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## Duty to serve?

# The role of Secondary Schools in preparing New Zealand Soldiers for enlistment in the First World War

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Stephen James Stiübhart Carruthers

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## ABSTRACT

It is over a century since World War One impacted on the lives of those who taught at or attended both Otago High School and Waitaki Boys' High School. The war lasted from 1914-1918, yet for many of those who participated their schooling occurred before the declaration of hostilities. It is mainly this pre-war period that this thesis will concentrate on.

This thesis examines how Otago High School and Waitaki Boys' High School encouraged their students to lead lives that were based in duty and service. It focuses on the period 1890 through until the early 1920s and looks at how both schools approached the issue of student development for life beyond the classroom.

They did this by using local and international events, especially those that were Empire and nationally focused, to encourage their students to lead dutiful lives. Students were taken on excursions to visit public shows of loyalty or, in some cases, teacher-led discussions guided students towards adopting values that fitted into societal expectations. The promotion of sport was another method used to encourage students to lead a dutiful life and, along with military training, it gave a practical application to the concepts of duty and service.

As World War One unfolded both schools used this event to encourage their current and former students to 'do their bit'. It is at this point that the thesis examines five former students of Otago High School and Waitaki Boys' High School and determines that there was some influence from their former school on the decision to enlist. In the main this was as a result of the schooling these Old Boys had received.

The study of how schools influenced their students over the period of this thesis is an area seldom trod by historians. This thesis highlights the need to explore this area further, because war is not just about generals and army's, it is also about communities, values and beliefs.

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Thank you to Professor Glyn Harper for nudging me along with emails and phone calls. There were times I wondered what I was actually doing and it was then you would remind me to focus and continue. I am glad you did.

To my children, Jack and Jim, thank you for letting me write. You may be young, but one day I am sure you'll understand why Dad said he needed to study. To my former wife Rachael and current partner Helen, I reserve my heartfelt thanks for your support; without it I do not think I would have got to where I am today.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

CO	Commanding Officer
NZDF	New Zealand Defence Force
NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force
OC	Officer's Commanding
OHS	Otago High School
OMR	Otago Mounted Rifles
OTC	Officer Training Corps
RFC	Royal Flying Corps
VC	Victoria Cross
WBHS	Waitaki Boys High School

## Introduction

On the cover of a recent publication (*Fig 1*) about the New Zealand experience at Gallipoli in 1915, a heroic scene is used to capture the attention of a prospective reader. This image shows men charging up from the Anzac Cove beach in amongst the ensuing Turkish artillery barrage. They are fresh in appearance and portray strong masculine forms. The leader of the group is indicating to the others that they should follow him to a higher level. He appears to have no fear of the barrage nor concern for the body of the soldier lying in the foreground. These men are non-descript, they could be anyone's, brother or father. They represent a cross section of white European New Zealand and could come from any socio-economic group. Potentially, they could be farmers, drivers, street sweepers, lawyers or students. What this picture does not tell us is the story behind these people and their decision to enlist.

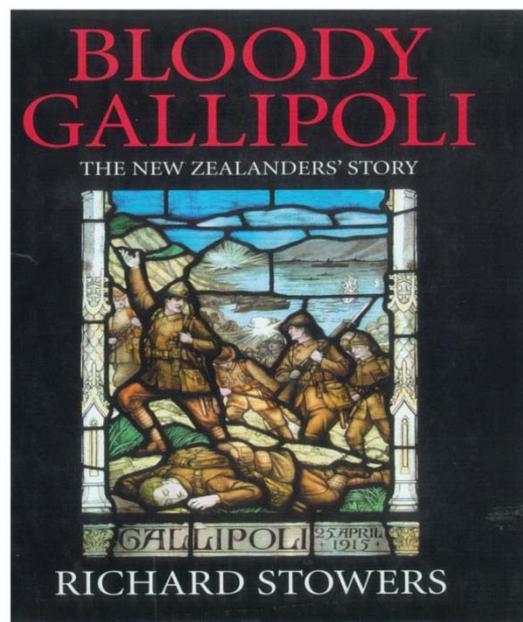


Fig 1 *Bloody Gallipoli: The New Zealanders' Story*<sup>1</sup>

This thesis seeks to determine the role secondary schools had in the development of youth prior to and during World War One. It discusses what youths did with the skills they learnt, the knowledge gained and the attitudes they developed in response to the subsequent events of winter 1914.

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Stowers, *Bloody Gallipoli: The New Zealanders' Story*, (Albany: David Bateman Ltd, 2005).

For the purposes of this thesis, 'youth' is defined as males between the ages of 13 and 21. It focuses on the New Zealand/European male experience even though Māori and women were, of course, contributors to this war. For clarity it will refer to the target group as New Zealanders even though at the time this group, just like the remainder of society, many used the term 'British' to define themselves.<sup>2</sup>

For simplicity, the term Otago High School has been used, because of the use of this term throughout the school magazine as opposed to the now used Otago Boy's High School.

For those who enlisted, many only received a primary level of education, for the fortunate, a secondary school beckon and even fewer made it into university either here or abroad. It is these formative secondary school years and how they shaped those that would participate in World War One that is only now being looked at in an effort to understand the New Zealand story of war.<sup>3</sup>

This thesis will look at the role of secondary schools in the development of New Zealand's youth prior to and during the early stages of the First World War. The period under discussion covers from 1890 through until the early 1920s. It will focus specifically on Dunedin's Otago High School (OHS) and Waitaki Boys High School (WBHS) in Oamaru. These two schools were chosen because they were the first to indicate a willingness to contribute to this study.

Other schools were approached throughout the country, however the proximity of OHS and WBHS to each other allows either to be compared or contrasted against social and national events in which both were schools were involved. To use schools from either end of the country would have potentially limited this form of analysis.

The inclusion of such a wide time period is important because to focus on just one or two years prior to the First World War would not give a clear understanding of what was happening at either school. Both schools had been around since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and it

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<sup>2</sup> Steven Loveridge, *Calls to Arms: New Zealand Society and the Commitment to the Great War*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2014), 28. 49.

<sup>3</sup> 'Turning boys into soldiers', Retrieved November 6 2014 from: URL:<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/children-and-first-world-war/cadet-training>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 28-Aug-2014

was important to include those students who had to been at school well before the War to see if they received similar instruction as those who were at school when War was declared.

Sadly, through the passage of time, it was not possible to talk with people who had been through either school over the period under discussion. Therefore, the reliance on the school magazines has created a one-sided view of what life at both schools was like. The inclusion of newspaper articles has, however, helped to clarify some of the themes that became evident throughout this research into the magazines. Additional data was sourced from websites that list those servicemen that left New Zealand and, in some cases, did not return.<sup>4</sup> Information was also gleaned from written sources that included some of the genres already discussed.

A survey of military history shows, within New Zealand at least, historians that write about this genre tend to write in one of many subgenres. Of the three looked at the first subgenre are those who write about a specific battle or war.<sup>5</sup> They may do this because these events are easily compartmentalised into a start and a finish date. Another reason is to help us understand how the event unfolded, what were the consequences, and was there anything to learn. These books sometimes include eyewitness accounts that give the writing a sense of realism, helping the reader to understand better what has happened. What these books do not do is tell us anything about the values of the people involved; we do not hear much, if anything, about what made them into who they were.

There are some books written by amateur military historians that do discuss soldiers as individuals, be they come from a specific town or locality or from a family.<sup>6</sup> This subgenre tends to have a measure of subjectivity and relies on diaries or family recollection in order to tell the reader something about the person/people involved. Being person-centric they often discuss what life was like for the soldier at home or maybe at work prior to enlistment. What

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<sup>4</sup> Commonwealth War Graves Commission, <http://www.cwgc.org/>, Auckland Cenotaph Database, <http://muse.aucklandmuseum.com/databases/Cenotaph/307.detail>

<sup>5</sup> Glyn Harper, *Dark Journey: Three key New Zealand battles on the Western Front*, (Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers (New Zealand) Limited, 2007), Andrew Macdonald, *On my way to the Somme: New Zealanders and the bloody offensive of 1916*, (Auckland: HarperCollins, 2005), Ron Palenski, *Kiwi Battlefields*, (Auckland: Hachette NZ Ltd, 2011), Gavin Mclean, Ian McGibbon, Kynan Gentry, (eds), *The Penguin Book of New Zealanders at War*, (North Shore: Penguin Books, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Lindsay Malcolm, *The Waiareka Warriors: The story of the military service and sacrifice of the men and women of the Waiareka Valley*, (Oamaru: Lindsay Malcolm, 2011), Ross Miller, *From Within the Ranks*, (Papatoetoe: Ross Miller, 2004).

they do not cover is what these people learnt whilst at school. Admittedly not everyone went to school, but for those that did go to school, surely this was an important part of their lives that arguably is missing from their story.

Finally, there are some books that report to be recollections of old soldiers who remember what it is like to go to war. Again, these books are subjective. They start off with maybe a few words on events prior to the war and then they continue with what life on the front line was like, before the soldier returns and they add weight to those diaries that families have published.<sup>7</sup> However, they do not cover their subject's formative secondary school years and the life skills they received there.

None of these writers are wrong in their approach. They are helpful to those who want to understand about wars and a personal perspective on what it is like to fight. What they do not do is tell us the story behind those being discussed, much like the image that was debated earlier. In a 2005 Dominion Post article regarding the young New Zealand soldiers in World War One it was acknowledged that this area of study was in need of attention.<sup>8</sup> Only recently has there been any real debate on these people, especially their formative school years and what made them decide to enlist.

The best way to understand the target group of secondary school students was to use the school magazines from OHS and WBHS. These magazines were extensively documented and were used to communicate with former students and current parents in an effort to let them know what the school was doing. To use a recent analogy, they were the 'social media' of their time. It is from this source that this thesis has predominantly been drawn. This source provides the reader with the necessary level of detail. It gives a clear insight into what the faculty in both schools believed was important, especially when it came to the education of their students.

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<sup>7</sup> Jock Phillips, Nicholas Boyack, E.P Malone, *The Great Adventure: New Zealand Soldiers Describe the First World War*, (Wellington: Allen & Unwin New Zealand Limited, 1988), Maurice Shadbolt, *Voices of Gallipoli*, (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988), Jane Tolerton, *An Awfully Big Adventure: New Zealand World War One veterans tell their stories*, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Macdonald, *Kiwi kids in killing fields of World War 1*, The Dominion Post, Saturday April 16 2005, p. A6.

The addition of material from *Paperspast* allows the primary sources to be rounded out in an effort to confirm some of the source document's information. This has resulted in a better understanding of what has been discussed in the School Magazines.

This thesis seeks to critically analyse and determine to what extent OHS and WBHS were involved in the enlistment of many of their former students. It will also discuss how this influence gave these former students the skills, knowledge and attitudes required of them to participate in the subsequent events of winter 1914. Though we may never know who the soldiers are in *Fig 1*, it is believed that this thesis will better help us understand what the rationale to enlist was, for some.

## Chapter One: Learning your future role

Schools, by their nature, are a reflection of the community they serve. A school's purpose is to educate and prepare students for their eventual role in society. This preparation, though, often includes the use of current events in the curriculum, which illustrate the values to which schools believe their students should adhere. From the late nineteenth century through to the early 1920s the faculty at Otago High School (OHS) and Waitaki Boys High School (WBHS) used events such as the Boer War, the visit of the HMS *New Zealand* and World War One to help inculcate these values. Understanding this is important because it sets the context from within which the schools developed the values that they espoused to their students.

On arrival at either OHS or WBHS, the first thing any visitor today would likely notice is the majesty of both institutions. OHS started in 1863 and, in 1872, moved to its present site on Arthur Street, Dunedin. WBHS was founded north of the Oamaru town boundary in 1883. Stepping onto the grounds of both schools, the visitor is first confronted with memorials to the fallen of World War One. The OHS, with its stylised stone archway, and the WBHS, with the impressive Hall of Memories, remind everyone that neither school forgets the sacrifice of previous students. The visitor could be forgiven if they felt they had, somehow, been transported back to a time where men in flowing black gowns and boys wearing cloth caps were the norm. These buildings, with their neo-gothic Victorian facades, could easily have been found somewhere in Great Britain. The schools are built from stone local to their area, black volcanic basalt for OHS, and white Oamaru stone for WBHS. The combination of gothic revival and stone, leaves the visitor in no doubt that they have arrived in a place of learning, order, and duty.

Both institutions started life as the domain of the rich, where only those that could afford a place were admitted.<sup>9</sup> With such restriction on who could attend, it is not surprising that the men chosen to lead these schools would themselves come from the well-to-do. Over the period under discussion, OHS and WBHS each had two Rectors. At OHS there was Alexander Wilson (1896-1907), a quiet, but firm, sport-minded Scot, and William Morrell

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<sup>9</sup> Nancy Swarbrick. 'Country Schooling – Getting an education : 1800s', Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13-Jul-2012, URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/country-schooling/ page-1>

(1907-1933), a well-organised, intellectual Englishman.<sup>10</sup> Whilst up the road in Oamaru, Dr John R. Don (1896-1906), an Australian born, New Zealand educated teacher tirelessly led WBHS until the arrival of the enthusiastic, self-publicist 30 year old New Zealander Frank Milner (1906-1944).<sup>11</sup> These men had been chosen by the local communities to lead their schools over a period of New Zealand's history that helped shape how this nation sees itself today.

In 1899, New Zealand's Premier, Richard Seddon, offered troops to assist the British fighting the Boers in South Africa. The intention was that the New Zealanders would fight alongside other Empire troops and bring the Boers to heel.<sup>12</sup> The resulting national excitement and pride in sending troops was not lost on the OHS editor of *The Magazine* of April 1900:

We feel proud of our Old Boys who have gone to the front, proud of our School which has reared them, and proud of ourselves as being the younger brothers of those heroes.<sup>13</sup>

The reference to the Boer War in *The Magazine* indicates that the boys were fully aware of 'what was going on', not just in their community, but also the wider Empire. A reference to the current students being younger brothers of the Old Boys, suggests that they too could one day be like their older 'siblings' and be asked to go to war. If they were asked, then it is arguable that they would also be declared heroes. The editor stating that the school was proud of its achievement in rearing these men who had gone to the front indicates that Wilson endorsed the use of the Boer War as an educative example within the school curriculum.<sup>14</sup> This point is important because it shows that there was endorsement from the wider community, not just from the Education Department and the State. Without this endorsement, it is difficult to comprehend that Wilson, or any other Rector, would have gone against the wishes of the community, and this includes central Government.

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<sup>10</sup> Rory Sweetman, *Above the City: A History of the Otago Boys High School 1863-2013*, (Dunedin: Otago Boys' High School Foundation, 2013), pp.140-218.

<sup>11</sup> K.C. McDonald, *A History of Waitaki Boy's High School 1883 – 1958*, (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1958. 108), p. 145.

<sup>12</sup> Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, (Auckland University Press, Auckland: 2012), 197, Farewell at Port Chalmers, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2404, 29 March 1900, page 26. URL:

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=OW19000329.2.86&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>13</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XVI, No 1, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, April 1900. p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> As the Rector, Wilson would have been fully aware of what was written in the school magazine, because without his knowledge and approval of what was printed his Rectorship had the potential to be undermined.

This wider community endorsement allowed Wilson to use these Old Boys that were heading to South Africa, as role models, to demonstrate to the younger boys what the concept of duty and service was about.

We congratulate all Old Boys whom the Defence office have seen fit to promote and hope that all may return after the war laden with honours, and assured with the consciousness that they have done their duty, and fought like true 'Soldiers of the Queen'.<sup>15</sup>

It is clear that Wilson was using these 'Soldiers of the Queen' as positive role models to which the students could aspire. He was, however, a realist, and knew that war was a part of the human psyche and could happen again. With prophetic words he addresses the boys:

I hope this war may lead to a long period of peace; that the great nations of the world may perceive from the history of the Transvaal war how serious a matter modern warfare is. But nations can be foolish, as well as men, and it is not impossible that when you are grown to be men – a time not now far off – you may be called upon to take part in a war greater even than this, possibly to defend your own islands, possibly to help in defending some distant part of the Empire. If such an occasion should arise I trust that Otago High School Boys will be found in their places. I hope that you may be found worthy to serve in such a service.<sup>16</sup>

Though Wilson was a realist in the possibility of war happening again, he did not have the foresight to know how soon this would occur. His motivation at this stage was clearly that of inculcating the concept of duty and service into the boys through the use of current events.

Once they became men, they would have the skills they needed in the discharge of their duties within the immediate and wider community. Wilson stating that he trusted that Otago High School boys would not be found wanting, he is implying that understanding the concept of duty and what this meant, was one of the skills these boys needed within their future civil careers. If a future war did not occur, understanding of the concept of duty could easily be transferable to that environment.

Part of the requirement of any school is to prepare students for their lives in the wider community. It can be argued that no school would have had the patronage if it could not produce people that could fit into society. Within the time frame of this thesis, it is clear that

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<sup>15</sup> OHS (ed), April 1900.p. 16.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.* p. 43.

both Rectors at OHS and WBHS did what the community wanted because both schools had already been in existence for 36 and 17 years respectively. During the Victorian/Edwardian period, there appears to have been a social expectation that boys' schools had to demonstrate to their students an example of the ideal man. A concept very much in vogue during the period was the idea that men should strive to become examples of 'Masculine Christianity'.<sup>17</sup> A recent definition of what this meant, was a man who displays the virtues of 'self-assertion and determination' rather than the more effeminate traits of 'patience and heroic martyrdom'.<sup>18</sup>

With these 'Masculine Christian' traits, a man was expected to perform his duty for the benefit of his nation.<sup>19</sup> The ideal way to do this was to conduct some form of selfless act that could be used to demonstrate to others that the man before them was not worried about himself, but more concerned with the needs of the group. An example of this can be seen in the likes of Captain Robert Falcon Scott who perished in 1912, leading his men in Antarctica. Another example could be the 1905-1906 All Blacks who achieved sporting success so far away from home. However, within the current 1900-1902 context, enlisting to serve away from home in South Africa, for the benefit of the Empire, was a clear way for some of these Old Boys to show these traits.

It is likely that Wilson subscribed to the concept of 'Masculine Christianity' as shown by the hero status he had given those Old Boys who were leaving for South Africa. These examples of dutiful manhood were used to great effect within the school curriculum by Wilson to illustrate to the younger boys to what they should aspire.

Encouragement to act dutifully, did not just come through the use of words printed in magazines, or addressing students during school assembly. The Rectors at both schools used more tangible examples as a part of the school curriculum to motivate the boys into understanding and accepting the concept of duty and service. The parading at any opportunity of the school Cadet Unit and, no doubt, most of the school, in front of various dignitaries, would have helped encourage a sense of duty. Seeing others who were

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<sup>17</sup> Allan K. Davidson, *Useful Industry and Muscular Christianity: George August Selwyn and His Early Years as Bishop of New Zealand*, in R.N. Swanson (ed), *The Use and Abuse of Time In Christian History*, (The Boydell Press, 2002), p.290.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid* p. 290.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid* p. 290.

performing their duty as well would have helped develop this concept within the boys. On 20 March 1900, the Governor Lord Ranfurly visited WBHS, along with the Honourable Joseph Ward.<sup>20</sup> This event involved the Cadets parading in front of the Governor who then inspected the corps before briefly visiting the school.

This visit literally brought the boys face to face with the British Crown as the entourage made its way south to farewell the Fourth Contingent which was preparing for service in South Africa. From here, WBHS followed the Governor's party to Port Chalmers to farewell the departing troops leaving for South Africa. It was there on the docks that the boys from WBHS and OHS heard Lord Ranfurly make his final speech to the departing troops.<sup>21</sup>

...Remember the first duty of a soldier is unquestionable obedience; without that there can be no success to any arms (Cheers) You are inexperienced and untrained; do not let your high spirit lead you to recklessness. Obey your officers implicitly; trust in them entirely, for the British officer has never yet failed his men in the hour of danger. I hope you may win distinction, both personal and as a body; that before long another Victoria Cross (VC) may be pinned on a New Zealand breast, and that we shall welcome you back safely, having been a credit to this colony and having added glory to the great Empire to which you belong. May the Almighty, without whom there can be no success, watch over you, protect you and give you victory.<sup>22</sup>

The expression of national pride in the contingent by the Crown would not have been lost on the boys of both schools. What is clear was the requirement of the assembled officers and soldiers to be obedient to their superiors and seek glory, not just for themselves but for the good of the Colony and Empire. This idea was no different from that which encouraged the boys to be dutiful at school, so the link from the school to the national stage would not have been difficult to make. In fact, it gave the Rectors at the two schools credence, because if the Crown was saying the same thing, then the acceptance of this belief amongst the boys would have been that much easier to assimilate.

The referral to 'the Almighty', by the Governor, would have given the whole experience of the farewell further validity.

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<sup>20</sup> McDonald K.C, p. 121, Table Talk, Monday Afternoon. *Otago Witness*, Issue 2405, 5 April 1900, Page 57, URL:

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=OW19000405.2.162.1&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>21</sup> Farewell at Port Chalmers, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2404, 29 March 1900, page 26.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.* p.26.

However it is inconceivable that the boys watching the farewell would have understood what the concept of 'Masculine Christianity' was because the events happening around them were a part of everyday life. What they would have been aware of was that God was a figure that stood for what was right. If the School and the Crown were both endorsing the sending of men to South Africa, then surely God was in support. From this it is conceivable that the boys on the dock concluded that doing your duty was the right thing to do. Further, hearing the crowd cheer would have been the icing on the cake, confirming in any young mind that their role in the future was to do the bidding of New Zealand and the wider Empire to which they all belonged.

Ward's speech, which followed that of the Governor's, was filled with the expectation that men throughout the colony would serve without any qualm or quibble when called upon. These men, including Old Boys were, in some cases, not too much older than those Cadets watching.<sup>23</sup> Ward stated:

...I have witnessed From Auckland to the Bluff at the various send offs after seeing the crowds present at those functions and noting how the volunteers have come to say goodbye and God speed to their departing comrades. I say he is craven and a coward whoever says that there is no danger to New Zealand so long as we have fighting material of this kind in our colony (prolonged applause) We have already sent 1500 men to the Cape, and I say, not in a boastful manner, but as my conviction, that there is evidence in this present send off and in the others that we have seen that if we wanted 5000 well trained men to go to the Cape they would go as cheerfully as those in front of us are going (cheers)...<sup>24</sup>

Ward tells the assembled crowd that before them are men willing to stand up, be counted and to do their bit. He casts his net even further to infer to all those assembled, including the OHS and WBHS Cadets, that the New Zealand soldier was eager to do his duty. Arguably, those standing in front of these departing soldiers now had something to which they could aspire. The men departing, along with the assembled Volunteer units and Cadets, would all have been in uniform. It is quite likely that some of those boys assembled would have swelled their chests at hearing these words from Ward because they knew that the Empire's cause was just. They, like those about to embark, would have felt a sense of pride and, for some, possibly a feeling of resentment that they were not going as well.

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<sup>23</sup> Appendix 1

<sup>24</sup> Farewell at Port Chalmers, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2404, 29 March 1900, page 26.

For many of those youths assembled, the idea that duty was an expectation they should adhere to was made abundantly clear. In the case of OHS, out of a roll of 220 in 1900, at least 70 would go on to serve with the NZEF during World War One. With respect to the Boer War at least 69 were known to have enlisted to serve.<sup>25</sup> Amongst this number, there were a few Old Boys departing with the Fourth Contingent and, as already discussed, they were farewelled by boys from their former school.

Wilson, as stated, challenged the current crop of OHS boys to 'not to be found wanting' in any subsequent war. Clearly, the number of Old Boys departing during the Boer War would have been used to great effect by the Rector to reinforce his speeches regarding service and sacrifice. On the docks at Port Chalmers were two OHS Old Boys, Captain Harry Townsend Fulton and Lieutenant Arthur Bauchop, both of whom will be discussed later.<sup>26</sup>

Fulton had led his company down onto the docks before he and other officers were presented to the Governor and Lady Ranfurly.<sup>27</sup> This presentation would have been seen by the Cadets and they would have known who Fulton and Bauchop were. The knowledge that both had been ex-Cadets at OHS would not have been held back; most likely if anything it would have been used to show the current Cadets that their predecessors had heeded the call to duty and sacrifice. For those OHS Cadets watching, Wilson's words regarding not to be found wanting would have been in the back of their minds.

The speeches by the Governor and by Ward were designed to motivate the troops leaving and reinforce, not just in them but to those assembled, that New Zealand was performing its duty by making a contribution to a worthwhile cause. The suggestion by the Governor that there was possibility of a VC for anyone so fortunate was not in this case realised. However, the reference to glory in regards to the boys was. Bauchop had come back a hero because he had been noticed by his superiors, especially the Commander in Chief Lord Kitchener. Fulton returned wounded, however he could be held up as a heroic example to the boys. Both were heroes in the sense that, as Old Boys they, as Wilson would put it,

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<sup>25</sup> J.O. Lucas, G.H. Fairmaid, M.G. McInnes, W. J. Patrick, (eds) and T.J. Arnold, *Otago Boy's High School Old Boys Register*, (Dunedin: Otago High School Old Boy's Society (Inc), 1963), p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Farewell at Port Chalmers, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2404, 29 March 1900, page 26.

<sup>27</sup> Embarkation at Dunedin, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2404, 29 March 1900, Page 26. URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=OW19000329.2.85&e=-----10--1----0-->, Farewell at Port Chalmers, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2404, 29 March 1900, page 26.

were found in their place.<sup>28</sup> Clearly these Old Boys who had demonstrated to the younger boys that they were willing to serve and, if need be, sacrifice - they were in effect the ideals of 'Masculine Christianity'. As officers, and therefore leaders, they had lived up to what had been asked of them and in turn they gave all the boys at their old school an acceptable example of service and duty.

Bauchop and Fulton were both at OHS.<sup>29</sup> As discussed, both men left for South Africa at the same time. Bauchop however, was to stay on in South Africa and return to New Zealand in 1904. Fulton came back to New Zealand in November 1900, as a result of the wounds he sustained.<sup>30</sup> Bauchop's heroics were to be widely reported after the battles at Ottoshoop which resulted in him being mentioned in the dispatches of Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener for conspicuous bravery. In February 1901 he was engaged in an action that some say should have earned him the VC and in June 1902, after he returned, he was awarded the Companion to the Saint Michael and Saint George (CMG).<sup>31</sup>

Whether Bauchop was being considered for a VC or not is irrelevant. What is important is that the press reported that he was. This story would have been picked up by various papers around the colony and could quite easily have been seen by boys at OHS. The Governor's speech suggesting that a New Zealander would be awarded a VC and the press suggesting that Bauchop should be awarded this coveted gallantry medal could have easily excited some of the boys into thinking that wars produce heroes. As already discussed, OHS encouraged this type of thinking in its boys by stating that those Old Boys who departed were heroes.<sup>32</sup> More importantly, in this case, the hero who was performing his duty had not just come from New Zealand, but had come from *their* school.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> OHS (ed), April 1900. p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> Appendix 1

<sup>30</sup> The Fourth Contingent, Auckland Star, Volume XXXII, Issue 75, 29 March 1901, Page 5. Retrieved August 30 2014, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=AS19010329.2.52.7&e=-----10--1----0-->, Return of Colonel Bauchop. (From our Correspondent.) Wellington, September 5, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2634, 7 September 1904, page 60, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=OW19040907.2.110&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>31</sup> Port Chalmers to the Fore, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2467, 26 June 1901, page 25, Retrieved August 30 2014 from: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=OW19010626.2.88&e=-----10--1----0-->, Coronation Honours, Press, Volume LIX, Issue 11311, 28 June 1902, Page 8, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=CHP19020628.2.69.1&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>32</sup> OHS (ed), April 1900, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Farewell at Port Chalmers, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2404, 29 March 1900, page 26.

Age did prevent the boys from both schools enlisting and performing their duty as their older 'siblings' had done. However, there was no reason why the boys could not show they were being dutiful. Contributing by raising a monetary subscription, to purchase a suitable item for the war effort, was one such way.<sup>34</sup> The suggestion to raise funds for the troops heading to South Africa, was put by Wilson to the boys at assembly, after he had been asked by some of the students to put his support into their efforts. The endorsement from the Rector resulted in £23 8s 6d being collected and this largely had come from the boys.<sup>35</sup>

A committee of boys then decided that the resulting funds were to be spent on the purchase of a horse to help equip the volunteers.<sup>36</sup> Using a committee of boys to decide how to spend the money gave the students ownership over the outcome. This ownership would have come with guidance from Wilson and allowed the student body to see a result of a dutiful act.

This effort was recognised by *The Magazine* of April 1900 stating that the subscription was a way that 'we had done our little best'. Doing your duty, no matter how much you did, was important because it gave the boys a sense of purpose and unity with the wider community. No doubt Wilson approved of their actions as it demonstrated to him the students understood the concepts of duty and service.

At WBHS the appetite to support the war was similar to that experienced at OHS. The usual speeches to the boys by the Rector, Dr John R. Don, regarding the significance of various military operations in which the Empire troops were involved were similar to those made at OHS.<sup>37</sup> This shows that, like the Rector at OHS, Don used the war to illustrate to the boys the importance of service and duty.

Like their counterparts at OHS, the WBHS students, with the support of Don and his Masters, they paid for a horse that was called 'Waitaki Boy'. This horse went on to be the mount of an unknown Old Boy and was killed during the engagement at Ottoshop.<sup>38</sup> WBHS received a letter from the Troop Leader, another Old Boy of the School, telling them how

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<sup>34</sup> OHS (ed), p. 42

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* p. 42

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* p. 43.

<sup>37</sup> McDonald. K.C. p. 121.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.* p. 120.

'Waitaki Boy' met his fate. In the letter, the Troop Leader, Lieutenant John Henry Keddell lauds the ability and stature of the horse, telling the Rector:

He (Waitaki Boy) died about an hour after he was hit. He was considered to be the best horse in my troop, if not A Squadron. At the time of his death he was in splendid condition.<sup>39</sup>

What is significant about this event is that the writer of the letter increases the importance of the horse beyond that of a mount to one of almost 'superhuman' proportions. The horse, and its Old Boy rider, arguably both provided by the school, were in action doing their bit for the war. This example may have been used to illustrate to the boys that their life at school should include dutiful acts.

The raising of funds was itself a dutiful act because it allowed the students to contribute to a war that New Zealand believed all its citizens had a duty to support. After the boys left school they could still contribute and be dutiful, regardless of what that context meant. If this meant they should enlist to fight with the possibility of being killed, then so be it.

The fact that the rider of the horse was an Old Boy of WBHS would have increased the understanding of what duty meant, because he had sat at the same desks these boys were now in. In the minds of some, this rider could have reached hero status because of his willingness to leave his country and take the fight to the enemy. Of note, we do not hear about what happened to the rider of 'Waitaki Boy'. If he had been injured, or come out unscathed, then no doubt the writer would have said so. It can only be surmised that the rider too was killed.

Even though WBHS records are scarce for this period, it has been demonstrated that what was happening at OHS was happening in Oamaru. The support of the war and its inclusion through the purchase of a horse, speeches by the Rector and visits to farewell departing soldiers, were a part of the curriculum at both schools. They are also examples of a society that expected their youth to be exposed to, and to be aware of, what older men were doing, because this is where they would eventually be heading.

Boys at the time had an awareness of major events, and it is clear events like the Boer War impacted on their lives. Was this the sole reason to enlist in World War One? Possibly not.

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<sup>39</sup> *ibid.* p. 120.

However the pressure to enlist would have been there, especially from a society (quite clearly the older generation) that expected that everyone would do their bit. If that means enlistment, then so be it.

As already discussed, the boys at both schools were exposed to the concept of duty on a number of levels. Another area that was included was the Navy League within the curriculum of both. This organisation believed in the importance of a strong Royal Navy because with this strength the Empire could be held together.

The Navy League was established in the United Kingdom in 1895, and a branch of the League was started in Auckland in 1896. It had been a part of WBHS school life since at least 1908.<sup>40</sup> The Navy League's purpose, in relation to the various schools throughout the Dominion, was to educate students on the importance of sea-power to the Empire.<sup>41</sup> It is not surprising that the Navy League gained a foot hold at WBHS. Milner, the new Rector, was an ardent imperialist as well as a supporter of all things New Zealand.<sup>42</sup>

Part of this education, by the Navy League, within schools, like WBHS, was focused on encouraging students to write essays on a topic regarding Royal Navy matters. The importance the School and the Navy league placed on students to write essays can be illustrated with the December 1908 end of year school prize giving. At this event, various people including Lindsay Inglis, who won the junior school prize for his essay '*The Importance of the Navy to the Empire*', received public acknowledgement for their scholastic efforts.<sup>43</sup> Inglis will be discussed later. However, the topic of the essay was designed to encourage the students to analyse and discuss why the Royal Navy was important. The involvement of the boys in their own learning allowed them to self-discover topics of importance. However, it was the Rector who decided what topics were important to learn. As with the Rectors at OHS, Milner had the belief that duty, service and sacrifice were values to be instilled in the boys. Like the previous Rectors, who used the school assembly to push home points about why service and duty were was important to the boys, Milner

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<sup>40</sup> The Navy League of New Zealand, Archives New Zealand, URL:

<http://archives.govt.nz/gallery/v/Walter+Nash+Exhibiyion/Navy+League>. K.C. p. 149.

<sup>41</sup> WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys' High School*, Vol III, No 3, December 1908. p. 194.

<sup>42</sup> Ian Milner, *Milner of Waitaki: Portrait of The Man*, (Dunedin: John McIndoe Ltd, 1983), 62, McDonald. K.C. p. 149.

<sup>43</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1908. p. 191.

used the visits of others to reinforce the values and ideals he thought were important. The inclusion of the Navy League into the curriculum gave these boys an understanding as to how these values could be used in the support of the Empire.

At the same event that Lindsay Inglis was receiving recognition for his essay, the Navy League had been invited to send a speaker, Lieutenant Knox, to address the boys.<sup>44</sup> Knox promoted the idea that the Royal Navy played a key part in the inter-reliance of the Empire by protecting the lines of communication.<sup>45</sup> It was the challenge to these lines of communication that the Navy League said was every member of the Empire's duty to protect. Demonstrating to the boys that they were part of a global Empire, gave them a sense of place outside of that of New Zealand. It is possible that some of the boys in the audience were first generation New Zealanders and had family back in the United Kingdom. Listening to Knox's ideas would have resonated with them because they would have understood that sea-communications had an important place within the Empire - especially if they or their family wanted to visit each other.

The inclusion, by Knox, of a 'Lantern Show' (equivalent to watching a documentary on TV today) to help illustrate his points would have helped the boys in understanding this 'place'. Knox then went on to tell the audience that the Empire to which they belonged was under threat by another nation – in this case Germany – who was spending its taxes on raising a Navy to rival theirs. This inclusion was important as it gave substance to why the Royal Navy needed their support; to which the Navy League argued, everyone was duty bound to do.

Another important element in fostering imperialism, within the boys, was the inferred idea that Germany was not the only problem; there was also the potential for a menace from within. Knox tells his audience that there are MPs within the Houses of Parliament in Britain who wanted to downsize the Royal Navy and decrease the capabilities of ships being purchased.<sup>46</sup> He places scorn on these people and suggests that the Navy should be increasing, not decreasing.

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<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* p. 191. Of note *The Waitakian* does not tell us the first name of Lieutenant Knox. It can be rightly assumed that he is an ex Royal Navy Officer given the use of naval rank and the topic involved.

<sup>45</sup> WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys' High School*, Vol VIII, No 1, May 1913.p.42.

<sup>46</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1908. p. 196.

Knox further tells the audience that New Zealand exports £18,000,000 worth of produce, highlighting both the importance of naval protection and economic connection with the Empire. Knox and, by default Milner, is suggesting that the importance of the Royal Navy should not be ignored by any Imperial minded citizen, especially a dutiful one. Including reference to issues of concern from within, reminds the boys that unity of purpose should be the focus of all within the Empire and, that as good citizens of New Zealand, it was their duty to tell their politicians to protest against those seeking to destabilise it.

The Navy League, and the visit of Knox, is an excellent example of using the curriculum to encourage a sense of duty within the boys. Milner's inclusion of the League, which would have had support from the Education Department, in the development of the boys, was designed to make them aware of wider issues and in effect politicise their views.<sup>47</sup> For the boys, understanding these issues and how they affected them was an important way of establishing a sense of duty, especially in regard to the higher concepts of Nation and Empire.

For the more mentally astute boy it would not have been too difficult to understand that a school is set up in a similar model to that of the Nation and Empire with a figurehead and council filling the places of Rector and Masters. At the bottom were the general populace or, in the case of the school, the students. If this group, or the school, was to meet its goals, then it needed a common purpose and direction.

Knox was arguing that the Royal Navy allowed the 'Nation and Empire' to maintain this direction. What Knox and Milner wanted was the boys to understand that their adherence to duty would ensure this would happen. The Navy League was not just a part of WBHS; OHS had a chapter as well. However, in contrast to WBHS, in 1906 OHS struggled to get the numbers to join and was in abeyance for some time throughout the year. It was suggested in *The Magazine* that the call of the rugby field caused numbers to drop, which is not surprising considering that the All Blacks had just returned from a triumphant tour. Even the supply of naval minded books to the OHS chapter was not enough to lure boys in.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> WBHS(ed), May 1913. p.40.

<sup>48</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXII, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1906, p. 86.

However, in the August 1913 edition of *The Magazine* the numbers show a drastic about turn climbing to 265 during the first term of school. Though it is unclear as to why this increase occurred, it is possible that this was driven by the introduction of compulsory military training in 1910 and the subsequent focus on all things military. The pending 31 May 1913 visit of the HMS *New Zealand* to Otago Heads was more than likely the real reason as to why boys at OHS suddenly became more interested in the Navy League.

HMS *New Zealand* was a battle cruiser, bought and paid for by the New Zealand Government under the behest of the Prime Minister, Joseph Ward. This ship, as part of the Royal Navy, was to be New Zealand's contribution in defence of the Empire and its lines of communication. From being laid down in 1910 until its visit in 1913, matters relating to anything to do with HMS *New Zealand* were reported in the press.<sup>49</sup> This ship was used by the press as a physical example of New Zealand demonstrating to the other members of the Empire that defence was the responsibility of all, a concept that the Navy League endorsed.<sup>50</sup>

With the visit of HMS *New Zealand* to these shores in April 1913, the press was abuzz with news of its movements in New Zealand waters.<sup>51</sup> In relation to OHS and WBHS, this was a major event and there was hope the ship would make it into Port Chalmers to allow the boys to board. Like students from other schools, boys were encouraged, and transported by the Education Department, to visit the HMS *New Zealand* when it visited their nearest port.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Correspondence, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2847, 7 October 1908, Page 86, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=OW19081007.2.288.5&e=-----10--1----0-->, The Scene in the Streets, *Otago Witness*, Issue 2881, 2 June 1909, Page 41, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=OW19090602.2.201&e=-----10--1----0-->, HMS New Zealand, *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 15488, 24 June 1912, Page 5, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=ODT19120624.2.25&e=-----10--1----0-->, Naval Rivalry, *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 15460, 22 May 1912, page 7, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=ODT19120522.2.41&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>50</sup> Naval Rivalry, *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 15460, 22 May 1912, page 7, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=ODT19120522.2.41&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>51</sup> HMS New Zealand, *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 15725, 31 March 1913, Page 5, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=ODT19130331.2.44&e=-----10--1----0-->, Visit of the New Zealand, *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 15746, 24 April 1913, Page 7, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=ODT19130424.2.71&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>52</sup> HMS New Zealand, *Nelson Evening Mail*, Volume XLVIII, 22 May 1913, page 5, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=NEM19130522.2.23&e=-----10--1----0-->, Dunedin Schools and HMS New Zealand, *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 15767, 19 May 1913, Page 4, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=ODT19130519.2.26&e=-----10--1----0-->

This push to get the boys to see the ship was aimed at demonstrating to the boys that the Empire was indeed powerful and that New Zealand was right up there when it came to doing its bit. HMS *New Zealand* however, was unable to dock at Port Chalmers due to lack of space to manoeuvre once inside the Tairua heads. In the case of both of the subject schools, plans were instead made to travel north to Port Lyttelton, near Christchurch, to view the ship.<sup>53</sup> This push from all levels of government and from the schools shows that the concept of duty was not just confined to an expectation placed solely on boys. The logistic co-ordination required by all these groups in order to get the boys to see the HMS *New Zealand* shows that duty was a 'whole of nation' expectation.

From WBHS 50 boys would make the trip and from OHS, as reported in the August 1913 *The Magazine*, 160 boys went by train to Lyttelton to see HMS *New Zealand*.<sup>54</sup> Amongst this group most likely were the Head Boys of both schools, one of those being WBHS' Lindsay Inglis. Of particular note is reference given to the discipline observed whilst on board.

...In spite of all this we realised the armament and equipment would count for little were it not for the high state of efficiency and discipline attained by her officers and crew...<sup>55</sup>

With a ship of any size there is a need to ensure that all personnel, regardless of status or age, work as a cohesive unit in order to allow everything to run smoothly. Discipline was central to ensuring this cohesion was maintained. One group that would have been subjected to this discipline were the boy sailors who were at sea from 17 years, sometimes much younger.<sup>56</sup> These boys were, in some ways, not too dissimilar to the OHS and WBHS boys who visited HMS *New Zealand*. They were the same age, controlled by an officer and disciplined by him as well, even to the point of receiving corporal punishment, just like the school boys who visited them.<sup>57</sup> The only real difference between the two groups was that the boy sailors received their education in regard to doing their duty while at sea.

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<sup>53</sup> HMS *New Zealand* and Otago Harbour, Otago Daily Times, Issue 15769, 21 May 1913, Page 8, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=ODT19130521.2.99&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>54</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXIX, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1913.p. 92, Milner, p. 62.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.* p. 93.

<sup>56</sup> Christopher McKee, *Sober Men and True: Sailor Lives in the Royal Navy 1900-1945*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 2.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.* p.121.

It can be argued that the Royal Navy boys would have been seen, and more than likely, spoken to by the visiting boys from both schools. At the very least, the visiting students from OHS and WBHS would have been aware that these boy sailors were on board. This is because any tour of the ship would have been led by a Naval Officer or Sailor who no doubt told the visitors about life on the ship and this would have included details about who was sailing on her.

Questions too, were possibly asked by the visitors about the life boys led while at sea. It is quite probable these questions were the result of the visiting boys' involvement in the Navy League and reading stories about boy sailors. The only difference between the boys visiting the *HMS New Zealand* and those who worked on it was that the reader was only imagining, whereas the boy sailor was actually doing.

Children's literature during the period under discussion was littered with stories of boys doing their duty by performing heroic deeds. Those supporting popular heroes were consistent themes. A popular book at the time was *'The Boy Skipper'* written by W C Metcalfe in 1895.<sup>58</sup> This story, and ones like it, usually revolved around the idea that a youth was placed in a position of responsibility leading older men, and as a result, acquits himself admirably and, in effect, displaying Masculine Christian traits.

These types of books demonstrated to the target audience that boys, not too dissimilar from themselves, were doing their bit for the Empire, through duty, service and sacrifice. These stories depicted the values that were expected of the boys as members of the Empire.

In *The Boy Skipper*, the hero is a young boy named Master Shotton who on his first voyage takes command of the vessel *Trafalgar* after its officers are stricken with 'Java fever' on their way to Melbourne. On their arrival at their destination a shipmate exclaims:

Why, you're quite a hero, said John Lane, the steward...Well, said Shotton, I don't see what I've done for anyone to make a fuss about.... You've saved the ship and you've saved our lives, said Lane; and if that's not something, why, I don't know what is.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> William Charles Metcalfe, *The Boy Skipper*, (London: Jarrolds, 1895).

<sup>59</sup> *ibid*, p.242.

It does not take too much to argue that boys who read these sorts of books could have easily made a link between these stories and what they perceived the life of the real boy sailors was like. James Walvin in his book *A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood, 1800-1914* supports this assumption. In this book he discusses the genre of boy's literature and their effect on Victorian and Edwardian boys:

It is reasonable to assume that the adults who displayed such fierce nationalism in the early years of the century (20th Century) had learnt their jingoistic lines and acquired their sense of national superiority in their early years, when thumbing through their books, comics, magazines and yarns.<sup>60</sup>

If the adults, as Walvin puts it, had already adopted a jingoistic attitude through their childhood reading then it stands to reason that they would have approved of literature that helped their children or, in this case, students, adopt a similar attitude. Using literature as one of the many tools to develop boys for their future roles within society was clearly something acceptable within the community. With this in mind it is important to discuss what literature was available to boys whilst they were at schools like WBHS.

Milner was extremely pro-Empire so it is not surprising that his choice of books for the school library reflected this stance. However, before this is tabled it is useful to look at who had influenced Milner. Milner had spent his university years at Canterbury studying under Professor John McMillian Brown. McMillian Brown is described by the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* as being an outstanding mentor and administrator. He encouraged his students to debate and explore the world around them.<sup>61</sup> His love of Classics would influence the younger Milner who in turn used McMillian Brown's teaching principles when he began his teaching career.<sup>62</sup>

Under Milner's leadership the library at WBHS expanded from 150 to 1500 books within three years. Boys were encouraged to use the library as a means to research the various

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<sup>60</sup> James Walvin, *A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood, 1800-1914*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982) p. 180.

<sup>61</sup> Cherry Hankin. 'McMillian Brown, John Macmillan', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b41/McMillian-Brown-john-macmillan>, McMillian Brown's personal library of over 15000 books was gifted to Canterbury University. In 1988 the Macmillan McMillian Brown Centre for Pacific Studies was opened in his honour.

<sup>62</sup> Milner, p. 30.

topics they were given for their class work.<sup>63</sup> The library held titles such as ‘Lives of Greek Heroes’, ‘Tom Brown’s Schooldays’, ‘Tales for Young People’, ‘The Downfall of Napoleon’, ‘English Poetry for Young People’, ‘Famous Discoveries by Land and Sea’ and ‘Decisive Battles of the World.’<sup>64</sup>

From what Walvin tells us regarding the influence of the old on the young, it is apparent that McMillian Brown and then Milner used their positions of authority to persuade their respective students to think along lines that they believed were acceptable. In regard to Milner his students only had access to a library that Milner furnished.

Milner’s Empire centric choices shaped the students’ perceptions of the world around them. Therefore, when war was declared in 1914 it stands to reason that, for some, when deciding to perform one’s duty, the decision to enlist was easily made because they had no reason not to.

The encouragement of the boys by Milner, and his OHS counterpart, to read widely did have an impact on their development and how they saw their future role. Former WBHS student Spencer Westmacott, in his book *The After-Breakfast Cigar* refers to a book he enjoyed reading many a time in 1914. In his book Westmacott clearly gives the impression that he wishes that he too could go to war:

I lay long enough reading *From Midshipman to Field Marshal* to be reminded for the unnumbered time that the romantic days were past when men went to war; but if I could not enjoy the experience myself I could recapture some of the excitement by reading about it...<sup>65</sup>

Westmacott was not the only former WBHS student that longed to be involved in a war. WBHS and former OHS Old Boy Clutha Mackenzie in his book *The Tale of a Trooper*, the central figure, arguably Mackenzie, discusses with his friend how he wishes that they had a chance to go to the Boer War:

“Those times must have been great,” said Charley.  
“Don’t those chaps look as if they’re enjoying themselves?”

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<sup>63</sup> Milner, p. 60.

<sup>64</sup> WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys’ High School*, Vol II, No 3, December 1907. p. 175.

<sup>65</sup> Honor F. Westmacott, (ed), Spencer, Westmacott, *The After Breakfast Cigar: Selected Memoirs of a King Country Settler*, (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1977), p. 201-202.

“Not half. Cripes! I wish I had been there.”

“Why in the devil didn’t that bloomin’ war come in our time?”

“Not our luck. You know, Mac, if we’d been the same age we’re now, we’d have been there.”<sup>66</sup>

Westmacott and Mackenzie were both educated men and had attended schools that valued the importance of literature in developing their students. This development centred on the need to educate boys in what their future roles would be. Encouraging students to read books that were duty centric was a method used by OHS and WBHS to encourage their students to become dutifully minded. Hardly surprising when considering Walvin’s suggestion that the masters of these boys would have learnt their jingoistic attitudes from reading similar books when they were young.

The excerpts from Westmacott’s and Mackenzie’s books show that both men were dutifully minded and hoped they would one day be able to perform their duty. This duty was to serve their King and Country.

As already stated, the visit of the HMS *New Zealand* generated considerable interest. At both schools, the pride in Empire and national achievement was reported on in detail. WBHS hailed the visit as a:

...great educative value in that they provided the young Waitakians with inspirational examples of true British character and achievement, flesh blood models of patriotism.<sup>67</sup>

A similar outcome was reached by OHS when they concluded their visit:

We felt pride that our island home had presented this ship to the Mother Country, and thought with hope, not unmixed with confidence, of the part she would play should the dread dogs of war be loosed.<sup>68</sup>

It is clear that both schools saw the visit by HMS *New Zealand* as a good example of New Zealand demonstrating to Empire that the Dominion was willing to do its duty and, as a result, able to assist. This assistance would, if needed, include that of being involved in war. Though at the time the thinking of many may have been just towards a naval contribution to any conflict, the fact is clear that New Zealand was prepared to do its duty at an Imperial

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<sup>66</sup> Clutha N. Mackenzie, *The Troopers Tale*, (Winnetka: reprint Norilana Books, 2008), p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> Milner. p. 62.

<sup>68</sup> OHS (ed), August 1913. p. 93.

level. If the nation was to display a willingness to do its duty at this level, then it was important that it encouraged its boys to be prepared to do theirs as well. Without this support from its youth, New Zealand, it was believed, would become a defenceless target – an idea the Navy League clearly promoted as unacceptable.

If just visiting the ship was not enough to instil a sense of duty within the boys from WBHS, then the Rector arranged for Captain Halsey, Captain of the HMS *New Zealand*, to visit the school on 1 June 1913.<sup>69</sup> This visit was for Halsey to unveil a memorial to the late Captain Robert Falcon Scott who had, along with four of his comrades, perished after reaching the South Pole in 1912.<sup>70</sup>

Articles in the May 1913 *Waitakian* on this subject tell us that Scott was revered by many at the school.<sup>71</sup> This level of hero worship is clear in the words of the editor Lindsay Inglis, who passes scorn on those who would question Scott's new found hero status.<sup>72</sup>

Was it worth it? A thousand times, yes, we say. Men of such leonine type, of such iron endurance, of such daring initiative, are only too rare in this luxurious generation: and the inspirational effect of their heroic passing would alone be sufficient to justify the sacrifice.<sup>73</sup>

He goes on to suggest that the Empire was enriched by this death and Scott's example of courage, chivalry and self-devotion has lifted the world out of squalor.<sup>74</sup> As if to live out his own words of courage, chivalry and self-devotion, Inglis would go on to rise through the ranks finishing his military career in 1950 as the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court in British occupied Germany with the rank of Major-General.<sup>75</sup> Clearly the schooling that Inglis undertook had some bearing on how his future career panned out.

The purpose of this unveiling by Halsey, who had known Scott, was to impress onto the boys that if you live a dutiful life, your peers will not forget your heroics. To ensure the boys

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<sup>69</sup> Milner, p. 136.

<sup>70</sup> *ibid.* p. 135-136.

<sup>71</sup> WBHS(ed), May 1913. p.8.

<sup>72</sup> Though it was more likely Milner who penned the article on Scott, it is interesting to note that the young Inglis would have had meetings with the Rector regarding the article and what was to go into it.

<sup>73</sup> WBHS(ed), May 1913. p.8.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.* p.8.

<sup>75</sup> Paul Goldstone. 'Inglis, Lindsay Merritt', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 23-Oct-2013, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5i2/inglis-lindsay-merritt>

did not forget why Scott's sacrifice was so important to them and the Empire, the wall tablet had the following inscription, said to be Scott's 'last message'.<sup>76</sup>

For my sake I do not regret this journey, which has shown that the Englishman can endure hardships, help one another, and meet death with a great fortitude as ever in the past. We took risks. We knew we took them. Things have come out against us, and therefore we have no cause for complaint, but bow to the will of Providence, determined still to do our best to the last...<sup>77</sup>

It was later revealed that the tablet anonymously presented to the School had in fact been given by Milner.<sup>78</sup> Given Milner's predisposition to promote the cause of the British Empire, the 'last message' is clearly his words and not those of Scott.<sup>79</sup>

Having Captain Halsey unveil the tablet made this event more poignant as Halsey knew Captain Robert Falcon Scott. This idea would hopefully reinforce in the boys that dutiful heroes are not just figures in fiction, that they are real. The words would hopefully inspire them to always do their duty to the end and if lucky enough, they too would become heroes.

Halsey and Scott were examples of Masculine Christianity both had shown they were willing to sacrifice for the betterment of the Empire; in Scott's case, he had done so with his life. With war in 1914 just over a year away, the visit by Halsey and 'the words' of Scott along with the encouragement of Milner would, for some boys, be encouragement enough to enlist.

The attention placed by schools on the concepts of service and duty helped to encourage a sense of patriotism within the boys. This sense of loyalty was not just developed by schools for their benefit but was also for that of the immediate community, nation and wider Empire. What is evident here is that New Zealand society wanted boys who were dutiful and willing to serve, and a way to encourage this was through schools that were prepared to develop these concepts.

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<sup>76</sup> Milner, p.136.

<sup>77</sup> WBHS(ed), May 1913. p.77. Milner, p.136

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.* p. 136.

<sup>79</sup> *ibid.* p. 136, Scott's last entry's in his diary paint a very different picture. Thursday March 29: *Every day we have been ready to start for our depot eleven miles away, but outside the door of the tent it remains a scene of whirling drift. We shall stick it out to the end, but we are getting weaker, of course, and the end cannot be far. It seems a pity, but I do not think I can write more R. Scott.* Last entry: *For God's sake look after our People.* Explorer Journal, Excerpt: *The Last March*, By Robert Falcon Scott. URL: [http://www.amnh.org/education/resources/rfl/web/antarctica/ej\\_scott.html](http://www.amnh.org/education/resources/rfl/web/antarctica/ej_scott.html)

Learning about international and local events such as the Boer War, and issues raised by the Navy League, along with the visit of the HMS *New Zealand*, were not the only way that schools like OHS and WBHS encouraged the concepts of duty and service. The topics discussed should not be viewed in isolation as a single determinant as to why youths went on to enlist in World War One. Another influential factor in the decision to enlist was the inclusion of military training within the curriculum. This training extended the exposure to the concepts of service and duty that the boys at OHS and WBHS were already receiving. The inclusion of military training within the curriculum needs to be considered so as to ascertain how much influence OHS and WBHS had over their students when it came to developing their perception of the world they would soon be joining.

## Chapter Two: Duty to serve Empire, King, Country and School

In 1909, compulsory military training was introduced for all males over the age of 12 and under 21. However, military training had been a part of the curriculum at OHS and WBHS for some time. The addition of military training and its effect on the students at OHS and WBHS is important, as it was a tangible example of how each of these schools defined service and duty.

The inclusion of military training within schools can be traced back to 1864. During, as referred to then, the New Zealand Wars, OHS established the first Cadet unit in New Zealand.<sup>80</sup> In 1875, a six-pounder, Armstrong breech-loaded artillery piece was supplied to form the basis of the school's artillery unit. For a couple of years prior to this, a wooden gun had been in use.<sup>81</sup> This unit was led by one of the Masters, Joseph Wladislas Edmund Potocki de Montalk, who had seen active service in 1859, with General Giuseppe Garibaldi during the Italian war of unification. In this role, he was to ensure that the members of the gunnery section were proficient in artillery drills.<sup>82</sup> Recollections from former students involved in the artillery section reveal that the unit practised with members of the local city battery and, at one stage, conducted a live fire exercise out to sea from St Clair. One of the students involved recalled that event many years later:

I remember only one live-shell shoot, though there may have been others. We jogged out to the beach, together with the Battery (three guns in all), and fired at the island from where the esplanade begins next to the bathing club's buildings now.<sup>83</sup>

It can be assumed that de Montalk had been chosen to lead the training because of his previous experience.<sup>84</sup> Drilling with the city battery helped give example to the boys as to what a good soldier was. With the New Zealand Wars still fresh within the lives of many, it

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<sup>80</sup> New Zealand Cadet Forces, *History of the NZCF*. URL: <http://www.cadetforces.mil.nz/about/history-of-the-nzcf.htm>, *Otago Boy's High School Old Boys Register*, (Dunedin: Otago High School Old Boy's Society (Inc), 1963), p. 82.

<sup>81</sup> *Otago Boy's High School Old Boys Register*, (Dunedin: Otago High School Old Boy's Society (Inc), 1963), p. 83.

<sup>82</sup> Professor E. Potocki De Montalk, *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* (Auckland Provincial District) Retrieved August 30 2014 from: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc02Cycl-t1-body1-d1-d22-d11.html>, W. S. Broughton. 'de Montalk, Joseph Wladislas Edmond Potocki', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 7-Jun-2013, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2d6/de-montalk-joseph-wladislas-edmond-potocki>, Lucas. p. 83.

<sup>83</sup> *Otago Boy's High School Old Boys Register*, (Dunedin: Otago High School Old Boy's Society (Inc), 1963), p. 83.

can also be considered likely that this example was used as well in order to reinforce why drilling was important – and not just for the artillery unit but again for those boys who were trained in infantry tactics. Understanding why you are doing something and seeing a practical demonstration of this knowledge, in the shape of live fire exercises would have likely had an impact on the boys at the school.

De Montalk is an example of a Masculine Christian. His father was a military man, having served in the Spanish Army. De Montalk had shown that he was prepared to do his duty by serving in a war that resulted in the unification of Italy. It is probable, as suggested, that through this background and experience the Rector, Stuart Hawthorne, chose De Montalk to teach and inspire the boys.

One such boy was Alfred W Robin.<sup>85</sup> Robin only spent one year at OHS (1873). This, in itself, was not uncommon as the usual length of time at the school for most boys appears to have been just two years.<sup>86</sup> Robin was a foundation member of the school's Artillery unit, rising to the rank of Bombardier.<sup>87</sup>

After Robin left OHBS, his involvement with all things military continued and resulted in him rising through the ranks of various volunteer units within the Dunedin area. He went on to lead the First Contingent to South Africa. The newspapers in New Zealand regularly followed his exploits, along with the remainder of the contingent. When Robin left South Africa in 1901 for home, his pending return was reported throughout the colony.<sup>88</sup>

Did involvement in the cadets and being taught by De Montalk lead Robin to pursue a career in the Army? Quite possibly. However the question must be asked why did some of the other Cadets not become career soldiers as well? A possible answer is that New Zealand did not have a standing army at this time and relied upon volunteers to fulfil this aspect. With this in mind the chances for part-time Officers like Robin to be promoted to a

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<sup>85</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago Boys High School Magazine*, Otago High School: Dunedin, May 1903, pp. 108-109.

<sup>86</sup> Appendix 1

<sup>87</sup> The unit was formed in 1875 and was to last until 1938. *Otago Boy's High School Old Boys Register*, (Dunedin: Otago High School Old Boy's Society (Inc), 1963), p. 82.

<sup>88</sup> Colonel Robin Returning, *Ashburton Guardian*, 28 March 1901

Retrieved September 30 2011 from:

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=AG19010328.2.20&srpos=8&e=-----100--1----2Colonel+Robin-->, Colonel Robin, *Marlborough Express*, 28 March 1901, URL:

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=MEX19010328.2.15.7&srpos=11&e=----100--1----0Colonel+Robin-->

position where they were going to be noticed was slim. Whereas there were other careers, like doctors and lawyers, that gave just as much advancement and a chance to demonstrate their duty to the community.

Meanwhile, according to the OHS April, 1900 edition of the *Magazine*, the issue of Cadets had become quite topical. The editor congratulated the Cadet Corps on the increase in numbers, as well as their appearance, stating that:

This year there had been no compulsion; all Cadets have joined voluntarily, and thus take a greater interest in their drill.<sup>89</sup>

The editor goes on to say that so many boys wanted to enlist that they ended up having to turn some away.

This year, so great was the number of applications for places that the height restriction had to be brought to bear again, and thus several boys, although suitable in every other way, had to be rejected.<sup>90</sup>

While there may be a link between Robin's exploits and the surge of interest in Cadets at the school, it is more likely that this interest was generated by the publicity and collective war effort of the Colony, not as a result of just one person's exploits in South Africa.

Of interest, however, is how the school saw the importance of the training of Cadets in the future of the Colony. During the increase in Cadets over this period, there were plans to send a group of Cadets north by rail to Timaru to attend training with their adult counterparts. It was found that the free travel passes given to the Volunteers heading to Timaru on the same train were not extended to Cadets. This lack of inclusion resulted in the editor asking why the Cadets were being treated in such a cursory manner:

Cadets, who are soldiers of the future, who are to become, a short time hence, the defenders of their country, should be allowed the same privileges as other volunteers.

He goes on to state:

Several Dunedin Corps regard our Corps as their recruiting ground, and many of our old Cadets are now officers in various companies. If no encouragement is given to

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<sup>89</sup> OHS (ed), April 1900.p. 5.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid.* p. 5.

the younger volunteers, how can it be expected that they will be willing to take part in volunteer work when they are older?<sup>91</sup>

It is apparent from this statement that the editor believed that the training received by the Cadets at OHS was of good quality, because of the interest shown by the adult volunteer units in the boys once they left school. His concern at the lack of acknowledgement from Defence officials as to the importance of the cadets is quite apparent.

The Cadet Unit at OHS was an important part of the school curriculum. The school believed that part of their role in preparing boys for future lives outside of school was to ensure they had the skills to be able to fit into the wider society. Part of this skill base was the introduction to the concept of performing one's duty for the nation, not just within your daily life, but also within a military context.

If the Army was paying 'lip service' to the Cadet Units and their efforts to instil a sense of duty within the Cadets, then it is understandable that the school was not impressed with their efforts being undermined by those they were meant to be supporting.

OHS' concern that their hard work in producing dutiful boys within a military context was being wasted, led them to invite Old Boys like the now Colonel Alfred W Robin to the school to inspect the Cadets.<sup>92</sup> The use of Robin to inspect the boys was important because it allowed the boys to see for themselves a real soldier who had performed his duty who, as an ex OHS Cadet, had won medals on active service and had attended their school. In effect, he was the epitome of the Masculine Christian hero. He also assisted the school as a link between them and the Defence Department, without this link the training of the Cadets at the school would have continued to be undermined.

Parading heroes in front of the boys was something that was to be encouraged as a result of the visit of General Ian Hamilton in 1914. In his report to the New Zealand Government, he pointed out the desired traits for training youths:

A man that had a vocation for that sort of job, especially if he has war-medals, an ultra-fierce aspect, and a loud and military word of command, will quickly produce discipline and steady drill. Every effort should be made to secure the best possible instructors and to give themselves a good personal equipment of knowledge of drill,

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<sup>91</sup> *ibid.* p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXII, No 1, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, May 1906. p. 89.

of warlike stories, and of the principles of discipline. For it should ever be borne in mind that a fund of knowledge and a suitable, impressive method of teaching will create a good discipline where mere punishment will every time signally fail.<sup>93</sup>

Clearly, OHS was already well aware of this idea when they allowed Robin to inspect the boys in 1906. At the time, Robin was the Otago District Commander and took an avid interest in what was happening at his old school. It is apparent that OHS and Robin could see the mutual benefits of his attendance at the school. Robin provided the boys with a dutiful Masculine Christian example to follow and OHS gained a more disciplined boy. A more disciplined boy was more likely to subscribe to the concepts of duty and sacrifice. This was an ideal that Robin no doubt subscribed to and, as already discussed, OHS did as well.

The idea of using Old Boys, like Robin, who had been a Cadet at the school to teach the present, aspiring Cadets was a method that was well entrenched in the school. The editor of the August 1908 OHS Magazine informs the reader that:

A few notes on the work done in the past and now being done by the Old Boys may not be out of place, and should serve to teach most of the new boys of the deeds of their predecessors.<sup>94</sup>

The deeds of these Old Boys were definitely not out of place and other Old Boys such as Arthur Bauchop, Thomas Burns and Harry Fulton visited the school. These modern-day New Zealand Edwardian heroes were more relevant to these school boys than Lord Nelson (of Trafalgar fame) or Duke of Marlborough could ever be.

These pre-Victorian heroes were, up until and well after the South African War, the preferred type of example used to demonstrate to youth to what they should aspire. For example, under Milner, WBHS used images of these heroes around the school. They were, unlike the first crop of heroes from the New Zealand Wars, romanticised in literature, song and folklore. If anything the New Zealand War heroes faded in obscurity.

The pre-Victorian heroes were relevant to the youths' parents because they had brought them with them from a country that had survived numerous attempts at invasion for over 800 years. The wars they fought, like Bauchop, Burns and Fulton had in South African war, were

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<sup>93</sup> AJHR, Vol III, Wellington: 1914, H19a p. 26.

<sup>94</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXIV, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1908, p. 90.

away from home and, as a result, could be romanticised and portrayed as heroic and justified. The newer South African heroes were held up as fine examples of Christian Manhood, as opposed to the New Zealand War examples because these newer heroes had 'saved' the British nation, whereas the New Zealand ones had just chased errant 'natives' around the North Island bush.

What made the New Zealand heroes of the South African War different was that they had sat in the same seats as the current crop of schoolboys. Robin and other Old Boys had participated in a war that was still within living memory for many of these boys and it was not only the schoolmasters that held them in high regard, but also the wider community. If the Cadets needed further convincing about what they needed to aim for, they only had to see, talk to and listen to these heroes speak, something Nelson and Marlborough could not be asked to do.

Displaying 'heroes' was just one aspect of a Cadet's training. Being able to shoot well was an important part. Like sport, the ability of the boys to be able to shoot well was encouraged because of the benefits it gave the school. Rory Sweetman in his book *'Above the City', A History of Otago Boys High School 1863-2013* describes how that in 1866 the school's first sports day started with the idea of having a shooting competition, for which the winner would receive a rifle.<sup>95</sup> Shooting was a part of school life for the Cadets, which is not surprising because this skill was very much at the core of what it meant to be a soldier.

At WBHS the Cadets also undertook training to be more effective shots. In 1907 the end of year report stated that shooting had been taken up with more vigour and that those participating had clearly improved.<sup>96</sup> The improvement shown was believed to be the foundation for a better year in 1908.

WBHS demonstrates they were putting effort into improving the shooting ability at the school. To do so, suggests that their aim was not only to improve the Cadets' shooting skills but also when it came to interschool competitions, then WBHS was able to field a team that could accredit itself well, bringing more kudos to the school.

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<sup>95</sup> Sweetman, *Above the City: A History of the Otago Boys High School 1863-2013*, p. 43.

<sup>96</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1907. p. 148.

The improvement in shooting skills at WBHS showed the wider community that the school was clearly encouraging their students to improve their skills. What is of interest here is that WBHS was encouraging their students to do so before the introduction of compulsory military training in 1909. This suggests that there was a measure of patriotic teachings going on within the school that revolved around the idea that every man should be prepared to do his duty. This is evident by the style of shooting being taught as its only application was the battlefield. For the students, however, it can be assumed that when it came time to enlist for service with the NZEF, then many may have felt that they had something credible to offer the recruiters.

In 1909 the WBHS cadets were invited to Christchurch to shoot alongside other Cadets from around the South Island. As a result the team came away winning the Defence Cadets Match for the second year running, a result that allowed WBHS to keep the trophy.<sup>97</sup> What is interesting about this achievement is the manner it was reported in the *Waitakian*. Cadets are referred to by their rank and name, for example, Bugler Moss. With rank, came responsibility; with responsibility, came duty. Those shooting were obligated to perform their duty to the best of their ability for their school and for the rank they had been given.

Meanwhile, at OHS only the cadet shooting team of 1910 were practising their skills.<sup>98</sup> The inclusion of new aperture sights for the shooters was hoped to improve the shooting of the team. Whether this did or not is unclear, however what is important to note is that OHS, like WBHS, was investing in its cadet shooting team to bring home the results they wanted. Like WBHS, OHS referred to the boys by rank so it is a fair assumption that this school, like others, were encouraging a sense of responsibility within its boys by using the ranking system as a means to encourage service and duty.

WBHS clearly placed the status of the shooting team up on the same level as the 1<sup>st</sup> XV and 1<sup>st</sup> XI. In the September 1909 edition of *The Waitakian* the results of the Schools of the Empire match were printed in their entirety to show how well the school was doing against other teams in the Empire. This competition appears to have been designed to pit the skills of other schools from throughout the Empire against each other. Obviously getting the

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<sup>97</sup> WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys' High School*, Vol IV, No 1, May 1909. p. 64.

<sup>98</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXVI, No 3, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, November 1910. p.135.

schools together to shoot was never going to happen so they shot at their local range under the supervision of the rifle club. Grades were then submitted and results published. The 1909 results show that WBHS came sixteenth out of 55 schools from the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia and India, one point behind the top New Zealand School, Wanganui Collegiate.<sup>99</sup>

It was not only at the Empire level that WBHS was using boys to demonstrate how well their shooting skills were developed. Closer to home, the Earl Roberts Imperial Trophy competition was conducted at Trentham Military Camp. The boys in this competition were to use the adult-sized rifle, the Lee Enfield .303.<sup>100</sup>

At 3 ft 8 ½ inches in length without bayonet, (1m 7cm), some of the boys would have been not much taller than the rifle was long, yet they were required to run 100 yards, (91m), carrying 8 lbs 14 ½ oz (3.85 kgs) of rifle and then lie in the prone position to fire 2 shots. This skill would have been timed and measured for accuracy of application of fire. No doubt some may have found the physical effort tiresome, especially if this needed to be repeated over and over again.

Of those who trialled only, 11 boys were selected from WBHS to go to Trentham to undertake training for a month in order to be able to compete against other schools from throughout the Dominion for the trophy.<sup>101</sup> It is quite possible that those competing did so with some vigour as to be included in the team to go to Trentham would have been a prize worthy of competition.

Outside of this competition, WBHS was clearly showing the wider community that again, they were producing boys who were disciplined and had the skills to fit into society. Society at this time required all boys to undergo some form of compulsory military training, of which shooting would have played a strong role. Having a highly developed skill like shooting

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<sup>99</sup> WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys' High School*, Vol VIII, No 2, September 1913. pp. 173-175.

<sup>100</sup> General Staff, *Musketry Regulations Part 1 1909, reprinted with amendments*, (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914), p. 5.

<sup>101</sup> WBHS(ed), September 1913. p.176.

requires personal discipline and would be a valuable asset to any Territorial Army unit, because as a new recruit they did not need to be taught how to shoot from scratch.

Another important factor in regard to publishing the results was that it showed that WBHS was competitive, not just with other New Zealand teams, but with the highest teams in the Empire. The focus on Empire and how well the school was doing would not have been lost on the boys. It is fair to assume that some boys would have concluded that the skills that WBHS was teaching them were indeed useful in their adult lives because they knew that after they left school it was compulsory to join their local Territorial unit. Therefore, the school would have been telling these boys that it was their duty to improve their shooting skills, not just for school prestige, but because this skill had application in the real world.

The Cadet system not only taught responsibility, it also taught discipline, teamwork, service and duty. These are concepts that, as already discussed, to which the boys from OHS and WBHS had already been exposed. The Cadet system provided an avenue for youths to learn how to use a range of different weapon systems, not just on the rifle range but also within an army training environment. At WBHS some of the Cadets were exposed to the workings of the machine gun (*Figure 2*) and had been so from at least 1908, whilst OHS students had been learning to use artillery, since 1875.<sup>102</sup> The intent of this training was to produce a soldier that was able to make a meaningful contribution within the Territorial Army without the need to start him from the beginning.

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<sup>102</sup> *Otago Boy's High School Old Boys Register*, (Dunedin: Otago High School Old Boy's Society (Inc), 1963), p. 83, WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys' High School*, Vol III, No 1, May 1908.

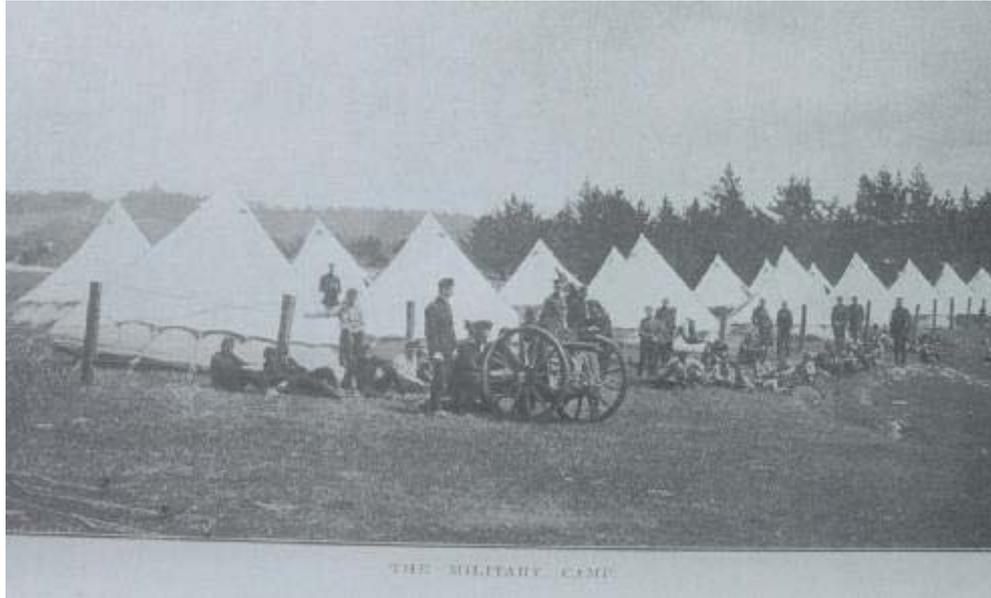


Figure 2: *The Military Camp*

Part of the intent of the cadet provisions of the 1909 Defence Act was to provide training for youths whilst at school so that they had the skills required to fit into their local Territorial Unit into which they were to graduate.<sup>103</sup> It was believed that schools, especially boarding schools, provided the best environment for training youth in the basics of military skills.<sup>104</sup> This is understandable because schools already had a hierarchical structure in place and established administration links through to central government. This resulted in them being the logical choice in order to facilitate the training of the boys.

As with OHS, Cadets had been a part of WBHS school life since its inception. The WBHS Cadet unit was already regularly parading and exercising with the adult volunteers in the district. In 1908 *The Waitakian* records a night attack conducted by the boys on the North Otago Rifles who were in camp not far from the school. The boys were to act as an attacking force and were broken into three groups with the intent of surrounding the adult volunteers. This 'sham fight' no doubt gave the Cadets a chance to practise their rifle handling skills. Although some of them were discovered, they did manage to surround the camp and lay down fire on the defenders.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> AJHR, Vol III, Wellington: 1910, H19a p. 8.

<sup>104</sup> AJHR, Vol III, Wellington: 1914, H19a p. 16.

<sup>105</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1908. pp. 219-220.

The report from Field-Marshal Viscount Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener's visit to New Zealand in 1910 states that the training of the Dominion's forces should, as far as practical, be conducted along progressive lines.<sup>106</sup> Senior Cadets, 14 to 16 year olds, should be further exposed to musketry skills, company drill, signalling and skirmishing, while 16 to 18 year olds would be given more training in areas such as patrol duties and sentry duty.<sup>107</sup>

Quite clearly, the focus was getting Cadets up to a standard where once they joined the adult unit, they would be beyond that of a mere recruit; they were useful and could fit into the Territorial Unit with ease. As already discussed, some of these youths possibly believed that they were better than mere recruits, especially after receiving up to six years' military training in an environment such as WBHS which already had the organization in place that ensured they received training that was structured.

At WBHS, the ability to learn military skills, other than that of infantry, was limited. This was more than likely because of the smaller school roll, as well as because the Territorial forces in the area were predominantly infantry-skill based. The Cadets, however, were exposed to the maxim machine gun, and pictures in the May 1909 edition of *The Waitakian* show this weapon being used at the regular Cadet camps held at the school.<sup>108</sup> Like OHS, it is quite possible that the grounding some of the youths had in the Cadets led them to choose that area when it came time to enlist.

Fitting into and taking one's place in society was, during this period, an important requirement for all youths, especially those at WBHS. As already discussed, making sure the right sort of youth was being produced was an idea that many in society, like Milner, adhered to. Therefore, options were explored to ensure that were exposed to the roles they were to fulfil once they left school. Within the military context, a clear way to do this was to bring the training of the adult Territorial and the youth Cadet together.<sup>109</sup>

In a recent work by Steven Loveridge, *Soldiers and Shirkers: Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War*.<sup>110</sup> Loveridge suggests that in 1911 there was concern in

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<sup>106</sup> AJHR, Vol III, (Wellington: 1910, H19a), pp.8, 28.

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.* p. 8.

<sup>108</sup> WBHS(ed), May 1909. p. 4.

<sup>109</sup> AJHR, Vol III, 1910, H19a p. 20.

<sup>110</sup> S. Loveridge, *Soldiers and Shirkers: Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity During the Great War*, in *New Zealand Journal of History*, 47,1 (2013), pp 59 – 79.

the public arena that urban life would 'eat away like a cancer into the vitals of society'.<sup>111</sup> Youth, it could be argued, were vital to society especially as they took over the places left vacant by the older generation. Exposing youth to a 'man's world', like that provided by the compulsory military training, would help them learn their place in the society they would inherit.

The underlying tone behind the drive to ensure urban youth had the skills to take their place was the idea that the older generation was not going to let them take their place without them first showing that they were worthy. However, this was not a one-way street. The older generation recognised that if youth were to be worthy they at least needed to be shown what this expectation was. Arguably, the Masters at OHS and WBHS felt that they had a duty to ensure that their students were worthy.

General Hamilton in his 1910 visit stated that the Territorial Army and Cadets should train together. Within the New Zealand context this was not always achievable because the nation did not have a sizeable Regular Army, therefore did not have a large pool of instructors to call on. Even the limited number of British Army instructors that had come to New Zealand with General Godley on his appointment, would not conceivably have been able to train all of the Cadets themselves. Though from time to time some of these British Army instructors were involved in the training of the Cadets at OHS.<sup>112</sup> However, this would have been the exception and the school Cadets had to provide their own instructors. In the main, these roles were assumed by the Masters, along with support from senior students.

Where training was conducted in the Territorial soldiers' own time, the training of the Cadets was conducted during school hours, therefore the goal of combined training could only really be achieved when the Territorials came into camp.<sup>113</sup> The training of the Cadets within the education system gave schools the chance to further ensure that the concepts they believed in, including that of duty and service, could be delivered to their students in another manner. The Cadet system with its military based training therefore enabled schools to give context as to why duty and service was important.

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<sup>111</sup> *ibid.* p.62.

<sup>112</sup> *Otago Boy's High School Old Boys Register*, (Dunedin: Otago High School Old Boy's Society (Inc), 1963), p. 84.

<sup>113</sup> *ibid.* p. 84.

Another link in encouraging boys to pursue dutiful lives was the use of British military celebrities. On 17 February 1910, Field-Marshal Viscount Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener of Khartoum arrived at the Dunedin train station where he immediately inspected the OHS Cadet Battalion. Kitchener fitted into the dutiful 'Masculine Christian' mould because he had been involved in wars that were touted as being for the benefit of the Empire. He was then to inspect a combined School Cadet Parade, which included WBHS, the following day at Dunedin's Forbury Park, to which the public were invited to attend.

The prospect of the hero of Khartoum inspecting the parade meant that the OHS Battalion had been practising incessantly since returning back to school some two weeks earlier.<sup>114</sup> This constant practice shows that the school placed Kitchener's visit above that of other aspects of the curriculum. In some ways this is not surprising, considering the celebrity status accorded to Kitchener and his exploits in Sudan and South Africa. In other ways, it shows that the school knew that the visit was a chance to show the wider community that they were producing the type of boy that was in demand. This boy, was disciplined, dutiful and had a measure of Masculine Christianity. The display of military drill would demonstrate to all those assembled that the school was on track to deliver the right sort of boy to fit into their community.

Kitchener was also to perform a ceremony during his visit that helped OHS reinforce the values of duty and service even further. This ceremony involved the presentation of 'Colours' to the School Cadet Battalion.<sup>115</sup> Colours were traditionally flown by Army units as a rallying point during battle. They also served as a reminder to the Battalion during peacetime not to forget those who had gone before them in the service of their country.

After Kitchener had presented the Colours to the OHS Battalion he, turned to the assembled Cadets and said:

Boys, I have the great pleasure in handing you these colours. I hope that they will always be a mark of your efficiency in training, and also in discipline (by discipline, I mean good conduct), and that you will always be true and profitable defenders of New Zealand.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXVI, No 1, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, April 1910. pp. 31-32.

<sup>115</sup> *ibid.* pp. 32-33. These Cadet Battalion Colours are still held at OHS.

<sup>116</sup> OHS (ed), April 1910.p. 33.

It is clear that Kitchener, as an Army Officer, was telling the boys that it was their duty to one day defend New Zealand within a military context. Clearly Kitchener knew that not all boys could, or would become soldiers or sailors. As an image of a 'Manly Christian' he also implies that the boys, through efficiency, training and good conduct, could also defend New Zealand's interests in other contexts too. He broadens his speech to include other aspects of their possible future lives suggesting that even though duty and service is a requirement for good soldiers or sailors, it can also apply to other areas of society.

Two years later the founder, of the Scouting movement, Lord Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell arrived in New Zealand on 28 May, 1912.<sup>117</sup> He was to be here seven days on a tour of the country where he was to meet as many scouts as possible. His efforts in the defence of Mafeking during the South African War had been celebrated throughout the Empire, so his visit to New Zealand was a chance for the boys to see another hero up close.<sup>118</sup>

Even though Baden-Powell's visit was to see the Scouts, the Government became involved and decided that as many boys as possible and including all those who were Cadets should see the Head Scout.<sup>119</sup> On a stop in Oamaru the WBHS Cadet unit were paraded in front of Baden-Powell. Addressing the parade at the invitation of the Mayor, Baden-Powell remarked that he had never seen a finer lot of boys.<sup>120</sup> This endorsement, if possibly somewhat staged, would have been received well by the assembled audience. Being told you were doing well in anything you are undertaking, especially by a figure of authority, would have encouraged WBHS to keep doing what they were doing. In this case it would produce boys that were considered to be dutiful.

The boys in Dunedin were, once again paraded in front of Baden-Powell, as had been done throughout the country. Here, the Scouts conducted a military style parade that was led by

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<sup>117</sup> The Scout Association of New Zealand, *Baden-Powell in New Zealand: Little Scout Book No 27*, (Wellington: The Scout Association of New Zealand, 1973), 21.

<sup>118</sup> *Brilliant Defence at Mafeking*, New Zealand Herald, Volume XXXVI, Issue 11205, 27 October 1899, page 5. Page 5, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=NZH18991027.2.43.7&srpos=1&e=-----1N0-ZH-1----0Brilliant+Defence+at+Mafeking—>, *Plucky Mafeking*, Wanganui Herald, Volume XXXIV, Issue 9955, 3 February 1900, Page 1, Retrieved August 30 2014 from: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=WH19000203.2.5.4&srpos=1&e=-----10-WH-1----0plucky+mafeking—>

<sup>119</sup> The Scout Association of New Zealand, p. 25.

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.* p. 23.

the older Cadets.<sup>121</sup> On his departure for Australia, Baden-Powell writes to Lieutenant Colonel David Cossgrove, the founder of the New Zealand Scouts: that he was pleased with how the Scouting movement was developing in New Zealand and the progress of the boys in learning citizenship based skills. He was especially complimentary on those skills that improved their employability within a defence context:

I had come feared, on coming here, that since the Government have taken in hand the training of boys for defence purposes and their practice in discipline, there could be little need for the continuance of the Boy Scout movement; but now I see that it can be of the greatest value in developing, as heretofore, the elements of good citizenship among the boys, and in helping the defence training by giving the lads a real grounding in manliness and sense of duty, woodcraft and discipline such as are essential to making efficient defence soldiers.<sup>122</sup>

Baden-Powell was a hero in his own right and, like Kitchener, a fine example of a 'Masculine Christian'. He understood the value of the Scouting movement as a stand-alone entity in equipping boys for their future lives as dutiful community-minded citizens.<sup>123</sup>

Establishing the Scouting movement in New Zealand, as well as throughout the Empire, meant that the common values of duty and service could be instilled in boys in a manner that fitted in with the ideals expected by Edwardian Society. Baden-Powell could also see why the Cadet movement was the next logical step for his Scouts. His endorsement would have gone a long way to establishing, in some minds, that the Cadet system was indeed a good thing for the nation which would also benefit the Empire. The Cadets who would have all been aware of Baden-Powell's legendary status, resulting from his action in South Africa – providing them with another example to which they could aspire.

In his end of year speech OHS Rector, like his WBHS counterpart, would talk about the school year and the year ahead. At the 1911 end of year prize giving Dean Fitchett was asked to speak on behalf of the Rector. Within the audience on the stage was James Allen MP.<sup>124</sup> Allen was a keen supporter of the fledgling Territorial Army and actively supported General Godley efforts in establishing a viable citizen-based Army. As an MP he also held a position as the coastal defence commander with the rank of Colonel. This dabbling in

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<sup>121</sup> *ibid.* p. 23.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid.* p. 23.p. 21.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.* p. 23.p. 24.

<sup>124</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXVII, No 1, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, May 1911. pp. 22-24.

defence- based issues did not stop there; he was also the president of the Otago Branch of the Navy League.<sup>125</sup>

Outside of his defence interests, Allen had been involved in many educational endeavours since returning back to Dunedin in 1877. This involvement included stints on the boards of OHS and Otago University where he was Vice-Chancellor and then Chancellor for a number of years in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>126</sup>

It was in this triple capacity of MP, educational administrator and defence advocate that Allen attended the school prize giving when Dean Fitchett spoke to the assembled boys. In his speech Fitchett spoke about why New Zealand was founded:

We used to say that we were founding here in the Pacific a new State. For his part he did not talk like that way now. He did not want any new nation, or the founding of a new nation here, but he was content with the nation he had. The nation of Shakespeare, of Wellington, of Nelson, was good enough for him and for his hearers.<sup>127</sup>

Fitchett goes on to tell his audience that that if they imagined themselves crossing the globe everywhere they would come to was a British Territory from England, to Gibraltar and on to Malta, through the Suez Canal stopping at Colombo and Australia. If they cared to head the other way around the world then they would stop in Quebec, Vancouver and Fiji before finally arriving in New Zealand. Everywhere they went they would see the British flag. Fitchett then poses the question: How do we weld all of this together is a problem for the future?<sup>128</sup>

Fitchett does not stop there in his thoughts on the Empire especially on the prospect of war.

We were a peaceful people. We did not want war with Germany, and at least with Japan and China, which were closer to our shores; and the great guarantee of peace, under God, was the unity of all these scattered Dominions and Dependencies. The symbols of that unity they already had in one flag and one King. He trusted that they would not think these ideas foreign to the spirit of this gathering. They were the

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<sup>125</sup> Ian McGibbon. 'Allen, James', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 22-May-2013, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3a12/allen-james>

<sup>126</sup> *ibid.* McGibbon. 'Allen, James'.

<sup>127</sup> OHS (ed), May 1911.pp. 22-24.

<sup>128</sup> *ibid.* pp. 22-24.

soldiers and citizens of the future, and the descendants of those who had made British history all along the line. (Applause)<sup>129</sup>

This speech is important within the context of this thesis for a number of reasons. Firstly, the attendance of Allen shows that OHS placed an emphasis on including people in its audience who were pivotal within New Zealand society. In the case of Allen he had links throughout the local, education and defence communities and into central government, which gave OHS access to the decisions makers within a cross section of the New Zealand Government. OHS was informing Allen indirectly that this school was performing its duty in producing the right sorts of boys who had an awareness of what it meant to be part of the Empire.

The statement in relation to historic figures was to remind the boys that they came from a long line of people that had achieved greatness. This greatness was because they were British and, as a result, there was no need to fix something that was not broken. These men had done their duty and because they had done their duty the British Empire was a dominant global force. Harking back to the past was to remind and inform the boys that they too could carve their names within the annals of British history.

With respect to the assembled boys, it is more than likely that they could relate to the speech in a number of key areas. Fitchett's remarks about the territories would have been familiar because world maps at this time showed all of the British territories. These maps would have been used throughout the school to help illustrate various lessons, especially those to do with the British Empire. So it is fair to assume that the boys would have understood the direction of Fitchett's speech.

In relation to being a peaceful nation, it is fair to state that Fitchett was referring to the recent naval shipbuilding programme being undertaken by Germany. Britain's efforts to keep up were just because it was not them that were forcing the world to arm itself.

The reference to the Asian nations as well suggests that Fitchett was referring to the distrust within the community in regard to these nations and a concern that the Royal Navy was possibly not in a position to help. The concerns raised suggest that the speaker was encouraging those assembled to be prepared to do their duty and make sure that these

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<sup>129</sup> *ibid.* pp. 22-24.

other nations did not advance to a state where they challenged the hegemony of the British Empire. In other words 'we' (the British Empire) did not want to fight, but if 'we' must 'we will', and these other nations will not be just taking on one or two British territories, but all of us.

Calling the students 'soldiers' and 'citizens of the future' is clearly in reference to their training as Cadets and their schooling within the classroom. By this stage, the boys understood the concepts of service and duty. For those in their last year at school, they would have been involved in Cadets, played sport (some to a high level) and achieved good grades in class. These boys now departing had a chance to really make a difference to the community into which they were graduating. For some, it would be heading to university, while for others it may be a trade or to take up farming. Whatever the choice they made, they were reminded that their role in life was to do their duty and to serve their community and their Empire.

Of the 133 boys assembled who started school in 1910 and were more than likely at the end of year breakup to hear Fitchett speak, 109 would go on to serve in the First World War.<sup>130</sup> Amongst this audience was Ronald Stuart Park, someone we will hear more of shortly. Was Fitchett's speech the clincher that encouraged these OHS Old Boys to enlist some four years later? Maybe. However, what is more likely is that Fitchett's speech along with all the other aspects of the boys' education, including outside influences, contributed to the decision to enlist. The importance of education to this decision should not be understated, especially when these boys spent their days in front of masters who continually encouraged them to lead dutiful lives day in and day out.

Using visiting heroes as role models and end of year speeches were just two ways to encourage OHS Old Boys to be dutiful. Another was to put them up against their peers from across the Empire to see how well they compared. It was from central government, in 1912, that OHS received a request to send a Cadet Officer with a contingent of 20 Cadets from throughout New Zealand to Canada. This contingent was to compete at the Canadian National Exhibition, alongside other Cadets from the various Dominions.<sup>131</sup> OHS School

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<sup>130</sup> Lucas. pp. 255-259.

<sup>131</sup> J.C. Fullarton, Captain, *New Zealand Cadets in Canada: Story of the Tour*, (Dunedin: John Iclindoe, 1912), p. 7-8.

Master, Captain J C Fullarton was selected along with two Cadets, Sergeant Ronald Stuart Park from OHS and Sergeant R C Chapman from WBHS, to represent the Otago region.<sup>132</sup> The contingent assembled in Trentham and commenced training. This included foot and rifle drill, as well as rifle shooting. During the training, the Cadets were visited by Members of Parliament and the Governor Lord Liverpool. Prior to departure, they paraded at Parliament buildings where they were addressed by the Prime Minister William Massey who farewelled them on behalf of the country.<sup>133</sup>

The interest shown by the political elite in what the Cadets were doing is important. Apart from knowing who the Governor and Prime Minister were, the remaining visitors are a mystery. However, the fact that a group of politicians went to Trentham to view these boys suggests that they were interested in what they had spent the public purse on. Was the investment having the desired outcome? Was the training of young boys in military style discipline, within schools such as OHS and WBHS, having an impact on them?

Clearly it must have had an impact because the Cadets went on to win seven of the eight trophies all the Empire teams were competing for in Toronto, only missing out on the shooting prize.<sup>134</sup> The winning of so many trophies potentially sent a statement to the other teams competing that the training undertaken by the New Zealand Cadets was superior to theirs.

It sent a clear message to those back in New Zealand. New Zealand youths had competed and in no way were they found wanting. News of their success reached Auckland prior to the group's arrival home. From the Auckland Docks, the Cadets marched up Queen Street to the Town Hall, preceded by a band and accompanied by an extra 400 Cadets from Auckland. Here the Mayor welcomed them home.<sup>135</sup>

Wherever, the Cadets went as they travelled down the country (they stopped in places like Rotorua, New Plymouth, Palmerston North and all places in between); they were met with enthusiastic applause.<sup>136</sup> In all these towns they gave displays of foot and rifle drill in front

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<sup>132</sup> Lucas. p. 13, McDonald K.C p. 184.

<sup>133</sup> Fullarton, p. 7.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.* p.26.

<sup>135</sup> *ibid.* p. 37.

<sup>136</sup> The Wanganui Chronicle "Nulla Dies Sine Linea." SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1912. THE RETURNING CADETS. Wanganui Chronicle , Issue 12856, 2 November 1912, Page 4, URL:

of their fellow Cadets. On arrival in Wellington, the Cadets again marched to Parliament where the Prime Minister and Defence Minister again met them and welcomed them home.<sup>137</sup>

The *Observer* issue of the 19 October 1912 gives us a visual representation of the pride felt by the Government in the success of sending the Cadets to Canada (*Fig 3*).<sup>138</sup>



Figure 3: *Sons of The Empire – Our Dominion Leads*<sup>139</sup>

This sketch took up the whole front page. In it we see a Cadet in uniform with a rifle in one hand at attention, and a hand full of trophies and awards in the other. His chest is puffed out and he is standing proud and looking alert. He is looking up at a rotund Minister of Defence, the Honourable James Allen.<sup>140</sup>

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<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=WC19121102.2.15&srpos=1&e=-----10-WC-1----2The+returning+cadets-->

<sup>137</sup> Fullarton, pp. 37-38, *Sons of The Empire – Our Dominion Leads*, *Observer*, Volume XXXIII, Issue 6, 19 October 1912, Page 1, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=TO19121019.2.2&e=-----10--1----0-->

<sup>138</sup> *Sons of The Empire – Our Dominion Leads*, *Observer*, Volume XXXIII, Issue 6, 19 October 1912, Page 1.

<sup>139</sup> *ibid.* p.1.

<sup>140</sup> Cartoonists in *The Observer* generally portrayed Allen as being rotund. Sarah Murray, *A Cartoon War: The Cartoons of the New Zealand Freelance and New Zealand Observer as Historical Sources August 1914-November 1918*, (Wellington: New Zealand Cartoon Archive, 2012) .p. 9.

Allen has his hand on the Cadet's shoulder; his stance is open and upright. He appears very much in control. His facial expression suggests that he is indeed proud of what the Cadets have achieved. At the bottom of the sketch are the words: Sons of Empire. – Our Dominion Leads. *Minister for Defence: Well done, New Zealand cadets. Your record in Canada does us proud.*<sup>141</sup> The overall image gives the impression that this is a Father-Son relationship.

This sketch appeared on the front page of *Observer* which suggests that for this paper and its readership at least, the return of the Cadets from Canada was an important event. The sketch, though self-explanatory, does need to be discussed in view of the context of this thesis. The Cadet represents a 'young New Zealand' and the Minister is representing an, older more 'mature New Zealand'. The Cadet, by his stance and the way he is looking at the Minister is suggesting that he has done his duty – 'his little bit' – for national pride. It possibly could be argued that this stance is suggesting that the cadet is also ready to do 'his little bit' again.

The Minister is acknowledging this display of duty by stating, 'Your record in Canada does us proud'. In this statement he is not just referring to the pride of the Government but also the pride of the nation in what the Cadets have achieved.

Another possibility, as to what the sketch is telling us, can be seen in Allen's face as he looks at the reader. Potentially Allen is saying 'look at what I have in front of me. We have a boy we all should be proud of. He can compete on the world stage and win. He is a product of our nation and we should be proud of him.' For the schools like OHS and WBHS who trained their boys to go to Canada there would have been a sense of pride as well. Pride in that they had educated and trained the right sort of boy; a boy who knew how to be dutiful, and a boy that clearly could assume one of the roles that manhood would bring.

The importance placed on welcoming home the New Zealand Cadet Contingent needs to be explored. At the time, there was, as Captain Fullarton put it, 'lukewarm' opposition to the training of boys in military skills.<sup>142</sup> The displays given by the boys on their return throughout the country and the knowledge of their almost overwhelming success in Canada, would

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<sup>141</sup> *Sons of The Empire – Our Dominion Leads*, *Observer*, Volume XXXIII, Issue 6, 19 October 1912, Page 1.

<sup>142</sup> J.C. Fullarton, Captain, *New Zealand Cadets in Canada: Story of the Tour*, (Dunedin: John Iclndoe, 1912), p. 39.

have inspired some of those boys in the wider community who may not have been inclined to take their training seriously, to expend more effort.

The example discussed in Chapter Three in regarding the sudden interest in all things rugby at OHS in 1906 shows that boys were influenced by events that impacted on them, so it is not surprising that the tour generated interest in this group. These boys would have picked up that the Cadets who went to Canada were no different from them and that if they, too, tried harder, they may well be selected in the future to represent New Zealand. To compare the success of the Cadets with those of other teams that represented New Zealand around this period, we need only compare them to the 1905-06 All Blacks. Whilst the All Blacks had achieved success by beating their British counterparts, the 1912 Cadets had beaten not just the British, but also their peers from throughout the Empire.

The use of the Cadets was not only used to inspire their peers, it was also used to convince the older generation that military training was indeed a good thing for the youth.<sup>143</sup> Captain Fullarton stated sending teams of Cadets from across the Empire to compete was an excellent idea and should be conducted every few years. The interaction with other boys from across the Empire, he believed, would help to link the Empire through life-long friendships.<sup>144</sup>

Looking at this in a wider context, Fullarton may well have been suggesting that many of those who would have attended this competition may have gone on to be leaders within industry, politicians or military officers. In fact Park goes on to lead the New Zealand contribution into Korea in 1950.<sup>145</sup> Fullarton's idea that the Empire would benefit from these events clearly has merit and was an idea that was promoted within New Zealand society.<sup>146</sup>

*The Hawera and Normanby Star* stated to its readership that:

There is little doubt that the comings and goings of Cadets and others must, if judiciously conducted, be of material advantage to the comers and goers and their respective countries. Travel under rational conditions is a wonderful educator, and it

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<sup>143</sup> The Wanganui Chronicle "Nulla Dies Sine Linea." SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1912. THE RETURNING CADETS. Wanganui Chronicle, Issue 12856, 2 November 1912, Page 4.

<sup>144</sup> Fullarton, p. 39.

<sup>145</sup> Ronald Stuart Park 66504, 1914-1918, Ian McGibbon. 'Park, Ronald Stuart', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 7-Jan-2014  
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5p10/park-ronald-stuart>

<sup>146</sup> The Wanganui Chronicle "Nulla Dies Sine Linea." SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1912. THE RETURNING CADETS. Wanganui Chronicle , Issue 12856, 2 November 1912, Page 4.

must be specially desirable and useful to promote it at the present stage of inter-imperial development in the British Empire.<sup>147</sup>

Considering New Zealand's membership of the British Empire, and that it subscribed to the collective security concept that membership brought, it is not surprising that it put extensive training resources into the Cadets that were sent to Canada. Part of the purpose of sending Cadets to Canada was to demonstrate what type of youth this country was producing.

In this example, the boys that were soon to be men like Cadet Sergeant Park, who was 17 years old, had competed on the Empire stage and achieved impressive results.<sup>148</sup> These results would not have been achieved if Cadets did not understand the importance of duty and sacrifice. Duty in regard to helping the team win at the expense of oneself, and sacrifice in regard to ensuring that whatever they did they did for the team.

As it was an OHS Master who was leading them, it is quite apparent that Fullarton would have influenced this thinking, especially with respect to duty. Therefore, the question now is to what extent did OHS push the concept of duty and sacrifice within its teachings? Clearly, if these Cadets, understood at this stage of their lives what duty and sacrifice meant, then their respective schools would have been proud that they were producing the right sort of boy.

The use of the Cadet system to instil a sense of duty and service into the boys at both schools was clearly taken seriously. The parading of populist figures like Fulton, Bauchop, Kitchener and Baden Powell visibly shows that schools saw the importance of exemplifying to the boys, a dutiful person. These tangible examples would no doubt have given credence to the requirement that all boys were to undergo military training.

Military training did have an impact on the boys and this is obvious through the impressive results of the New Zealand over its fellow Dominions in Canada in 1912. On their return, the Cadets were used by the Government to great effect. The electorate was shown, through the media, that the New Zealand youth could beat anyone else and he had got there because he understood the importance of duty and service.

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<sup>147</sup> Editorial, *The Hawera and Normanby Star*, Volume XVIII, 30 October 1912, page 4  
<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=HNS19121030.2.19&e=-----10--1----0-->, Fullarton, p. 39.

<sup>148</sup> Appendix 1

The electorate's general acceptance of military training for their youths was not lost on the schools. This is evident by the amount of training dedicated during school time to the pursuit of military based skills. Though military training was clearly important in the development of the students, it was through sport that these boys were able to pit their school and themselves against their peers from other schools.

### Chapter Three: Sport for the glory of the School

Encouraging the boys to understand the importance of duty and service through teamwork, need not wait for the arrival of an important military figure to the school. Duty and service could also be encouraged all year round through the medium of sport. Sport was a significant part of school life at both OHS and WBHS.

Not all students were academically inclined and it allowed some students to excel in an area in which they had talent. For schools sport allows them to measure themselves against their peers. It allows them to judge how well their opposite number is doing and allows them to be judged as well. Sport promotes competition and the desire to win; both important values to be encouraged and displayed if the school is to produce boys that fitted within their community. How well a school was doing on the sports field quite likely was a contributing factor for some parents when considering where to send their son.

Both OHS and WBHS were aiming to produce boys that fitted into the wider community. Schools as detailed did this through exposing the boys to world and local events as well as through military based instruction in the shape of the Cadets. The inclusion of sport was very much a part of both schools and was exploited by OHS and WBHS as a means to develop a sense of teamwork, leadership, social cohesion, pride in oneself, and pride in one's school.

The choice of sport, however, needed to be able to fit into the requirements to make the ideal male. This ideal male had 'Masculine Christian' traits and it was through the inclusion of sport in the curriculum that schools sort to produce boys who had adopted these traits.

Of all the sports being played during the 1900 -1920 period, Rugby was the sport of choice.<sup>149</sup> Rugby, as put forward by Jock Phillips, became a core experience for all students, once the rules became more regulated at the turn of the century.<sup>150</sup> The game in a more primitive form was being played at OHS, since 1871 and WBHS, from 1884.<sup>151</sup> The first recorded game played by OHS, against Otago University, went for three and a half

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<sup>149</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History, Revised Edition*, (Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 1987), p. 108.

<sup>150</sup> *ibid.* p. 108.

<sup>151</sup> Lucas. p. 127, McDonald K.C, p. 406.

hours and was not considered to be finished until after it was resumed the following weekend.<sup>152</sup>

The inclusion of rugby in the school curriculum from an early stage, shows that both schools considered the sport to not just have value for their students, but also the development of the school's reputation on and off the field.<sup>153</sup> It also shows that the faculty of both schools was adhering to part of the philosophy that dealt with the belief in *Mens sana in corpore sano* or in other words 'Healthy Mind in a Healthy Body'. This philosophy was the cornerstone for many of the British Public Schools of the late Victorian and early Edwardian periods.<sup>154</sup>

It was not just the playing of sports against other school peers that was important. Inter-school sports were a way for the school to demonstrate to the wider community their abilities on the sports field. OHS and WBHS played each other at various times of the year in rugby and cricket. These matches were always hotly contested and reported in great detail in the OHS school magazine.<sup>155</sup>

Whereas elsewhere in the magazine the concept of service duty and what it meant, especially in relation to the school, was hotly debated. The articles on the interschool matches do not mention anything to do with service and duty. Why this is the case can only be speculated and it can be assumed that the editor avoided such comments because to do so was to potentially arrogantly promote the school over top of its rivals. To do so would have shown the school to lack any form of egalitarian virtue potentially courting questions as to what type of boy was the school producing.

It has been argued by some historians that New Zealand promoted egalitarian values. Jock Philips argues that these values stem from the Liberal Party of the 1890s and their adoption of policies that returned to immigrants what they had been promised by The New Zealand

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<sup>152</sup> Lucas. p.127.

<sup>153</sup> Chris Collins, Steve Jackson. (ed), *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society Second Edition*, (South Melbourne: Cengage Learning Australia, 2007), p. 248.

<sup>154</sup> Moana, Dobre-Lasa, *Victorian and Edwardian Sporting Values*, URL: <http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~rosenl/sports%20Folder/Victorian%20and%20Edwardian%20Sporting%20Values.pdf>.

<sup>155</sup> OHS (ed), May 1911.pp. 27-39.

Company. This included a nation based on class equality and where the over powering factory owner had no place.<sup>156</sup> The argument has merit with respect to the possible reason as to why the editor neither included any taunts at the opposition nor the school's own players. If the editor was intentionally promoting an egalitarian ethos, then he would have fallen into line with Philips' argument.

Putting these recent analyses aside, it is not surprising the editor had these views. The Liberals were in power from 1891 through till 1912 and under the leadership of Richard Seddon, the promotion of egalitarian ideals were a firm part of government policy, and the Education Department. The Education Department and schools worked together to instil what they believed were important values, including an egalitarian approach to sports, by treating your 'foes' on the sports field with respect.

Boys however, needed examples as to what a sportsman should be like on the field. When it came to using examples of what the sports-minded boy could aspire to OHS was quick to grasp wider community events that the boys could relate to. An obvious example was that of the 1906 All Blacks tour that not only included the visit to the home country, but also their exploits in North America.

One such game reproduced in *The Magazine*, which was played in New York, was vividly described by an American reporter.

To witness men, tipping the scales close to two hundred pounds, dashing with the ball at an even gait for one hundred yards, passing it, yet not in front, like a flash, when they were tackled and have it snatched up on the fly without a pause and at top speed, transferring the ball again to a fourth and a fifth all opened the eyes of the few whose faith has been in the American game.<sup>157</sup>

The reporter goes on to explain how the New Zealanders could run the ball the entire length of the ground and that their kicker could send the ball some twenty yards forward into open space. This game was somewhat of a no contest as almost half of the opposing American

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<sup>156</sup> Jock Phillips. 'The New Zealanders - Better Britons', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 13-Jul-12, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/the-new-zealanders/page-4>

<sup>157</sup> OHS (ed), May 1906, p. 47.

team was made up of New Zealanders, who also scored all the points for their adopted team.<sup>158</sup>

The fact that the school magazine printed the complete article would hardly have been unusual, given national interest in rugby at the time. The School would have wanted to associate itself with positive events that could be used to espouse the values that OHS was encouraging - and this included egalitarianism.

The promotion of egalitarianism in sport could be argued as being a critical factor to a team's success. Without it the team could not perform as a team. This egalitarian approach demanded that everyone do an equal share. For those hesitant, it demanded they step up. Stepping up was consistent with the wider community belief that New Zealanders need not accept a lesser standard when it came to their sports teams.<sup>159</sup> For those who were more capable, it required them to encourage those who stood back.

The article infers that the game was well worth watching and that the All Blacks knew how to play a good clean game. The article does not show the New Zealanders to be arrogant in how they played; if anything the reporter praises the players for opening the eyes of those who watched. This article backs up the idea, previously discussed, that when going about one's duty, the New Zealander does not make undue fuss about what he can achieve. This attitude no doubt had its roots in the Masculine Christian culture that was evident in New Zealand at the time. This Masculine Christian culture was clearly endorsed by the school and permeated everything it did.

Furthermore, the article described a team that was willing to help its 'foe' play the game. A foe, that was, no match for the superior New Zealand male still turned up to play. This would have given those who encouraged sports an example to show boys, who may have been hesitant to participate, that even in America with its huge population, men still turned up to play the game even if they did not have enough players.

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<sup>158</sup> *ibid.* p. 48.

<sup>159</sup> Collins, p. 102.

To the wider school, this example may have been held up to demonstrate that the New Zealand male, though statistically less in number, was more than a match for his American counterpart. The OHS boy would have had big boots to fill if he was going to emulate his hero's. The example of the 1905 All Blacks is important as it gave schools like OHS and WBHS a tangible illustration of what their boys should aspire to – men doing their duty for their nation, following their captain, working hard and playing the game. Therefore fine examples of Masculine Christians.

Closer to home, current school athletes were used as examples for the boys to aspire to. In the December 1910 end of year speeches the OHS *Magazine* reported, after the end of year cricket match against Christ's College, that:

This was the first time for sixteen years that the School had won, as it had done this year, both its football and its cricket matches from their friendly rivals, Christ 's College. (Applause) These results showed they had the School mental efficiency and physical fitness side by side.<sup>160</sup>

Throughout the speech there is a sense of pride in the achievements of the boys involved. Completing 'the double' clearly was something the school had been striving for, for some time. The boys who brought this kudos to the school were being hailed as fine examples of what a boy should be like. He was a balanced boy who did well at his lessons in equal measure to his sporting achievements. He personified the 'Healthy Mind in a Healthy Body' concept clearly evident at OHS.

The key part to this speech was that it was also reported in the *Otago Daily Times*, no doubt for the interest of those who followed what the school was up to. Included in this group, were not just current, or prospective parents, but also future employers. If the school could demonstrate that it was producing the right boy, then they were more likely to get employment when he left school.

In regard to their achievements on the field, the boy could use this as an example of loyalty and of them willing to perform their duty for their school or in this case, their potential employer. This win-win situation would not have been lost on the Rector, nor his school. If

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<sup>160</sup> OHS (ed), May 1911. p. 22.

they encouraged boys to be dutiful and contribute to the prestige of the school by achieving good results on the playing field, then the school was keen to promote them as being the right sort of boy, a boy who knew where his duty and loyalty lay.

Rugby and cricket were well entrenched within school life in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and both school magazines detailed the exploits of their various sports teams.<sup>161</sup> Indeed, if the attendance of 100 OHS boys at the annual football meeting of 1906 was anything to go by, it could be perceived that sport at this school must have been compulsory.<sup>162</sup> This, however, was not the case. The editor of the May 1906 *Magazine* expressed in the editorial a desire that sport should be compulsory. Yet it was the boys who firmly rejected the idea when put forward as part of a debating question.<sup>163</sup>

The OHS *Magazine* clearly had a different viewpoint on sport. It did, however, infer that it could not change the prevailing opinion at the school that prevented sport from being compulsory. Clearly the high levels of voluntary participation by the boys demonstrated that there was no need to enforce compulsion. In light of the New Zealand belief in egalitarianism, this is not surprising. However, this belief in equality also came with the idea that if the majority were participating in sport, then those in the minority, and who were not participating, should be encouraged to do so as well.

Those boys that were not 'school community focused' and who did not at least stand on the sideline and shout, were chastised for their lack of spirit. This group of boys were questioned through the editorial of the 1911 OHS *Magazine* as to why they would not play some form of sport. The notion of modesty was put forward as a possible reason and it was clear that this was an admirable attribute when applied in the correct context. Sport however as far as the school was concerned, was not the correct context.

The editor goes further to remind his readership, which did include students, that the Latin quote 'Fortibus fortuna favet' – Fortune Favours the Brave - will only apply to those boys

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<sup>161</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XX, No 1, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, May 1904. pp. 15-28. OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXII, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1907. pp.73-92. WBHS(ed), December 1907. pp.147-148, WBHS(ed), December 1908. pp.214-215.

<sup>162</sup> OHS (ed), May 1906. p. 30.

<sup>163</sup> *ibid.* p. 30.

who are bold enough to grasp it. Those boys who did not, should be left to the tender mercies of their own conscience.<sup>164</sup>

In order to encourage those boys in the middle ground, those who sometimes did, or did not play sport, the editor suggested that if they did play, then they would be more popular at school:

...and here is the main point, the boy who both learns his lessons and takes a prominent part in sports is the boy who is admired, even if in some cases only very secretly, by the rest of his fellows.<sup>165</sup>

No doubt some of this target audience observed and perceived those amongst them who played sport as being more popular than those who did not, especially when it came to interaction with the faculty. This in turn, as was hoped, may have led some to think 'what it meant to be a student at OHS'. The possibility of this thought being radical is not likely because of the cultural climate around the dislike of shirkers. If someone was to step forward and say they were not interested in playing sport, then OHS would have come down on them hard as being anti-school and anti-duty. This was the type of boy OHS was very keen to discourage:

The prestige of the School is to be kept up both in scholarship and in sport, and he who does contribute thus to the fame of the School is indeed a worthy son of the School.<sup>166</sup>

It is difficult to perceive that there would have been an underlying current within the school that actively did not follow what the school encouraged. Even though the school came out actively discouraging shirkers, there is a suggestion that there were boys at the school who did not participate in sport, though they were not rebellious.

...the non-footballers have good reason to be very ashamed of themselves. How can the Otago High expect to retain its present position if the boys not only refuse to work at lessons, but even shirk at games?<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> OHS (ed), May 1911.p. 2.

<sup>165</sup> *ibid.* p. 66.

<sup>166</sup> *ibid.* p. 66.

<sup>167</sup> *ibid.* p. 66.

It is clear that the editor, at least, was echoing the sentiments of the wider community. The idea that those boys that did not participate in sport were not as good as those that did, can be argued as illustrating the wider community's dislike of shirkers. This tone does come through in the editorial and the same tone can be traced back as far as 1906.<sup>168</sup>

Five years later, as shown in 1911, the tone becomes more direct and what can be inferred is that the editor was suggesting to the parents that if their boy fell into this 'shirker category' then it was their duty to encourage him to play sport, especially if they wanted their son to fit into the community.<sup>169</sup>

For other readers who may have had misgivings about the physical and mental state of youth compared to their predecessors, the editor reminds them that the school was addressing their concerns, and did not tolerate boys who did not participate fully in school life, and that included sport. Within the wider context, it is apparent that the school fully understood its role in the community, when it came to producing boys who were to 'play the game', and that if the school was to achieve this, then it behoved them to use any method they could, and that included indirect public humiliation.

OHS was clearly practising a form of social engineering through their use of public humiliation. For boys that did not conform 'then being on the outer' may have left them with some hard choices to make in regard to 'Do I play sport or not?' Within a few years this same question no doubt would have been asked like this, 'Do I enlist or not?' This question is not restricted to those who did not play sport. With New Zealand society's predisposition to publicly humiliate its citizens, it is quite likely that many former Old Boys did feel compelled to enlist so as to not swim against the tide of public opinion.

Through this 'ugly' form of social pressure the school was encouraging all boys to lead an active, balanced life. Certainly, when the war did arrive, and after the initial flurry of enlistments, there were youths who did not readily perform the duty that the citizenry believed them to owe. These youths would have been increasingly ostracised for not

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<sup>168</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXII, No 3, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, November 1906. p. 107, OHS (ed), May 1911. p. 2.

<sup>169</sup> OHS (ed), May 1911.p. 2.

'playing the game'. Schools, as argued, are part of the community and it is apparent that these institutions, even before the war, did not tolerate those that did not do their duty for the school. The question remains, would this group have been ostracised to the extent they were if war had not eventuated?

Even though boys who played sport were held up in high regard as being role models for other boys, they were still reminded that they too should not shirk their responsibility to their team and the school. In the May 1906 edition of the OHS magazine the school's rugby players were reminded to 'uphold the honour of the good old school', when out on the field.<sup>170</sup> The editor reminds these rugby players that they should attend all practices and, if they could not do so without reasonable excuse, then they would leave the team to pick up after them and as a result, the team would lose cohesion.<sup>171</sup>

It is obvious that the editor was placing the notion of duty to one's team and school squarely on the shoulders of these rugby players.<sup>172</sup> This duty had the added underlying suggestion that a player should feel guilty if they failed to turn up to practice, or even a game, because of their negligence. This negligence was, as suggested by the editor, possibly the reason as to why the team lost. This form of pressure to conform could have meant that some boys felt that they were duty bound to turn up regardless, and for others there may have been a concern that their peers would pressure them as well. Whatever the reason these boys felt as to why they should play sport cannot be determined. However, from the glimpse of what pressure these boys were under to perform for the school, it can be ascertained that the pressure to perform one's duty for the team and the school was very real. This in turn, shows that the concept of duty, and all it entailed was very much a part of OHS core values.

To gauge the impact of playing sport at school on those who would enlist during the war is difficult as it is unfeasible to suggest that sport was the sole motivator to enlist. However, one example of learning to play sport at school and then this experience carried on into military service can be found in the form of Thomas Maxwell Park. Thomas attended OHS from 1907-1908 and would have been subjected to the social pressure to play sport going

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<sup>170</sup> OHS (ed), May 1906. p. 31.

<sup>171</sup> *ibid.* p. 31.

<sup>172</sup> *ibid.* p. 31.

on at OHS.<sup>173</sup> Thomas like his other brothers, Ronald, Lindsay and David, his other brothers will be discussed later, served with the artillery.<sup>174</sup> Thomas went with the Main Body and at some stage must have been noted as an outstanding rugby player as he was selected at least twice to represent the NZEF 'All Blacks' against Wales (1916) and the Springboks (*Fig 4*) in England during the War.



Figure 4: NZEF 'All Blacks' to play Wales at Swansea 1916 Gunner Thomas Maxwell Park (fourth from right).<sup>175</sup>

In relation to a link between the concepts of service and duty and that of sport, the inclusion of this photo shows that the popularity of sports, whether they be compulsory or not, in schools like OHS did have an impact on later life. In regard to the other topics discussed in this thesis, namely exposure to local and international events, and Cadets it is clear that what was learnt at school did have an effect on students.

Thomas was to be killed in France June 1917.<sup>176</sup> OHS on hearing the news included in the school *Magazine* an obituary dedicated to their former Old Boy. He was noted as being from

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<sup>173</sup> Lucas. p. 247.

<sup>174</sup> Initially Thomas was with the Otago Mounted Rifles before transferring to the artillery in 1916.

<sup>175</sup> Jean Park MNZM JP, email dated 10 November 2014.

a family that 'never failed to do their duty by their School' along with being a prominent member of the New Zealand rugby team that did so well in England the year before.<sup>177</sup> The inclusion of the term 'never failed to do their duty' is important because it shows that even in death students were being used to highlight the importance to the school of this concept, especially when used in relation to the institution.

WBHS, like OHS, encouraged its students to play sports. In 1907 the only sport to be played in winter was rugby. All, but a few boys, who medically could not play, played rugby.<sup>178</sup> With a school roll of 137, of these 65 were boarders, and would have had more if there was space, it is quite astounding to have such a high level of participation.<sup>179</sup>

Though it is not clear if sports at the school was compulsory, to have so many playing does suggest that there was a level of teacher and peer expectation involved. What is known is that Milner actively encouraged all boarders to play sports and that it was from this group that he drew the bulk of his teams. Living on the school grounds, along with his boarders, would have allowed Milner to keep a close eye on who was doing what during the weekends.

At only 30, he was not much older than many of those at the school, and clearly Milner was a part of their generation. He was known to run with the boys before school, and kick balls around with students. Including himself in their lives Milner was putting himself forward as an appropriate role model.

The idea of Milner playing sport and portraying himself as a suitable role model fits into the way New Zealand society viewed the role of Masculine Christian men within the community. In Chris Collins and Steve Jackson's book, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society Second Edition*, the role of sport and how it was used to develop men in the early twentieth century is discussed particularly in relation to character development.<sup>180</sup> Being not too much older

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<sup>176</sup> Thomas Maxwell Park 9/388, 1914-1917.

<sup>177</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXXIV, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, October 1917. p.146.

<sup>178</sup> WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys' High School*, Vol II, No 1, May 1907.p. 145.

<sup>179</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1907. pp.144-145.

<sup>180</sup> Collins. p. 248.

than his students and being an active man Milner gave the boys an example of what they could be. In effect, he was using himself as a Masculine Christian role model for his students to aspire to.

With so many boys playing rugby, the school was able to enter a team in the local Oamaru first grade competition, one of only two schools in the Dominion that did so, a fact that the editor of the May 1907 *Waitakian* magazine readily pointed out to other schools.<sup>181</sup> The other was their rival OHS, whose 1<sup>st</sup> XV was playing in the local completion as early as 1904.<sup>182</sup>

At WBHS the school accepted its teams may not have been the best in the competition and, it stated, that it never went out to win the local first grade competition, the Citizens Shield. What it did go out to do was encourage its boys to make a good go at it. The school did this by providing the boys with a coaching team that had played in the competition as well as exposure to boxing skills that can be argued were designed to 'harden' the boys up as, no doubt, the competition was hugely contested by the other teams.<sup>183</sup> The rugby strip was also changed to an all black uniform with the school crest over the heart.<sup>184</sup>

No doubt WBHS, like OHS, saw the value in emulating the exploits of the 1905 All Blacks, even if it was just through the inclusion of the revered 'Black Jersey'. This subtle change in jersey could be interpreted as a reminder to the wearer that their 'heroes' (the All Blacks) knew that when they wore this jersey they had to perform their duty, so do not forget your duty to the school.

These examples, if introduced and applied in isolation, may not have had an impact on the psyche of the team, nor that of the school. However, because they were used in conjunction with each other, they have to be looked at in this way. It would appear that Milner

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<sup>181</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1907. p. 58. Schools at this stage sent other schools copies of their magazine. It was a way to inform other schools what their counterparts were up to and the various editors knew this.

<sup>182</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XX, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1904. pp.71-73.

<sup>183</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1907. pp. 59-60.

<sup>184</sup> *ibid.* p. 59.

understood that if sport was going to be included in the development of the boys at WBHS then a more holistic approach was needed.

WBHS, by kitting him out in a uniform of his heroes, hardening him with a rigorous training regime, and putting him up against men, he was either going to 'sink or swim'. Either way had a positive spin off for him or the school. If he won, then he knew he was more than a match for those older and bigger than him. If he lost, then he knew that he had done his best 'by making a go of it' and his parents could be proud of him for at least having a go.

In regard to the school, the benefit was clearly the kudos of being able to field a team that could foot it in a local competition that other schools were not capable of, or willing to do. Indeed, the benefit of entering into the local competition enabled the 1<sup>st</sup> XV rugby team to transform itself from easy beats into winners, beating OHS, Timaru High School and Nelson College – something not lost on the Rector at during his end 1907 of year speech to the school and assembled Old Boys at the annual prize giving.<sup>185</sup>

The benefits of playing at this level continued into 1908 when the school again beat Otago and Timaru Boys High schools. From a small town school of little significance with respect to sports, WBHS was able to turn its fortunes around on the rugby field by cleverly identifying areas that would give it and its students the best exposure.

Another benefit of this kudos would have ensured the school's status within the Dominion, at least in relation to rugby, was elevated and as the game was so popular across the country, this status no doubt would have been highly coveted. This level of competition allowed the school to expose its boys to the outside world of which one day they would be a part. If the boys felt confident that they could foot it out in the real world, then they were potentially more inclined to have a go at anything that was put in front of them. This was an attribute that would have met with the approval of the wider community.

Why the OHS boys participated in sport so readily can only be put down to two things. Firstly, the Rector routinely gave those boys who participated in sport the chance to play sport during school hours or if there was a major sporting event in the city then he would

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<sup>185</sup> *ibid.* p. 147.

allow them to go and watch.<sup>186</sup> This liberal attitude was to prevail over the period of at least two Rectors. Secondly, it could be said the reason why some of the boys played sport was not just because it gave them a chance to get out of lessons they may have considered to be boring or the chance to skive off into town.<sup>187</sup> It gave them the chance to do something else, apart from study, especially for those boys who were boarding at the school. This group, like their counterparts at WBHS, as a percentage, were the largest group of sport players in the school.

Sport is a socialising agent. Participation allows boys to learn skills such as teamwork and leadership.<sup>188</sup> It reinforces the concepts of duty and loyalty by encouraging youth to do their best in support of a common goal, in this case, the success of their school. These skills were clearly important for boys, especially at schools like OHS and WBHS, who believed that they were preparing boys for life after school. This life after school would invariably lead boys into joining sports clubs which would enable them to continue practising the skills they had learnt at school.

Sport enabled the community to come together outside of the home and work. This pursuit of something to do during leisure periods was important because it allowed the boys at both schools to socialise. This socialisation brought boys into connection with adult men which, in part, is a reason why sport at schools was so important, because it helped boys learn some of the skills they needed to become men. New Zealand society at the time wanted males that were good role models and, in effect, Masculine Christians. Not that these men were necessarily Christian but they acted in a manner that society found acceptable. One of the duties of a school was to prepare their boys to become men, something both OHS and WBHS took quite seriously.

Sport was another way to enable boys to fit well into the society they would inherit. Clearly the Rector allowing boys from OHS time off to go community sports events was welcomed by the boys. However, unbeknownst to the boys watching their team playing, what they

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<sup>186</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXV, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1909, p. 30, OHS (ed), April 1910. p. 7, OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXVII, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1911. pp. 68, 88.

<sup>187</sup> OHS (ed), May 1911, p. 57.

<sup>188</sup> Collins, p. 248.

were seeing were the skills and attitudes that they were encouraged to emulate at school, that of teamwork and leadership. These attributes underpinned that of duty and service. The Rector would have known this and seen these sports events as a chance to expose the boys to positive role models. These role models also encouraged the concepts of duty and loyalty regardless of how they fared on the sports field. The combination of all this gave the boys exposure to the next stage in their lives as to what was expected of them when they became adults and this included subscription to the concepts of duty and loyalty.

There appears over the period of this thesis to have been a general undercurrent within the community that resisted the idea that boys' schools should encourage their students to constantly have their heads in their books. Truby King was one such person who illustrated his argument against over 'swotting'. He pointed out that the recent arrival of a 'new' Old Boy from OHS at his asylum was because the boy had over swotted.<sup>189</sup> The 1906 editor reassured his readership that the school was quite aware of the issues surrounding the issues King was raising and accepted that, yes, there was the potential for any boy to have a 'breakdown' however the chances of that being the norm as opposed to the exception under discussion were rather remote.<sup>190</sup>

The editor of the April 1910 edition of the school magazine was also quick to point out that any student who is all work and no play soon becomes a dull boy. Whereas a student who takes a break from his books and plays rugby, cricket or goes for a ramble in the country is much healthier, much brighter, and as a result will become a better citizen.<sup>191</sup> This desirable image of the ideal boy was one that both OHS and WBHS believed they were delivering.

To demonstrate how good the New Zealand boy was, especially if he played sport, WBHS promoted a contrasting image of the German boy. In April 1917 the editor of *The Waitakian* suggested, not without bias, that the German boy's work load had a detrimental effect.

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<sup>189</sup> OHS (ed), August 1906. p. 93.

<sup>190</sup> OHS (ed), August 1906. pp. 93-96.

<sup>191</sup> OHS (ed), April 1910. p. 2.

‘Their classes average ten hours a week more than ours, and they have an enormous amount of obligatory home-work. Consequently nervousness is common, spectacled eyes are frequently met with, and ultimately their mental vigour is dulled.’<sup>192</sup>

This comparison between the New Zealand and German boy is important because it gives an insight as to why sport was promoted within both OHS and WBHS. The New Zealand boy was encouraged to play sport so that he developed into an ‘all round’ boy. On the other hand the German boy, it was argued, was encouraged to keep his head in his books and not play sport that within the New Zealand context was believed to be detrimental to a boy’s development. Missing out on sport set these two groups of boys apart and, as a result, the German boy was believed to be underdeveloped. Therefore, this boy missed out on the benefits sport allowed, which the New Zealand boy gained, and this was the ability to think straight and know the difference between right and wrong. The New Zealand boy was therefore a better balanced boy, because he participated in sport, and able to take his place in society. A boy that was well balanced was a better citizen.

It is this last point, regarding becoming a better citizen, which is of more interest. Schools at this time believed they were what would now be described as microcosms within the wider community. These communities within a community had the duty to produce boys that could fit in this wider community. For these boys to be able to fit in the schools strived to provide an environment that enabled a ‘balanced boy’ to leave its classrooms with the skills and knowledge required ready for this wider community.

This wider community was not just limited to that of Dunedin or Otago. It is clear that the faculty at both schools knew that their students would venture further afield, just like many of them had when they were young. For some of these students their place lay not just within New Zealand but also in other parts of the Empire.<sup>193</sup>

Citizenship, in part, was taught to these ‘balanced boys’ by encouraging them to play sport. Sport taught boys to fit into a team and to ‘play the game’. Those who chose not to play sport were encouraged to stand on the side line and shout words of encouragement to those playing. These boys were even given words to shout - ‘Remember your School, obey your

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<sup>192</sup> WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys’ High School*, Vol XII, No 1, April 1917. p.10.

<sup>193</sup> OHS (ed), May 1911, pp. 22-24.

captain, 'play up and play the game'.<sup>194</sup> These words come from Sir Henry Newbolt's Poem *Vitai Lampada* – literally means 'The torch of life'.<sup>195</sup>

No doubt Newbolt's words were familiar to the boys at the OHS. Within this poem the reader hears the story of the schoolboy who learns selfless commitment to duty. From this we can deduce that the school wanted to produce boys who were selfless, regardless whether they played sport or not, that understood their place in the community, who were disciplined, dutiful and would do what society wanted them to do.

Citizenship was not a new concept within the school and indeed the community. Citizenship arguably comes with the expectation that every citizen will do their part, much like that required by members of a sports team. This expectation involved duty and in his 1903 address to the end of year parade, of the Otago High School Cadet Unit, Captain Hughes reminded the departing youths that they should 'not leave off volunteering, but to join other companies'.<sup>196</sup> Hughes' appeal not to shirk their responsibility to the colony would not have been misunderstood by these soon to be Old Boys, especially those that had played sport.

The comparison of sport with the military is easy to make. Both rely on a sense of duty to achieve their goals. Duty to the team encourages the development of teamwork and creates the environment for leadership to grow. Teamwork and leadership are also a requirement of society. Over the period this thesis covers it is evident that New Zealand society required boys to develop teamwork and leadership skills as these would be help them in their latter lives. However, it was the sense of duty that enabled them to fit into this society

The importance of sport at both OHS and WBHS cannot be understated. Both schools relied on sport to help develop their boys. They used methods to enforce its importance such as the inclusion of articles in the school magazines to which the boys could relate. Exposing boys to a tougher opposition in order to harden them up before they played other schools was a method that resulted in the school gaining unparalleled kudos and lifted their

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<sup>194</sup> OHS (ed), April 1910, p. 3.

<sup>195</sup> Newbolt, Henry, *Vitai Lampada* ("They Pass on the Torch of Life") URL: <http://exhibits.lib.byu.edu/wwi/influences/vitai.html>

<sup>196</sup> OHS (ed), May 1903, p. 94.

students' confidence. It was not just playing sport that was encouraged, but the chance to go and watch suitable sporting role models in action that helped enforce the values OHS and WBHS were encouraging. Encouraging sport amongst its students was seen as important because it helped create a more balanced boy, one that knew the importance of books, but also made time to get out and play games. The sports played helped to foster camaraderie and develop a sense of school pride, values that within an adult context would become community spirit and national pride.

The combination of an education that included exposure to: international and local events, military training that focused on encouraging youths to do 'their bit' for Empire, and a sporting programme that aimed to produce a citizen that had self-belief in his abilities, clearly points to a nation that was finding its feet within an Empire that demanded that everyone was to do their duty. This duty arguably was not focused just at a military output. It was also focused at ensuring that the British Empire would always prevail no matter what. However, war was on the horizon even if many, of those within the target group of this thesis, could not see it. This war would become the focal point for schools for the next four years and beyond.

## Chapter Four: Duty to Enlist

Generally, when some New Zealand historians write about World War One, they may begin with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Serbian dissident in the Bosnian city of Sarajevo on 28 June 1914.<sup>197</sup> Though it is understandable that there needs to be a starting point, the question does need to be asked: Was there talk about War within schools like OHS and WBHS prior to the assassination and was there awareness that the Empire could be involved in a future war? A canvas of newspapers between January 1910 and July 1914 shows that there were no predictions that a war that the British Empire would be involved in was imminent. There were loan voices, like *The Maoriland Worker*, who warned of the rise of militarism.<sup>198</sup> However, militarism should not be confused with a desire to go to war. Many New Zealanders saw compulsory military training as important for the youth of the country as it taught them duty, discipline and order; concepts that were valued within New Zealand Victorian and Edwardian Society. To illustrate their importance then the example of 130,000 visiting the HMS *New Zealand* compared to the 2,500 who greeted the release of the 'Ripa Island Martyrs' shows that society was more interested in those who were willing to uphold these concepts as opposed to those who would flout them.<sup>199</sup> Then the military and what it taught youth was very much an excepted part of society. As already discussed in chapter two, compulsory military training in the form of the Cadets was promoted heavily by the Government as a 'tonic' for the development of youth and therefore the nation.

In regard to the schools covered by this thesis there is no indication within their publications that there was any thought that the Dominion was heading towards a war in Europe. In *The Waitakian* of May 1913 there was concern of the 'Japanese ambitions' within Asia having designs on Australia.<sup>200</sup> Eyebrows were being raised at the expansion of French and

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<sup>197</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 2003), p. 293, H.M.S. New Zealand, Evening Post, Volume LXXXV, issue 120, 22 May 1913, page 4, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/papaerspast?a=d&cl=search&d=EPa9130522.2.38&srpos=24&e=01-01-1913-20-06-1913--10--21----0Lyttleton+HMS+New+Zealand-->

<sup>198</sup> The Military Folly, *Maoriland Worker*, Volume 4, Issue 119, 27 June 1913, Page 4, URL: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=MW19130627.2.15.5&srpos=7&e=01-01-1910-31-12-1914--10--1----0new+zealand+on+war+footing-->

<sup>199</sup> James, Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From The 1880s to the Year 2000*, (Auckland: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2001), pp. 80-81.

<sup>200</sup> WBHS(ed), May 1913. p.25.

German interests in the Pacific.<sup>201</sup> Overall, there was no clear indication that war was imminent.

Both school magazines in early 1914 (OHS April and WBHS May) discussed school matters as they had done since the beginning of their respective publications.<sup>202</sup> Sport was covered in detail, especially rugby; the visit of General Hamilton was mentioned in *The Waitakian* and the end of year (1913) speeches at OHS. As already stated there were no discussions about any pending conflict. If anything, the Editorial in *The Waitakian* discusses in indirect terms the rise of 'soap box' orators, possibly in reference to the rise of the labour movement within New Zealand and its resulting militancy.<sup>203</sup> The OHS Magazine also refers to the state of industrial relations within New Zealand through the speech of his Worship the Mayor of Dunedin, William Downie Stewart Junior, at 1913 end of year prize giving. In his message to the assembled boys Downie Stewart clearly suggests that they choose wisely any career path they may decide to venture on. He states that the farming was an honourable profession for anyone to take up. Downie Stewart goes on to say:

(That) he noticed from the Jubilee Record that the majority of boys who had gone through the School were farmers. It was true that at one time it was considered that a farmers life was monotonous, but that reproach no longer held good, because they could relieve the monotony in these days by taking a spell as a special constable or working on the wharves. (Laughter). There was no monotony about that.<sup>204</sup>

The referral to the Jubilee Record was in reference to the OHS 50<sup>th</sup> celebrations earlier in 1913. The reference to the special constable and the wharf work was that of the previous year's industrial unrest.<sup>205</sup> What Downie Stewart's speech clearly tells us is that he believed those that were meant to be in control of the country, were still firmly in power and that boys should choose careers that benefited the nation and not those of the militant minority. It is quite apparent that Downie Stewart believed in the concepts of duty and service to one's country was an admirable trait to have. It is also clear, through the laughter that his audience thought so as well.

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<sup>201</sup> *ibid.* p.42.

<sup>202</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXX, No 1, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, April 1914, WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys' High School*, Vol XI, No 1, May 1914..

<sup>203</sup> WBHS(ed), May 1914. p.1.

<sup>204</sup> OHS (ed), April 1914. p. 25.

<sup>205</sup> 'Waterfront strike ends', URL:<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/waterfront-strike-ends> (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, updated 24-Oct-2014).

This laughter in the audience needs to be explored further. Though there is no indication of who is laughing, and who is not, or how loud, we can only assume that the recording of the laughter was significant enough to warrant inclusion. OHS and WBHS were primarily setup in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century to educate boys from the emerging middle to upper classes within New Zealand society. These groups were mainly land owners, farmers, and business people. It was from these groups that Downie Stewart's school boy audience was drawn from. No doubt this audience had family and friends who were affected by the actions of the 'Red Feds' during the 1913 waterfront strike.<sup>206</sup> Therefore this laughter would have had a tone that suggests that the audience could relate to the thrust of Downie Stewart's speech.

Another underlying aspect is that these boys were being prepared for their future roles within the agriculture sector, commerce and for those suitable there were administrative positions within the various Government Departments. All these positions were tinged with the requirement to serve. It is clear that the boys listening to Downie Stewart's speech agreed with him in his thoughts on service. That service to the greater good was imperative as opposed to those who sort to challenge this authority with their own agendas. Within a wider Imperial context the conditioning of these boys can be compared to the English Public School boy. Within Peter Parker's *The Old Lie, The Great War and the Public-School Ethos* the author explains what the Public School expected of their students:

The subordination of self to the community, personal striving for the common weal, the upholding of traditions and loyalty to the community, all acted as training for the administration of Empire.<sup>207</sup>

The similarities to the expectations placed on the boys at OHS are quite apparent. Like their Northern Hemisphere school cousins, boys within the New Zealand education system were expected to serve their country and their Empire.

In the period between the assassination of the Archduke on the 28 June and the 2 August 1914 declaration of war there was, according to one historian, much excitement regarding the possibility of a war between the British Empire and Germany.<sup>208</sup> Yet in the August edition of the OHS *Magazine* there was only a page dedicated to the war. In comparison there were

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<sup>206</sup> King, pp. 310-312.

<sup>207</sup> Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos*, (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1987), p. 54.

<sup>208</sup> King. p. 293.

11 pages dedicated to Rugby and four of these were regarding the match against Christ's College. It is important to note that the editor states that the War was 'breaking news'. However the article is not on the front page, but four pages in. This indicates that War, though important, was not as important as reporting on the comings and goings from the school. The placement of the article further back suggests that possibly the War was expected and that the events of the previous six weeks were enough to shunt this breaking news off the front page and back into the *Magazine*.

This small article does give us an insight as to what the school was expecting of its current and former students. Firstly, the editor reminded the reader that the War, to quote a British Statesman, had been 'thrust upon us'. He goes on to say:

'By human folly and wickedness, though not through any fault of ours.' Britain, now and in the past, has stood resolutely for the maintenance of peace, where no still greater issue is concerned, when, however the war was found to be inevitable, the call of duty to the Empire was sounded and nobly it was responded to throughout the British lands. Here as at home, all are determined to make every needful sacrifice, and, to the utmost of their power, to ensure a glorious victory for our righteous cause.<sup>209</sup>

As with the Boer War a subscription was immediately started at OHS in order to support the Expeditionary Force. This again was led by the boys at the school. From this we can determine that the starting of a subscription in support of the war was an acceptable thing to do. With the obvious lead taken from previous students the underlying connotations of duty and service that surround the subscription appear again 14 years after the first subscription during the Boer War was run. This reappearance of this form of 'duty' clearly suggests that it was firmly entrenched within the school culture and by default the wider community.

What this form of 'duty' also tells us is that OHS not only endorsed the running of a subscription to support the war effort, but they actively encouraged this form of patriotic behaviour. Not to be supportive would have been unthinkable in a nation that readily accepted the need to go to war. It is quite possible that the intent behind this support was more self-serving than anything. Whether by design or not, schools support their students' endeavours when they are clearly beneficial to the school. In the case of the subscription

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<sup>209</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXX, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1914. p. 25.

this was clearly the intent. Promoting the success', in this case a sense of community spirit, of their students allowed schools like OHS, and WBHS, a chance to demonstrate to perspective new parents that their sons will be doing the right things because the school has a firm grasp of what is right for their son. Clearly encouraging the concepts of service and duty within the school were something the teaching faculty, and from behind the scenes the board of governors, believed to be right.

Life however, when war was declared in August 1914, within OHS and WBHS, went on as normal. Students were expected to do as asked and to follow the rules. They played sport for their school, did Cadet Drill as and when required, were taught by their masters and learnt their lessons. They contributed to the wider society as it prepared for War by being involved, like their predecessors had during the Boer War, with aspects that were within their means, like subscriptions. Society expected schools to produce boys that fitted into their way of thinking and lead productive lives that they decided were important. And schools did just that. Life at School was quiet and very normal.

However it is not until the 1914 December edition of the OHS *Magazine* in an article 'an Old Boy' submitted that sums up how the War came about and changed life for OHS. It begins with:

This great war which has burst upon the world like a clap of thunder has brought into prominence the wonderful spectacle of all our peoples – black, white, yellow, or red, from whatever quarter of the globe they hail – springing to the assistance of the Motherland, hastening to offer their lives for King and Empire.<sup>210</sup>

The article goes on to tell the reader how Germany misread the British Empire by thinking that all the problems she was going through, with civil war in Ireland and sedition in India, that the British Empire would not come to the aid of France.<sup>211</sup>

WBHS adds that it was not the fault of the general populace of Germany and that they had been influenced wielded by the University Professors. The editor goes on to say:

A class of men of brilliant theoretical capacity, but extremely limited in practical knowledge, they have been permitted, nay, aided and abetted, to inculcate into the

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<sup>210</sup> During this period, School Magazines came out every four months, unlike today when they are annual publications. OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXX, No 3, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, December 1914. p.163.

<sup>211</sup> *ibid.* pp.163 -.167.

minds of their fellow countrymen their fantastic and more or less, impracticable ideals.<sup>212</sup>

Effectively both Schools were telling their readership, and this would have included current students, that it was not the fault of Britain as to why she and her Dominions were at war, but that of a small group of Germans who were telling the remainder of their society that they should help take over Europe. This in turn supported the belief that the War was just and it was the Empire's duty to support Great Britain's declaration of war.

This justification of action by both editors, to their readership as to how the War began was then supported with examples of what Old Boys were doing to support the Dominion's efforts. At OHS a clear distinction was made between those who went, and those who wanted to, but could not. This latter group were not chastised because they were not going, if anything, they were encouraged to contribute to the War effort through other means. In 1914 at OHS at least it was readily accepted that not every Old Boy could go:

We must remember that many that volunteer are not accepted for various physical reasons, a meed of praise must go out to those who, through no fault of their own, are refused the chance of going to the front. Defects in eyesight or in hearing, dental deficiency, insufficient height and weight are some of the reasons that have kept back fellows every bit as brave and as patriotic as those who have gone, and to those men Duty says: "Stick to your post; the Empire wants you where you are, so long as you do your work and do it with all your might."<sup>213</sup>

What is important from the above statement is the prominence placed on the concept of duty as it pertained to Old Boys from the school. OHS clearly accepts that not everyone could go, but this line of thought was reserved for those who medically or for age restrictions could not enlist.<sup>214</sup> Those Old Boys who did not have a good reason, be it age or health status, were expected to enlist. The pressure however to enlist was implied and is quite apparent in another exert taken from the same article.

In the South African war our School was worthily represented in the forces of the Empire, no fewer than seventy Old Boys going to the front, and of these seven laid

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<sup>212</sup> WBHS(ed), *The Waitakian: The Magazine of the Waitaki Boys' High School*, Vol IX, No 3, December 1914. pp.163-164.

<sup>213</sup> OHS (ed), December 1914. pp.165-166.

<sup>214</sup> *ibid.* pp.165-166, Headquarters New Zealand Army, *New Zealand Expeditionary Force (Europe) 1914. War Diary*, (Wellington: Government Printer, 1915), appendix II, p.ii.

down their lives for their country. Their names are engraved for all time upon our hearts and recorded in the memorials of the School....This gallant little band of seven, whose names should be remembered by every boy of the School, were Baron, Harvey, Heenan, Moffett, Moeller, Palmer, and Reid. Many of us remember them as boys at the School, and which of us then dreamt of their final glorious end? <sup>215</sup>

It is clear that OHS expected its Old Boys to perform their duty. In Chapter One, it was discussed how the Rector Alexander Wilson detailed to the boys at the school how it was expected from them not to be found wanting – in effect they were to do their duty. It is very clear from the excerpt above that this line of thinking was still accepted even under Morrell his successor. From this it is apparent that duty at OHS was not just an expectation but a way of life. It could also be argued that it was considered to be the normal.

As already stated the editor points out that not everyone could enlist. There were those with ‘through account of age and family ties’ were reminded that there was much to be done.<sup>216</sup> From this we can determine that duty and service was not just for those enlisting but something that everyone should aspire to. The editor gives examples of some Old Boys helping out with the ‘Dominions Territorial Army’, whilst others are raising funds for the homeless and wounded. This small insight in to the thinking that prevailed at the time shows that there was an acceptance that in some quarters at least there was the belief that the War would be a drawn out affair and that everyone should do their bit regardless of position.

...others, again, are making provision for the brave fellows who may return incapacitated, sending comforts to the men at the front, providing liberally for relatives dependent upon them during their absence; everyone with a steadfast resolution to “keep the old Flag flying.” <sup>217</sup>

From the editor’s report on what was happening in the community at the time, it can be determined that those who could not go were doing everything they could to ensure that those that could go were able to do so. It is clear that the general belief at the time was that war was what young men went off to do and that it was their duty to fight just like it was those who stayed behind had a duty to support them and create the conditions that allowed those that could fight the chance to go and do.

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<sup>215</sup> OHS (ed), December 1914. p.165.

<sup>216</sup> *ibid.*p.166.

<sup>217</sup> *ibid.*p.166.

The pressure to enlist from society was no doubt real for some whether it was self-imposed, from family, friends, fellow Old Boys or implied through school publications. In the December 1914 issue of *The Waitakian* a detailed list of 120 Old Boys who enlisted, or in some cases had attempted to enlist, was included for all to read.<sup>218</sup> The list includes all those WBHS Old Boys that were known to have enlisted, not just in the NZEF but also the Australian Imperial Force and the British Expeditionary Force. Milner's end of year report in *The Waitakian* states that:

'Old Boys – It is heartily gratifying to record that Waitaki is playing an honourable part in the great crisis that is threatening the very existence of the British Empire.'<sup>219</sup>

The pride in the sacrifice made by the Old Boys is obvious. Stating the sacrifice is honourable shows that WBHS believed the war to be just. Showing that the 'crisis threaten the very existence of the British Empire' demonstrates that the School was aware of the gravity of the situation and that if the British were to win then a whole of Empire response was required and that included WBHS Old Boys.

Following this statement Milner lists those Old Boys who had recently graduated from university here and at 'home'. The importance of this list comes clearer after Milner states with pride.

The whole of our Old Boys at Home Universities have volunteered for the front.<sup>220</sup>

From this we can determine that WBHS under Milner believed that Old Boys should be doing their bit and that after university they should put all thoughts aside of a career and do their duty for their Empire. This extension of pressure from WBHS and OHS shows that schools not only nurtured their students to become citizens that contributed to the wider community through being dutiful but that they also felt that it was their responsibility to remind them to be dutiful after they left school. They did this through showing their Old Boys that their former students' peers were answering duty's call and it was those that had not enlisted responsibility to make well this obligation.

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<sup>218</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1914. pp.230- 236.

<sup>219</sup> *ibid.* p.262.

<sup>220</sup> *ibid.* p.262.

The question that drops out of this flurry to enlist is: What was the motivation for the WBHS Old Boys at the 'Home Universities' to enlist? One obvious answer is that everyone around them would have been enlisting so it is quite probable that some were caught up in the hype generated by the declaration of war in Britain. In Christopher Moore-Bick's book *Playing the Game: The British Junior Officer on The Western Front 1914-1918* the author states:

By Christmas 1914 almost half the students in residence in Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1913-14 had volunteered.<sup>221</sup>

If this is an indication as to why so many Old Boys from WBHS in Britain had enlisted. Then it most certainly is true that many were caught up in the call to arms in 1914. This is not too surprising because they would have been involved in the university centred military training that was the Officer Training Corps (OTC).<sup>222</sup> It is possible that those who enlisted were driven by the notion that they had something to offer the recruiting officer when they arrived to enlist at the nearest recruiting centre. As already discussed the Old Boys from WBHS (and OHS) during their time at school had undertaken military training, so it is not surprising that they were able to enlist as quickly as they could. They were, as argued, more suitable than someone who did not have these skills. What we do not know is, of those who enlisted how many did so through careful consideration went to the recruiting office by their own volition as opposed to being swept along by the crowd.

Wanting to volunteer, and being suitable to enlist, are two separate things. Of the 115 WBHS Old Boys who had enlisted in Britain from university, 30 of these were commissioned.<sup>223</sup> And when put into context, a significant amount just to come from one school, especially a school on the other side of the world. These 30 were part of the New Army being raised by Kitchener.<sup>224</sup> The need for men who could capably fulfil the role of junior officers within the ranks of the New Army is quite clear and university students like the 30 from WBHS were believed to be suitable candidates for commission.<sup>225</sup> The 30 were not just suitable for commission because they were at university: they were suitable because

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<sup>221</sup> Christopher Moore-Bick, *Playing the Game: The British Junior Officer on The Western Front 1914-1918*, (Solihull: Helion & Company Ltd, 2011), p. 31.

<sup>222</sup> For many of these former WBHS Old Boys there had already been military training with the cadets, so training with the OTC would have been familiar territory.

<sup>223</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1914. p. 262.

<sup>224</sup> Moore-Bick, *Playing the Game: The British Junior Officer on The Western Front 1914-1918*, p. 20.

<sup>225</sup> *ibid.* p. 31.

they held the same social views as their British counterparts they were in effect New Zealand's version of gentlemen.<sup>226</sup>

Gentlemen within British society were educated at a Public School.<sup>227</sup> They had learnt from a young age what it meant to be in the upper echelons of British society; that attending a Public School would invariably lead to a life of service to the nation and Empire.<sup>228</sup> Part of their time at school was dedicated to classics (Latin and Greek), modern subjects explored topics outside their immediate environment, such as labour relations and troubles in Ireland. They also played games such as cricket and rugby in doing so they learned the value of teamwork and mateship. Within all these topics they were exposed to the concepts of service and duty and their future role in the betterment of the Empire.<sup>229</sup> The similarity in the education delivered and the expectations placed on the British Public School Old Boys and those from New Zealand schools, who they met at university and through OTC, is quite apparent. Without a doubt this shows that those Old Boys from WBHS who went to the United Kingdom to extend their schooling had already attained a level of education that was recognised as sufficient enough to mark them as gentlemen and allowed them to be commissioned.

What though of the other 85 Old Boys from WBHS that enlisted? Moore-Bick again explains what was occurring within the British context and the reason why some Public School Old Boys enlisted into the British Army as private soldiers:

For many, the quickest way into the armed forces was enlisting despite possessing educational qualifications which marked them out in official eyes as potential officers.<sup>230</sup>

Was the excitement of war too much for this group? If Moore-Bick is to be believed, then, yes, the excitement made them enlist as soldiers as opposed to waiting for a commission.

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<sup>226</sup> To be considered for a commission in the British Army in 1914 the recruiters mainly selected those considered to be gentlemen – the social elite. Moore-Bick, *Playing the Game: The British Junior Officer on The Western Front 1914-1918*.19.

<sup>227</sup> In Britain the term 'public school' is the term used to describe what would be called a private school in New Zealand.

<sup>228</sup> Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos*, p. 54.

<sup>229</sup> Moore-Bick. *Playing the Game: The British Junior Officer on The Western Front 1914-1918*, p. 35.

<sup>230</sup> *ibid.* p. 42.

The decision by the Old Boys from WBHS to enlist in the British Army was ultimately a personal choice, though the declaration of war helped trigger this decision. This choice, however, would have been decided through the information placed in front of the prospective enlistee. This information would have been filtered through the educational conditioning that was received whilst the Old Boy had been at school in New Zealand. As already discussed, this would have included the requirement placed on these Old Boys by their Rectors to serve and perform one's duty. Milner would have been proud of his achievement in ensuring his Old Boys did their duty no matter where they were.

Milner's pride in his achievement would not have stopped there. His statement of approval regarding the enlistment of a 115 Old Boys in Britain was made in front of the current crop of WBHS boys still at school. Therefore, his speech would have been calculated to take into account these boys and remind them that they too had a responsibility to perform their duty. Milner would have known that some of these boys would soon leave. Again Milner expected them to enlist, to perform the duty that he and his faculty had been conditioning these soon to be Old Boys to accept as theirs to do.

Within this audience was 16 year old Seton Montgomerie, a boarder, who did accept the Empire centric views of Milner as being his own. In a letter to his parents, not long after war was declared Montgomerie tells them:

You seem very perturbed about the war. I tell you I don't give a scrap for the Germans and all their battleships. You need not entertain the slightest fears as to the result of the war, and the trouble that might come off in the Pacific.

To take the ecclesiastical view of the matter as you ought to see for yourself; the Germans are in the Wrong and do you believe the wrong will win? And as it ever won? ...

Surely you put your trust in the British Empire and what it stands for, and worry your head off...<sup>231</sup>

Montgomerie shows, even though his letter precedes the speech of Milner by four months, that he clearly understands what the role of the British Empire was to be in the War. This awareness, as already discussed, came about because of the teaching Montgomerie was exposed to, which included an awareness of naval matters and the importance of the

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<sup>231</sup> Susanna Montgomerie Norris, with Anna Rogers (eds), *Annie's War: A New Zealand woman and her family in England 1916-19, The Dairies of Annie Montgomerie*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2014), p. 10.

Empire to New Zealand. Montgomerie was one of many boys at the school when War was declared and as a result came under the influence of Milner.

Looking forward, both schools were showing their wider communities including those parents that were contemplating sending their boys to either school, that this school was producing boys that were dutiful and willing to serve. It is apparent that both schools believed that they were producing citizens that were not shirkers when it came to performing the expectation of duty and service. Prior to the war, many had done their duty when it came to civil unrest and now they were doing it by answering a higher call that of military service to ones country. Recent historians refer to the First World War as a 'Big Adventure'.<sup>232</sup> It is possible this 'Big Adventure' had its basis in the concepts of duty and service which had been taught to the boys at OHS and WBHS since the schools inception.

For some, as already discussed, there would have been no expectation; they enlisted because that is what you did. How many felt pressured through society's expectation of duty and how many enlisted without issue cannot be measured. What can be measured is how many OHS Old Boys enlisted with the Advance Force to Samoa (27) and the Main Body (132) to Europe.<sup>233</sup> These two groups are important because it was these men that enlisted in the first few days of the War. The numbers give us an indication as to how many Old Boys from OHS made up the initial enlistments, which in total was just over 1%. Not many on the face of it, however for entire War the school was to provide 1% of all NZEF enlistments, which equates to just over 1300, a staggering amount to come from just one school.<sup>234</sup> At WBHS, a smaller school than OHS, an equally impressive number were to enlist in total 690 out of an Old Boy cohort of just over a 1000 were to serve.<sup>235</sup> Combined both schools contributed 2% of the NZEF and these were just two of the secondary schools in Otago. The question from here is what about those who enlisted as Old Boys from the remaining schools from throughout the country. Were all these enlistments due to the belief in service and duty? This question is in itself difficult to answer, however when looked at in

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<sup>232</sup> Jane Tolerton, *An Awfully Big Adventure: New Zealand World War One veterans tell their stories*, 'First World War farewells', URL:<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/first-world-war-farewells>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 15-Oct-2014, Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton (eds), *In the shadow of war: New Zealand soldiers talk about World War One and their lives*, (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), Jock Phillips, Nicholas Boyack and E.P. Malone (eds), *The Great Adventure: New Zealand soldiers describe the First World War*, (Wellington, Allen & Unwin / Port Nicholson Press, 1988).

<sup>233</sup> OHS (ed), December 1914. pp.167-.169. Appendix 1

<sup>234</sup> Appendix 1

<sup>235</sup> McDonald K.C. p. 381.

context that includes what was happening at OHS and WBHS during the period that this thesis covers it is not too difficult to argue that the concepts of service and duty had a large part to play in the decision to enlist regardless of where one went to school.

Meanwhile at WBHS, *The Waitakian*, listed the names of those who had departed for 'the front'. Of the 240 who had enlisted at the outbreak of war, five had joined the Australian Imperial Force and 115 the British Expeditionary Force.<sup>236</sup> It is important to discuss these different groups. The inclusion of those who had enlisted overseas shows that WBHS was in touch with most, if not all, of its former students. This in turn indicates that Old Boys used the Magazine as a way to communicate with each other by discussing what they were up to. The inclusion of selected letters from former Old Boys, in *The Waitakian*, of what was happening in Britain when war was declared were no doubt used to show former Old Boys and current students that the conflict was affecting everyone.<sup>237</sup> A.G.H. Massey stated that:

This morning while coming up Whitehall from the Abbey to Trafalgar Square, the street was at one part lined with men, most of whom probably wanted to enlist.

He goes on to say.

Everyone is doing something to help the Government at the present moment some ladies in this hotel are sewing shirts for the wounded.<sup>238</sup>

One Old Boy H.S.B. Young, who was sailing to the United Kingdom to enlist, clearly believed that he owed WBHS a 'debt of gratitude' for everything he knew. 'If it was not for the school', Young states referring to the international situation at the time, 'I would not have had a clear view of things'.<sup>239</sup> Young indicates through this statement that he benefitted from the schooling at WBHS and that it had an impact on his life.

From what has been already discussed in relation to the 115 WBHS Old Boys who had already enlisted in the British Army, it is not difficult to conclude that the schooling these former students received did in part help lay the foundation for them to decide to enlist.

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<sup>236</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1914.pp.230-231.

<sup>237</sup> The inclusion of letters was to continue throughout the war. Montgomerie-Norris. p. 151.

<sup>238</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1914.pp.247-248.

<sup>239</sup> *ibid.* pp.232-233.

Of interest in the December 1914 *Waitakian* is the inclusion of the detail pertaining to those who had tried to enlist but had not been able to. One of the reasons given was that of being underage. At least six former WBHS students were turned away from enlisting with the Main Body due to lack of adequate birth certificates.<sup>240</sup> Richard Van Emden, when writing about the British experience of underage soldiers in his book *Boy Soldiers of the Great War: their own stories for the first time*, points out that birth certificates were in themselves not a reliable form of personal identification. All it showed was that the prospective enlistee had a piece of paper, nothing more.<sup>241</sup> This in turn suggests that some underagers managed to enlist under false pretences, whilst some did not.

If that was the British experience then it is logical the New Zealand experience was similar. If pieces of paper could not be believed then it was left up to the recruiter to decide if the enlistee was telling the truth or not. With records for WBHS incomplete, those held by OHS give an insight into underage problem within New Zealand.<sup>242</sup>

In 1914 the age in New Zealand for enlistment for service overseas was 20.<sup>243</sup> In Britain it was 18.<sup>244</sup> Considering the difficulty in determining actual age all enlistments fell into one of the following categories:

- A. They were 20 and over on the day of enlistment.
- B. They were almost 20 and would turn 20 during training, and
- C. They were well under the age of enlistment.

It is these last two groups that were of concern. The group that would turn 20 during training should not have been enlisted until they had turned 20. The group that was well underage should have been turned away at the recruiter's door or the doctor's surgery. Records show this last group were able to enlist and in some cases quite easily.

Underage enlistments had been a concern in New Zealand since the war began and as they were shown to be in Van Emden's book.<sup>245</sup> Even before war was declared, and volunteers

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<sup>240</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1914. p. 232.

<sup>241</sup> Richard Van Emden, *Boy Soldiers of the Great War: Their own stories for the first time*, (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2005) p. 46.

<sup>242</sup> Otago High School, First Day Register.

<sup>243</sup> Headquarters New Zealand Army, 1915. p.ii.

<sup>244</sup> Richard Van Emden, *Boy Soldiers of the Great War: Their own stories for the first time*. p. 27.

called for, Lieutenant-Colonel W.G. Braithwaite wrote in the *New Zealand Expeditionary Force (Europe) 1914: War Diary* on the 2 August 1914:

Age – No one is to be included in this Force who has not yet reached the age of twenty years.<sup>246</sup>

This order however was left up to the district commanders to enforce. The order is quite clear that no one would be accepted underage. If the order is so clear then why did some former Old Boys from OHS manage to enlist underage and some from WBHS fail? Milner's speech gives us a clue that birth certificates were required in order to enlist. Van Emden suggests that producing a birth certificate, any for that matter, enabled some enlistees to get in. Yet clearly in the New Zealand context a lack of an adequate birth certificate did keep some out. Were they recognised by the recruiter as being underage? Did the recruiter follow the intent of Braithwaite's order and keep underage enlistees out. We will never know the true reason as to why they were not enlisted. However, the ones who got in did not really have to try that hard at all.

Colonel E.W.C. Chaytor instructed all Officers Commanding (OC) Area Groups to inform District Headquarters if there were any misstatements in regard to the age of recruits.<sup>247</sup> This suggests that OCs had to keep an eye on enlistments and ensure all ages were correct. However, as already been alluded to, birth certificates just needed to be adequate. If this is the case then as long as the enlistment documentation was correct in regard to the age then there was no need to report any misstatements to Army HQ because there were none.

What message did this send to those Old Boys who were underage and thinking of enlisting? It told them, that all they needed to do was ensure that their documentation was correct. In regard to the willingness to perform their duty and service? This aspect was not questioned within the enlistment process. Turning up to the recruiters was enough to indicate that they were willing to perform their duty and to serve.

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<sup>245</sup> Headquarters New Zealand Army, 1915. p.ii, Richard Van Emden, *Boy Soldiers of the Great War: Their own stories for the first time.*

<sup>246</sup> Headquarters New Zealand Army, 1915, p.ii.

<sup>247</sup> *ibid.* p.xxviii.

The blame for underage enlistments cannot fully be laid at the feet of the recruiter. Prior to embarking overseas the recruit needed to undertake a medical to ensure that he was fit for active service. Braithwaite was adamant and ordered the following:

Medical Examination – All ranks are required to undergo a medical examination before signing the attestation paper. This medical examination is to be conducted by an officer of the New Zealand Medical Corps. No one will be accepted whose height is under 5ft 4in (163cm), or in weight exceeds 12 stone (76kgs), except in special cases.<sup>248</sup>

The requirement to meet the thresholds of height and weight were meant to reduce the likelihood of those who under the age for enlistment and those who were physically incapable of undergoing military training. This is clear in Lieutenant –Colonel A. D. Carberry's book *The New Zealand Medical Service in the Great War 1914-1918*.<sup>249</sup>

It is at this point that it is useful to compare the medical requirements for New Zealand Army against those required for service in the British Army. In 1914 Braithwaite ordered that no one shorter than 5ft 4in (163cm), or in weight exceeding 12 stone (76kgs) was to be enlisted.<sup>250</sup> The British Army set their requirements for enlistment at 5ft 3in with an expanded chest measurement of 34in for 18 year olds.<sup>251</sup> It is apparent that there was acceptance that as a boy gets older he will grow in size and weight. This acceptance, within the guidelines, extended as far as acknowledging that not all boys would grow at the same rate and that some would be smaller for longer.<sup>252</sup> The only real criterion was that any potential New Zealand recruit needed to be above Braithwaite's height and below his weight stipulations.

It is quite possible that the medical requirements used by the New Zealand Army Doctors to determine suitability of volunteers for service overseas were exactly the same as used by

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<sup>248</sup> *ibid.* p.ii.

<sup>249</sup> A. D. Carberry, Lieutenant Colonel, *The New Zealand Medical Service in the Great War 1914-1918*, (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs Limited, 1924), p. 9.

<sup>250</sup> Headquarters New Zealand Army, 1915. p.ii. These figures are consistent with those detailed in the 1913 Defence regulations. Allen, John, *Regulations for the Military Forces of the Dominion of New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1913. p. 97.

<sup>251</sup> Richard Van Emden, *Boy Soldiers of the Great War: Their own stories for the first time.* p .27.

<sup>252</sup> This is shown within the guidelines using a range ages with the same heights and weights appearing throughout.

the British Army. This assumption is quite valid, because during the reading to Parliament of the 1909 Defence Act the Prime Minister the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Ward stated:

That the Dominions should as far as practical adopt the Field Service Regulations and training manuals issued to the home Regular Army as a basis of the organisation, administration and training of their troops.<sup>253</sup>

This almost copying of what was happening in the United Kingdom makes sense as there would be no point 'reinventing the wheel' if all of the Dominions were being encouraged to do the same as the 'Home' Army. Considering that there appeared to be a rush to set up the NZ Territorial Army the finer detail of these administration and training manuals would not have been of a concern. General Alexander John Godley, a British Army Officer, an able administrator, who was tasked with setting up the NZ Territorial Army would not have been interested either in the finer detail so it is not surprising that the medical provisions were over looked especially when so much else needed to be done.<sup>254</sup> The lack of closer analysis of the British medical requirements by the NZ Government and the Defence Department, to determine if they fitted in with local conditions was to be a mistake that would impact on many an enlistment during the War.

When it came to enlistments the regulations for the New Zealand doctors to follow for height and weight as they pertained to 20 year olds did not take into account that New Zealanders were known to be taller and heavier than their British counterparts. Therefore the New Zealanders that were 20 were possibly comparative with the expected heights and weights of a 22 or even up to a 24 year old British soldier. This is still quite an assumption to make considering there is no formal research to back this up. Anecdotal evidence, from General Sir Ian Hamilton, does suggest that the New Zealand soldier was of a "superb physique" indicating that he was bigger than the norm.<sup>255</sup> Research shows that there is evidence, to support Hamilton's observation and, that the New Zealander even at the age of 17, and even in some cases 16, were taller and heavier than Braithwaite's requirements.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> AJHR, 1910, H19a.p.1003.

<sup>254</sup> Ray Grover. 'Godley, Alexander John', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 1-Oct-2013, URL:

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3g12/godley-alexander-john>

<sup>255</sup> General Sir Ian Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1920), p. 61.

<sup>256</sup> 10 known underage soldiers were selected from OHS (9/754a Stanley John Ryan, 8/697, William Hunter Reynolds, 24/140 Arthur Alexander Dey, 11/171 Clutha Natnes Mackenzie, 15/154 David Maxwell Park, 15/129 Henry Orwin Carter, 40620 Norrrys Von Strumer Niccol, 24/40 Cyril Frederick Bartrum, 13304 Cecil

What then has this all to do with duty and service? If the doctors were given guidance as to the heights and weights required to enlist as they pertained to the various ages, then this information should have allowed them weed out those who were underage. However if some of these volunteers that were trying to enlist were underage, yet were more physically developed than those set out in the guidelines then it was almost a given that they would be able to enlist because the criteria was flawed especially as the guidelines were based on British recruits and not New Zealand ones. This argument has some validity however there is still a questionable aspect regarding the actions of the doctor during the medical inspection. Surely, a boy of 16 or even 17 could be spotted because he was potentially too young to even perform that basic of male hygiene requirements and that is to shave on a daily basis. If he could not even do this then how did he manage to get enlist?

Another more telling part of the enlistment process was the need to enter an age on the enlistment form. In this area of the form the words 'Apparent age' appear. These words indicate it was left to the doctor to decide what the age of the recruit was. No doubt the question was put to the volunteer enlisting. If the potential recruit said he was 20, as many in the sample group enlistment forms show they were apparently were then arguably the Doctor had to put down what he was told.<sup>257</sup> However as already argued, surely a doctor could pick out those who were clearly lying about their age.

At a governmental level in 1915 there were questions asked in Parliament of, the Minister of Defence, James Allen MP about the number of under developed young men serving in Gallipoli. In reply Allen stated:

If a young man states his age as twenty years and looks that age, it is difficult for the examining officer to refuse to pass him as if physically fit.<sup>258</sup>

From this statement it is clear that as far as the Government was concerned it was up to the enlistee to prove they were suitable for enlistment and not the authorities' responsibility to prove otherwise.

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Burleigh Balfour and 53109 Archibald Aitchison) all of these were over and above the medical requirements for a 20 year old.

<sup>257</sup> Mackenzie, Aitcheson and Reynolds ages were put down as 21, when all were 17, 19 and 16 respectively. The remainder were all put down as 20.

<sup>258</sup> AJHR, Vol III, Wellington: 1915, H19a, p.665.

Putting the responsibility back on the underage Old Boy for acting in a deceitful way is not totally fair. When the orders for mobilisation of the NZEF were written in 1914 Braithwaite included in his orders for the potential for closer scrutiny of those enlisting:

Mode of Application – All applications from volunteers will be dealt with locally, and will be made by those wishing to volunteer, through their Squadron, Battery and Company Officers to their Regimental Commanders and Brigadiers, or through Area and Group Officers, by whom they will be forwarded to District Headquarters.<sup>259</sup>

However, even the 'check' that the Officer was to do appears not to have had much of an impact. If the underage Old Boy enlisting was doing so because of previous conditioning through what he had learnt at schools like OHS and WBHS, including the expectation placed on him by the community. Then it stands to reason that when he joined the Territorial Army, at 18 years, he was more likely to want to enlist because he understood the concepts of service and duty as a result of his schooling and what his community expected. That assumption is reasonable, however surely his Squadron, Battery or Company Officer would have persuaded him not to? It is difficult to answer this question, because we are not privy to the conversations between Soldier and Officer. What we can assume though is that if Walvin's thoughts, as discussed in Chapter One, on how literature could mould the perceptions that youth held. Then it stands to reason that the Officer involved, who more than likely had some form of secondary education, if not from the same school, would have understood the desire of the volunteer to enlist. As has been suggested the Officer possibly helped the underage Old Boy to enlist by telling what to say when completing his medical. This possibly was the case for at least 40 under age Old Boys from OHS who managed to enlist up until mid-1915. From then on numbers appear to have dropped away, after Trentham Camp was established as the main training facility in the country, until 1918 when there was a rapid increase up to 22.<sup>260</sup>

How many underage soldiers from OHS and WBHS managed to slip through the net in 1914 is unsure. Clearly officialdom was turning a blind eye towards some of those who were enlisting underage. A good example of this and the lack of enforcement is illustrated in the OHS *Magazine* of May 1915 (Fig 5).

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<sup>259</sup> Headquarters New Zealand Army, 1915. p.ii.

<sup>260</sup> Appendix 2

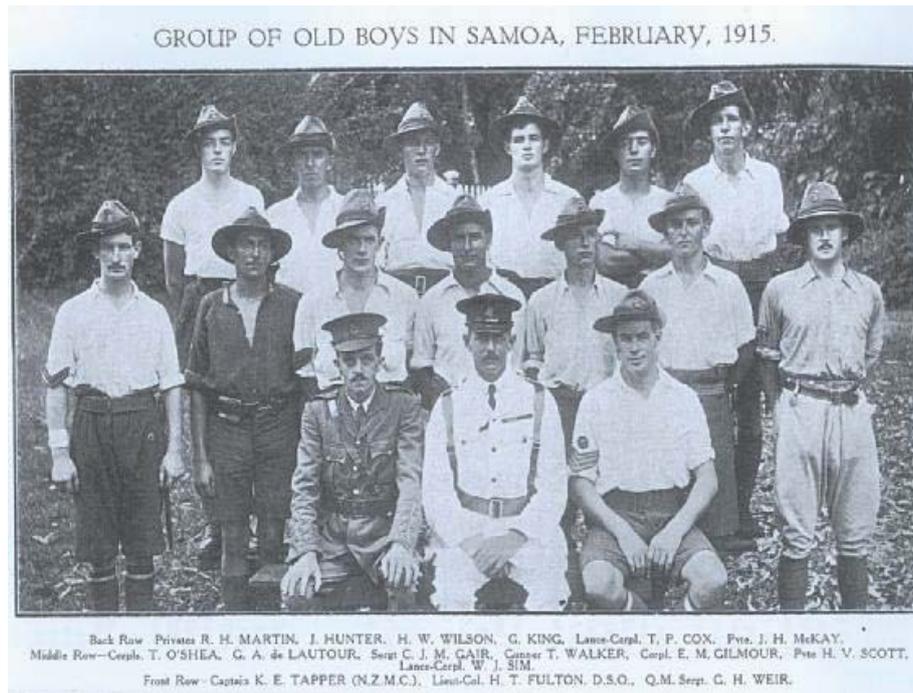


Figure 5 *Group of Old Boys in Samoa 1915*

In the above photo of Old Boys assembled in Samoa, in February of that year, two of the 16 present were underage.<sup>261</sup> Of the two officers present in the photo, Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Fulton, Commanding Officer, and Captain Kenneth Tapper, Ambulance Section, N.Z. Medical Corps, it is not surprising that neither appears concerned that underage soldiers Privates Wilson and Scott are standing behind. As already demonstrated, New Zealand society wanted people who were willing to accept the responsibility that duty and service demanded. It would appear that society was not concerned even if age should have been a barrier.

It is inconceivable that Fulton at least was not privy to the order put out by Braithwaite some six months earlier. Tapper would have surely known that there were underage soldiers amongst the ranks. It is arguable that Fulton and Tapper were both compliant in allowing underage soldiers to serve in Samoa and that they both disobeyed a written order. However as the photo shows, these were all OHS Old Boys, regardless of age. Wilson, as discussed in Chapter One, stated that he challenged the boys not to be found wanting if war was to break out again. Morrell too expected boys to do their duty. If this was the prevailing

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<sup>261</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXXI, No 2, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, August 1915. p.32, 1/310 Harold Woodburn Wilson, 1/41 Hedley Vicars Scott.

expectation within New Zealand society at the time then it is hardly surprising that Fulton and Tapper seem unconcerned. In regard to WBHS and Milner's comments regarding the six who did not get in because of inadequate birth certificates there is almost an underlying tone in his statement which suggests he is telling the six 'better luck next time'.

On the surface it would appear that OHS's 157 underage enlistments are not many when looked at in isolation. As a percentage of those that enlisted from OHS the number of underage enlistments makes only 12% of the 1300 who departed overseas. This in itself was just over 1% of the entire NZEF. However, when looked at in relation to the entire New Zealand contribution to the war the numbers make for interesting reading.

If OHS only contributed 1% of the entire 103,000 that departed for service with the NZEF and they as a group were a reflection of society at the time. Then it stands to reason that the underage soldiers from this group were not the only ones enlisting underage. Research shows that the issue of underage soldiers was not just confined to Otago that it was indeed a national problem.<sup>262</sup> It is quite probable that there was up to at least 8% of the NZEF who were underage. And as the records for OHS and the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) are incomplete, it is more than likely that this number is much higher possibly closer to 10% or 10300.

Another avenue open to anyone contemplating enlisting underage was to leave New Zealand. Montgomerie left New Zealand and headed to the United Kingdom to enlist with his brother, accompanied by his mother. He enlists with the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) in 1916 at the age of 18. In New Zealand Montgomerie was too young, yet through choice he headed to the United Kingdom, and as a British citizen he was of age. He has with him a letter of character reference from Milner that Montgomerie uses to enlist, which indicates that the Rector was aware of Montgomerie's intentions.<sup>263</sup>

Arguably Montgomerie was quite within his rights to head to the United Kingdom to enlist even though in New Zealand he should have been turned away. The conviction, at 16, shown within Montgomerie's letter to his parents demonstrates that he supported the

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<sup>262</sup> Appendix 2

<sup>263</sup> Montgomerie-Norris. p.34.

War.<sup>264</sup> It is clear that at 18 he still believed in its necessity, otherwise he would not have left New Zealand to enlist. It is not known if Montgomerie was counselled by Milner about his decision to enlist in the United Kingdom, however because he has a letter of character with him that helps Montgomerie enlist in the RFC it is clear that Milner endorsed Montgomerie's choice. Milner was aware that some of his former students were enlisting underage yet he appears to not have stopped them trying to do so.<sup>265</sup> Why Milner did not stop his former students from doing so is again not known. And it is arguable that it was not up to him to stop them, however in the case of Montgomerie at least it is clear that WBHS under Milner did endorse a citizen's right to choose even if that choice was morally wrong.

If there were so many underage Old Boys enlisting from schools like OHS and WBHS then what about at the other end of the enlistment scale – those who were overage, surely they would have felt a desire to perform their duty and to serve their country. The oldest age to enlist in New Zealand was 40 years of age. Though fewer in number than those who were underage, as preference was given to those who were single and therefore more likely to be younger.<sup>266</sup> There were at least 23 former Old Boys from OHS who enlisted, with the eldest being 48.<sup>267</sup> Like their younger counterparts this group managed to avoid the recruiting officer's gaze or the doctor's inspection, which is hardly surprising considering the lack of effort being put in to preventing under agers from enlisting. Without the vigour youth that was the domain of those much younger than them. These overage soldiers still endured the same conditions, ate the same food, marched the same distances, were subjected to the same discipline, and were exposed to the same simulated battle conditions as everyone else. Yet there appears to have been no official position on this group and to prevent them from enlisting. It is quite clear that some in this group lied about their age as for many birth certificates would have been unavailable, so a man's word had to be taken. This group would have been easier for doctors to spot, compared to the younger soldiers as being too old, especially those in their mid-forties. Surely the ravishes of time on a man's body was easier to spot even for the Army instructors who took the recruits through the various battle

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<sup>264</sup> *ibid.* p.34

<sup>265</sup> WBHS(ed), December 1914.p. 232.

<sup>266</sup> Headquarters New Zealand Army, 1915. p.ii.

<sup>267</sup> Appendix 1. Due to the loss of records at WBHS in 1920 it is difficult to determine how many Old Boys were enlisting overage.

handling exercises they were exposed to in Trentham and Featherston Camps. A logical conclusion is that they too had something to offer the NZEF.

Service and duty was not the domain of the young and it is important to include the overagers in this thesis because it was this group that would lead the younger ones throughout the war. As discussed the concept of duty and service had been taught in English Public Schools during the Victorian and Edwardian period. These former Old Boys from OHS, and WBHS, were taught by Masters that had been through the Public School system so it stands to reason that they would have been exposed to the ideals that their masters brought with them. Fulton had been under the tutelage of William MacDonald, a Scot who had majored in the Classics before becoming Rector at Edinburgh High School.<sup>268</sup> As Moore-Bick states:

Classical literature was rich in useful imagery and moral content. It supplied Ciceronian notions of civic duty and honour and Homeric values of heroism and sacrifice.<sup>269</sup>

If this is the type of person that MacDonald was then it is with no doubt these values would have been passed on to the students, like Fulton, at OHS.

As Rectors and Masters were replaced the values of duty and service were reinforced by their replacements to become part of the culture of the school. In the ten years prior to the period of this thesis, Henry Belcher, Alexander Wilson's predecessor, changed the outlook of the school to that resembling an English Public School. Rory Sweetman in his book, *Above the City: A History of the Otago Boys High School 1863-2013*, describes how Belcher's Rectorship of OHS was being compared to the English Public Schools of Eton, Winchester, Rugby, Cheltenham and Clifton.<sup>270</sup> Again successive Rectors were importing and enforcing the values of duty and service as they saw them. This enforcement was approved by the board of governors who appointed these men to this position. OHS as stated was a reflection of society and it was this society that demanded that their sons be instilled with the values of service and duty.

A closer look at the overager group shows that of those that left New Zealand with the NZEF many held rank of authority. Colonel Charles Begg (48) was the most senior followed

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<sup>268</sup> Sweetman. p.100.

<sup>269</sup> Moore-Bick, *Playing the Game: The British Junior Officer on The Western Front 1914-1918*, p. 30.

<sup>270</sup> Sweetman, *Above the City: A History of the Otago Boys High School 1863-2013*, p. 115.

by Lieutenant Colonels, Burns (48), Bauchop (44), Neil (41) and Fulton (47).<sup>271</sup> All these men had had some previous military experience. Bauchop as discussed had been in South Africa, so had Burns, Neil and Fulton. Fulton was a career soldier and had been an Officer with the Imperial Army since 1892.<sup>272</sup> When the Territorial Army was being set up in 1910 it was these men that Army Headquarters in Wellington looked towards to hold the higher ranks of this new Army. Therefore it was not surprising in 1914 when war was declared that this older group was used as the leaders of the young. With the type of education that both groups undertook, over agers and under agers, it is not surprising that both believed in the concepts of service and duty. When it came to enlisting the younger Old Boys it could almost be heard the possible thoughts of the older ones, 'Who am I to turn away this Old Boy, when he believes in the importance of duty and service as much as I do.'

WBHS's first Rector, John Harkness came from England, and like OHS's MacDonald, was a classical scholar.<sup>273</sup> His appointment shows that Waitaki's Board of Governors, like OHS, valued educational leadership from the 'old country'. This is not surprising as there would not have been many New Zealand taught graduates capable of fulfilling the role at both schools. His replacement in 1897 Dr John Robert Don was an Australian who came from a science background.<sup>274</sup> His appointment was at a time when WBHS was struggling to find acceptance within the upper echelons of the secondary school world. Student numbers at the school were down and it was not until Milner a New Zealand trained Classics Rector, arrived in 1906 that the school really found its feet. What was happening at the school prior to Milner's arrival is unclear. However if 690 enlistments out of 1000 Old Boys is anything to go by then clearly WBHS was encouraging a sense of duty and service even when enrolments were down.

What the development of these two schools shows us is that the same issues of an expectant society, in this case the parents is evident. If OHS and WBHS was not teaching their sons in a manner they were accustomed to then the schools would not have survived. Therefore for the schools to gain currency with the parents they had to educate their

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<sup>271</sup> Appendix 1

<sup>272</sup> A COLONIAL CANDIDATE FOR THE ARMY. *Auckland Star*, Volume XXIII, Issue 54, 4 March 1892, Page 2, URL:

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=AS18920304.2.13&srpos=5&e=-----10-1----0harry+townsend+fulton-->

<sup>273</sup> MacDonald K.C. p. 24.

<sup>274</sup> *ibid.* p. 108.

students with a familiar style that the parents could accept and this style had its roots in Great Britain.

To give parents what they wanted the educational leaders in New Zealand in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries clearly resorted to importing a system that was both familiar and acceptable to those who would send their boys on to higher education. This is hardly surprising, as arguably there was no reason to 'reinvent the wheel'. The benefits of having a somewhat standardised system helped to reinforce the bonds of Empire. These bonds enabled a sense of duty and service to flourish within educational institutions like OHS and WBHS because this is what society wanted.

To illustrate that society was indeed interested in what was happening at the educational institutions like OHS. The following speech by Herbert Webb, Old Boy and Member of the Board of Governors was reprinted in the OHS *Magazine* and the *Otago Daily Times*. Webb says to the School at the December 1915 prize giving:

...The greatest value of our schools consisted in this – that they aim, both in classroom and playground, at the formation of character. That they had succeeded largely in this endeavour was manifested by the splendid stamp of fellows amongst the Old Boys, who, taking their lives in their hands, had in these days gone to the front in the cause of freedom and justice and the right. We mourned the loss of those who had fallen; we missed them, oh so sadly; but we rejoiced that they, and all the others, had shown themselves nobly of our Empire and our race.<sup>275</sup>

Clearly those within authority at the school wanted to tell everyone that the school was doing the right thing by the students and the community. The acknowledgement of those who had fallen was designed to show that OHS was 'tipping its hat' at those who had paid the ultimate price. Thanking them for their duty and services rendered. The School in looking back also looked forward and in the same Apr 1916 *Magazine* the editor states:

...Otago Boys' High School has acquired the name of a school that turns out boys of good character. Surely, nothing has shown this better than the present war, in which more than 550 Old Boys of this School have volunteered for service at the front. These men are the type that the School aims at turning out, and will turn out, we hope, in increasing numbers so as it exists...<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> OHS (ed), *The Otago High School: Magazine*, Vol XXXII, No 1, Dunedin: Caxton Printing, April 1916. p.22.

<sup>276</sup> *ibid.* p.4.

It is obvious that OHS was encouraging its former Old Boys to perform the duty and service they had been conditioned to believe in whilst they were at school. The school relied on this display of Old Boys who were enlisting in order to demonstrate to the community that they were producing the right sort of boy. It would appear that even though the school was acknowledging the sacrifice these Old Boys were making, some with their lives, what they really aimed to do was increase the status of the school in the eyes of the community by riding on the coat tails of their Old Boys decisions.

The decision to enlist had come about in part as argued through the conditioning these former Old Boys had received at school. The impact of this training can be seen in the numbers from OHS who had enlisted by the end of the campaign in the Dardanelles - 380. Even though not all of the Old Boys would have made it to Gallipoli they may have been encouraged to enlist through reports coming back from the Dardanelles where 120 of their Old Boys were fighting. The decision to enlist for some would have been through a sense of adventure based in as argued the values of duty and service. Values instilled whilst these Old Boys were at school.

As discussed New Zealand was contributing to a cause that many felt was right and to sit by and let others do the fighting could have been too much for some. In the context of the Old Boys from both OHS and WBHS the added factor of school honour also came into play. With school magazine that's content listed those that had enlisted, printed letters from the front and included speeches from people encouraging enlistment it is conceivable that the decision to enlist was not too hard for some to make.

## Chapter Five: Duty and service impacts the young

In the previous chapters, various ideas that relate to the concept of duty and service have been discussed. It has been put forward that the educational environment at OHS and WBHS, had an influence on those Old Boys and their decision to enlist. It is important to discuss this impact, because to do so allows us to decide if education does indeed develop values such as duty and service. The following looks at some of these Old Boys to determine if this was the case and if schools had an influence. If so, to what extent was this influence?

### Clutha Mackenzie – Otago and Waitaki Boys' High Schools.

In Carolyn Carr's thesis, *'A Most Creditable Production': Chronicles of the N.Z.E.F. (New Zealand Expeditionary Force), 1916-1919: Their Publication and Utility for Historical Research*, she states that Mackenzie had been a student at both OHS and WBHS.<sup>277</sup>

Mackenzie was only at OHS for 1909, before leaving for WBHS. There is very little record of Mackenzie attending OHS; all that is noted is his inclusion in the school's *Centennial Publication* as attending the school.<sup>278</sup> Why the move North in 1910 is unsure, however it is quite possible that the shift was because of his parents' desire to have their son taught at a school that was gaining prominence within secondary school circles under the Rectorship of Frank Milner, a move that would result in Mackenzie and Milner becoming lifelong friends.

Mackenzie, as Carr suggests, appears to not to have been an outstanding pupil in regard to scholastic and sporting achievements. He was quite likely the type of student that moulded in with the crowd, attending class and being involved where he had to as he does not appear within any of the prize lists at WBHS. He did however become an accomplished orator, as we will see later, quite possibly because of his time spent at WBHS.<sup>279</sup> What is of interest though is his desire to join the Royal Navy after leaving WBHS.<sup>280</sup> Hansen suggests that Mackenzie's desire to join the Royal Navy was because of the time he spent on a

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<sup>277</sup> Carolyn Carr, *'A Most Creditable Production': Chronicles of the N.Z.E.F. (New Zealand Expeditionary Force), 1916-1919: Their Publication and Utility for Historical Research*, (Massey University: 2011) p. 26.

<sup>278</sup> Lucas. p. 253.

<sup>279</sup> McDonald K.C. p. 216.

<sup>280</sup> Carr. *'A Most Creditable Production': Chronicles of the N.Z.E.F. (New Zealand Expeditionary Force), 1916-1919: Their Publication and Utility for Historical Research*, p. 26.

couple of smaller ships prior to leaving school.<sup>281</sup> However, she does not take into account the time spent at WBHS under the pro Empire-centric Milner, which clearly would have had an influence over any desire Mackenzie had to join the Royal Navy.

As discussed in Chapter One, Milner did invite various speakers from the Navy League to the school, to talk about maritime matters. This suggests that from 1910 to 1912 the young Mackenzie (14-16 year old) was regularly exposed to the imperialistic based teachings that were the hallmark of WBHS under Milner. As a classics-trained teacher, Milner would have influenced the young Mackenzie's ideas around service and duty. Milner did this through promoting the idea that the Empire was central to everything New Zealand as a nation did. This promotion also included the idea that all of the Empire's citizens would protect what the Empire stood for.

Milner was an accomplished orator and expected his students to develop similar skills. The editor of the May 1913 *Waikatian*, Lindsay Inglis, stated that the library had a range of books suitable for debates and essays:

...the aid of such a library is invaluable; and, moreover, it provides any boy whose mind has been set moving by these very debates and essays with the means of equipping himself with a valuable stock of general knowledge. Fellows who come out of school with some definite conception as to matters Imperial and national, for instance, and with a taste for keeping in touch with such subjects, must make infinitely more useful citizens than those who are ignorant...<sup>282</sup>

WBHS aimed to produce a boy that would take an interest in imperial matters by improving their knowledge through debates and essays. It is therefore not surprising that Mackenzie's view of the world was skewed in him favouring a career that was based within the concepts of duty and service. His desire to join the Royal Navy would have been approved by the Rector. To underline this concept even further, Mackenzie was known to have helped on the wharves during the 1913 waterfront strike.<sup>283</sup> This action is that of someone aware of the political situation at the time and his involvement on the docks falls into line with the values

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<sup>281</sup> Penelope Hansen. 'Mackenzie, Clutha Nantes', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 12-Nov-2013, URL:

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m17/mackenzie-clutha-nantes>

<sup>282</sup> The Waikatian, Vol VIII, May 1913. p. 7

<sup>283</sup> Penelope Hansen. 'Mackenzie, Clutha Nantes', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 12-Nov-2013, URL:

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m17/mackenzie-clutha-nantes>

he had learnt. Mackenzie knew, from his time at school, that above all else, his needs should be put aside in order to promote those of the Empire and nation.

This idea to promote Imperial and national needs above his own has merit, as in October 1914, the underage 11/171 Trooper Clutha set sail with the Main Body for service in World War One.<sup>284</sup> There was possibly a sense of adventure within Mackenzie's rationale for enlisting. Reading his book *The Troopers Tale*, there is certainly a measure of this concept within its pages.<sup>285</sup> However, for some men, the main reason to enlist was due to society's expectation that a young man must perform his duty to his country and Empire. It is the concept of service and duty to the Empire that comes out clearer in Mackenzie's book and it is the belief in this that underpins his rationale to enlist.

Mackenzie did believe that the British Empire would win the war and this belief stemmed from the education he received whilst at WBHS. Carr tells us that when Mackenzie edited the September 1916 *Chronicles of the NZEF* he used 'fulsome terms like glorious, patriotism and victorious defeat' to describe the battle of the Somme.<sup>286</sup> These are words, concepts and phrases which would have been familiar to Mackenzie throughout his time at WBHS.

To emphasize to what extent Milner had influenced Mackenzie, it is important to look at his 1923 speech to the audience, which included the Rector of OHS William Morrell, to lay the foundation stone of what would become the Hall of Memories, WBHS's memorial to the fallen from World War One.<sup>287</sup>

Mackenzie says:

Those who had sacrificed their lives, had passed their days of adolescence in the old School, care-free, irresponsible, and laughter-loving, but they had been trained completely for the race of life. Waitaki was still a young school as schools go, but even now the bones of its pupils encircled the world, a white thread forming a bond of Empire. Those who died in the war went with the happiness of men who had done their duty, whose task was completed. The Hall would stand as a symbol for those to come of sacrifice to duty.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Clutha Natnes Mackenzie 11/171, 1914-1918

<sup>285</sup> Clutha N. Mackenzie, *The Troopers Tale*.

<sup>286</sup> Carr. 'A Most Creditable Production': *Chronicles of the N.Z.E.F. (New Zealand Expeditionary Force), 1916-1919: Their Publication and Utility for Historical Research*, 29.

<sup>287</sup> McDonald K.C. p. 216-217.

<sup>288</sup> *ibid.* p.216.

Mackenzie had been blinded as a result of his service in the War. He had discussed the war as the editor of *Chronicles of the N.Z.E.F.* Carr puts forward the idea that Mackenzie's thoughts on the war had changed as a result of his experience, especially after the battle at Passchendaele.<sup>289</sup> Yet, in this speech, Mackenzie was clearly saying that duty and service was important. Even after the horrors of the war, Mackenzie still believed in the idea that a young man's role was to perform his duty, no matter what. Within the context of what was happening at the laying of the foundation, it is again not surprising that Mackenzie spoke in these tones. Who was he to criticise the sacrifice of the dead? Listening to this speech were current students of WBHS; some of these would experience their own call to duty and participate in the Second World War.

After the War in 1921, Mackenzie became an MP yet lost his seat the following year. He then focused his energies on helping the blind and became the director of the Jubilee Institute for the Blind. Through many trials and tribulations he left that position in 1938, not before being knighted for services to the blind in 1935. During and after the Second World War, Mackenzie was involved in the affairs of the blind, this time on the world stage. He worked for the United Nations and eventually chaired the World Braille Council.<sup>290</sup>

Mackenzie, debatably had every reason not to believe in the concepts of service and duty, because it was while doing this, he had become blind. Yet after he was wounded, he still continued on with displaying these traits. These traits were a part of the culture at WBHS and, as shown, Milner was continually pushing these qualities onto his students, so it is not surprising that Mackenzie did not change his stance. Mackenzie's desire to join the Royal Navy clearly was a result of his time at WBHS and the focus on all things nautical. The encouragement to use the School Library to enhance one's ability to write and debate, clearly impacted on Mackenzie's development, as he was to use these skills throughout his life. Mackenzie continued to serve and display a sense of duty even though he was blind. Compared to other returned servicemen who were also wounded, Mackenzie's

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<sup>289</sup> Carolyn Carr, 'A Most Creditable Production': *Chronicles of the N.Z.E.F. (New Zealand Expeditionary Force), 1916-1919: Their Publication and Utility for Historical Research*: Massey University: 2011, pp.29-30.

<sup>290</sup> Penelope Hansen. 'Mackenzie, Clutha Nantes', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 12-Nov-2013, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m17/mackenzie-clutha-nantes>

achievements are quite astounding. This achievement would never have been possible if he had not had been a student at WBHS under Milner.

### **Lindsay Merritt Inglis – Waitaki Boys' High School**

If, as suggested, Clutha Mackenzie moulded in with the crowd at WBHS, then Lindsay Merritt Inglis was a standout performer. Inglis attended WBHS from January 1909 until mid-1913. Coming from Balcutha, he would have boarded at the school, which would have given him ample opportunity to come under the influence of Frank Milner.<sup>291</sup> Whilst at WBHS, he was the Head Boy and would have no doubt been part of the group that went to Lyttelton to see the HMS *New Zealand*. As Captain of both 1<sup>st</sup> XV and 1<sup>st</sup> XI during the 1912 and 1913 seasons, he was at the forefront of life at the school.<sup>292</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three, those playing rugby at WBHS were subjected to a training regime that was equal to that received by men much older than they were. As the Captain of the 1<sup>st</sup> XV, Inglis would have been involved fully within all aspects of this training.

From these roles Inglis would have learnt the leadership skills he would rely upon when leading his company as a junior officer with the NZ Rifle Brigade on the Somme in 1916. It is fair to assume that these leadership roles did prepare him, as there was no established Officer Cadet training school in New Zealand at the time. Therefore, the expanding NZEF would have had to select its new junior officers from those who had attended university, or from one of the established schools like WBHS.

Inglis was a leader who had learnt his craft at a school that valued service and duty above all else. He had learnt how to handle and organise others through the mentorship he received from the Rector and his Masters whilst being a senior leader within his school. In Andrew Macdonald's book, *On my way to the Somme: New Zealanders and the bloody offensive of 1916*, he concludes that Inglis was an outstanding officer. 'An intelligent and confident man, Inglis stamped his authority on the soldiers'. He was only 22. Inglis', states Macdonald, organisational skills resulted in a defensive line around the village of Fleurs which ultimately earned him the Military Cross.<sup>293</sup> Considering that Inglis had already lead

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<sup>291</sup> Senior Scholarships, Clutha Leader, Volume XXXV, Issue 2125, 26 January 1909, Page 5

<sup>292</sup> The Waikatian, Vol VIII, May 1913.

<sup>293</sup> Andrew Macdonald, *On my way to the Somme: New Zealanders and the bloody offensive of 1916*, HarperCollins, Auckland: 2005. p. 176-177.

others whilst at school, the transfer of these already learnt skills to the battlefield were made that much easier than if he had not been placed in this position prior to the war.

This was not the only skill that Inglis was able to transfer. The training he undertook as a WBHS cadet would have been a transferable skill as well.<sup>294</sup> One particular area of this training, which no doubt impressed the young Inglis, was the employment of machine guns in the attack, and on the defence. In 1908, the WBHS cadet unit undertook training with machine guns in the school grounds. On page 63, Figure 2 shows Cadets with the machine gun, clearly showing their ability to deploy the weapon.<sup>295</sup> Though this period is outside the time that Inglis was at WBHS, it still stands as an example of the skills that were being taught at the school. It is more than likely that Inglis learnt some of the rudimentary skills needed to deploy the machine gun whilst at WBHS, and used this knowledge during his wartime service as an officer with the Machine Gun Battalion.<sup>296</sup> He would again apply these skills in the initial stages of Second World War when he took command of the 27<sup>th</sup> Machine Gun Battalion.<sup>297</sup>

Sport and cadets were not the only ways that the young Inglis developed. As discussed within the exposé about Clutha Mackenzie, WBHS encouraged their students to participate in debates that increased their awareness of issues on an Imperial level. In a debate lead by Inglis titled: *That the Foreign Policy of the British Government is not entitled to the support if the country*, he took the negative.<sup>298</sup> Attempting to sway his audience to his point of view, when referring to the situation in the Pacific, the young Inglis used statements, such as:

‘...we in the Pacific, we in New Zealand realised only too keenly the powerlessness of Australia and New Zealand.’

and in reference to entente with Russia

‘Great Britain should be self-reliant and should not sacrifice her self-respect in treaties with foreign powers.’

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<sup>294</sup> WBHS had been exercising with military units from Oamaru since at least 1908. The Waikatian, Vol III, No 3, December 1908. p. 219.

<sup>295</sup> The Waikatian, Vol III, No 3, December 1908. p. 25.

<sup>296</sup> J.H. Luxford Major, *With the Machine Gunners in France and Palestine: The Official History of the New Zealand Machine Gun Corps in the Great War 1914-1918*, (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, 1923), p. 63.

<sup>297</sup> Paul Goldstone. 'Inglis, Lindsay Merritt', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 23-Oct-2013, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5i2/inglis-lindsay-merritt>

<sup>298</sup> The Waikatian, Vol VIII, May 1913. p. 25.

Inglis clearly shows an awareness of events outside of New Zealand. His concern over Britain's entente with Russia demonstrates that he believes that the Empire is more than capable of looking after itself. Undoubtedly, Inglis believes in the concept of Empire and the need to defend what it stands for. This statement stands at odds with that of some historians who chastised Inglis because of his lack of perceived loyalty to Major-General Bernard Freyberg during the former's visit to Britain in 1941.<sup>299</sup> Yet the evidence put forward suggests that in 1941 Inglis was placed in a position where he had to choose between loyalty to his Commander, or that of Empire. Inglis naturally chose that of Empire, because he believed, as a result of his secondary school education at WBHS, that duty to this concept was to be displayed above all else. Inglis understood the concepts of duty and service, and has been unfairly criticised for doing so.

Inglis is a good example of how schools influenced their students into making decisions that would affect them later on in life. His ability to lead others on the sports field was clearly transferable into the military context. The military skills he learnt as a cadet were also transferable. Students like Inglis, were taught by men that relied on what they knew from their own education in order to make sense of what was happening around them. It was this 'making sense' that was used to educate their students. Milner believed in Empire, and all it stood for, and from what has been discussed, clearly influenced Inglis in how the latter saw the world.

### **Arthur Bauchop – Otago High School**

Bauchop became a student at OHS as a result of winning a scholarship to the school in 1884. Similar to their British Public School counterparts, the boys were being educated by classically trained teachers. The boys were being educated to become gentlemen and these gentlemen would have a sense of duty towards their community and Empire. Like their Public School cousins, OHS was a school for those affluent enough to attend. This exclusiveness however does not appear to have been a hurdle for the young Bauchop as

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<sup>299</sup> Paul Goldstone. 'Inglis, Lindsay Merritt', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 23-Oct-2013  
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5i2/inglis-lindsay-merritt>, Ian McGibbon (ed), Inglis, Major-General Lindsay Merritt ('Whisky Bill'), in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. Oxford University Press, Auckland: 2000. p. 243.

his sporting achievements were well noted at the school.<sup>300</sup> This acceptance into OHS no doubt helped Bauchop gain approval amongst the other boys, one of whom was Harry Fulton. After he left school, Bauchop was to gain somewhat legendary status, when in June 1894 he saved two people from drowning.<sup>301</sup> Bauchop was arguably a good example of what OHS wanted to turnout; a man who was willing and able to do his duty for the betterment of the community.

Bauchop was an active member of the volunteers and enlisted with the fourth contingent for service in South Africa. He initially enlisted as a Corporal, yet marched out to South Africa as a Lieutenant, citing that he would rather work his way up the ranks because if he did not, then he had only himself to blame. Clearly Bauchop showed a willingness to work alongside those he would one day command. In effect, he worked to get their respect. Bauchop shows that he could relate to those who came from the same station in life as he and, at the same time, he was liked by those further up the social ladder. He was in effect, a man's man. He was quite possibly a good example of what would be termed as an 'egalitarian' New Zealander.

Bauchop had a love for literature which falls in line with his exposure to a classical style education whilst at OHS. His love of the stories of adventure written by *Robert Louis Stevenson*, was well noted.<sup>302</sup> This could explain why Bauchop took his company on a hunting trip and historical sightseeing tours which lead one trooper to complain that they may miss the war. The contingent was getting a name for itself and was known as 'the Touring Fourth'.<sup>303</sup> Bauchop's education at OHS no doubt exposed him to ideas of adventure which, as mentioned, he took advantage of whilst in South Africa. If this is how Bauchop was seeing the world on his 'first adventure', then it stands to reason that when the First World War came, about he understood what war meant. It was a chance to do some fighting and to see the world outside the school that had taught him to love books. Clearly, for Bauchop at least, the upside to learning to perform one's duty was the chance to have an

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<sup>300</sup> Don Mackay p.79.

<sup>301</sup> *ibid* p.79.

<sup>302</sup> OHS, *Magazine*, Vol XXXI, No.3. December 1915. p.173, LIEUT.-COLONEL A. BAUCHOP, C.M.G. Otago Daily Times, Issue 16463, 16 August 1915, Page 3, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d=ODT19150816.2.17&srpos=25&e=-----50--1----0Arthur+Bauchop-->

<sup>303</sup> Don Mackay p.66.

adventure as well. This, in turn, shows that the idea of 'the big adventure' within New Zealand folklore does indeed have some weight.

As discussed in Chapter One, with action in South Africa came praise back home. This praise resulted in the dutiful hero status already achieved by Bauchop increasing even further at OHS. He was a fixture in the school and well known by former Old Boys. At the beginning of the First World War, on the eve of departure of the Main Body, Bauchop the newly appointed Commanding Officer (CO) of the Otago Mounted Rifles (OMR) was asked to speak to other Old Boys on behalf of the ones that were departing. Commenting on the standard of Old Boy departing with the NZEF, Bauchop states:

In travelling about he had come across Old Boys from Eton, Harrow and Marlborough, but found very little difference between the boys from these schools and those who came from OHS. He was sure that their own (OHS) boys would prove themselves worthy with the boys from other famous schools, and hoped they would come back with enlarged experience and with honour.<sup>304</sup>

Bauchop is reassuring the audience that the boys are of a high calibre, capable of tackling the task ahead. One way he achieves this is by comparing the calibre of student that OHS was producing with that of other British Public Schools. This reassurance tells the audience that the boys they helped produce are capable of tackling the task ahead. The audience would have known Bauchop had had experience of war and indeed a previous speaker had spoken about OHS's contribution to the South African War. They would have also been aware of his sporting and heroic achievements in his early years. Bauchop was seen by the audience as someone who would know what it takes in order to perform one's duty. If he said that the boys 'would prove themselves worthy' then no one else was going to doubt his word. It is fair to say that the general tone amongst all those assembled was that of gratitude and respect; gratitude because they had produced worthy boys, and respect as these boys were 'not to be found wanting' when it came to doing their duty. From here, those who were not going, could feel proud of what they had done. It is possible this pride spilled over into encouraging those OHS Old Boys who had not enlisted to remember what their school had taught them.

Bauchop also alludes to the idea put forward that war enabled them to enlarge their experiences by participating in an adventure. This idea would have sat well with his

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<sup>304</sup> OHS, *Magazine*, Vol XXX, No.3. December 1914. p. 171.

audience because, like him, they had received the same education. Their education helped them appreciate about the world through the medium of literature. Bauchop, however, had taken it one step further. He had learnt and then gone and seen what the world was about, whereas many of those in the audience had not. Therefore Bauchop's word on how 'worthy' the OHS Old Boys were, could be trusted.

In this position of CO, Bauchop was responsible for the pre-deployment training and welfare of men prior to departing overseas. Of worthy note is that there are no underage OHS Old Boys within the ranks of the OMR that left with the Main Body in October 1914.<sup>305</sup> Why this is the case is unclear, yet Bauchop was able to ensure that no underagers, at least from OHS, were enlisted. In contrast to Fulton, Bauchop appears to have been following the intent of Braithwaite's order requesting that no underagers be enlisted. This suggests that even though Bauchop believed in the concepts of service and duty, the belief in these concepts did not extend as far as allowing underagers, from his former school, to enlist no matter how eager they may have been. War was the domain of those old enough to handle the societal expectation that every man must perform his duty. It was not until the 2<sup>nd</sup> Reinforcements, after Bauchop had departed, did the first OHS Old Boy underagers in OMR begin to be enlisted.

Bauchop was a product of his time. He was fortunate enough to gain a secondary education that enabled him to see the world outside of that on offer to most New Zealanders. He had learnt through this education that he was required to perform his duty for his school and his Empire. Bauchop's exploits show that he was not a shirker; to be so would have meant that he would not have been held in the high regard that he was. This status resulted in him being placed in a position of authority by his former school that resulted in his example being used to demonstrate to others what the meaning of concepts of service and duty were. Bauchop clearly approved of his former school using him in this manner, because he believed in these concepts as well.

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<sup>305</sup> Appendix 1

## Ronald Stuart Park – Otago High School

As discussed in Chapter Two, Ronald Stuart Park was a part of the Cadet Contingent that went to Canada in 1912. His addition to this exposé is important because Park was part of the age group that is synonymous with how some New Zealanders perceive what a typical soldier was like that went to war. He was young, he was educated, and he had a love of sports. Importantly, he was also one of four brothers who would see active service.<sup>306</sup>

Park was the son of Samuel Park, Secretary of the Otago Education Board, coming to OHS in 1908 staying through until the end of 1913.<sup>307</sup> He had three other brothers who would also go through OHS: Thomas (older brother), Lindsay and David (younger brothers).<sup>308</sup> During this time, Park excelled in sport, eventually being the part of the 1<sup>st</sup> XV and XI, and was an accomplished academic.<sup>309</sup> This in turn marked Park as an example for other students to aspire to. The photo of Park, (*Fig 5*) in the May 1914 issue of the OHS magazine, shows him standing behind an array of awards and trophies he won.

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<sup>306</sup> Ronald Stuart Park 66504, 1914-1918, Lindsay Morgan Park 55685, 1914-1918, Thomas Maxwell Park 9/388, 1914-1917, David Maxwell Park 15/154, 1914-1918.

<sup>307</sup> Lucas. p. 250, Ronald Stuart Park 66504, 1914-1918

<sup>308</sup> Park JP, Jean email Sun, 2 Nov 2014 09:43:10 +1300

<sup>309</sup> Park JP, Jean, Interview, 18 Dec 2014,

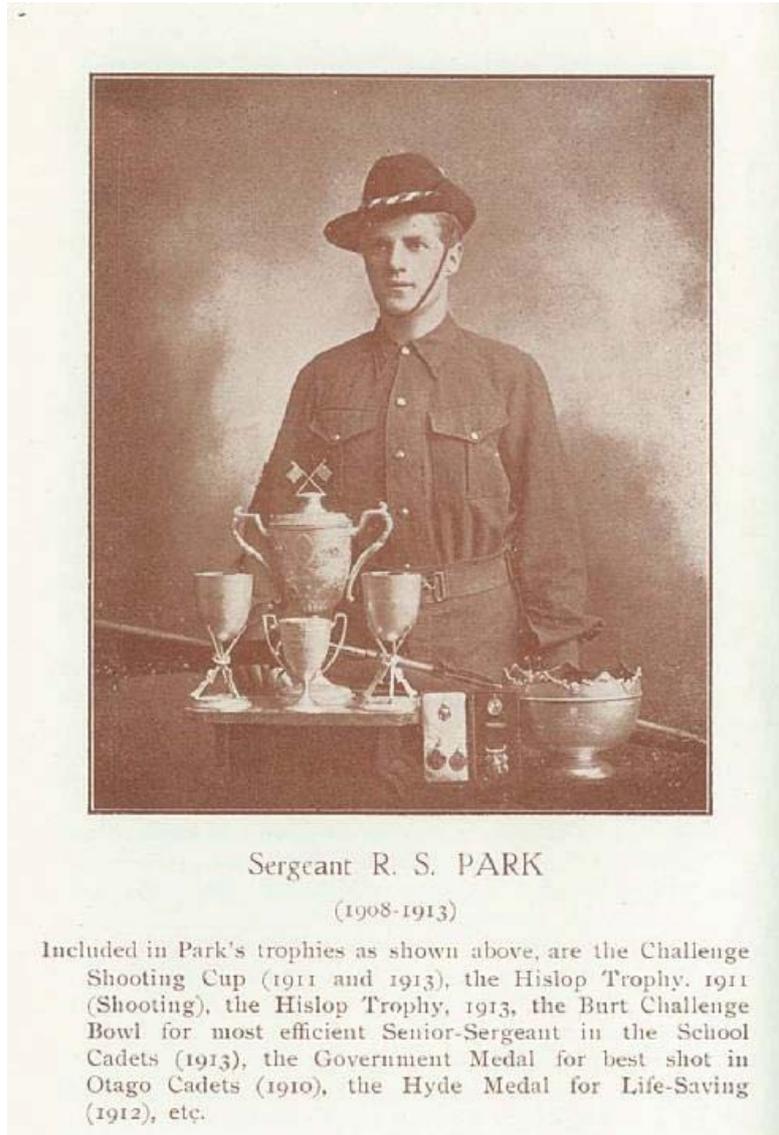


Figure 5 Sergeant R.S. Park

The editorial of August 1911 puts forward the idea that those who only swotted, or those who only turned up to watch the inter-school matches, should be ashamed.<sup>310</sup> Their loyalty and sense of duty to the school were therefore questionable. Students like Park, however, were placed on a higher level within the school's eyes that marked them as suitable examples of what they were trying to produce. Did this hero worship by the school change Park, and others like him, into thinking they were somewhat better than those who did not excel at sports or academia? Quite possibly. Having the approval of those whose task it was to guide and mentor you through your formative years would surely result in some influence. To what extent cannot be measured because of the passage of time. However, in the case

<sup>310</sup> OHS, *Magazine*, Vol XXVII, May 1911, pp. 66-67.

of Park, sport and academic work were not the only things he was good at, so therefore there was more than one way he was influenced into making the decisions he did when deciding to enlist.

Park was fully involved in Cadets at school and had shown his ability on the rifle range. In 1910 he shot consistently high enough to feature as the top shot for the Schools of the Empire Match in 1910.<sup>311</sup> In 1912, his return from Canada was eagerly awaited by the shooting team who were expecting him to shoot in their match against the Old Boys.<sup>312</sup> As discussed, shooting was a staple part of the school environment and as Park excelled at it there was no doubt more time and mentorship was given to him so he could develop these skills.

Shooting was not the only aspect of Cadet work that Park contributed to. Within the Cadet unit he learnt how to use semaphore, which for many school boys was considered appropriate training.<sup>313</sup> Learning these extra skills gave students like Park an upper edge over that of their adult Territorial counterparts. Schools arguably could give the time to cadets during school to improve their skills, whereas an employer could not give the same time to their employees during work hours. This time at schools, though, was not just to help the cadet improve, but to help them improve to a level that they could compete against other school cadet units.

In 1913, the cadet unit at OHS took delivery of a field gun to begin training in Artillery matters – the previous gun had been returned some years ago. This field gun gained the interest of the young Park who was soon to sit his examination for Officer Cadet School at Duntroon in Australia to become a Regular Army Officer. The examples given thus far show that Park did take note of the military training he undertook whilst at school and that this more than likely led him to decide to enlist to become a Regular Army Officer.

Park would go on to serve in the First World War as an Artillery Officer. In the Second World War he was a Liaison Officer in Britain, where his role was to ensure that New Zealand's interests were being met. After the War in 1950, he had just retired and was called upon again to serve in the Korean War, where he was appointed to command Kay Force, New

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<sup>311</sup> *ibid.* pp. 48. 50.

<sup>312</sup> OHS, *Magazine*, Vol XXVIII, December 1912, p. 121.

<sup>313</sup> OHS, *Magazine*, Vol XXVII, May 1911, p. 48.

Zealand's contribution. This contribution was centred on 16 Field Regiment an artillery unit that no doubt Park was interested in.<sup>314</sup>

Park's role in Korea was that of Senior National Officer in theatre.<sup>315</sup> The diplomatic skills he had learnt as a result of being in Britain during the Second World War, no doubt helped him in this role as well. The skill of diplomacy, as far as Park was concerned, was potentially fostered whilst he was at OHS, quite possibly as a result of his trip to Canada in 1912. During this trip as a young school student he was exposed to other cultures which no doubt had a lasting impression on him.

Park's lifelong contribution to New Zealand started when he was at OHS. It is clear that he had learnt the concepts of duty and service whilst he was under the tutelage given to him at this school. As discussed throughout the previous chapters, OHS exposed their students, which included Park, to the concepts of service and duty through a number of different media. These included current events, sport and the cadet system. Together these concepts taught the young Park that service and duty were important. This is obvious by the path of service and duty that Park would follow throughout his life.

The concept of duty and service was a thread that was woven into the lives of all these examples. They may not have taken on all of the ways the concepts were delivered but what they did take on was enough to make them decide that their role was to uphold the honour of the school, their nation and their Empire. The educational paths that, Mackenzie, Inglis, Bauchop and Park were on in their formative years, clearly shaped their decision making processes and ultimately into the men they would become.

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<sup>314</sup> Grant John Morris, *Wagons of War: A History of 10 Transport Company 1951-2011*, (Massey University: 2011), 13.

<sup>315</sup> *ibid.* p.13.

## Conclusion

OHS and WBHS did have a part to play in the enlistment of their former students for service in the First World War. Though it is clear that neither school could foresee this conflict arising, they did, however, provide the educational environment that enabled their former students to adopt the values, skills, knowledge and attitudes that would be required by those that were confronted with the decision to enlist.

The educational environment that these schools created in the pursuit to produce boys that could fit into the wider community centred in part on the concepts of duty and service. These concepts were very much required learning for young European/New Zealand males living within New Zealand society over the 1890 – early 1920s. To encourage students to adopt these values, both OHS and WBHS used similar educational techniques that illustrated duty and service in action. These included focusing on international and local events such as the war in South Africa and the 1913 visit of the battle cruiser HMS *New Zealand*. Both these examples were portrayed and discussed at OHS and WBHS as, not just local concerns, but also as Empire issues. The rationale behind this was that if their students could understand how their society worked at a variety of different levels, then they would hopefully understand where they fitted in and what their future role was.

This understanding was bolstered with added examples of masculine Christian populist figures, like Kitchener and Baden Powell. Along with former Old Boys these celebrities were used as appropriate examples of what the students needed to aspire to. The input from this group, especially former Old Boys, helped reinforce the wider community expectation that boys once they left school would lead lives that were dutiful and service orientated.

Parading examples of dutiful Masculine Christians was not enough to install a sense of duty within the students at either school. More practical examples were used and military training allowed this, in part, to occur. Though OHS and WBHS had had some form of military training, since not long after their inception, it was not until the war in South Africa that any real interest was taken by the faculty. This 'real life' example of duty allowed both schools the chance to use what was happening 'over there' as a model as to what the boys should be doing 'over here'. The advent of compulsory military training allowed schools to reinforce the adherence to the concept of duty even further, by encouraging the boys to compete in events not just at a local level but also that of an Imperial level. The impressive results from

the Cadet tour to Canada in 1912 were promoted by the government as a positive example of how the youth of the country were progressing. For the schools it gave the wider community good examples of the dutiful citizens they could produce.

Sport was another avenue that allowed OHS and WBHS to encourage the concept of duty through practical learning. For those students willing to participate in school teams there was the adulation of the institution and for those who did not; there was scorn. With a general, wider community distaste of shirkers, both schools worked at encouraging their students to continue to play, and in some cases take up, sport. The underlying message to all students, regardless of whether or not they played sport, was that their duty to uphold the honour of the school. This duty was a demand firmly entrenched within both schools on and off the playing field.

With the events of winter 1914 unfolding, both schools encouraged their students and former Old Boys to do their bit in support of the Empire's declaration of war. For those that had left school, there were reminders in the school magazines of previous Old Boys who demonstrated their duty to the Empire by enlisting for service in the South African war. As numbers enlisting increased, so did the reporting in the *Magazine* and *The Waitakian*. Again the term 'duty' was actively used to remind those students who had left that they had an obligation to fulfil, even if they were not of the age for military service. The remainder still at school the term duty was used to underline, much like it had during the South African War, what their future role would be.

None of the arguments put forward work in isolation and in their entirety were only a small part of what would have been for some former Old Boys quite possibly a well thought out decision to enlist. For some of those that did enlist, it is clear the education they received at OHS/WBHS did have an impact on their choice to enlist. Mackenzie, Inglis, Bauchop and Park were all subjected to an education that had at its core the belief that duty to one's school, community, country and Empire must be adhered to above all else, all these men went on to lead lives that were based in dutiful acts, and it is difficult to argue that the education that they received whilst at OHS (and) or WBHS did not have an impact on the paths they followed.

This thesis has opened the door slightly on two of the secondary schools that educated those that went onto serve in the First World War. Through the use of the schools own magazines a clearer picture of the pressure being exerted to conform to expected social norms becomes apparent, especially on those who were not always willing participants. Though this pressure was quite clear within the confines of the school, it was more overtly stressed to former students that they too had a duty to conform, or in this case enlist.

The school magazines for both OHS and WBHS have been invaluable in clearing out the 'haze' surrounding some of the people who attended these schools. The inclusion of newspaper articles have helped round out what has been discussed in these magazines and shown that schools very much were a reflection of the society they catered for. Additional material in the shape of that taken from websites such as 'Archway', 'The Auckland Cenotaph Database', 'Commonwealth War Graves' as well as from the *first day register* of OHS has demonstrated that there are stories yet to be told, especially those surrounding the underage soldier issue. As discussed in the introduction only two schools were chosen, yet here there is still scope for further study to be conducted on other schools throughout the country in order to determine if the findings from this thesis stand true for these institutions as well.

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### **Appendix**

1. Combined OHS and WBHS roll of honour
2. Known underage NZ soldiers