting and retaining young members, this time through emphasising personal development and physical adventures. The involvement of adventurer and television personality 'Bear' Grylls in British Scouting has brought Scouting to the attention of prospective members beyond their borders. Marketing has always been important to Scouting and Guiding, although its forms have changed over time. As Chris Hooper, Scouts New Zealand's Chief Executive Officer, noted in the 2010 yearly review, 'You can't change the direction of the wind, but you can adjust your sails.'<sup>5</sup> There is a strong correlation here with Baden-Powell's own approach to Scouting a century earlier: 'A fisherman does not bait his hook with food he likes. He uses food the fish likes. So with boys.' Active citizenship is still evident in the programmes, with community projects such as Scouting's cellphone collection to benefit a national children's hospital and Guiding's national bra collection project for breast cancer fundraising.<sup>6</sup> The spirit is still there, but the forms reflect

---

<sup>4</sup> Rodgers, Appendix C: Census, pp.476-477.

<sup>5</sup> [www.scouts.or.nz/about\\_us](http://www.scouts.or.nz/about_us) - Year in Review 2010, p.15, accessed 1 August 2010.

<sup>6</sup> [www.starship.org.nz/foundation/mobile-phone-appeal/scouts-lets-mobilize-campaign/](http://www.starship.org.nz/foundation/mobile-phone-appeal/scouts-lets-mobilize-campaign/) accessed 30 September 2012; [www.girlguidingnz.org.nz/about-us/news/bra-gaville-claims-world-record-1](http://www.girlguidingnz.org.nz/about-us/news/bra-gaville-claims-world-record-1) accessed 30 September 2012.

21st century life. Voluntary organisations cannot afford to rigidly adhere to every aspect of their original programmes when the societies of which they are a part change, and the life cycles of the movements in New Zealand reflect this principle. Yet, for all the changes, there are constancies too: the GirlGuiding New Zealand website prominently displays physically active girls, and states that the movement ‘enables girls and young women to develop their full potential and make a difference in the world’ – aims that attracted Cossgrove’s Girl Peace Scouts to the movement a century earlier.<sup>7</sup> For Scouting and Guiding the core value of active citizenship endures, although the active, outdoors features of contemporary programmes and associated personal development – themselves a continuation of Baden-Powell’s outdoor movements – may be more immediately apparent in marketing material. Duty as understood by earlier generations is not a feature of the modern movements, yet the imperative to participate in community service is. The rhetoric may have changed, yet the principles of active citizenship remain.

Citizenship theorists have, over time, altered their parameters for, and attention to, what constitutes citizenship. Children’s and youth citizenship have emerged, following on from constructions of citizenship for other putatively powerless sections of the population. Yet children’s citizenship is problematic. As minors, they are not enfranchised and so do not fit traditional notions of civic participation – and as a result, are not citizens? Recent studies have reappraised the ways in which young people can ‘count’ as citizens, based on the ways they choose to participate in community service and membership in voluntary organisations. This three-pronged model – being a member of a youth group that includes opportunities for decision-making and skill development; being active in their communities through their membership; and an increased likelihood that such civic engagement will continue as adults – bears a strong resemblance to the original premise formulated and refined by Baden-Powell over a century earlier. It was not a perfect model, it was initially strongly imperial in focus, and it certainly did not appeal to all children, their parents or public commentators. Yet its

---

<sup>7</sup> [www.girlguiding.org.nz](http://www.girlguiding.org.nz) accessed 30 September 2012

manifestations in Scouting and Guiding throughout the world have, through over a century of cultural adaptations, and responses to events within and outside of the movements, endured.

New Zealand Scouting and Guiding have shared many of those adaptations with the movements in other countries, and have responded to changing social conditions in New Zealand. Like all voluntary organisations, the movements have been influenced by the society in which they operate and this study has aimed to show New Zealand Scouting and Guiding not simply as stand-alone entities but within their historical contexts. State support, in terms of official endorsements and funding, boosted the movements' public profiles and financial capabilities. The introduction of generous state funding based on membership numbers in the 1950s was particularly significant for the 'baby boomer' growth period, when administrative resources were stretched thinly. Decades of this funding formula were the tangible embodiment of successive governments' backing for uniformed youth movements like Scouting and Guiding. It ended only in the mid-1980s, with the introduction of neoliberal policies and subsequent state withdrawal from supporting most voluntary groups.

This study has also chosen to consider both Scouting and Guiding within a national context, unlike other studies that focus primarily on single organisation gendered studies. Many of the external influences on the movements in New Zealand applied equally to both, and where there were differences based on gender, it reflected wider social constructions of both gender and childhood. Internally, the movements' separate administrations, leadership and programme foci also show distinctive patterns that reflect their organisational ethos – often similar, occasionally quite divergent, but with the same overall aims of 'happy, healthy and helpful' young New Zealanders. Adults, many of whom were the recipients of Scouting or Guiding programmes as children, have been central to the promulgation of the movements' values over time. Although primarily movements for children, intergenerational engagement has been a strength of both Scouting and Guiding.

Chapters in this thesis show aspects of the movements' form and function over more than fifty years, and the ways in which they worked to inculcate the principle – and habit - of active citizenship in young members. The background chapters discussed the rationale for, and establishment, of Scouting and Guiding in Britain and New Zealand. In both cases, the social and imperial contexts and physical environments proved fertile ground for this new form of youth organisation. New Zealand Scouting and Girl Peace Scouting were, from their beginnings, infused with a New Zealand flavour, but by the early 1920s had been re-gathered into the imperial, and increasingly international, model of British Scouting. While the form altered slightly, the intent remained the same, and the outdoors elements of Scouting and Guiding proved popular. Both organisations attempted to expand their outreach in terms of geographical spread and programmes that extended membership to children who were in some way isolated from joining regular groups. As New Zealand movements that had chosen to incorporate elements of Maoritanga in their programmes and displays from their beginnings, outreach into the Maori community – whether in marae-based groups or in response to post-war Maori urbanisation - was a conscious decision. Outreach also extended to involvement with their peers outside New Zealand, through attendance at international camps and membership of global Scouting and Guiding institutions.

The rationale behind the 'outdoors' element of the movements was of camp as an environment in which character could be formed, skills that had been learned in weekly meetings applied, and healthy exercise in nature undertaken. For girls, camping also provided opportunities not previously available to be physically active in all-female environments. Camping was a marketing opportunity for the movements, aimed at potential recruits attracted by this activity, and the general public whose goodwill and support were crucial. Larger camps received, and generated, good publicity for their portrayal of capable and healthy Scouts and Guides. In the case of jamborees and national camps, campers were encouraged to reach across national boundaries to welcome international

guests, as members of the Scouting and Guiding ‘families’. When New Zealand contingents travelled to such events overseas, they were farewelled by national politicians as young citizens representing the country overseas, presented themselves as New Zealanders with Maori cultural displays, and on their return were encouraged to share their new experiences and knowledge of worldwide Scouting and Guiding.

Two chapters relating to the movements’ organisational history and culture showed the ways in which Scouting and Guiding operated within New Zealand. Voluntary organisations can be shaped by, and even influence, external events and social trends: the impacts of two world wars, an economic depression and the postwar baby boom all affected the movements’ abilities to deliver their youth citizenship programme; and the movements’ community involvement responded to these events. Dramatic and unprecedented membership increases brought their own challenges, and changed the ways in which the movements could operate. Throughout all chapters, the experiences of members, whether youth members or adult leaders reflected their choices – to become members, to remain members or not, and the degree to which they ‘bought into’ the movements’ values and programmes.

### **Recommendations for further research**

As indicated in the introduction to this research, the study of children’s and youth history in New Zealand is well advanced in some areas but in its infancy in others. Children and teenagers have, by the time they become adults, interacted with various agents of the state through education, health, welfare and occasionally the courts. Research into New Zealand’s children within welfare history and education history has aided our understanding of what it was to be a child; as interesting and erudite as these studies are, there is more to say about the histories of New Zealand boyhood, girlhood and adolescence. Youth movements that seek to educate and influence their members, while still retaining the primary criteria for success - fun – invite further research in this area. Leslie Paul, writing in 1951,

argued for youth movements as the ‘most successful social revolutionaries of the lot’, but ‘because the apologetics of youth movements are callow, their arguments crude, and their practices puerile, they are dismissed or ignored by scholars.’<sup>8</sup> As academic historians, we need to continue to include the ‘insiders’ when we undertake such research; and my own interactions with Scouting and Guiding historians and archivists in the course of this work have been fruitful.

While this research has not concentrated upon oral history sources, there are opportunities to add to the body of information about children’s and teenagers’ lives in the twentieth century. There is more to be done building upon contacts made and knowledge gained in the research and writing of this thesis by exploring individual voices, whether in a gendered study, using geographical boundaries or longitudinally comparing the experiences of Scouts or Guides. Camping, as an exemplar and encapsulation of the Scouting ‘creed’, also affords the potential for further investigation. In all cases, there is the opportunity to consider New Zealand experiences in relation to those of other states both close and far away. Another consideration for further research presents itself through the prodigious literary output of the Scouting and Guiding movements. Literature for young members and adult leaders provided myriads of practical guides and handbooks. Alongside these well-thumbed booklets on the shelf sit juvenile fiction, histories of places and people and evocations, through songbooks, prayer books and periodicals, of lives of packs, troops and companies in different places and different times. Scouting and Guiding historiography is growing strongly, as the longevity and international breadth of the movements affords room for a range of research material and interests.

Robert Baden-Powell, a complex man of sometimes idiosyncratic opinions, founded movements that were both conservative and radical in their scope and vision. Over the century of their development and histories, those inside and outside of the movements have chosen to promote conservative or radical elements

---

<sup>8</sup> Leslie Paul, *Angry Young Man* (1951), cited in Block and Proctor (eds.), cover pages.

that have reflected the environments in which Scouting and Guiding occurred. Yet while the movements have grown in different ways in New Zealand and elsewhere, fundamental principles still endure. Baden-Powell's observation that it is something to BE good, but much better to DO good, encapsulated his ideal of active citizenship. He held little truck with academic theorizing, yet his ideal resonated with others. Richard Livingstone wrote in 1943 that

Citizenship is not information or intellectual interest, though these be part of it; it is conduct not theory, action not knowledge and a man may be familiar with the contents of every book on the social sciences without being a good citizen.<sup>9</sup>

The New Zealand Scouting and Guiding movements worked to instil this 'habit' of active citizenship through ideological and practical means. Organisational values and Laws encouraged them to look beyond themselves into their communities; and to consider themselves members of communities that ranged from their packs or troops, neighbourhoods and nations through to their international membership of Scouting and Guiding 'families'. The movements' programmes provided young members with ways in which they could become skilled and capable members of those communities, and encouraged them to use their skills in community service. Yet Scouting and Guiding also provided a locus for fun, with other like minds of the same age group. Baden-Powell, at the end of his own life but looking forward to a post war world, encouraged current and future Scouts and Guides to 'look wide and smile' – to see beyond the well-worn path, to be active in the world, and to do so good-naturedly, as happy, healthy and helpful citizens.

---

<sup>9</sup> Richard Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943, p.144.



## APPENDIX: TABLES

**Table 1: Total membership in movements 1930-1980**

**Table 2: New Zealand Guiding membership census 1930-1980**

**Table 3: New Zealand Scouting membership census 1930-1980**

### Notes on tables:

1. Before 1930 census data for both organisations was much less accurate; from this time onwards better administrative processes and feedback from regions was apparent.
2. An exact comparison between Scouting and Guiding is not always feasible, as they did not always use the same parameters for measuring census data.
  - a. GGANZ included recruits (those who were not yet formally enrolled) in their category figures from 1955 – before that they counted enrolled membership.
  - b. SANZ figures have included Lones and Extension members within the wider age group sections.
  - c. SANZ figures do not show lay members in their adult counts; GGANZ show Local Associations, Trefoil Guilds, Supporter Committees and Guide Service Reserves as part of their total Census, which considerably increases the total from the 1960s and particularly in the 1970s – masking the beginnings of decline in Guides and Rangers numbers by 1980.
3. The increasing strength of the movements' younger age sections (Cubs, Brownies and, at the end of the period Keas in Scouting) is worthy of note:
  - a. By 1960, in both Scouting and Guiding, these sections had overtaken Scouts and Guides respectively in numerical strength. This reflects the post-war 'baby boom' demographic, where the percentage of children in the population rose rapidly.
  - b. It also reflects a move away from Scouting and Guiding by teenagers (also a growing proportion of the population), whether because of
    - i. choosing other leisure options or
    - ii. an increasing disinclination to persevere with uniformed youth movements or
    - iii. programmes that did not keep pace with popular culture or
    - iv. insufficient or ineffective marketing by the movements to this age group.

### Sources for all tables:

Boy Scouts – Culliford, pp.91, 101, 118, 127; Rodgers, Appendix C: Census, pp.475-477.

Girl Guides – ATL GGANZ Records MS-Group-88-130, Annual Reports, #88-130-07/2; 88-130-07/3; 88-130-08/1.

**Table 1: Total membership in movements 1930-1980**

	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
<b>Boy Scouts</b>	n/a	13125	15320	19941	21959	25614	42086	44330	50331	49400	50034
<b>Girl Guides</b>	10744	10946	9377	10587	10940	18581	31412	35622	53535	56912	60694
<b>Combined total</b>	n/a	24071	24697	30528	32899	44195	73498	81182	103866	106249	110728

**Table 2: New Zealand Guiding membership census 1930-1980**

	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
<b>Commissioner</b>	76	105	92	97	127	111	216	274	406	565	569
<b>Secretaries</b>	77	102	99	101	86	95	97	148	211	227	228
<b>Guiders</b>	894	1032	851	849	995	1155	1946	2353	3601	3771	3790
<b>Cadets</b>	-	9	25	2	-	-	111	169	2	-	-
<b>Rangers</b>	500	549	159	215	203	207	271	232	2327	2745	1845
<b>Sea Rangers</b>	-	15	30	27	82	71	126	255	73	-	-
<b>Air Rangers</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	-	-
<b>Senior Guides</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	177	-	-	-
<b>Guides</b>	5878	5705	5391	6268	5334	8118	11901	12875	16978	17509	17509
<b>Brownies</b>	3359	3154	2412	2810	3905	7578	12658	25530	19298	19237	20627
<b>Lones</b>	72	198	278	176	120	450	622	562	386	456	624
<b>Extension</b>	41	86	41	42	88	233	117	144	200	355	311
<b>Local Assoc.</b>	-	-	-	-	-	563	2882	3633	3900	12144	14124
<b>Trefoil Guilds</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	465	475	352	439	785
<b>Guide Service Reserves</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	63
<b>Supporter Committees</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2044
<b>Total members</b>	10744	10946	9377	10587	10940	18581	31412	35622	53535	56912	60694

**Table 3: New Zealand Scouting membership census 1930-1980**

	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
<b>Commissioners</b>			72	104	168	187	334	320	364	405	392
<b>Leaders</b>			1062	1504	1837	1955	4077	4985	6135	6451	6636
<b>Rovers</b>			354	374	483	343	314	235	169	275	418
<b>Snr. Scouts/ Venturers</b>					567	1190	1852	2138	2320	2341	2371
<b>Scouts</b>			8329	10172	8676	10236	17084	16702	18918	18140	15697
<b>Cubs</b>			5503	7787	10228	11703	18425	19950	22425	21788	23570
<b>Keas</b>											950
<b>Total Members</b>		13125	15320	19941	21959	25614	42086	44330	50331	49400	50034

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **PRIMARY:**

#### **Archives and Digital Collections:**

Alexander Turnbull Library:

Girl Guides Association of New Zealand Records  
– MS-Group-88-130

Scout Association of New Zealand records – MS-Group-0325

Hutt County Council Records – MS-Group-0054

*Te Ao Hou* periodicals, digital collection

[www.natlib.govt.nz/items?il%5Bprimary\\_collection%5D=Te+Ao+Hou](http://www.natlib.govt.nz/items?il%5Bprimary_collection%5D=Te+Ao+Hou)

Images:

1/2-163014-G, 'Adam Maclay Collection'

EP/1956/2264-F 'Evening Post negatives'

114/236/01-G 'Evening Post negatives'

EP/1957/0048-F 'Evening Post negatives'

Archives New Zealand:

Department of Internal Affairs – Water Safety Campaign, Minutes and Finance [1963-1978], record # IPS 18/13/4A

Christchurch City Libraries

Images:

CCL PhotoCD 6, IMG0012. *The Press*, 6 April 1932, p.16.

CCL PhotoCD 2, IMG0048. *The Weekly Press*, 4 December 1918, p.23.

Kete Horowhenua

Images:

s2002.098.0006

1979.137.0155

1979.1377.0086

Invercargill City Library and Archives

Southland Province Girl Guides records - ICA01.319

Manawatu Province Girl Guides records

National Scouting Museum, Kaiapoi

Object file #:

1908  
27412/1957  
27407/1950  
9939

Palmerston North City Library, Ian Matheson Palmerston North City Archives  
and Pataka Ipurangi

File Reference:

2007P\_Pg115\_GRO\_1126  
2008P\_O33a-A-E\_1309  
2008P\_O33a-A-E\_1309  
2010N\_A175-67-1\_004189  
2010P\_IMCA-DigitalMaster\_004466

3rd Palmerston North West End Scouts Group archives

Scouts New Zealand archives, Owen Rodgers collection, Wellington

Wairarapa Archive

Image:

File Reference: 10-151/3-33

### **Correspondence:**

Email correspondence with John Melhuish, June 2012

Email correspondence with Louise Carroll, August 2012

Conversation and email correspondence with correspondent (name withheld  
on request), June 2010 and October 2012

Conversation with Val Signal, May 2011

Ongoing email correspondence with Owen Rodgers, from May-November  
2012; conversation at his home, June 2012

### **Government records:**

*Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives – AJHR*

1907, E-12, [Education Reports]

*Report of the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children  
and Adolescents AJHR, 1954, H-47*

1968, H-22, [Lottery funding]

*Official New Zealand Yearbooks, 1950s-1970s*

*New Zealand Census of Population, 1936-1981*

*Parliamentary Debates (June 1958)*

### **Newspapers and Periodicals:**

Many of the newspapers shown were accessed through the 'Papers Past' website - [www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/](http://www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/)

### **Scouting and Guiding periodicals:**

*Te Rama* [New Zealand Guiders' magazine]

*The Dominion Headquarters Scouts Gazette*

*The Dominion Scout, 1911-1921*

*The Girl Guide Annual, [U.K.] 1948-1980*

*The Guider* [U.K.]

*The New Zealand Scout*

*The Scout* [U.K.]

*The Scouter* [U.K.]

*The Scouting Year in New Zealand, 1965/66*

### **Newspapers:**

*Auckland Star*

*Feilding Star*

*Grey River Argus*

*Hawera & Normanby Star*

*Hutt News*

*Marlborough Express*

*Manawatu Evening Standard/Manawatu Standard*

*Nelson Evening Mail*

*Northern Advocate*

*Observer* [Auckland]

*Ohinemuri Gazette*

*Otago Witness*

*Poverty Bay Herald*

*Southland Times*

*Taranaki Herald*

*Thames Star*

*The Colonist* [Nelson]

*The Daily Mirror* [U.K.]

*The Evening Post* [Wellington]

*The Maoriland Worker*  
*The Press* [Christchurch]  
*The Star* (Christchurch)  
*The Times*, [U.K.] 1865, 1900, 1909, 1918  
*The Weekly Press*  
*Tiki Times* (1972 Jamboree newspaper)  
*Waiapu Church Gazette*  
*Wanganui Herald*  
*Wellington Independent*  
*West Coast Times*

## **SECONDARY:**

### **Scouting, Guiding and youth organisations – New Zealand histories**

Alexander, Ernie, *50 years of scouting in Pukekohe*, Pukekohe: Pukekohe Scout Group, 1998

Bellini, Bruce (ed.), *Scouting New Plymouth and North Taranaki. 100 Years of Scouting Memories*, New Plymouth: New Plymouth Scout Historical Committee, 2009

Carding, Betty, *St. Matthews Scout Group*, Hastings: The Group, 1982

Clements, Howard, *In the Beginning...The History of Scouting in Wainuiomata, 1910-1987*, Raumati Beach: H. Clements, 1988

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Howard Clement's own [unpublished] record of Scouting achievement, starting as a Cub in 1944 to Retirement and Silver Tui award in 1993', 2007 (PDF file, courtesy of the author)

\_\_\_\_\_ and Bob Stothart (eds.), *The journey begins: The story of the 1951 New Zealand Scout contingent to the 7th World Jamboree, Austria and the Festival of Britain camp, London*, Paraparaumu: H. Clements & B. Stothart, 2009

Coney, Sandra, *Every Girl. A Social History of Women and the YWCA in Auckland 1885-1985*, Auckland: YWCA, 1986

Corbett, Bill (ed.), *Methven Scout Group 75th anniversary, Sunday, 8th November, 1998, Methven Racecourse: Once a scout, always a scout*, Methven: Methven Scout Group Reunion Committee, c.1999

- Cousins, Doug R. (comp.), *Scouting in Island Bay: A history of the Scout movement in Island Bay, from its inception around 1910 until the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the St Hilda's 1<sup>st</sup> Island Bay Group 1989*, Wellington: The Group, 1991
- Cox, Jane, *Please Come Prepared for Anything. A Social History of the Girl Guide Movement in Otago*, Dunedin: GGANZ Otago Province, 1993
- Culliford, S. G., *New Zealand Scouting. The First Fifty Years 1908-1958*, Wellington: Boy Scouts Association, 1958
- Cumming, Christine L., *Forty years of guiding in Southland*, Invercargill: Craig Printing, 1965
- Dale, W.R. (comp.), *Changing faces: To celebrate the diamond jubilee of the Paekakariki Scout Group, November 1990*, Paekakariki, N.Z.: The Group, 1990
- Dawber, Carol, *Guides Alive. The Nelson Story*, Nelson: Guides Nelson Archives, 2002
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Ambitious Fun – The Journey of GirlGuiding in New Zealand*, Christchurch: Girlguiding New Zealand, 2008 [Punctuation as in original]
- Fox, Neil, *Fit for life: a History of the Crichton Cobbers Club*, Christchurch: Crichton Cobbers Youth Club, 2002
- Garlick, William T. and Malvern E. Lloyd (comp.), *Guyrope Gossip. The story of Boys' Brigade Camping in Canterbury 1936-2004*, Christchurch, 2004
- Hoare, Michael E., *Faces of boyhood: an informal pictorial record of the Boys' Brigade in New Zealand, 1886-1982*, Wellington, N.Z.: The Brigade, 1982
- Howarth, Tom, *Tatum: A Celebration. 50 Years of Tatum Park*, Levin: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1992
- Iles, Marie, *65 Years of Guiding 1908-1973. The Official History of the Girl Guides Association N.Z. (Inc.)*, Christchurch: GGANZ, 1976
- Jolly, Elva, *The Footprints we made*, Tauranga: GGANZ , Bay of Plenty, 1993
- Jones, Sinclair, *Scouting in Otago. A centennial History 1908-2007*, Dunedin: Scouting Otago, 2007
- Landels, Cynthia R., *The Red Flower and What Happened Next. History of 1<sup>st</sup> Auckland, Cavell, Girl Guide Company*, Auckland: 1<sup>st</sup> Auckland, Cavell, Girl Guide Company, 1996

McRobie, Alan, *These are the Times...A History of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dunedin (Knox Church) Scout Group*, Dunedin: 17<sup>th</sup> Dunedin (Knox Church) Scout Group Historical Committee, 2000

*Northdown Te Rangi Scout Group, 1909-1960: golden jubilee celebrations, 22<sup>nd</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> October, 1960, Clifton Terrace, Timaru, New Zealand: a short history with tributes, memories & comments*, Timaru: W.M. Beynon, 1960

Ormerod, Robin, *The anchor holds: A history of the first hundred years of The Boys' Brigade in New Zealand*, Paraparaumu: The Boys' Brigade in New Zealand & The Stedfast Association, 1998

Paine, Selwyn, *1st Mt. Albert-St. Jude's Scout Group, 1926-2001: A brief history of 1st Mt Albert Scout Group, St Jude's Scout Group and the new group they became by merger in 1963*, Auckland: 1<sup>st</sup> Mt Albert-St. Jude's Scout Group, 2001

Pirie, Rose, Natalie Campbell and Robert Todd (comp. 1931-1984), and told briefly by Allan Shearer and Stewart Thomas, 1909-1931, *Scouting in Waimate: The story of the movement in the Waimate district*, Waimate: Waimate Publishing, 1988

Richardson, C.G., *Scouting in Balclutha. A History of the Group, 1909-1986*, Balclutha: Balclutha Scout Group Committee with South Otago Newspapers, 1986

Rodgers, Owen, *Adventure Unlimited. Looking at 100 years of the Scout Movement in New Zealand. Book 1*, Wellington: Scouts New Zealand, upcoming

St Georges Scout Group: 40th anniversary, 1954 to 1994, Papatoetoe: St George Scout Group, 1994

Santon, Phyllis and Thelma Reid (compilers), *Bay of Plenty Girl Guides, 1923-1979*, Whakatane: Whakatane & District Historical Society Monograph, 1984

Sumner, Edwin. F. W., *The Red and Green Scarf. A History of the Khandallah Scout Group, Wellington N.Z. 1911-1975*, Wellington: The Khandallah Scout Group, 1975

Swale, Graeme, *The History of Scouting in Southland*, Invercargill: Southland Scout Association, 1988

*The Great Game. Girl Peace Scouts and Girl Guides of Canterbury Province from 1908*, Christchurch: Girl Guides Association New Zealand, Canterbury Province, 1991

Taylor, Colin, *Body, Mind and Spirit: YMCA Auckland: Celebrating 150 years 1855-2005*, Auckland: Reed, 2005

Dorothy West (comp.), *The Story of Guiding in Northland: Celebrating Thirty-Five Years as a Province*, Whangarei: Girl Guide Association, Northland, 1995

Williamson, Eulla, *On my honour: A history of early scouting years with the Geraldine Troop, 1910-1931*, Geraldine: E. Williamson, 1983

Wilson, Nancy, *My Scouting Memories*, Palmerston North: Keeling and Mundy, 1959

**Scouting and Guiding – self-generated literature, including instructional material**

Addis, Hazel, *Duty to God in the Wolf Cub Pack*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1951

*An Official History of Scouting*, [no author given], London: Hamlyn, 2006

Attrill, Leonard G., *Practical Hints to Scouters*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. [original by Rev. R.P.E. Cheesman], Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1949

Baden-Powell, Robert, *Reconnaissance and Scouting*, William Clowes, 1884

\_\_\_\_\_, *Aids to Scouting*, Gale & Polden, 1899

\_\_\_\_\_, *Rovering to Success. A Book of Life-Sport for Young Men*, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1930

\_\_\_\_\_, *Lessons from the Varsity of Life*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1933

\_\_\_\_\_, *Girl Guiding*, revised edition, 1938 (original 1918), London: C. Arthur Pearson

\_\_\_\_\_, *Aids to Scoutmastership*, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1949 edition

\_\_\_\_\_, *Scouting for Boys*, 29<sup>th</sup> edition, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1955

\_\_\_\_\_, *Adventuring with Baden-Powell. Yarns and Articles by the 'Chief'*, London: Blandford, 1956

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Wolf Cub's Handbook*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, [1<sup>st</sup> edition 1916], 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1958

- \_\_\_\_\_, *Scouting for Boys. A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, [Original 1908 edition text; edited with Introduction and Notes by Elleke Boehmer], Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004
- B-P's Outlook. Selections from the Founder's contributions to 'The Scouter' from 1909 to 1940*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1941
- Boy Scouts Association, *"The Scouter" Digest: A selection from the pages of "The Scouter" from September 1939 to September 1944*, London, 1944
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Prayers for Use in the Brotherhood of Scouts*, (revised edition 1967), Rochester: Staples Printers, 1967
- Boy Scouts Association of New Zealand, *Songs for New Zealand Scouts*, Dunedin: Boy Scouts Association of New Zealand, c.1962
- Boy Scouts World Bureau, *These our brothers: a guide to Scouting with the handicapped*, Ottawa: c.1960s
- Cooksey, J. R. H., *My Job*, Hastings: self-published, 1964
- Cossgrove, David, *Peace Scouting for Girls*, Christchurch: W. Strange, 1910
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The story of a bull pup: Official handbook of the junior scouts of New Zealand*, Christchurch: Lyttelton Times Co., 1917
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Nga toro turehu: The fairy scouts of New Zealand*, illustrated by E. Bartley, Christchurch: Lyttelton Times Co., 1918
- 'Delta', *The Patrol Year. Ideas for Two Patrol Meetings a Month (The Patrol Books – No.12)*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1951
- 'Delta' and 'Theta', *It's Troop Night Again. More Ideas for Troop Meetings (The Scouter's Books – No.5)*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1954
- Dimmock, F. Haydn, *Jamboree Journey. A story of the years 1937 to 1947 based very liberally on fact*, Bath: Venturebooks, 1948
- Dowling, H.J., *New Zealand Cub Leaders' Handbook*, Wellington: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1975
- English, Mary and Cynthia Landels, *A Handbook for Guides*, Christchurch: Girl Guides Association of New Zealand, 1970, and 1975 revised edition
- 'Gilcraft', *How to run a Troop (A Year's Training)*, London: Boy Scouts Association with C. Arthur Pearson, 9<sup>th</sup> edition 1949

- \_\_\_\_\_, *Wolf Cubs*, London: Boy Scouts Association with C. Arthur Pearson, 9<sup>th</sup> edition, 1954
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Outdoor Games for Scouts*, London: Boy Scouts Association with C. Arthur Pearson, 1952
- Girl Guides Association, *Guiding for the Guider. A Handbook for those working with the 11-16 age group*, London: Girl Guides Association with Billing & Sons, 16<sup>th</sup> edition, 1956
- Hazlewood, Rex, *Training in Observation (The Patrol Books – No.9)*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1951
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Scoutmaster's Guide from A to Z revised ed.* [original 1958], London, Fakenham and Reading: Cox & Wyman, 1960
- \_\_\_\_\_ and John Thurman, *Some Training Ideas for Scouts (The Scouter's Books – No.12)* London: Boy Scouts Association, 1957
- Janson Potts, Mrs (comp.), *Hints on Girl Guide Badges*, Glasgow: Girl Guides Association with Brown, Son & Ferguson, 17<sup>th</sup> edition, 1935/36
- Kerr, Rose, *The Story of the Girl Guides*, London: Girl Guides Association, revised edition 1956 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1932)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Story of a Million Girls. Guiding and Girl Scouting Around the World*, London: The Girl Guides Association, 1936
- Maloney, Alison, *Something for the girls: The official guide to the first 100 years of Guiding*, London: Constable & Robinson, 2009
- Maynard, A. M., *Be Prepared. The Official Handbook for Guides*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1946
- Pank, J. Dudley, *The Man and the Boy. The Scouter's Books No.3*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1953
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Scouter's Job*, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1954
- Price, Maureen, (compiler), *Two Hundred Games for Guides*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1969
- Scout Association of New Zealand, *The New Zealand Scouts Handbook*, Wellington, 1962
- \_\_\_\_\_, *New Zealand Scouts Handbook*, revised edition, Wellington, 1978

- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Cub Book*, Wellington, 1977
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Scout Badge Book*. Little Scout Book #4, Wellington, 1979
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Scout Group Management*. Little Scout Book No. 1, Wellington: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1981
- \_\_\_\_\_, *All About Camp Fires, incorporating "Sing a Scouting Song"* (Little Scout Book No.5), Wellington: Scout Association of New Zealand, 1988
- Sparrow, Kenneth C., *Scouting Suggestions*, Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1955
- St George Saunders, Hilary, *The Left Handshake. The Boy Scout Movement during the War 1939-1945*, London: Collins, 1948
- The Scout Association, *An Official History of Scouting*, London: Hamlyn, 2006
- Thurman, John, *The Patrol Leader's Handbook*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1950
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Pioneering for the Patrol (The Patrol Books – No.21)*, London: Boy Scouts Association, 1958
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Rex Hazlewood (eds.), *The Camp Fire Leader's Book*, London: The Boy Scouts Association, 1950
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Gilwell Camp fire Book. Songs and Yells from Fifty Years of Scouting*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1957
- Wade, E. K., *The Piper of Pax*, London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1924 and 1931 editions
- Wilson, John S., *Scouting Round the World*, London: Blandford Press, 1959
- Wood, Margaret, *Ranger Guide Handbook*, Christchurch: GGANZ, 1974

## **Publications**

- Aitken, W. Francis, *Baden-Powell, the Hero of Mafeking*, London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1900
- Alexander, Kristine, 'The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, v.2, no.1, winter 2009, pp.37-68
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Similarity and difference at Girl Guide Camps in England, Canada, and India', Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, pp.106-120
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, v.4 n.1, 2012, pp.132-145
- Ansley, Bruce, *Gods and little fishes: a boy and a beach*, Dunedin: Longacre Press, 2009
- Archer, E. & R. Openshaw, 'Citizenship and identity as 'official' goals in Social Studies', In R. Openshaw (Ed.) *New Zealand Social Studies: Past, present and future*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1992, pp.19-33
- Arnold, Rollo, assisted by Betty Arnold, *Settler Kaponga, 1881-1914: a frontier fragment of the western world*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997
- Bailey, Peter, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England. Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885*, London: Methuen, 1987 edition.
- Ballantyne, Tony, *Orientalism and Race. Aryanism in the British Empire*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002
- Bassett, Michael, *The Mother of all departments: The history of the Department of Internal Affairs*, Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1997
- Begbie, Harold, *The Story of Baden-Powell: 'The Wolf that Never Sleeps'*, London: G. Richards, 1900
- Belich, James, *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders. From Polynesian Settlement to the end of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Paradise Reforged, A History of the New Zealanders. From 1880 to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 2001

- Block, Nelson R. and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009
- Britten, Rosemary, *Rangi Ruru: Rangi Ruru Girls' School, Christchurch, New Zealand 1889-1989*, Christchurch: Published by Te Waihora Press for Board of Governors, The School, 1988
- Brookes, Barbara, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant (eds.), *Women in History. Essays on European Women in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, Port Nicholson Press, 1986
- Bryder, Linda, *A voice for mothers: The Plunket Society and infant welfare, 1907-2000*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003
- Butterworth, Graham and Susan, *Jaycee: Developers of people, builders of communities*, Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2007
- Byrnes, Giselle (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009
- Cameron, Jan, *Without Issue*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1997
- Carpenter, Kirsty, *Marsden Women and their World: A History of Marsden School*, Wellington: Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, 2003
- Chapple, W. A., *The Fertility of the Unfit*, Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1903
- Cockburn, Tom, 'Children and Citizenship in Britain: A Case for a Socially Interdependent Model of Citizenship', *Childhood*, 1998, v.5, n.1, pp.99-117
- Cook, Len, 'New Zealand's Current and Future Population Dynamics', a paper presented at the Population conference in Wellington on 12-14 November 1997. Downloaded as a PDF file through [www2.stats.govt.nz](http://www2.stats.govt.nz), on 20 September 2011.
- Crotty, Martin, 'Scouts Down Under: Scouting, Militarism and "Manliness" in Australia, 1908-1920, in Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, pp.74-88
- Daley, Caroline , *Leisure and Pleasure. Reshaping and Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Modernity, Consumption and Leisure', *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Giselle Byrnes (ed.), Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp.423-445

- \_\_\_\_\_ and Deborah Mongomerie (eds.), *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999
- Dalley, Bronwyn, *Family Matters. Child Welfare in Twentieth-Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Jock Phillips (eds.), *Going Public. The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Margaret Tennant (eds.) *Past judgement: Social policy in New Zealand history*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004
- Dalziel, Raewyn, 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in nineteenth-century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v.11, n.2 (1977), pp.112-123
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Women in New Societies', in Jock Phillips (ed.), *New Worlds? The Comparative History of New Zealand and the United States*, Wellington: Stout Research Centre, 1989, pp.9-27
- Davidson, Allan K., *Christianity in Aotearoa: A history of church and society* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), Wellington: Education For Ministry, 2004
- Davis Smith, Justin, Colin Rochester and Rodney Hedley (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, London: Routledge, 1995
- Delanty, Gerard, *Citizenship in a global age: Society, culture, politics*, Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000
- Dunstall, Graeme, 'The Social Pattern', in W. H. Oliver with B. R. Williams (ed.) *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp.396-429
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Social Pattern', Geoffrey Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp.451-481
- Else, Anne (ed.), *Women Together. A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand. Nga Ropu Wahine o te Motu*, Wellington: Daphne Brassell Associates Press with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, 1993
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'History Lessons: The Public History You Get When You're Not Getting Any Public History', in Bronwyn Dalley and Jock Phillips (eds.), *Going Public. The Changing Face of New Zealand History*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001
- Finlayson, Geoffrey, 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911-1949', *Twentieth Century British History*, v.1, n.2, pp.183-206

- Fry, Ruth, 'Don't Let Down the Side'. Physical Education in the Curriculum for New Zealand Schoolgirls 1900-1945', in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant (eds.), *Women in History. Essays on European Women in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, Port Nicholson Press, 1986, pp.101-118.
- Gardner, Brian, *Mafeking: A Victorian Legend*, London: Cassell, 1966
- Gillespie, Oliver A., *The Pacific. Part of The Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-1945* (Howard Kippenberger, ed.), Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, 1952
- Gledhill, Jim, 'White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s', *Contemporary British History*, 2012, DOI:10.1080/13619462.2012.722000
- Graham, Jeanine, 'Settler Society', Geoffrey W Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp.112-140.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Child Employment in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, v.21, n.1, 1987, pp.62-78
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Young New Zealanders and the Great War: exploring the impact and legacy of the First World War, 1914-2014', *Paedagogica Historica*, v.44, n.4, 2008, pp.429 – 444
- Grant, David, *On a Roll. A History of Gambling & Lotteries in New Zealand*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994
- Grant, Kevin, Philippa Levine and Frank Trentmann (eds.) *Beyond Sovereignty. Britain, Empire and Transnationalism*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007
- Gray, Alison, *The Jones Men. 100 New Zealand men talk about their lives*, Wellington: A.H. & A. W. Reed, 1983
- Green, Virginia, *Allan Hubbard: a man out of time*, Auckland: Random House, 2010
- Hacker, Barton C. and Margaret Vining, 'Cutting a New Pattern: Uniforms and Women's Mobilization for War 1854-1919', *Textile History and the Military*, 41 (I) supplement, May 2010, pp.108-143
- Hamilton, Don, *College!: A history of Christ's College*, Christchurch: Christ's College Board of Governors, 1996
- Hampton, Janie, *How the Girl Guides Won the War*, London: HarperPress, 2011

- Hargreaves, Jennifer, 'Playing like gentlemen while behaving like ladies': contradictory features of the formative years of women's sport', in *International Journal of History of Sport*, v.2, n.1, 1985, pp.40-52
- Heater, Derek , *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education (3<sup>rd</sup> edition)*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004
- Heywood, Colin, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*, Cambridge: Polity, 2001
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983
- Holt, Richard, *Sport and the British. A Modern History*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989
- \_\_\_\_\_, J.A. Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi (eds.), *European Heroes. Myth, Identity, Sport*, London: Frank Cass, 1996
- Hoberman, John. 'Toward a Theory of Olympic Internationalism', *Journal of Sports History*, v.22, n.1, Spring 1995
- Hutching, Megan, *Long Journey for Sevenpence: Assisted Immigration to New Zealand from the United Kingdom 1947-1975*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs 1999
- Invernizzi, Antonella, and Jane Williams (eds.), *Children and Citizenship*, London, Los Angeles: Sage Publishing, 2008
- Jacobs, Marc and Peter Scholliers (eds.), *Eating out in Europe: picnics, gourmet dining and snacks since the late Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, New York: Berg, 2003
- James, C.L.R., *Beyond a Boundary*, London: Stanley Paul, 1969
- Jans, Marc, 'Children as Citizens: Towards a Contemporary Notion of Child Participation', in *Childhood*, 2004, v.11, n.27, pp.27-44
- Jeal, Tim, *Baden-Powell*, London: Hutchinson, 1989; New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2001
- Kendall, Jeremy and Martin Knapp, 'A loose and baggy monster: boundaries, definitions and typologies', in Justin Davis Smith, Colin Rochester and Rodney Hedley (eds.), *An Introduction to the Voluntary Sector*, London: Routledge, 1995, pp.66-95

- King, Michael (ed.), *One of the Boys? Changing Views of Masculinity in New Zealand*, Auckland: Heinemann, 1988
- Kingsley, Charles, 'Nausicca in London, or the Lower Education of Women', in *Health and Education*, 1874
- Kitay, G. B., 'Adult Leadership in the Scout Section. A report on research conducted for the Scout Association of New Zealand' Department of Sociology, Australian National University, 1978.
- Koopman-Boyden, Peggy G. (ed.), *Families in New Zealand society*. Wellington: Methuen, 1978.
- Kymlicka, Will and Wayne Norman, 'Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory', *Ethics*, v.104, n.2, January 1994, pp.352-381
- Labrum, Bronwyn, 'Negotiating an increasing range of functions: families and the welfare state', Bronwyn Dalley and Margaret Tennant (eds.), *Past judgement: Social policy in New Zealand history*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004
- Lister, Ruth, 'Unpacking Children's Citizenship' in Antonella Invernizzi and Jane Williams (eds.), *Children and Citizenship*, London, Los Angeles: Sage Publishing, 2008, pp. 9-19
- Livingstone, Richard, *Education for a World Adrift*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943
- McClure, Margaret, *A civilised community: A history of social security in New Zealand, 1898-1998*, Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1998
- McCracken, Grant, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998
- McCrone, Kathleen, *Playing the Game: Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, London: Routledge, 1988
- McDonald, Dugald, 'Children and young persons in New Zealand Society', Peggy G. Koopman-Boyden. (ed.), *Families in New Zealand society*. Wellington: Methuen, 1978.
- MacDonald, Robert H., *Sons of the Empire. The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890-1918*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993

- McGill, David, *Kiwi Baby Boomers. Growing up in New Zealand in the 40s, 50s and 60s*. Lower Hutt: Mills Publications, 1989
- McKenzie, John, *Propaganda and Empire. The manipulation of British public opinion 1880-1960*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984
- Macleod, David, 'Act your age: Boyhood, adolescence and the rise of the Boy Scouts of America', *Journal of Social History*, v.16 n.2, Winter 1982, pp.3-20
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their forerunners, 1870-1920*, Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1983
- Mangan, John, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: The emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Muscular, Militaristic and Manly': The British Middle-Class Hero as Moral Messenger', in *European Heroes. Myth, Identity, Sport*, Richard Holt, J.A. Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi (eds.), London: Frank Cass & Co., 1996
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Roberta J. Park (eds.), *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism. Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-industrial Eras*, London: Frank Cass & Co., 1987
- \_\_\_\_\_ and James Walvin (eds.) *Manliness and morality: Middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Marshall, T. H., *Citizen and Social Class*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950
- Matthews, Jill Julius, *Good and Mad Women. The Historical Construction of Femininity in Twentieth-Century Australia*, Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984
- May, Helen, 'Mapping some landscapes of colonial-global childhood [ece@2000.europe.antipodes](#)', *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 2001. v.9, n.2, pp.5-20
- Mechling, Jay, 'The Magic of the Boy Scout Campfire', *The Journal of American Folklore*, v.93, n.367 (January- March 1980), pp.35-56.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *On my honor: Boy Scouts and the making of American youth*, Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, c2001
- Miller, Susan A., 'Trademark: Scout', *Scouting Frontiers. Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (eds.),

- Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, pp.28-41
- Mills, Sarah, 'Scouting for Girls? Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain', *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, v.18, n.4, August 2011, pp.537-556
- Milne, A. R. and C. B. Heward, *Those Boy Scouts. A Story of Scouting in Victoria*, Melbourne: Victorian Scout Archives with Hudson Publishing, 1987
- Morgan, Kenneth, 'The Boer War and the Media', *Twentieth Century British History*, v.12, no.1, 2002, pp.1-16
- Neich, Roger, 'The Maori House Down in the Garden: a Benign Colonialist Response to Maori Art and the Maori Counter Response' *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, v.112, n.4, 2003, pp.331-368
- Oliver, W. H, with B. R. Williams (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981
- Olssen, Erik, 'Towards a New Society', in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand, 2nd edition*: Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp.254-284
- Pakenham, Thomas, *The Boer War*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979
- Parratt, Catriona, 'Making Leisure Work. Women's Rational Recreation in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', *Journal of Sport History*, v.26, n.3, (Fall 1999), pp.471-487
- Parsons, Timothy, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout movement in British Colonial Africa*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004
- Pedersen, Joyce Senders, 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses: Elites and Education in Nineteenth Century England', in *Journal of British Studies*, v.15, n.1, Autumn 1975, pp.135-162
- Perry, Elizabeth Israels, 'From Achievement to Happiness: Girl Scouting in Middle Tennessee 1910s to 1960s', *Journal of Women's History*, 1993, v.5, n.2 (Fall) pp.75-94
- Phillips, Jock, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male: A History*, Auckland: Penguin, 1987
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.), *New Worlds? The Comparative History of New Zealand and the United States*, Wellington: Stout Research Centre, 1989
- Pickles, Katie, 'A Link in 'The Great Chain of Empire Friendship': The Victoria

- League in New Zealand', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, v.33, n.1, January 2005, pp.29-50
- Polish Children's Reunion Committee, *New Zealand's First Refugees: Pahiatua's Polish Children*, Wellington: Polish Children's Reunion Committee, 2004
- Price, Mary, and Nonita Glenday, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: A Century of Head Mistresses 1874-1974*, London: Pitman, 1974
- Proctor, Tammy M., '(Uni)forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39', *History Workshop Journal*, n.45, 1998, pp.103-134
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'A Separate Path': Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v.42, n.3, July 2000, pp.605-631
- \_\_\_\_\_, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*, Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Part 2, v.92, n.2, 2002
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Scouting for Girls: a century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*, Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, c.2009
- Pryke, Sam, 'The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement', *Social History*, v.23, n.3 (Oct., 1998), pp.309-324
- Recreation in New Zealand, Volume I*, Auckland: Auckland Regional Authority, 1971
- Reynolds, E. E., *B-P: The Story of His Life*, London: Oxford University Press, 1942
- Rice, Geoffrey W. (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand, 2nd edition*: Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992
- Rosenthal, Michael, *The character factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*, New York: Pantheon, 1986
- Ross, Kirstie, *Going Bush. New Zealanders and Nature in the Twentieth Century*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008
- Roth, Margot, 'Archives: Peace Scouting for girls', in *Women's Studies Journal*, August 1986, v.2, n.2, pp.86-96.
- Rothschild, Mary Aickin, 'To Scout or to Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941'. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* (University of Nebraska Press), Autumn 1981, v.6, no.3, pp. 115-121
- Salamon, Lester M. and Helmut K. Anheier, *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: A Cross-National Analysis*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997

- Sangster, Andrew, *Pathway to Establishment: The History of Wanganui Collegiate School*, Wanganui: Wanganui Newspapers, 1985
- Schrader, Ben, with photography by Victoria Birkinshaw, *We call it home: A history of state housing in New Zealand*; Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2005
- Seton, Ernest Thompson, *The Birch-bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians, containing their constitution, law, games, and deeds*, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1906
- Shannon, Charlene, 'An Untapped Resource. Understanding Volunteers Aged 8 to 12', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, v.38 n.5, October 2009, pp.828-845
- Shrosbee, Colin, *Public schools and private education: the Clarendon Commission, 1861-64, and the Public Schools Acts*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988
- Siteine, Alexis, 'Which vehicle for citizenship transmission: Social Studies or Technology Education?', *ACE papers*, May 2003, issue 12, pp.43-57
- Smith, Justine, 'This game of living: the YMCA in Dunedin 1933-1938', John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson (eds.), *Building God's Own Country. Historical Essays on Religions in New Zealand*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004, pp.185-195
- Smith, Noel, Ruth Lister, Sue Middleton & Lynne Cox, 'Young People as Real Citizens: Towards an Inclusionary Understanding of Citizenship', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 2005, v.8 n.4 pp.425-443
- Springhall, John, 'The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908-1930', *International Review of Social History*, 1971, v.16, n.2, pp.125-158
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Youth, Empire and Society. British Youth Movements, 1883-1940*, London: Croom Helm, 1977
- \_\_\_\_\_, Brian Fraser and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade 1883-1983*, London: Collins, 1983
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?', *English Historical Review*, v.102, n.405, October 1987, pp.934-942
- Stenhouse, John and Jane Thomson (eds.), *Building God's Own Country. Historical Essays on Religions in New Zealand*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004

- Stenhouse, John (ed.), assisted by G.A. Wood, *Christianity, modernity and culture: New perspectives on New Zealand history*, Adelaide: ATF Press, 2005
- Summers, Anne, 'Scouts, Guides and VADs: A Note in Reply to Allen Warren', *English Historical Review*, v.102, n.405 (October 1987), pp.943-947
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Angels and Citizens. British Women as Military Nurses 1854-1914*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988
- Taylor, Nicola, Anne B. Smith and Megan Gallop, 'New Zealand Children and Young People's Perspectives on Citizenship', *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 2008, v.16, n.2, pp.195-210
- Tedesco, Laureen, 'The Lost Manhood of the American Girl: A Dilemma in Early Twentieth-Century Girl Scouting', *Children's Folklore Review*, v.27, 2004-2005, pp.89-107
- Tennant, Margaret, *Children's health, the nation's wealth: A history of children's health camps*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books and Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1994
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Fabric of Welfare. Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007
- \_\_\_\_\_, Mike O'Brien, and Jackie Sanders. *The History of the Non-Profit Sector in New Zealand*, Wellington: Office of the Community and Voluntary Sector, 2008
- Tinkler, Penny, 'English Girls and the International Dimensions of British Citizenship in the 1940s', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 2001, v.8, n.1, pp.103-126
- Toynbee, Claire, *Her work and his: family, kin and community in New Zealand, 1900-1930*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995
- Troughton, Geoffrey, 'Religious Education and the rise of psychological childhood in New Zealand', *History of Education in New Zealand*, 2004, v.33, n.2, pp.30-44
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Hugh Morrison (eds.), *The spirit of the past: essays on Christianity in New Zealand history*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011

- Voeltz, Richard A., 'The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, v.27, n.4, 1992, pp.627-638
- Walls, Sharon, *The Nature of Nurture: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009
- Warren, Allen, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *The English Historical Review*, v.101, n.399, April 1986, pp.376-398
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Popular Manliness: Baden-Powell, scouting and the development of manly character', J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.) *Manliness and morality: middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987, pp.176-198
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Foreword', Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, pp.xi-xxii.
- Watenpaugh, Keith David, 'Scouting in the Interwar Arab Middle East: Youth, Colonialism and the Problems of Middle-Class Modernity', Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, pp.89-105
- Watt, Carey A., 'The Promise of 'character' and the spectre of sedition: The boy scout movement and colonial consternation in India, 1908-1921', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian studies*, v.22 n.2, 1999, pp.37-62
- Witteman, Sophie, 'The Double Concept of Citizen and Subject at the Heart of Scouting and Guiding', Nelson Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, pp.56-71
- Woollacott, Angela, 'Khaki Fever' and Its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, v.29, n.2 (April 1994), pp.325-347
- Youniss, James, Jeffrey A. McLellan and Miranda Yates, 'What We Know About Engendering Civic Identity', *American Behavioral Scientist*, v.40, n.5, March/April 1997, pp.620-631
- Yska, Redmer, *All shook up: The flash bodgie and the rise of the New Zealand teenager in the fifties*, Auckland: Penguin, 1993

Yuval-Davis, Nira, 'Women, Citizenship and Difference', *Feminist Review*, No. 57, Citizenship: Pushing the Boundaries, Autumn 1997, pp.4-27

Unpublished theses:

Bennett, Charlotte, "Now the War is over, we have something else to worry us": New Zealand Children's Responses to Crises, 1914-1918', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2012

Challinor, Deborah, 'Children and War: A Study of the Impact of the First World War on New Zealand Children', MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1993

Day, Alison, 'Child Immunisation: Reactions and Responses to New Zealand Government Policy 1920-1990', PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2008

Day, Delyn, 'Education, generation, and gender: the rural youth movement in New Zealand, 1920-1973', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996

Foley, Jessica L., "Meeting the Needs of Today's Girl": Youth Organizations and the Making of a Modern Girlhood, 1945-1980', PhD thesis, Brown University, 2010

Goodyear, Rosemary, 'Black Boots and Pinafores: Childhood in Otago 1900-1920', M.A. thesis, University of Otago, 1992

Goodyear, Rosemary, 'Sunshine and fresh air': an oral history of childhood and family in interwar New Zealand, with some comparisons to interwar Britain', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1998

Gush, Nadia, 'Cultural fields of the Canterbury plains: women and cultural citizenship in Canterbury c.1890-1940', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007

Hammer, M.A.E., "Something Else in the World to Live For..." Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Women and Girls in Auckland 1880-1920', M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1990

Hodge, Jennifer, 'Nature's trustee: P errine Moncrieff and nature conservation in New Zealand 1920-1950', PhD thesis, Massey University, 1999

Jordan, Benjamin Rene, "A Modest Manliness": The Boy Scouts of America and the Making of Modern Masculinity, 1910-1930', PhD thesis, University of California, San Diego, 2009

- Kirsz, Alan S., 'A Case Study of the Knowledge and Understanding of Leadership Among Leaders in the Scout Association in an English City', D.Ed. thesis, University of Birmingham, 2007
- McCurdy, Diana, 'Feminine Identity in New Zealand: The Girl Peace Scout Movement 1908-1925', M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, 2000
- Messner, Julia, "'Good upright young citizens"? Lived experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia', M.A. thesis, University of Technology, Sydney, 2004
- Stanhope, Sally, "White, Black and Dusty": Girl Guiding in Malaya, Nigeria, India and Australia from 1909-1960', MA thesis, Georgia State University, 2012
- Townsend, Lynette, 'Seen but not heard?: collecting the history of New Zealand childhood', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2008
- Vanderpyl, Jane, 'Spinsters' Lives: an exploration of twelve ever-single and child-free women's life histories', M.Soc.Sci. thesis in Sociology, Waikato University, 1991
- Williams, Shirley, 'Children's Voices: Insights into the History of New Zealand Childhood through an Examination of Children's Pages in New Zealand Newspapers and Magazines in the 1930s', MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1993
- Woods, Megan C., 'Re/producing the Nation: Women Making Identity in New Zealand, 1906-1925', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1997

Websites:

<http://www.atojs.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/atojs>

[www.TeAra.govt.nz](http://www.TeAra.govt.nz)

Angela Ballara. 'Tirikatene, Eruera Tihema Te Aika - 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/4t18/1>,

Tum Glover. 'Ruru, Lena Matewai - Biography', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1

September

2010

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5r30/1>

Carl Walrond. 'Tramping - New Zealand tramping, clubs and culture', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 2 March 2009  
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/tramping/1>

[www.bb.org.nz/about/](http://www.bb.org.nz/about/)

[www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

Barrowman, Rachel. 'Heenan, Joseph William Allan 1888 - 1951'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007  
URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Bright, Judith. 'Burgin, Annie Mona 1903 - 1985'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007.  
URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Bright, Judith. 'Herrick, Hermione Ruth 1889 - 1983'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Esplin, Margaret, 'Cossgrove, David, 1852-1920; Cossgrove, Selina, 1849-1929: *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007.  
[www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

Gustafson, Barry. 'Parry, William Edward 1878 - 1952'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007  
URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Hercock, Fay. 'Pulling, Mary Etheldred, 1871-1951', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

Hughes, Beryl, 'Bennett, Agnes Elizabeth Lloyd 1872-1960' *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)

Weir, Margaret. 'Warburton, Charlotte Eliot 1883 - 1961'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007. URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

[www.nzetc.org](http://www.nzetc.org)

The Girls' Friendly Society in New Zealand. [*Illustrated Guide to Christchurch and Neighbourhood*, 1885] [www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-MosIllu-t1-body1-d6-d4.html](http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-MosIllu-t1-body1-d6-d4.html).

[www.geni.com/people/Ani-Masefield-Pihema/60000000006778666741](http://www.geni.com/people/Ani-Masefield-Pihema/60000000006778666741), accessed 24 September 2012

[www.girlguides.org](http://www.girlguides.org)

[www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist\\_act/](http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/)

[www.nzmuseums.co.nz/account/3087/](http://www.nzmuseums.co.nz/account/3087/)

[www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/](http://www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/)

[www.stats.govt.nz/yearbooks](http://www.stats.govt.nz/yearbooks)

[www.scout.org/](http://www.scout.org/)

[www.scouting.milestones.btinternet.co.uk/cubs.htm](http://www.scouting.milestones.btinternet.co.uk/cubs.htm)

[www.scouts.org.nz](http://www.scouts.org.nz)

<http://www.thedump.scoutscan.com/nonfict.html>

[www.thescoutingpages.org.uk/listener1937.htm](http://www.thescoutingpages.org.uk/listener1937.htm)

[www.timeshighereducation.co.uk](http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk)

[www.ymca.org.uk/about/history](http://www.ymca.org.uk/about/history)