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Identifying with Empire:

The N. Z. School Journal

from 1907 to 1940

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Abstract

Some researchers have seen the conferring of Dominion status upon New Zealand in 1907 as a definitive moment in the move toward a truly national identification independent of Britain. Others point to the significance of the bloodletting on the battlefields of Gallipoli or the 1930s Depression as being key moments in the emergence of a uniquely New Zealand identity. Some more recent scholars have challenged that view, claiming that the period in question saw a tightening of ties to Britain rather than a loosening. As an official publication distributed to all children of primary school age in New Zealand, *The School Journal* was instrumental in fostering in its readers a sense of place and belonging. The key focus of this study is to identify the official view as to where that place was and to whom New Zealand-born children owed loyalty. The study falls into two main parts. The first looks at the way in which the *Journal* was used as a unifying text by fostering an allegiance to the Royal Family and to notions of racial superiority. The second part explores some of the ways the *Journal* attempted to account for the often problematic presence of Maori within the larger narrative of triumphal settlement. The conclusion is that the *Journal* was consistent in its attempts to align the loyalties of New Zealand's children with the British Empire. It was the love of Mother Country that was promoted first by the *Journal*. The children were taught to be proud of New Zealand and New Zealanders but only insofar as they were small parts of the larger nation—Britain.

To Nina

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter One: The School Journal as a Unifying Text	11
Chapter Two: Constructing a British Pedigree	24
Children as Heroes of Empire	31
In Pursuit of Glory: The Anzac Spirit	33
Realigning Representations of Empire	40
Chapter Three: The School Journal and Representations of Maori	55
Early Contacts: Presenting the Case for Intervention	58
Overcoming Resistance: A Narrative of Progress	63
Appropriating the Maori Warrior: Maori and the Imperial Tradition	71
The Conflicting Case of Te Rauparaha	74
Chapter Four: Representations of Contemporary Maori	81
Better Than Before: The Improving Role of Assimilation	83
Contemporary Representations and Appropriations of Maori	89
Indigenous Appropriations as National Identifiers	99
Conclusion	104
Works Cited	106

List of Illustrations

Figure 1	The Sailor Prince	p.18
Figure 2	King George V	p.18
Figure 3	King George VI and Family	p.20
Figure 4	Peoples of the British Empire	p.45
Figure 5	Emperors and Their Empires	p.46
Figure 6	An Imperial Dinka Soldier	p.49
Figure 7	Tamati Waka Nene	p.62
Figure 8	A Beneficiary of Civilization	p.67
Figure 9	Mamae Rangitahua and Ita Pokiha flanking Rikiranga Osborn	p.90
Figure 10	Prince Edward decorating a Maori soldier	p.93
Figure 11	The Prince and Dr. Pomare	p.95
Figure 12	Empire Day 1918	p.99
Figure 13	Empire Day 1920	p.100
Figure 14	Frontispiece 1930	p.102

Introduction

The School Journal was first published in 1907 and has been in continuous production since then. Given the nationwide dissemination of the *Journal* and its function for many years as the major source of teaching materials used in New Zealand's Primary Schools, it was well placed to act as a medium for disseminating an official state ideology—in an Althusserian sense. The focus of this study is to identify that ideology—especially in terms of the constructing of a national identity. What I found was surprising to me. Expressions of, or appeals to, nationalism within the *Journal* over my chosen period were almost invariably couched in Imperialist terms. There was little sense of a distinctly New Zealand character in that those qualities most promoted were specifically identified as British or even English ones. That there were moments when a distinctly nationalist pride in New Zealand emerged, particularly after the 1914 - 1918 war, is reflected in the *Journal* but only in the sense that New Zealanders, by means of their exemplary showing of the approved qualities, proved most worthy members of the Empire. It was firmly within the context of empire that the *Journal* began to explore some points of difference to enable New Zealanders to stand out from the rest of the Imperial community. New Zealanders were presented to the children as being better Britons. An iconography that reflected aspects unique to New Zealand—aspects of flora and fauna as well as cultural motifs taken from Maori artefacts—began to appear as part of what Peter Gibbons refers to as a colonizing process (Gibbons 10).

My contention is that *The School Journal* between the years of 1907 and 1940 sought to create British imperial citizens of its readers. It sought to do this by constructing a racial and historical narrative that linked the founding and settlement of New Zealand by British colonists to the greater narrative of an

imperial enterprise. Rather than foster within the Dominion's children feelings of being a separate and independent nation, the *Journal* emphasised the ties that bound New Zealand's people to Britain. In other words, the *Journal* was engaged in the process that James Belich referred to as a recolonizing of the country—a deliberate re-gathering and tightening of the connections between the Dominion and the Mother Country. Belich argued that the purpose for this re-connecting of Mother Country and Dominion was to do with New Zealand's growing role as the "town-supply district of London" (Belich 30). This process created for the children the sense of being part of an imperial family bound together by common ties of blood, a common and superior set of social and cultural values, and common economic interests and headed by the illustrious British Royal Family.

From its inception, an important function of *The School Journal* was to delineate for its readers those characteristics that go into the making of a New Zealander. To this end, the year 1907 was a significant one in the history of the colony of New Zealand. From the 26th of September, it came to be styled The Dominion of New Zealand, which suggested that the country had attained a considerable measure of independence from the administrative oversight of Great Britain. The *Journal* came into being as part of a plan to put before every school-aged child a standard curriculum regardless of which end or nook of the country they resided in. In 1904, George Hogben, at the time Inspector-General of Schools and Secretary for Education, introduced a new national syllabus. Apart from anything else, lessons were to include instruction on forming good habits (tidiness, punctuality, perseverance, moral courage etc.), duties to others, loyalty, patriotism, good manners, kindness to animals, modesty (Ewing 107). One specific virtue arising from this general list that Hogben wished to inculcate

was “civic feeling and [the] patriotic pride of young New Zealanders,” to be disseminated by means of *The School Journal* (Ewing 68). In this way former New Zealand Premier Sir Robert Stout’s vision of a “state education system ... operat[ing] to affirm the state’s ‘great right ... to [exist] and to perpetuate its own existence’” might be achieved (Ewing 26). After 1913, the *Journal* was to be the means by which these values were to be disseminated throughout New Zealand and it was “ ... recognised as a class reader and also as a source book for material in geography, history, moral instruction and health” (146). This action reflected a change from several provincial school curricula to a single, countrywide one which had the effect of reducing the cost of school text book material for the many peripatetic families who, when moving in search of work from province to province, had previously been expected to purchase materials to match the local curriculum requirements. The Education Department issued *Journals* to all pupils to keep and to carry with them wherever their families may venture. This also meant that every school could make use of a standardised set of curriculum materials and this was invaluable for imparting to their pupils a unitary vision rather than the hitherto parochial biases of independent provincial education curricula. Furthermore, it was not just the pupils who benefited as *The School Journal* “ ... was often the only reading material available for adults” who found themselves in working communities locked away in the deeper or more isolated recesses of the country (O’Brien 17). As well as providing common learning materials for lessons on reading and writing, the publication of *The School Journal* provided a standardised discourse as to what constituted the identity of a New Zealander.

By 1907, the children were mostly “native born” i.e. the children or grandchildren of the original settlers. Yet within the settler population at this

time, there were factors that could encourage disunity as much as the opposite. The 1906 census of all New Zealanders' birth places (excluding Maori) revealed that 68.6 per cent of the population was born within the country. This census also revealed that 2.24% of the non-native settler population came from countries other than Britain (including Ireland) or from British possessions/colonies. Of the 4.78% who came from Ireland it might be expected that a proportion would not consider himself or herself the natural affiliate of Britain or its empire. The people from Scotland numbered in this census totalled 47,767 or 5.38% of the population ("The New Zealand Official Year-Book 1907"). For those Scots who formed part, or whose parents (from the previous generation of settlers) formed a part, of the diaspora that resulted from the last of the highland land clearances, loyalty to the Mother Country may not have been something to take for granted. Coupled to the wide and often dramatically different social, religious or cultural backgrounds of the readership of the early school journals was the fact that a majority of these children, whether of British parentage or not, had no experience or memory of the lands of their parents. *The School Journal* was one means by which the Government of the Dominion sought to create the shared memory that Benedict Anderson, in his book *Imagined Communities*, identified as being the prerequisite for the envisioning of a community united in vision, in objectives and in cultural concord.

That the colony had been declared a Dominion in 1907, which implied independence from the mother country, must have given some urgency to the project of defining just what it meant to be a New Zealander. Michael King has suggested the change in status implied "the beginnings of a sense of independent identity" (280), and Keith Sinclair argues that the then Prime

Minister J.G. Ward sought the change to mark off a “truly national day to celebrate” (178). This was a means of intimating to the world that self-governing Dominions were better than Crown colonies because the latter were “mainly inhabited by ‘people of alien speech, manners, and habits’”(Sinclair 179). Other historians point out that, in constructive terms, this change in title meant little as “[t]he shift from colony to dominion ... had no practical effect. New Zealand was no more and no less independent from Britain than it had been before” (“Dominion Status: From Colony to Dominion”). In a public address marking the centenary of New Zealand’s attaining Dominion status, Giselle Byrnes noted that in spite of such appeals to putative independence, “allegiance to empire remained undiminished” and that “[t]he substance of Dominion Day lay ... in its symbolic value” (Byrnes).

Dominion status entrenched, consolidated and to some extent, “embalmed” the idea of the nation and its rhetorical mainstay, national identity. In other words, 1907 amplified and underscored appeals to the notion of national identity. The events of 1907 marked a consolidation in the imagery of the unitary nation-state ... [which] was not a particularly liberating notion, but a colonising and a restricting one. (ibid)

In sum, Sinclair et al. agree that the declaration of Dominion status signified the desire on the part of the colonial government for New Zealand to be differentiated from other parts of the empire. However, some of them also make the point that such a desire was more rhetorical than one of substance. The national community *The School Journal* identifies is one defined by its place within the British Empire and that is Byrne’s point when she refers above to the declaration as being restrictive and colonising. Byrne’s view echoes James Belich’s argument in *Paradise Reforged* that, instead of becoming increasingly

independent of the Mother Country, after approximately 1880 the colony went through a process of re-colonisation – a retying or strengthening of the links that bound New Zealand to Great Britain. He links this process to a shift in the economic profile of the colony away from a predominantly extractive one, whereby the existing resources were dug up or cut down for profit, to that of a productive economy based upon the growing of protein - in the form of the sheep and the dairying industries - for export to Britain. Increasing economic specialisation led to “New Zealand [becoming] a town supply district of London” with all that that implied with regard to a greater market dependency on the part of the Dominion’s exporters (30). The result was the establishment of a “[r]ecolonial collective identity [that] was intense but not nationalist. It was sub-nationalist, or ‘dominionist’ – a New Zealand identity fitting neatly within a British one”(30). Early expressions of nationalism were more of a British than an independent New Zealand variety. This view, and that of Byrnes when she suggests that the idea of nationalism was a kind of rhetorical flourish designed to reinforce the colonising enterprise, are strongly borne out in *The School Journal*.

R.H. MacDonald argues, when reflecting upon the function of the print media in the British Empire as a whole, that there is a tradition dating from the “mythopoeic” world of Tom Brown’s Schooldays whereby the role of school is to train boys for an on-going struggle between good and evil. Also, that the warfare of the playing field is not just a metaphor for moral or spiritual conflict but that the game itself is a “training in the military spirit”(20), linking the spread of these ideas to the rapid expansion of a plethora of publications such as Boys’ Own Paper and Union Jack. Historians such as J. M. Mackenzie—in his book *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-*

1960— and MacDonald argue that young people of the day (especially boys) were bombarded with messages that were not just militaristic but that were imperialistic. An emphasis on loyalty and service to King and Empire as well as the propagation of belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race were important features of such publications which positioned their readers as Imperial subjects as much as citizens of England or Great Britain. Furthermore, the morally improving publications of the Tractarian societies promoted the notion of the English as chosen by God to accomplish His will—an idea that gained currency in the many papers and magazines targeting a juvenile readership that emerged during the late Victorian and the Edwardian era. Such publications presented a world that was “a vast adventure playground in which Anglo-Saxon superiority could be repeatedly demonstrated vis-à-vis all other races. [They sought to fuse] Christian and imperial beliefs [in an] attempt to create a single ideology of evangelical action and material success” (Mackenzie 204, 209). *The School Journal* followed a similar path between the years 1907 and 1940 and in doing so sought to tie the loyalty of New Zealand’s children to King and Empire.

The first chapter of the thesis examines the extent to which the *Journal* romanticises the fact of settlement in New Zealand by placing it within the larger narrative of the spread of Empire. The story that unfolds is one of conquest by a superior race that disseminates the benefits of its superior civilisation throughout the world. The *Journal* positioned the children of New Zealand as both beneficiaries and as instruments of this Imperial *raison d’être*. The *Journal* offers a patriotic discourse that glorifies as heroic the actions of Anglo-Saxon adventurers whether they are explorers, soldiers or sailors. Loyalty and personal sacrifice for the benefit of the greater good are the qualities most

admired even to the extent that seeking a glorious death seems desirable. The *Journal* presented the Kings and Queens of Britain as providing the focal point for an Imperial impetus that sought the goal of spreading British institutions and way of life to all corners of the globe. In this chapter, I will also argue that *The School Journal* did not deviate, other than superficially, from this message. Although the post-1914-1918 war period saw an increase in the emphasis on a collective responsibility to resolve differences among nations, the *Journal* presents this case as being one of the world catching up to Britain's prior practice. The British Royal family remained at the centre of the patriotic narrative that was presented to the readers of the *Journal*. When the political and international climate of opinion changed—only rarely alluded to—the perceived function of the King was altered to fit those changes.

The second chapter contends that the *Journal* sought to educate the children as to the role expected of them as citizens of empire. They were charged with living up to the weight of expectations laid upon them by their racial forbears as well as their *team* leaders—the Royal *captains*. *The School Journal* often framed that role as the children behaving with the courage and fortitude demonstrated for them on the disparate fields of imperial endeavour. The chapter also examines the impact that World War One had upon such notions. Whilst the actions of the New Zealand troops—at Gallipoli especially—were celebrated as worthy of empire, there emerged some evidence in the *Journal* of disquiet at the extent of the sacrifices made. The previous certitudes about welcoming the opportunity to make the ultimate sacrifice for King and Empire were called into question, and the editors quietly relegated them to the fringes of the *Journal's* narrative. In their place a narrative that focused upon the altruistic functions of Empire was privileged. This was more about the British

nation—in all its parts—working to establish peace and prosperity to the world. The emphasis in the *Journal* was on New Zealand's being part of a global team in which all members had a role to play no matter how minor. The *Journal's*—and Government's—object remained to produce citizens loyal to King and Empire.

The third and fourth chapters examine some of the ways the *Journal* represented Maori. These representations fall into two parts—of historical Maori whereby the presence of Maori and their initial contact with Europeans is documented, and of contemporary Maori as beneficiaries of the colonising process. That the *Journal* rarely represented Maori as contemporary citizens of empire is related to the unspoken assumption that the indigenous New Zealanders had been fully assimilated into the imperial nation. The *Journal* accounted for the presence of Maori as part of the 'grand' history of settlement and improvement—of contact, resistance before acceptance and then absorption. The latter stage all but equated to the disappearance of Maori as distinct New Zealanders. The *Journal* offered only fleeting evidence of Maori as being anything other than an historical reality and one that served to reinforce a romanticized Imperial endeavour. I will argue that in this regard the *Journal* can be seen as a colonizing text as defined by historian Gyselle Byrnes.

The period covered in this study forms a convenient block of time from the *Journal's* first appearance with the initial ethos exposed in a *raw* state as it were. The impact upon New Zealand of the World War and the subsequent depression has been well documented—a period often seen as fundamental in the shaping of a national consciousness. The extent to which a burgeoning sense of national identity appeared within the *Journal's* pages was instructive given its role as an official state organ. I confined my reading to the Part Three Journals

that targeted senior primary school children between the ages of 10 and 14 years of age. The subject matter and the standard of language used are best suited to my purpose.

The accurate citing of the Journal's title presented some problems as it underwent at least three changes over the period. In the interest of clarity, I have referred to the *Journal* in a generic way except when citing from specific issues when I refer to all versions as *The School Journal* within the text whilst maintaining the original versions within the citation list.

Chapter One: *The School Journal* as a Unifying Text

In May of 1907, the New Zealand Education Department published the first issue of *The School Journal*. The articles in the Part III Volume 1, No 1 of *The School Journal*—aimed at senior school students—make clear they assumed that the audience of children they addressed belonged to the British Empire. The assumption was that all the settlers of New Zealand, and their children, understood that they inhabited a part of Britain—a better Britain in the view of some—and that they were, by such definition, British. The inaugural issue opened with the first two verses of the school song “Forty Years On”. Written by Edward Earnest Bowen and John Farmer in 1872, this became the main song associated with the English public boys’ school, Harrow; its relevance to the children of New Zealand in this and in subsequent issues of the *Journal* lay in the ideological message embedded within the lyrics. The song conveys a sense that school years are vital years for forming men from the boys. That approximately half the readers of the *Journal* must have been girls was ignored here; the omission suggests that they were expected to play a minor, less visible role in the Dominion. The readers of the *Journal* were presented with visions of being members of a team, of playing a good game, of behaving well and of upholding a noble tradition. They were dreams of race and of empire and of fitting in and of playing your part, of sacrifice and heroism and—above all—of not letting down your captain or the team.

The second verse validates the school experience as preparation for life generally in suggesting that the hurly burly of the playing field provided good practice for the vicissitudes of subsequent careers. The refrain,

Follow up! Follow up!

Till the field ring again and again
With the tramp of the twenty-two men –

Follow up! Follow up! (11-12)

calls to mind the playing field and, specifically, the game of cricket with its twenty-two players. There is the repeated reminder that the boys are members of a team and that they are recipients of a tradition they must pass on to following generations so that the field will “ring again and again”. *The School Journal* implicitly imagines children of the Dominion to be a team and there is the sense that members should “keep in step” with their fellows on the team and that they should continue along the path set out by those who have gone before.

The martial flavour to the song—it is in effect a battle hymn—was, according to John Mackenzie, typical of much of the literature aimed at British children from the 1880s onwards; it was a literature that sought to disseminate “the public school ethos” that revelled in tales from an “adventure tradition replete with militarism and patriotism” and that “embrac[ed] athleticism and chauvinism” (Mackenzie, 199). Therefore, the very first message conveyed to the senior students in the Dominion’s primary schools was the expectation that they would follow the example of those who had gone before in a manner befitting of their place and their role on the *team* when tackling the greatest *game* of all. *The School Journal* positioned its readers as members of the British Empire, owing allegiance to Britain. It was within the pages of British history and on the playing fields of England—the ethos of which were transposed to the playing fields of New Zealand—that one would find the character of the Dominion’s child. There was no discernible distinction made between images of a Briton or a New Zealander. The song was in effect a framework that contained the precepts governing the expected behaviour of model imperial citizens.

Membership of the British race and empire carried with it certain obligations and—in keeping with Hogben’s agenda—the editor(s) of the *Journal* were assiduous in instructing their readers of their duty in that regard.

The editor followed up on the above sentiments by including, as an example, the popular story of British courage and self-sacrifice on the African plains during the 1878 war between a British Imperial force and a Zulu force led by Cetewayo. The British force suffered a humiliating defeat at Isandlwana but the focus of the tale was on the exemplary courage shown by two British officers, Lieutenants Coghill and Melville. When all seemed obviously doomed on the battlefield, these two rode off together in an effort to prevent the capture of the Regimental Colours. Their efforts failed. However, what captured contemporary imaginations was the gallantry of the duo in the face of inevitable death, which proved a fitting exemplar for budding members of the British Empire. At the climax of their flight to safety, with Melville stranded in the middle of a stream and “[d]espite an injury to his knee, Coghill ... swam to the assistance of his comrade. ... Breathless and exhausted, they stood back to back [facing their enemy], and sank on the veld only when overcome by innumerable wounds” (11). Here was the epitome of the self-sacrificing team spirit lauded in the opening page. The idea of subordinating personal interest in favour of the interests of country or Empire is one feature of the ideal citizen to which the *Journal* returns repeatedly—to give up your life in defence of God, King and Country was the ultimate expression of approved team play. In the words of Robert MacDonald, “the acme of style was ... in the manner of the soldier’s death; to die well was the ultimate glory”(23).

It is also significant that this inaugural issue of *The School Journal* appeared in May, coinciding with Empire Day. The New Zealand Government

had designated 29 May as a day for the commemoration of the life and times of Queen Victoria, Empress of the British Empire. In a two and a half page article, the reader learns of Victoria's innate qualities that made her a successful and fitting ruler over much of the world.

Quiet, modest, healthy ... self-reliant, brave and methodical, her grace and her kindly yet dignified demeanour ... endeared her to her subjects. She ... was not only a skilled musician, but was also an ardent sketcher, painter, and authoress. Her kindness of heart was proverbial and [she displayed] true womanly feeling and sympathy. ("Empire Day" 22)

Having established her essential *humanity*, the writer proceeds to enumerate the benefits Victoria's long reign brought to her subjects, both domestic and international. For example:

conditions for factory and mine workers were improved, transportation of convicted criminals was ended as were public executions, the Suez Canal was completed as were many other engineering and scientific marvels, the franchise was extended, education of the young made compulsory, and "[s]tatesmen, politicians, soldiers, poets, authors, painters, musicians, scientists, inventors, doctors, philanthropists, &c, ... worked ... wonders under the Queen's prosperous, happy sway".

("Empire Day" 23)

Such worshipful respect shown toward the royal family as embodiments of nation and empire—and also as behavioural exemplars upon whose conduct students might well model themselves—was to be a constant theme in the *Journal*. The boys and girls of the New Zealand Dominion could, under the guidance of royal *captains*, adopt "a higher mode of living and [keep] before

them higher ideals of the relations, social and civic, that should exist between man and man” (ibid).

Throughout the period under study, the *Journal* held the British Royal family up as a powerful symbol of imperial unity whose court provided the focal point for a national imagination that looked to Britain as its centre. An article from 1908 further developed the claim that Queen Victoria was the embodiment of the very best qualities of the British people:

as her goodness and pure home life became known, she won the hearts of her people all over the Empire [and] all differences and quarrels [among her subjects] were forgotten when they turned their thoughts to [her]. In this way the Queen caused the British people, scattered though they were to the ends of the earth, to feel they were one people ("Empire Day 24th May" 104).

In the article “Empire Day”, which appeared in the June issue of 1912, William Gillies further suggested that Queen Victoria was motivated by a god given goal to “lift the world to a higher level and she lost no chance of breathing her spirit into the great servants of England who were sent forth to rule the Empire” (“Empire Day" 134). He then explicitly links Victoria’s reign to that of romantic legend in stating that

[no] Knights of the Round Table, riding forth to put down wrong and set the world right, ever left the hall of King Arthur with higher aims than many of the men who passed out from the Queen’s presence to all quarters of the globe; and their best reward for good service in Canada or South Africa, Australia or New Zealand, India or Egypt, was to hear the Queen’s “Well done!” (ibid)

The model this presented to the children of New Zealand was one of selfless service that had all the enchantment and glamour of an ancient epic. Knights errant were dispatched to the ends of the earth by a noble and pure sovereign where they pursued the worthiest of goals in raising the rest of the world to their own exalted level. They explored varied and exotic locales. The Queen might ultimately crown romantic actions such as these with that most regal of accolades, “Well done”. The writer makes explicit the idea of Victoria as an English regent exerting sovereignty over English possessions, which included New Zealand. He assumed the sovereign’s New Zealand subjects to be members of the British race and positioned them as part of a noble enterprise that encompassed the globe. He presupposed that a New Zealander’s pride in his nation was inextricably bound up with feelings of love for and obligation to the English sovereign as founder and leader of empire.

The Empire Day article in the 1910 *Journal*, by alluding to qualities handed down from Victoria to her son, Edward VII and grandson, George V, sought to foster the sense of a tradition of empire led by wise and virtuous captains performing a noble service for the benefit and instruction of “fellow Britons throughout the British Dominions” (135). In his eulogy, “The Passing of King Edward VII”, the editor of *The School Journal* praises the king for his nobility and a charming manner that “put at their ease those in whose company he happened to be”. Like his mother, Queen Victoria, King Edward led by example by living a life that was pure, full of human sympathy, selflessness and which proved an inspiration for politicians to “legislate for the common weal (131 – 132). In a statement designed to foster in the children feelings of gratitude and loyalty, the writer depicts the dying king as being so concerned for the welfare of his people in his southernmost dominion that—on the day before

his death—he insisted on conducting business with the Governor-elect of New Zealand. Among the highest praise offered in his memory was that he “died in harness,” which demonstrated the sort of service to Empire that the readers of the *Journals* were urged to observe (139).

Continuity is important in any tradition and the article following the eulogy to Edward VII outlined the qualities and accomplishments of the new King, George V. It made much of his common touch in that he was willing to get his hands dirty when working on trimming the coal bunkers of the naval ship to which he had been posted. His coolness and courage were praised when rescuing a stricken vessel during a gale off the Irish coast, displaying “seamanship and skill that won the admiration of old and tried officers in the service” (“King George V: The Sailor Prince” 144). Thus, the new king had earned his spurs so to speak in demonstrating courage and commitment under trying circumstance—qualities to be admired in any member of the empire but especially so in the *captain*. The love and respect shown to Victoria—alluded to above—was also attendant upon the then heir “in the lands that were visited ... not only from those who claim Britain as the land of their birth, but also from the native-born, and from those peoples who, while not of the same kinship as ourselves, yet recognise the King’s sovereignty” (151).

Throughout the period covered, the *Journal* was at pains to establish the endurance of such regal qualities. The point being that the British Royals were especially suited—genetically—to head the Empire. The editor reprised these qualities when he penned King George’s own eulogy in the February issue of 1936. In a departure from previous practice, he divided the essay into a series of sections with discrete sub-headings that highlighted in bold the admired attributes of the departed monarch. Thus, the reader can see at a glance that

King George V was kindly and considerate, dedicated to the end in the performance of his duties, beloved of his people, ready to share in the joys and sorrows of his subjects and known for his “Simple Sincerity and Kindness”



Figure 1 “The Sailor Prince”

(Anonymous "King George V" 34-38). The details are familiar as to a considerable degree they echo the eulogies of the late monarch’s predecessors.

Nonetheless, this enumerating of the duties of the king is suggestive of a shift in focus away from the former image of a socially detached sovereign who oversaw the affairs of Empire from some Olympian height. There is less of a sense of passive admiration

(indeed, adoration) as with Queen Victoria. There was a reduced focus upon the martial bearing or physically courageous quality of either king or prince as he travelled the world, a living and glamorous symbol of empire. Instead, the emphasis was upon dedication to work and care for the subjects of Empire. Before his death in

1910, King Edward VII’s participation in the Royal councils of Europe earned him the soubriquet of “The Peacemaker”. He was described as having “guided the ship of State through the shoals and shallows of many an international complication” (“The Passing of King Edward VII” 129).

On the other hand, although the editor described George V at the start of his

reign as “The Sailor Prince” and emphasised his military career in the navy



Figure 2 King George V

(Figure 1), by 1936 he presented him as a hard working civilian. The accompanying photograph (Figure 2) shows George V in a suit and the writer told his audience that he “worked harder than any ordinary business man” and that he offered “wise words of encouragement, hope and comfort” to his people when they were beset by “troubles and sorrows” (“King George V” 36). This shift in image to one of active service in a practical—if a less heroic or glamorous—sense is a direct result of the impact of the 1914-1918 war and the subsequent onset of the 1930s depression. In a continuation of this shift in image, the reader learned in 1936 that the young King Edward VIII was especially interested in the welfare of ex-servicemen for he was concerned that “the country they served must never cease to care for them” (“The New King” 44). This shift in perceptiveness is well illustrated by the inclusion of contrasting photographs of royal personages over a twenty year period. A photograph in 1909 showed King Edward VII resplendent in fully braided and decorated naval uniform as Admiral of the British Fleet, whereas a later portrait of George VI emphasises the domesticated family role of the Monarch. The former image portrayed the King as head of the Empire’s martial might—there can be no mistaking the military basis of the British Empire or the intent to encourage pride in the children of New Zealand for a sovereign of commanding mien. Later,—in keeping with a more sombre world, post-World War One—the photographs accompanying articles on George V and Edward VIII show men in civilian clothing that better reflected a sense of their making common cause with the subjects of Empire, as opposed to reflecting its power with martial pomp and ceremony. As the 1930s advanced the *Journal* further developed the image of the heads of Empire as being *of the people*. The editor claimed Edward VIII was a “friend to the unfortunate” and that he had “a genius for mixing with

people of all degrees and castes”. Furthermore, Edward was “actively sympathetic [towards the people] in the train of want and suffering and unemployment [resulting from] the economic depression.” (“The New King” 44). The article extolls the personal example Edward set in being a good and responsible landlord, thus demonstrating that class harmony could be maintained provided the rich acted as responsibly as he did (45).

The abdication a few months later clearly presented the editor with the problem of how to maintain the carefully constructed narrative of a monarchy dedicated to the well-being of the Empire. It must have seemed irresponsible in the extreme for the King to give up his role and position in order to marry an American divorcee. In the event, the *Journal* made little mention of those events and simply transferred the familiar narrative of a hardworking, dedicated servant of Empire to the abdicated king’s brother. In a campaign to popularize further the position of Imperial Monarch,—and *paper over* the crack in the imperial story—the February issue of 1937 carried on its frontispiece a family portrait of King George VI, his wife and two daughters. There was no accompanying comment but the image clearly portrayed the domesticity of an ordinary family group—Mum, Dad and the children—just like the families to which the readers belonged. It was not until May of that year that the editor of *The School Journal* wrote an article introducing the new King to his readers—avoiding any comment on the reason for this sudden elevation of George VI. In the



Figure 3 King George VI and family

opening paragraph of that article he talks of his “great pleasure and satisfaction ... that ... the family that has suddenly become the first in our nation makes so charming and attractive a group [which] appeal[s] equally ... as a group of royal personages or as a family party” (“Our New Royal Family” 98). As with his predecessors, George VI was courageous—“performing doughty deeds” on African safari. Nor was he averse to “slip[ping] into a pair of overalls [in order to] go where the work is done [be it] at a factory, down a coal mine, driving an engine” (“Our New Royal Family” 99). The inclusion by the writer of details from George VI’s domestic—as opposed to public—life was a clear departure from descriptions of previous monarchs. The reader of the *Journal* learns that his wife, Elizabeth, “has been a success as a wife and a mother [because of the] happy faces of her husband and children who obviously regard her as the beloved centre of their united and devoted family” (101). In rounding out his article, the editor finished with a description of daily life experienced by the eleven-year-old Princess Elizabeth. The children of New Zealand learn that Elizabeth’s “life is probably no happier than ours” and that— as heir apparent— she was already preparing hard for the time when she would be required to take up the reigns of Empire (102). Having presented the Royal family as being typical of any family, the editor informs his readers that they seek “not so much our praise as our trust and loyalty” (104). Just as the royal family works hard for the betterment of the peoples of Empire, so too must the children of New Zealand “help in the ushering in of an era of peace, happiness and prosperity” (104).

The School Journal carefully maintained this idea of a seamlessly unbroken line of Kings and Queens selflessly devoting their time and energy to the service of the Empire and its peoples. The *Journal* glossed over or ignored

completely inconvenient facts such as the forced abdication of King Edward VIII who wished to marry the woman of his choice. The underlying message and the example being set remained consistent even so, and portrayed George VI as following in his elder brother's footsteps as far as his goals and duties were concerned. The appeal to the children was to their loyalty and for their commitment to nation and empire. The Royal family was held before the readers as being pre-eminent models whose example they should follow. The following excerpt from a speech given by Edward VIII—containing a message that could equally have come from his predecessors or his successor—calls upon children to accept their responsibilities as British citizens:

Youth cannot long remain a spectator of life; it will be only a short time before the work of the world will be placed on your shoulders. Many tasks wait for your help: knowledge to be discovered, open spaces to be peopled, natural resources to be developed, sickness to be conquered, and wrongs to be righted. With these high quests before you, you will realise that the mere acquisition of material things is not in itself the fulfilment of an individual or a national purpose, and is as little compared with the satisfaction derived from your own effort, especially when that effort advances human welfare and happiness. ("The New King" 47)

Earlier appeals to the romanticism of dying in the service of empire segue into the message that children of New Zealand should engage in raising people to greater states of wellbeing and happiness—to improve their lot. This was a theme familiar to readers of the *Journal* although no longer urging such a service in the name of Empire but in response to an innate self-sacrificing altruism. That this was a quality found naturally in the (now) British Commonwealth needed no elaboration as the assumption stemmed from a

familiar national/racial narrative presupposing the superiority of Britons. In fact, the specific tasks set before the children regarding the quest for knowledge, resources and unpeopled spaces neatly summarize the traditional goals of imperial expansion. From 1907 to 1940 the “team” to which the readers of the *Journal* were deemed to belong was British, it was Imperial, and the “captain” of that team was the reigning British monarch. In this sense, the *Journal* positioned the children of New Zealand as subjects of Britain rather than of a distinct and separate New Zealand.

Chapter Two: Constructing a British Pedigree

The School Journal constructed for its readers a historical narrative that accounted for the dominance of the British—particularly the Anglo-Saxon—race over much of the world. The object of such instruction was to provide the Dominion’s children with racial models of behaviour and character with which to identify. Such a history also offered both an explanation and justification for the British presence in New Zealand. The *Journal* presented the Dominion as an outpost of Britain and its inhabitants as the natural and deserving heirs of a great race. The editors demanded that the children of New Zealand avoid letting down the *team* and its *captain* by living up to their racial heritage in upholding those character traits deemed worthy of them. Throughout the period under study, the pages of *The School Journal* are replete with examples of British heroes engaged in activities that brought glory to their race and empire. Just as the legendary Knights of the Round Table were lauded as heroic warriors noted for their courage, noble behaviour and for undertaking dangerous quests, *The School Journal* regaled its readers with tales of adventure, exploration and discovery undertaken by exemplary men (and occasionally women) of Britain. The approbative tone was set in the earliest *Journals* and remained consistent throughout the period under study. They lauded qualities of courage, endurance, self-sacrifice and leadership whether associated with soldiers, sailors, explorers or adventurers. There also appeared stories of quests to banish disease, misery and poverty as the wars waged in the name of King, Britain and Empire shifted to these new fields of struggle.

In May of 1908, the second year of publication, there appeared an extensive panegyric by William Gillies for the instruction of the Dominion’s

youth about the British Empire. The article opens by reminding its readers that they belong to the British Empire and then develops the idea that this was the greatest and best empire above all other empires. It made abundantly clear that it was to a *greater* Britain that the children of New Zealand belonged when invited to consider the extent of *their* empire. “It would take from the present hour till next Empire Day to visit all [British possessions], and it would take a lifetime to see them thoroughly” (“Empire Day 24th May” 100). In the following passage, the extensive use of the inclusive “we” combined with an almost metronomic use of parallel syntax places the reader and writer firmly within the orbit of the Imperial enterprise:

We should have to listen to the British speech in every zone, and watch the British flag floating over peoples of many tongues and colours. We should have to note how in every quarter of the globe there are British trading ports, British garrisons, British dockyards, and British coaling stations. We should have to note that the British carry more of the world’s goods by sea than any other people, and that the great British merchant fleet is guarded by the greatest navy in the world. We should have to note, too, that many of the fairest and richest parts of the earth are British, or are held by men who speak the British tongue. (“Empire Day 24th May” 100)

The text, by means of such rhetorical flourishes, positioned the reader, as belonging to an empire that was quintessentially and ubiquitously British. This barrage of naming underlined all the scope, the power and the wealth of the nation. Any doubts as to the identity of the colonists being British were dispelled by Gillies’ account of a British race that was “fond of the sea, ... fond of adventure and ... fond of trade with a spice of danger in it, and ... [had] a

genius for making himself at home in new lands" ("Empire Day 24th May" 100). The reader was to suppose that his or her presence in New Zealand was the natural consequence of ingrained racial characteristics.

In this way the editors of *The School Journal* sought to naturalise the settlement of New Zealand as part of an on-going imperial project. From the outset *The School Journal* encouraged a sense of entitlement on the part of the British peoples to, quite literally, the world—especially the fair and rich bits—by voicing an oft-repeated justification that wherever they landed, their race improved upon the local cultural structures. For the indigenous peoples living within the British Dominions life has “brightened” because they have been shown better ways to grow food. Colonial justice reduced the depredations of thieves and bandits and ameliorated the savagery of local customs. Because “British rule has made the world a better place to live in ... forty millions of people ... have been able to hold one fifth of the globe and to rule over 350,000,000 people” ("Empire Day 24th May" 102). *The School Journal* firmly fixed the children of New Zealand’s gaze upon the mother country as the seat of national pride and aspiration. It was a love of Britain and Empire that was encouraged and in this sense contributed to the tightening of a re-colonial phase as outlined by Belich.

Issuing forth from the shores of that nation, the article goes on to say, was a long line of heroic Britons who carried the flag to distant lands for the benefit of the (then) present generation—these men should be honoured by the children as they “built up the Empire for us on good foundations” ("Empire Day 24th May" 102). The list is a familiar one of adventurers and explorers of the like of Raleigh, Hawkins, Frobisher, Cook and Drake and what is made clear is that members of the youthful audience are the fortunate beneficiaries of the

sacrifices these men, and others like them, made when they “left their bones on the rocks of many shores” (“Empire Day 24th May” 102). If not for them, there would have been no one to “follow up” (in the words of Harrow’s song) and develop the land by clearing it and by planting crops and by extracting the mineral wealth and by establishing a rule of law—in short, nobody to lay the “foundations of new Englands beyond the seas” (ibid). The reader, again, is being explicitly positioned as the latest in a long line of enterprising Englishmen (Britons) stretching from the ancient Vikings whose blood flows in his or her veins and whose “great qualities” he or she has inherited.

In *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880 – 1918*, R. H. MacDonald noted that “For the public at large, nation, empire, and patriotism merged into one great cause, tied to theories of race and destiny” (11). Viking-like sailors and settlers, “the best of English manhood,” would claim large tracts of the world to form a united “Greater Britain” (ibid). This was the nation to which the *Journal* expected New Zealand’s children to owe allegiance. In 1909 the August, September and October issues of *The School Journal*, in buttressing an imperial ethos, included lengthy episodes from Charles Kingsley’s *Westward Ho!* which contained some of the inspirational exploits of the fictional Amyas Leigh. The tale revolves around the competition between England and Spain for dominance of the sea, the message being that the superior race won— “as the Spaniards are the masters of the Indians, we’re the masters of the Spaniards”. Britain’s natural ascendancy in the struggle to rule the ocean’s trade routes was expressed in the quip that only one Englishman was needed to defeat three Spaniards in a fight (Kingsley 206). The October 1909 issue continued the theme with an adaptation of Hakluyt’s recount of an English sailor’s incarceration and subsequent escape

from a Turkish jail. John Fox's indomitable spirit and leadership led to the breakout of a group of mixed nationals that captured a Turkish vessel and sailed it to Cyprus and freedom. That Fox was an ordinary seaman who was "kindly received by the Pope of Rome and the King of Spain" tells the New Zealand readers that they do indeed belong to a superior breed of men (Hakluyt 288).

Tales of British men performing deeds of valour and enterprise on battlefields both historical and contemporary were popular sources of reading material for the children of the British Empire. The editors of *The School Journal* used that appeal to instruct their readers on the natural superiority of the English fighting men over everyone they fought and posited that characteristic as one reason behind the dominance of the British Empire. The qualities exhibited by these heroes included being doughty fighters, steadfast in the face of adversity and self-sacrificing for the good of the *team*. Furthermore, the fighting spirit exhibited by these men was innate and simply needed the right circumstance for it to shine forth. The readers of the *Journal* were encouraged to live up to such models. As Gillies declaimed in his article of 1908, "on the roll of our British heroes we have many men who were really great — men who were high in character, as well as strong and clever ... but today ... *you* must be great. In this way only can you keep what your fathers won for you" (Gillies "Empire Day 24th May" 106).

In a series of articles, the *Journal* makes the case for the inevitability and appropriateness of Britain's dominance of much of the world. For the majority of Pakeha readers, that message further justified their presence in New Zealand—a country at the extreme end of the trade routes connecting the various outposts of empire. The editors repeated the Victorian notion of natural superiority leading to the spread of the British race round the world at the

expense of other nations and empires. The article “Drake’s Voyage Around The World” sets up a historical narrative that places England on the path to domination of the seas. Drake is infused with the “spirit of adventure [that] had invaded all southern seaports of England” and he exhibits by turn the intrepidity of both explorer and pirate, the manners and bearing of an archetypical gentleman in “never tak[ing] a life unnecessarily and after a fight was over [being] a courteous host of his captives” (“Drake’s Voyage Round The World” 147 - 152). The article ends with Queen Elizabeth I knighting Drake as a reward for his profitable buccaneering—thus forming a kind of narrative prelude to the great story of a global empire reaching its apex during the reign of Queen Victoria.

In writing of the conquest of India, the *Journal* set out to explain how a handful of men could end up controlling a continent of several millions. The answer was that the quality and upbringing of the British—English—meant they were peculiarly suited to leading others—not just in India but anywhere. The English lad—and by extension the New Zealand lad—was a person of action and daring do. The writer depicts Robert Clive as the archetypal schoolboy hero who was something of a rascal as a lad—clever if “unruly, hot tempered and often fighting ... yet he was no bully, and no one could say he ever showed signs of fear” (“The Conquest of India: The Story of Robert Clive” 112). His early scrapes with authority or rebellion against passive classroom learning were indications of the potential within—he was simply waiting the call to a world of action for which his talents best suited him. This was a message designed to appeal to boys of a new country, which required physically tough, hardworking citizens of courage and endurance. Robert Clive was seen as a prime example of those qualities. Coming from unpromising beginnings, the conqueror of India rose to

greatness by virtue of his refusal to surrender to adverse circumstances.¹ Poor, in bad health and subject to depression, Clive won the respect of the locals when he successfully defended the town of Arcot with a mere 120 British soldiers (plus an Indian levy) against 10,000 foes. Clive went on to win further fame and fortune, his grateful monarch rewarding him with honours.

In July of 1911, *The School Journal* developed this narrative further by relating other deeds from India in the course of which it praised the virtues of *common* soldiers as well as their leaders. Thus the mantle of greatness was cast over both high and low, and the children—boys especially at this time—of New Zealand were taught that glorious deeds were as much within their purview as anyone. Arthur Wellesley—the future Duke of Wellington—with 4,500 men defeated a native force of 30,000 at the battle of Assaye. This feat of arms was followed by an example of heroic leadership when Sergeant Brodie organised a small band of British soldiers to hold off attacks by many thousands of Indian mutineers until rescue came ("The Growth Of Our Indian Empire: From Clive to the Mutiny" 200 - 201). Such tales of glory from the Indian continent culminated in a tale from the Sind “which shows the courage of English soldiers” (204). A small force attacked an entrenched enemy consisting of a large group of Baluchi tribesmen sheltering behind rock breastworks. Even though:

they knew they were marching to certain death ... they were English soldiers, and their duty was to obey. Every man of them fell in the attack; but, when their bodies were recovered, it was found that their chivalrous

¹ Other such beginnings include that of James Cook as a living scarecrow then shop boy related in “Men of New Zealand: Captain Cook” (34).

foes had encircled both wrists of each dead hero with a red silken thread—the “red thread of honour.” (ibid)

The writer concluded that it was worth the men dying if they were to win such respect from their enemies. Articles such as these highlighted the superior martial prowess of the British when facing daunting odds and contained within them a lesson for the *Journal's* young readers on a code of behaviour appropriate for members of empire—an empire won for them by the heroes described therein. In an odd sort of inversion, the message implied that as long as its members were willing to die for it, then the Empire would survive—an invitation to worship death and to desire to emulate the making of an *ultimate sacrifice*.

Children as Heroes of Empire

The first issue of the *Journal* held up the behaviour of Melville and Coghill for the readers to admire. Lieutenant H.T.C. Knox followed up with an example of self-sacrifice from the history of British expansion into New Zealand. Having outlined the need for every child to develop the proper character expected of an English man or woman so that they would be ready to perform their duty to the Empire, he went on to describe how one lad in New Zealand performed exactly as expected. Knox recounted the surprise attack by Maori on Boulcott's farm during which the British avoided total disaster through the “lofty heroism of the bugler, a boy named Alan” (Knox 102). In spite of being wounded, Alan raised the alarm at the cost of his life thus saving the lives of most of his fellow soldiers. It was his character that “upheld him at that dreadful moment, and raised him to the highest pinnacle of nobility even as he fell” (ibid). In this way the *Journal* demonstrated that the readers were direct inheritors of an

imperial/racial ethos that made of New Zealand just as much a ground for glory as were the plains of India.

Whilst there would be plenty of opportunities for glory during the 1914-1918 war, the message of the earlier journals was that New Zealand—Pakeha—children shared the heroic qualities that were so often demonstrated on battlefields around the world. They often demonstrated these during moments of crisis or tragedy—many in or on the waterways of New Zealand. It is interesting to note that the *Journal* offered several examples of heroic behaviour on the part of women and girls. This seemed to cut against the grain of what was a primarily masculine narrative of Empire. In “The Wreck Of The Penguin”, the children learned of the stoicism with which many passengers faced mortal danger without “the slightest panic ... the women and children behave[ing] splendidly” (“The Wreck Of The 'Penguin'” 63). The writer especially praised the actions of the stewardess, Mrs Jacobs, “who was calm and collected ... giving out life belts and blankets from the time the ship struck to the last minute” (64). He deemed her actions, in staying at her post even at the cost of her life, worthy of the best tradition, “preferring death to dishonour and neglect of duty” (ibid). In 1911 the *Journal* told of heroic deeds performed by local children from around the Dominion—when “the call came to them and they had to fall back upon their character” (“Brave Boys and Girls” 160). These children received awards from the Royal Humane Society of New Zealand for showing conspicuous bravery and clear thinking in saving the lives of others—most often from drowning. Whilst the editor clearly wanted to inspire his readers with the examples of all recipients, he deemed the girl who lost her life in an attempt to rescue a companion from drowning to have made a “noble effort [that was] consummated ... by a noble death” (165). The instruction was

clear. If you are to live up to the expectations of your heritage then be ever selflessly prepared to help others, and if the cost should involve the sacrifice of your life, so much the better—that was the ultimate expression of what it meant to be British.

In Pursuit of Glory: The Anzac Spirit

The 1914 – 1918 war, and particularly the Gallipoli campaign, had a huge impact upon the people of the Dominion. Not only did the New Zealanders suffer a “staggering 88 per cent casualty rate” but the public at home were faced with the “inconceivable fact that the Allies had been defeated” (King 300). The shared trauma of a casualty rate that affected communities the length and breadth of the country constituted a key component in a national mythology “when adult nationhood was allegedly earned in blood on the slopes of Gallipoli” (Belich 28). One direct and immediate result of this bloodletting was the institution of a national day of mourning, a day to “make ... sacred ... such a vast human sacrifice” (King 300). The events of the war called into question many of the assumptions regarding the racial and military superiority of the British Empire and the quality of its leaders. Many articles that appeared in *The School Journal* from 1915 extolled the virtues of New Zealanders as fighters—a cause of national pride, which was very much pride in *not letting the team down*. In other words, the *Journal* did not support the notion of the war being a catalyst for expressions of an independent national identity. On the contrary, it continued to express patriotism very much from within the familiar Imperial pattern. Although ANZAC day honoured the sacrifice made by New Zealand troops, their sacrifice was in the service of King and Empire in what Belich referred as “a conceptual merging of British and New Zealand interests” (118).

What did change between 1918 and 1939 were the tone and emphasis of articles that often downplayed the militarism of earlier issues and promoted the idea of the responsible management of the *business* of Empire—an idea that was in keeping with the changing representation of the royal family as workers rather than soldiers or sailors of empire.

During the war years, the *Journal* published a range of patriotic poems—often occupying the front page—to inspire enthusiasm for the Empire’s effort. The first of these poems were often taken from earlier contexts and applied to the current circumstances. Such a poem was “The Death of Napoleon,” which opened the September 1915 issue. The poem imagines Napoleon on his deathbed reviewing past glories when “the world was overrun/Made pale at his cannon’s rattle” (McLellan 31-32). The message seems to be that once again the various battlefields are ringing to the sound of canons. Once again an army has arisen which would make nations shake and break their hosts (11-12). However, such were the dreams of a dying man (27) and in the end he was left “alone with his glory” (36). This poem appeared as a way of introducing a long prose piece on the recent landings at the Dardanelles during which praised the virtues of New Zealand soldiers. The placement of the poem suggests the editor sought to inspire his readers with tales of Napoleon’s great martial deeds and that these were about to be emulated by the Dominion’s troops. The *Journal’s* editor looked to martial deeds of glory to inspire its readers although the unintended irony of the last line contradicts his intention with its suggestion of the vainglory. On the other hand, the poem “How did You Die?” was unequivocal in its message—a return to the *Journal’s* recurring preoccupation with making the ultimate sacrifice for the King and Empire. It was a direct appeal to the *Journal’s* readers to die well and to not bring shame with “craven soul” (“How

Did You Die?" 4) and to battle "the best you could" (18) even if you were being beaten. The poem ends with:

If you played your part in the world of men,

Why, the critic will call it good.

Death comes with a crawl, or comes with a pounce,

And whether he's slow or spry,

It isn't the fact you're dead that counts,

But only—how did you die? (19-24)

This is about playing the game and being resolute, courageous and always prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice. The jaunty rhythm that gallops through the poem and the a,b,a,b, rhyme scheme—reminiscent of a playground chant or nursery rhyme—combine to trivialise death as being less significant than the manner in which you greeted it. The *Journal's* writers presented the war—immediately prior to the Gallipoli landings—as being a great opportunity for New Zealanders to show the sort of pluck that their imperial forbears had demonstrated. It would be a great adventure. In the following year, the growing casualties in a war unlike any previous one tempered the enthusiasm of that expectation.

In the June issue of 1916, the front page carried the poem "The Dead At ANZAC" by way of offering comfort to the—by now—growing number of families who had lost menfolk. In keeping with previous sentiments, the poem glorifies the ultimate sacrifice the dead soldiers made. Furthermore, by comparing their exploits to those of the ancient Greeks and Trojans, the poet seeks to memorialize the Dominions' dead within Classical halls of fame. The poem opens with a rhetorical question aimed at those who grieve—a question that dismisses such grief as being misplaced for the soldiers have been happy to die:

Why do you grieve for us who lie
At our lordly ease by the Dardanelles?
We have no need for tears or sighs,
We who passed in the heat of fight
Into the soft Elysian light,
Proud of our part in the great emprise. (Souter lines 1-6)

The sense of these young men making a noble and willing sacrifice was a conscious echo of the call for the Empire's children to be ever ready to make the ultimate gesture of loyalty to Empire. That they were now sanctified and at ease among their peers of the Dardanelles recalls Rupert Brooke's sanguine conceit, in his poem "The Soldier", that British dead enhanced the soil of foreign fields. The "great emprise" the narrator was so proud to have *sallied forth* on was an imperial one, and he and his Anzac peers performed gloriously in pursuing as great an adventure as any in the history of empire. Whilst they died young, their lives were "crowned with power/And brimming with action [whilst] every hour/shone with ... glory". Stanza two repeats the question of the first stanza before claiming that the loss of life was compensated for by the illustrious company the dead now kept.

How can you grieve? We are not lone;
There are other graves by the Dardanelles.
Men whom immortal Homer sang
Come to our ghostly camp-fires' glow (11-14)

These heroes of Empire are in same company as the heroes of the Trojan wars—thus they are immortal by implication and the living will sing of their deeds for centuries to come. The poem ends with the breathless utterance "Oh God, they were men". Thus their very masculinity was defined by how well they died—a

constant measure of manhood in the imperial adventure tradition. On the face of it, this poem reinforces the familiar message about the glory of dying in the service of empire. The implication is that the grieving women to whom the poem was addressed, and by implication the *Journal's* readers, should feel grateful that their men folk had performed in the appropriate manner and take comfort from the fact. However, in this poem there is a shift away from the trumpeting tone of bellicose patriotism or the enthusiastic call for sacrifice in the name of empire. Instead, there is an elegiac resonance present—pride in the glory won, certainly, but a pride infused with sombre tones. The opening protest that because the dead were “At our lordly ease by the Dardanelles/We have no need for tears or sighs (2-3) is undermined by the pace of the lines which is slowed by the repetitious use of long vowel sounds suggesting a meditative state. The broken syntax of “We are content. We had our day,/Brief but splendid—crowned with power/And brimming with action;” (7-9) casts doubt upon the conviction of the poet in his repeating of the familiar formula pertaining to a glorious sacrifice. The repetition of the rhetorical, “How can you grieve?” (11), at the start of the second stanza serves to emphasize the loss that caused the grief. The voice of the dead soldier insists they are not alone but in good company—the company of heroes—and yet the fact of death cannot be evaded even when dressed in glorious garb. The campfire around which the heroes past and present gather is “ghostly”. The final line line—“O God, they were men.” (20)—recalls the earlier reference to the brevity of their life which was a “day/brief but splendid” (7-8) suggesting that whilst men they may have been, many were barely that. By 1916 the huge wastage of manpower would have been becoming clear to the readers of the *Journal* and their families. This poem, whilst supporting the traditional views about the glory of giving your life for King and

Empire, also complicated the reader's response by suggesting an oppositional response to the rhetorical question as to why women should grieve for their dead.

Any such doubts, however dimly felt, were absent from most of the other poetry during the war years. "Ye Mariners of England" (Campbell 308) was a straightforward declaration of the puissance of Britain's navy which would continue to protect the Empire. "The Call" was an Australian poem that voiced the loyalty felt by the Dominions in replying to "The Mother Country's calling [by putting their] armour on" ("The Call"). Bret Harte's "The Reveille" appeared to dispel any doubts that his readers might have about participating in the war:

"What if, 'mid the cannon's thunder,
Whistling shot and bursting bomb,
When my brothers fall around me,
Should my heart grow cold and numb?"

But the drum

Answered, "Come!"

Better there in death united than in life a recreant—Come!" (Harte 22-28)

In the years after the war, there was a reduction in reference to the glory of dying for sovereign and empire. Indeed the verse that appeared took on a more consciously elegiac form. In the April 1934 issue there appeared "In Flanders Fields" with its stark vision of "crosses, row on row" (McCrae 2).

"We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved and now we lie
In Flanders fields. (7-9)

The contrast with the earlier poem, “The Dead At ANZAC” is stark. The dead are dead and there is no talk of glorious company, ghostly or otherwise. By 1940, Alfred Austin responds to the question “Is life worth living? [with] Yes so long/As there is wrong to right” (Austin 1-2). The *Journal*, in a reversal of its earlier promulgations on duty, now urged the children of New Zealand to *live* in order to right wrongs or to fight tyranny (ibid).

In 1920 the Government made ANZAC Day an official holiday and the June number of *The School Journal* marked the occasion with an article about its observance. The preacher at the Wellington memorial service claimed ANZAC “stood for courage, for endurance, for sacrifice and for emulation” (“ANZAC Day Celebrations” 151). These were the familiar characteristics of the archetypal British imperial subject—although that does not exclude the transference of such accolade to a uniquely New Zealand setting or the fostering of an inward looking nationalism. Certainly the preacher’s reference to a war that was “cruel” and of “fair young lives cut off in their prime” and of “feelings of sadness” at the sight of grave markers indicated a shift away from the previously unrelenting appeal to the glory of making the ultimate sacrifice (ibid). However, the message from the editor of the *Journal* remained an unambiguously imperial one and insisted that the children of New Zealand were primarily citizens of Empire. Indeed, when referring to the Gallipoli campaign fourteen years later, the editor recounted with pride the praise heaped upon the New Zealand soldiers. ANZAC was to become a “name ... sacred to us as long as we are a nation... [and] no division in France built up for itself a finer reputation ... its record [doing] honour to the country from which it came and to the Empire for which it fought” (“In Flanders Fields” 67). The glorious sacrifice for Empire was still present only now on a national scale.

Realigning Representations of Empire

The June 1920 issue opened with a letter from the Prince of Wales who praised the country and its people for their loyalty. He urged the children to follow the “splendid example” of their parents who “marched and fought, or worked and endured, to win our well-earned victory in the Great War” (E. Windsor 129). The Prince went on to hope that his readers never had to endure a war like the one just gone but they could still “serve the mighty Empire, which has kept [them] safe and well [and that they] always put duty to ... King, ... Country ... and ... flag before everything else” (130). After reminding the children to keep playing for the team and to “play the game”, Edward ended by reinforcing the ties that bound New Zealand and its people to Britain. “I love New Zealand, and belong to it every bit as much as you do yourselves. You, New Zealand girls and boys, are my own British kith and kin” (ibid). This declaration made explicit, not just the desire of Britain to strengthen its ties with New Zealand, but the reverse as well for the *Journal* was promulgating the official Government line—part of the policy Belich termed re-colonisation.

The task for the editors of the *Journal* after the First World War was to maintain their pro-imperial message in light of the challenges to the very concept of dynastic hegemony. Benedict Anderson points out that the First World War brought an end to “high dynasticism” and that in the place of empires “the legitimate international norm was the nation state” (Anderson 113). Furthermore, the new League of Nations became the international forum that sought to order world affairs. Although the *Journal* only rarely alluded to it, the impact upon New Zealand of new theories and forms of national determination, political and social organisation and international relations led

the editors to realign some of the ways they represented the Empire. A series of articles in the *Journal* of 1920 sought to explain once again the reasons why the British Empire was so dominant in the world. The editor of the *Journal* revisited earlier justifications for the dominance of the British nation of which New Zealand was a part— notions of the British belonging to heroic and adventurous stock, of being great seafarers, of being lovers of freedom, of being morally and martially superior to all other peoples. However, the writers promoted two additional themes that sought to account for and justify a continued dominance. Firstly, they somewhat tendentially pressed the beneficent nature of the British Empire and secondly, they offered up the idea that the British Empire was a family of nations bound together by love and loyalty to the Crown, which was why all were content to remain within the imperial compass. The benefits brought by the Empire included raised standards of living for the subject peoples because of Britain's ushering them into the modern world of international trade and commerce. The notion that the empire was a vast fraternal organisation supported the claim that a primary goal was the protection and well-being of its members. This was often expressed as a duty of care being shown to the poor and needy within the boundaries of empire—a duty that was laid upon the children of New Zealand to discharge. Perceptions of an altered function of the Royal family reflected similar concerns as referred to earlier. In a world that had witnessed the emergence of the nation state in many more forms than before and also a world that witnessed the emergence of communism—in the wake of the Russian Revolution—there was great pressure on Britain to defend its position as an Imperial state. *The School Journal* sought demonstrate for it readers that the British Empire existed

because of the happy coincidence of superior racial characteristics and an all-embracing familial altruism.

In spite of the amelioration in the martial tone apparent in the June issue, the October 1920 issue returned to one of the great stories about a British hero making the ultimate sacrifice for Empire. In doing so, the editors sought to convince their readers that the superior man sometimes needed to make the ultimate sacrifice to secure a better future for the rest of the people and that such was a typically selfless act of the imperial hero. This narrative told of General Gordon, “sword in hand gallantly facing the dervishes [until] he fell fighting bravely and his head was cut off and carried in triumph to the Mahdi at Omdurman” (“The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan” 275 - 276). The writer made plain that Gordon had been engaged in deeds of noble character by noting that he “had previously done much to put down the slave trade in Sudan” (275). This enhanced the sense of the loss of a good man and intended Gordon’s nobility—and that of the British race of which he was representative—to stand in contrast to the savagery implied in Sudanese’s act of carrying around his head as a trophy. Significantly, Gordon’s—and Britain’s—departure from Egypt led to “a terrible state of turmoil and distress” because of the mismanagement of the “Mad Mullah” (276). Such mismanagement was only corrected when the British returned to complete the task begun by Gordon—appropriately symbolised by the construction of Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum for “the development of the native races under their control” (279). The focus upon the ultimate benefits arising from Gordon’s sacrifice would have offered some comfort to readers dealing with the sacrifices of World War I. In June 1916, the *Journal* had already explained the outbreak of war in Europe as the product of a jealous nation—Germany wanted to be as great as Britain and so persisted in building

more and more battleships. This meant that Britain had to keep building more also or else be left behind. In the end Britain and her “daughter dominions” were forced to fight to “save the better laws, the truer religion, the higher civilisation of the world from destruction” (“The Isle of Gramarye” 137). However, by 1930 the Editor had dropped any overt reference to an arms race. Instead he said that “the flower of [New Zealand’s] manhood responded willingly to the call of the Mother-land for assistance in overcoming German militarism” (“Our New Governor-General” 98). *The School Journal* encouraged its readers to believe that the enormous sacrifice in manpower was the necessary cost of preserving the British way of life as exemplified throughout the empire.

A series of articles in the *Journal* of 1920 sought to establish the origins of the British race and the reasons for its greatness—why it was Britain’s destiny to lead the world. In a survey of the main racial groups of Europe, the writer described the essential character of each and attempted to show how a combination of their best qualities became distilled in the racial stock that made up the peoples of Britain. For example the *Journal* reader learnt that the Celts were “very musical and poetical people” with a beautiful language which accounted for the Welsh being such good singers as shown when they marched to war or before they played in Rugby matches against visiting teams such as the All Blacks (“The Celts” 109). Less positively, they were noted for being “superstitious”, sentimental and melancholic by nature (“The Celts” 110). Unhappily for the Celts, although happily for the future of the British race, waves of Teutonic peoples—Angles and Saxons among them—ended Celtic dominance over the island and then settled large swathes of the land. According to this narrative, the Anglo-Saxon race emerged as the most vigorous and

accomplished of all the European racial groups by absorbing the best virtues of the conquered peoples of Britain. The November 1920 *Journal* recorded that:

the Teutonic races have had the greatest influence on modern civilisation. ... The Teutons hold sway over Canada and the United States in North America, over the West Indies, over parts of South America, and over the whole of Australasia and the greater part of the South Sea Islands. They control the greater part of Africa, the southern part of Asia. ... They exercise control over practically every sea, for they are a great sea faring race. ("The Teutons" 302).

Having established the superior credentials and accomplishments of the racial forebears of the New Zealand children, the writer ends the series by claiming that the British were the best of the best in that:

Their main characteristics are a love of freedom and independence, an indifference to risks and dangers, and a very strong national sentiment. The British have the finest literature in the world, and their men have led the way in all branches of science and engineering. We have every reason to be proud of the race that can claim as its members such men as Shakespeare, Milton, Sir Francis Bacon, Newton, Darwin, Priestly, Watts, Faraday, Lyall, Stephenson, Lord Kelvin, Sir Oliver Lodge, Edison, Rutherford, and many others (ibid).

In this manner, the *Journal* schooled its readers to accept that the presence of the British in New Zealand—and elsewhere—was the result of racial superiority and that such presence would both improve the locals and add to the illustriousness of the mother race by the acquisition of the best qualities of subject races including Maori. This was the same way it had absorbed the best qualities of the conquered European races. The presence of New Zealand-born

Ernest Rutherford in the above list of *British* luminaries makes plain the *Journal's* position (and presumably that of the New Zealand Government) regarding where the primary loyalty of the children should lie.

By establishing such a pedigree the editor of the *Journal* positioned the Dominion's children as the natural heirs to the most successful and deserving of the European racial competitors, non-European races being ranked below all European races. The children were encouraged to believe that they belonged to the best of people in all spheres of life and that their natural position was as leaders over all other peoples of the world. The *Journal* presented this concept

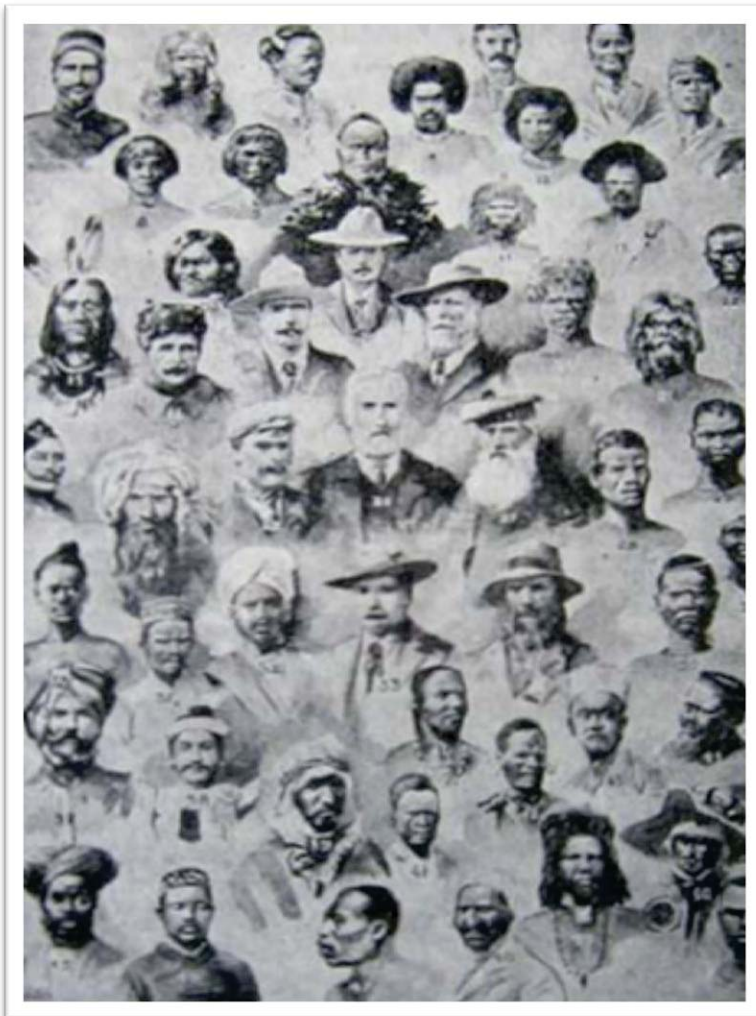


Figure 4 Peoples of the British Empire

graphically and absurdly in figures 5 and 6.

The diagram from the June issue of 1912 (Figure 4) purported to show the races or peoples of the British Empire. The artist placed an Englishman in the centre of the sketch with the figures representing other member countries of the empire surrounding him. The head and

shoulders representation of the Englishman is slightly larger than the figures representing other nations, which further points up the former's superiority.

Flanked by depictions of the other members of the United Kingdom, a further hierarchy of peoples encircles these Britons. Closest to the centre, the artist positioned the other white races deemed to be of a higher stage of development than the darker skinned races that which he consigned to the outer circles. This graphic clearly places the British at the apex of civilisation, thus reinforcing the message of racial history and triumph presented to the readers of the *Journal* (see fig. 5).

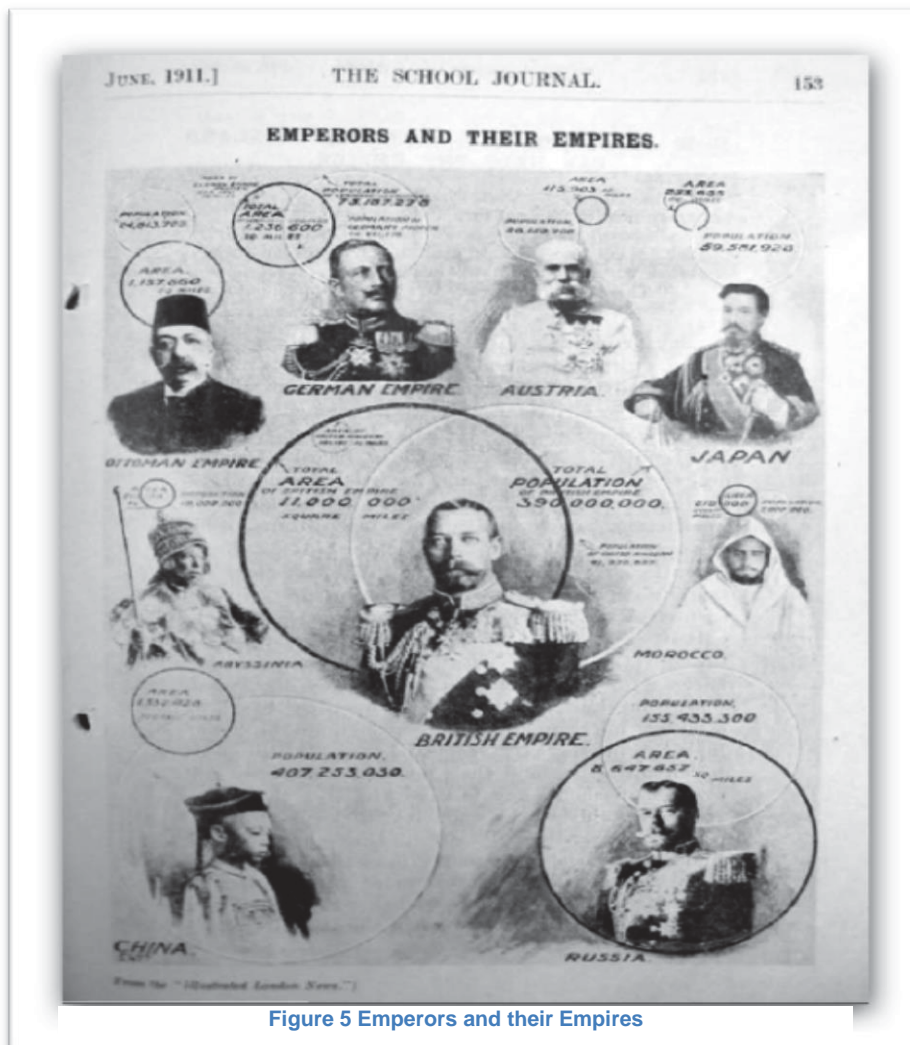


Figure 5 Emperors and their Empires

During the previous year, the *Journal* delivered a similar promulgation regarding British superiority by means of a graphic comparing the relative sizes of the extant empires in the world at the time. The British Emperor is centre page and the largest figure thus reinforcing the idea that his Empire was the

best—first among equals (see fig.6). In the accompanying comments the author adjured the children to remember from whence they came and to live up to the expectations placed upon them as members of their empire and their race:

If you be true to yourselves—your best selves—true to the memory of the best men and women of the blood and of the race, then you need not fear. There is a pride of birth that is worthy and fruitful of good ... for you are of the blood that produced Alfred the Great and Simon de Montfort, Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden, William Pitt and George Washington. You are sprung of earth's first blood ("How Boys and Girls of New Zealand Can Help the Empire" 156).

The writer assumes the children reading his article are English or Anglo-Saxon. The historical figures he praises as being worthy ancestors were renowned for their perceived contributions to raising their nation above all others. Alfred the Great defeated the Danes, Simon de Montfort was considered the progenitor of England's parliamentary system, John Hampden was a central figure in the English Parliamentary resistance to Charles I, William Pitt led England to victory in the Seven Years' War.

The School Journal sought to instil patriotic pride in the breasts of its readers as British heirs to a dominant Anglo-Saxon race. It placed great emphasis upon raising feelings of loyalty to the British Crown and Empire within New Zealand children. It positioned the readers as citizens of Britain. The editors adopted the role of promoters of Britain and Empire in accounting for the spread of British settlers to all parts of the world. They claimed this diaspora was to the benefit of everyone. In keeping with the romance of a bold, wayfaring people that sought to be first in all things, New Zealand's educators provided children with a pantheon of heroic models to admire and to emulate.

These heroes were almost all English—as opposed to Scots or Welsh for example—up until the period during and immediately after the First World War. Even when the young readers were invited to admire the exploits of their fellow countrymen and women, they were presented with exemplars who were, in essence, British. The first page of the November 1935 issue carried the following message from the King:

I ask you to remember that in days to come you will be the citizens of a great Empire. As you grow up always keep this thought before you; and when the time comes be ready and proud to give to your country the service of your work, your mind, and your heart. ("Message to the Children")

The School Journal appealed to romantic notions of imperial and racial adventure and in doing so constructed a narrative that placed the Dominion of New Zealand firmly within the sweep of the British nation.

Sharing the Benefits of Empire

The Empire Day message of 1912 informed the readers of how “life ... had been brightened for the native peoples” and that “British rule had made the world a better place to live in” (Gillies "Empire Day" 132). The *Journal* provided evidence of this through articles that mentioned engineering, agricultural and social advances taken to every corner of the Empire. Thus, Egyptian peasants learnt how to “make two blades of corn where but one grew before the British came and in India the British worked to “save the ryot from tyranny and robbery and savage customs” (ibid). However, the *Journal* presented such benefits almost as a side note in the grander narrative that was about the growth of a vast and aggressive trading organisation. After the war, the editors placed

greater emphasis upon the benefits spread to other people. The article published in 1928, “Great Britain and Egypt,” detailed how British engineers constructed a series of dams along the Nile River to provide irrigation water, which led to life changing benefits for the locals. A railway network was also constructed and “British traders ... developed the industries of Egypt and so lifted it from a poverty-stricken country to a land of comparative prosperity” (“Great Britain and Egypt” 152 -152). The article revealed the link between an improving mission and protecting Imperial commercial interests in the candid admission of the importance of the Suez Canal, which was “key to her trade with the whole of the East”. Britain was thus justified in “speak[ing] to the Egyptians in no uncertain terms” (149) about protecting that key in order to keep the trade route open for the benefit of world trade. The Imperial reader was encouraged to feel that the building of dams amply compensated for the surrendering of some independence on the part of Egypt.

By 1920, the importance of Egypt to British lines of communication and trade had receded into the background behind the message of an Imperial mission to improve the lives of the less fortunate peoples of the world. “Great



Britain is responsible for the government of more primitive native races than any other Power, and our British administrators seem to have wonderful ability in developing all that is good in the peoples they control” (“The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan” 304). In describing the “very curious customs” of the Dinka people, the writer highlighted the *ignorance* of primitive

Figure 6 An Imperial Dinka Soldier

people so that he could celebrate the heights to which the British subsequently raised them. The Dinka wore very little clothing, spent long periods standing on one leg, engaged in cruel customs and worshiped a snake God. The writer pontificated that as these people “know no better ... things of this kind ... will continue until [they] become more civilised” (307). The British Empire had started the civilising process by stopping “the slave trade ... putting down tribal warfare and by teaching young men new industries” (308). Furthermore, missionaries suppressed “the cruel customs of paganism” by spreading Christian beliefs and morals to go with the new and “useful forms of work” (309). To reinforce the point, the article included the photograph of a young Dinka man as a willing participant in empire resplendent in the uniform of British Imperial forces—his adoption of imperial, civilised values indicated by the fact he is standing on *two* legs. Another photograph showed a young warrior in traditional attire standing in the grounds of a Sudanese mission station—the lesson in the contrast was obvious. Although “there are many Dinka who show how greatly they can advance ... in many ways [they are] just big black children and they have to be given much patient help if they are able to take their place among the people of the world” (309). The *Journal*'s editor told New Zealand children to take pride in the efforts of their fellow British who were doing such good work for the Empire by establishing “righteousness and justice” among such natives (ibid). The *Journal* now propagated the view that the primary function of the British Empire was to spread the benefits of Western civilisation to those parts of the world over which it held sway.

According to the *Journal* in its pre-war articles, those colonies which had large numbers of British settlers—including New Zealand—benefited from “their love of freedom, their love of order, their power of governing themselves, their

deep religious feeling, their stubborn bulldog courage and staying power” (Gillies, 134). They could not help but improve the shores upon which they landed—indeed their improving project would inevitably produce a number of “new Englands beyond the seas” (133). The benefits of that, the *Journal* claimed, went beyond the construction of irrigation systems and railway networks and coaling stations or trading posts. A superior legal system would dispense an even-handed justice to all without favour and the colonists carried with them a collective wisdom accumulated over centuries of racial and imperial expansion. Moreover, God, the “greatest empire builder”, blessed the British by giving] to them “the secret of lasting empire [which was] that we can hold our Empire only if we hold it as trust ... to be used for the good of all ... the men and women who live on earth”(Gillies "Empire Day" 139). Thus, simply by virtue of their race, Gillies charged the British settlers of New Zealand—and their children—with a duty of care for all the peoples of the world. God sanctioned the mission of improvement and the author wanted the Dominion’s children to understand that they and their forebears belonged to a race chosen for its greatness and its wisdom. The Crown Prince emphasised this leadership role in a speech the July 1920 *Journal* reported on. Because of the war, he claimed, “the responsibility of the Empire now is greater than ever”(“The Prince at Wellington" 204). In May of the same year, the editor of the *Journal* extolled the virtuous past of the Empire in abolishing slavery, which then led the way for other nations to follow suit. It was “cause for much rejoicing that the British Empire should set an example for the rest of the world to follow” (“Empire Day" 100). He went on to speak of the League of Nations and its aim to preserve worldwide peace and that “Britain will ... set an example to the other [nations]

by giving it her hearty support” (101). Especially interesting in light of previous comment was his statement that:

there is not much glory attached to modern war. The terrible and wholesale sacrifice of the nation’s best, the gruesome sights and the awful stench of the battlefield, the devastation of the unfortunate countries, and the sufferings of the soldiers and of many thousands of innocent people are not things we can gloat over. (100)

The desire for a lasting peace became a key theme after the war in many of the *Journal* articles. Even in the midst of the war, the editor declared that “Britain had grown to hate war” and had wanted to stop building war ships so she could spend the money saved on making “her sick healthier and her poor ... better off” (“The Isle of Gramarye” 136). It was clear from the tenor of several articles that social inequality leading to unrest was a threat to the smooth functioning of the Empire. In June 1918, the *Journal* reprinted a poem from the *Spectator* of London that expressed the need to win wars “bred of fullness and excess” (“We Hope To Win” 130). The editor of the Empire Day message in 1920 identified poverty as causing unrest in most countries of the world and urged the children of New Zealand to avoid “treading underfoot our fellow-men [for] the nation that first secures peace at home will ... pave the way to prosperity” (“Empire Day” 100).

The concept of the Empire being the sum of its component parts was important in imparting to the children of New Zealand the sense of their belonging to a great nation, which was far larger than the confines of their Dominion. Whilst that was not a novel idea in the years after the war, the emphasis on its being founded on love was new. In 1929, Governor-General Sir

Charles Fergusson developed the teamwork trope by indicating the interconnectedness of the Empire.

We are like the screws ... of a big machine. If one bit goes wrong, the whole machine works badly and finally will break down. Whatever our work may be, it is part of the machine which makes the country go. If we neglect our work, the country will not go well; and if the country fails, the Empire will suffer and will break down. (Fergusson 133)

The writer of “A Hymn of Empire” is unequivocal as to where the strength and well-being of the nation lies:

... bind our realms in brotherhood,
Firm laws and equal rights,
Let each uphold the Empire’s good
In freedom that unites. (Scott 9-12)

He is equally vehement regarding those who wished to depart the Empire. They were:

... cowards who prate,
Afraid to dare or spend
The doctrine of a narrower State
More easy to defend (ibid)

The children of New Zealand would have been in little doubt as to where their loyalty should lie.

In something of a departure from previous writers’ emphasis on glory, duty and loyalty, Fergusson stressed the importance of love and the desire to help others as being key qualities in the citizen of Empire. He said that “wanting to help and to be useful and to serve [were] exactly the spirit and feeling you should have for your country, and for the King, and for the Empire ... a longing

to serve them, to show your love by being of use to them” (132). Fergusson linked this message to the biblical injunction to show brotherly love for others. He urged his young readers to “give kindness and sympathy to those in distress, [give] a cheery word ... to those who are ‘down and out’ and ... bring ... sunshine ... into other people’s lives” (133). As we saw with the Royal Family, there had occurred a shift in emphasis as to the duties of the Imperial citizen. There was a greater sense of the need to provide comfort to the poorer members of the community. This tied into the idea espoused by the Royal family about the need to wage war on poverty—rather than waging war on the more traditional foes of Empire—for example by improving housing and working conditions.

The message promulgated by the *Journal* about the necessity for the children of New Zealand being team players and for serving country and Empire to the best of their ability remained constant. What changed was the emphasis on how best to serve. After the Great War and its aftermath, the idea that imperial citizens should seek a life of adventurous *daring do* to the point of laying down their lives had lost much of its attraction. Instead, *The School Journal* emphasised the material benefits of belonging to the British Empire and its altruism in helping those peoples less fortunate. It focused more on the leadership by example that the British brought to world affairs based upon a long history of progress.

Chapter Three: *The School Journal* and Representations of Maori

In her research into the frequency of reference to Maori in *The School Journal* compared to other material, Diana Beaglehole makes the point that the appearance of such references was more often than not proportional to the actual population although she does qualify that with the comment, “the correlation is ... probably coincidental” (Beaglehole 39). Even so, this suggests *The School Journal* referred to things Maori a significant number of times. In fact, it made references at an average frequency rate of 4.6% (where percentages are expressed in terms of number of pages) between the years of 1907 and 1939—albeit with quite wide fluctuations. In 1907 13.3% of total pages contained reference to Maori as opposed to nil references in 1922 (Beaglehole 38). These figures are based upon base years chosen at five yearly intervals and encompassed all three parts which is a larger sample than the focus of this study which is confined to part three *Journals*. Furthermore, “content was counted as Maori whenever Maori topics were mentioned, even in passing” (Beaglehole 38). What is not revealed are the specific contexts of the references to things Maori, although she notes that “Maori as a living part of New Zealand society, were ... not very often seen [and that Maori were seen] in terms of the past rather than the present or future” (39-40). This observation is echoed by Michael Reid in his study of school textbooks published during the period when he says that the “traditional Maori was considered an historical entity [and as such] had been progressively integrated into mainstream European culture” (Reid 156). This was a belief *The School Journal* “mirrored [to the extent of

reinforcing the] notion that the history of New Zealand *began* with the arrival of the Europeans” (157). This type of representation, whilst seeming to afford Maori a visible presence as part of the national scene, served to obscure their presence by wrapping them in a historical shroud. Such a discourse all but writes Maori out of existence in that it relegates to them the role of historical marker in the story of colonial settlement and development in New Zealand. *The School Journal* presented for its readers a historical narrative of lineal progress during which a benign Imperial presence *rescued* Maori from a state of savagery. Maori needed saving both from themselves and from the depredations of unscrupulous Europeans. The *Journal* often represented Maori as noble savages who conformed to civilised norms once they were *shown the light*. Any Maori who rejected the beneficent advances of the colonising power was represented as an unrepentant savage who was inevitably left behind in the march toward civilisation. Much of the material that related directly to Maori therefore situated them as historical. These included, for example, articles on early contact between European and Maori, articles that dealt with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, biographies of notable warriors such as Te Rauparaha, and stories that demonstrated the benefits to Maori of European settlement. The sum of these articles endorsed the romantic view of Maori as a noble savage living in a purer Romantic past—one that was close to nature and free from the corrupting influence of modern civilisation. The effect of these representations was to produce a reductive discourse that displaced Maori from the modern day present of the Dominion’s narrative. Such a discourse marginalised Maori by incorporating their story within a grand narrative of racial and imperial progress that confined their existence to the past.

Giselle Byrnes argues that “New Zealand has ... been thoroughly written over and written about ... from the perspective of ... a colonising narrative” (Byrnes). In this sense, the *Journal* offered: a foundational narrative that justified colonisation by Britain, a narrative pointing to the beneficial and successful assimilation of Maori under the imperial umbrella, an explanation of resistance from Maori as being the short-sighted or ignorant reaction of people faced with the inevitable force of Progress. The unbending independence of Maori such as Te Rauparaha was explained away as being the wilful act of unrepentant savagery. Thus, *The School Journal* presented history in such a way as to “legitimate (in an instrumental fashion) the present and the future” (90). The editors of the *Journal* presented race relations generally in terms of the “exaltation of the British” over other cultural groups. They related stories of significant cultural groups—including Maori—becoming “racially integrated and ‘civilised’ during great imperial conquests” (151). Such writing envisioned the imperial outpost of New Zealand as a beneficial model of successful integration and improvement for the Maori people. For the readers of the *Journal*, the message was that Maori surrendered their old ways once they were made aware of the superiority of the British culture, and that the very concept of *Maori* had passed into the pages of history. Most other references took the form of historical narratives of first contacts between European explorers and indigenous people or of famous warriors from the past (Te Rauparaha or Waka Nene) or of notable acts performed by individual Maori (Huria Matenga). Such material sought to gather the indigenous New Zealanders within the compass of the British *umbrella*. Thus, the *Journal* consigned Maori to the period of history prior to colonisation; in effect, after the European settlement of New Zealand,

Maori as a separate race ceased to exist within the perceptions fostered by the *Journal*.

Early Contacts: Presenting the Case for Intervention

The *Journal* described for its readers the history of early contacts between Maori and European as one of initial misunderstanding that led to some clashes between the two. However, once Maori recognised the benefits that the British brought, they welcomed their presence and willingly sought the protection and the advancement that attended the colonial settlement. Thus the *Journal* taught a history of race relations whereby, by mutual consent, the more advanced British race raised up the client race from a position of backwardness—a source of pride for the New Zealand children. In the June 1911 issue, an account of Captain James Cook's first contact with Maori at the Tauranganui River presented the locals as being unreasonable and violent—so much so that Cook's men were obliged to shoot and kill two of the locals and wound a number of others. The Europeans fired on the first man when he ignored warning shots fired over his head and continued to threaten a pinnace party with his spear. His three companions “stood quite motionless for a minute or two, seemingly quite surprised” (“Men of New Zealand: Captain Cook” 41). The next day Cook further attempted to communicate with the locals who treated him with hostility when they began “dancing, as we supposed, the war dance” (ibid). The offering of presents to the locals “did not satisfy them; they wanted everything we had about us, particularly our arms, and made several attempts to snatch them out of our hands”. Encouraged by the taking of a sword from one of Cook's men, the Maori became “more insolent” (“Men of New Zealand: Captain Cook” 42). Thus Cook's first impressions of New Zealand's indigenous people were relayed to the

young readers as a truthful and accurate summation of events—as indeed it was from Cook’s point of view. However, the editor did not attempt to present a first impression of Cook by the Maori, even if only imagined. The unmediated presentation of this account within the *Journal* reflects a colonizing narrative best served by representing Maori as unstable, light fingered and untrustworthy before the uptake of European (civilised) mores. The narrative of Cook’s voyage continues with the observation that whenever he met Maori he “showed them great kindness and consideration, and fired on them only in self-defence” (“Men of New Zealand: Captain Cook” 84). This positions Cook as a well-meaning but misunderstood paternalist who wanted the best for the local people. As a paragon of British virtues and as the *discoverer* of New Zealand, Cook was extolled as a model the Dominion’s children should seek to emulate. This representation of first contact with Maori also served to legitimate the very presence in New Zealand of those (British) readers of the *Journal* and to explain the dominance of European over indigenous cultures.

The *Journal* made a case for the British intervention in New Zealand as being motivated by the desire to protect the interests of Maori—both from themselves in their *savage* ways and from the depredations of unscrupulous Europeans. In an article entitled “The Treaty of Waitangi”, the February 1928 issue of *The School Journal* exhibited before the reader a legitimizing narrative that established the need for the British Government to take control of the colonizing process. The *Journal* presented this as the only means to protect honest traders and settlers from the spiralling outrages of “bad” European and “bad” Maori alike. The British Government gave the further reason for stepping in as the vulnerability of Maori before the sharp business practices of land agents who sought to purchase tracts of their land for the least cost possible.

Thus, the children of New Zealand could see that the colonizing of New Zealand brought benefits to all parties. The article begins with the reflection that although Cook took possession of New Zealand in 1769 on behalf of George III, the British Government of the day was not interested because “they had no visions of a great Empire such as we have today” (“The Treaty of Waitangi” 16). This neglect, according to the *Journal*, led to a state of lawlessness that benefited neither legitimate European traders nor Maori inhabitants. Early settlers were wild in behaviour and temperament and did what they liked because of the lack of law courts. The *Journal* attacks early whalers as being of no “credit to their race, nor ... a good influence on the Maori” (17). Thus, the *Journal* presented early neglect of the country by the British Government as a factor leading to lawlessness on the part of its own citizens and on the part of Maori. The latter were encouraged into excesses of wild behaviour by the example of discreditable Europeans who added a flood of muskets to an already volatile mix. The settlement sorely needed the firm hand of the British Government in bringing order and the rule of law to places catering to “the vices of the crews” of sailing and whaling ships (17).

Even so, there must have been some form of law because if “they gave great offense to the Maori [they] paid the penalty with their lives” (ibid). The *Journal* glossed over this evidence of local social organisation by implying such sanctions were arbitrary outbursts—there was little attempt to describe the sorts of things that gave offense or to suggest there might be a system of social constraints that operated as an alternative to that to which the Europeans were accustomed. The article related the fate of Marion du Fresne and his men who contravened the laws of tapu and were “killed and eaten” (“The Treaty of Waitangi” 19). The editor inserted an explanatory footnote, which suggested this

horrific punishment was simply the result of du Fresne being in the wrong place. The young *Journal* readers, having first been thrilled with such a dark tale of arbitrary and inexplicable behaviour on the part of people with a savage past, could assume that the subsequent imposition of an enlightened form of justice and social control prescribed by the British Government superseded such practices. The article ignores the precise nature of du Fresne's trespass—there was no attempt to present the Maori perspective—and implies that the incident simply provided a further rationale for establishing a formal British presence in order to protect both Maori and European. When the *Journal* mentioned the imposition of social sanctions by Maori upon Europeans, it was often in such a way as to trivialize their validity. When referring to the enforcing of deadly punishments for the breaking of tapu, the *Journal* notes that it was forbidden to trespass on some areas of ground because “it was a very serious offence in the eyes of the old Maori” (19). Put this way, the *Journal* reduces the seriousness or legitimacy of such practices because of its emphasis on tapu being a historical practice associated with old ways.

The *Journal*, however, did position Maori as beneficiaries of the British Government's decision to intervene in New Zealand. It posited the presence of New Zealand Company agents as a threat to long lasting peaceful relations between the races. This was because of the ignorance of Maori who “had no idea of the value of the land they were selling” which was being exchanged for “such items as: ... 300 red blankets, 200 muskets, 15 cwt. tobacco, 148 iron pots, 6 cases of soap” and so on (20). The *Journal* is here constructing a story of naive and impressionable Maori who had failed to recognise the value of the land they inhabited and were prepared to give it up for mere trinkets. The article invites the reader to laugh at the simple-mindedness of Maori who clearly did not

appreciate the true value of the land they were surrendering. That the British presented Maori with a treaty that would protect them from depredations such as those wrought by Wakefield's agents reinforced for the readers the idea that the acquisition of New Zealand was necessary on humane grounds. The implication was that altruism played a primary role as motivation for the colonising of New Zealand—something that the children could take pride in.

Significantly, the article ends with a description of how Maori argued fiercely over adopting the treaty before concluding that it would be in their best interests to sign. The deciding factor, as presented by the *Journal*, was an



Figure 7 Tamati Waka Nene

address by Tamati Waka Nene who declared that it was “impossible for the Maori to govern themselves without frequent wars and bloodshed” (21). He asked that Governor Hobson be a *father* to the Maori that they not be alienated from their lands and/or enslaved. The accompanying portrait of Nene (figure 7) represents a man of nobility and of commanding presence. His heavily tattooed face and chieftain's cloak reinforces a regal presence—an

impression enhanced by a pose which in European culture was traditionally associated with portraits of political or military leaders. The portrait (Figure 7) is composed in such a way as to imply the far-seeing wisdom of Nene in recognising that his is a race that *needs* instruction. Thus, the *Journal* presented a crowning justification for the British presence in New Zealand—and by implication that of the descendants of colonial settlers—which was that Maori invited the intervention of Britain in order to protect them and to “preserve our

customs, and never permit our lands to be taken from us” (“The Treaty of Waitangi” 21). In this manner, the *Journal* positioned the Pakeha readers as, not only legitimate possessors of the land, but also as guarantors of Maori culture.

Overcoming Resistance: A Narrative of Progress

The March issue of the 1909 *Journal* featured an article on the completion during the previous year of the Main Trunk Railway that connected Wellington and Auckland “in a continuous line 426 miles long” (McNamara 38). This was a hugely significant achievement both socially and economically. It was a key moment in the geographic unifying of the country. In the words of Michael King, “[it represented] part of the process of creating a single society—or, at least, a single Pakeha society” (232). Belich likewise suggests the reinforcing of an economic and political unity by a sharpened perception of the physical boundaries of the country—not simply of the *extent* of a national space but also of its limits—and that these were important factors in helping to foster a sense of belonging to a community. Such a perception constitutes what Graham Day and Andrew Thompson identify as

a more inclusive sense of identification, transcending earlier commitments to the smaller groupings associated with ‘tribalism’, where emphasis is laid upon shared genealogical descent, or other forms of localism, like attachment to particular geographical places or communities” (55).

The growth of the railways worked “to shrink New Zealand to a size in which countrywide communities of interest could be imagined” (Belich 19) and the dissemination of such an “imagining” was a key role of *The School Journal*. The

question here is to what extent were Maori imagined to be part of this community of interest?

As well as describing the ceremony held to mark the joining of the northern and southern branches of the track, the writer relates for his readers some of the challenges in dealing with Maori the builders had to overcome before the successful completion of the railway. Such tales were of interest because they were “little known stories of the past, and also serve to show the relations which, unfortunately, existed between the Maori owners of the lands through which the line was being made and the European settlers, who desired that it should be pushed forward as rapidly as possible” (McNamara 40).

The tale that unfolds is of the settlers’ push into the King Country and their attempts to win over the Kingites into accepting the incursion of modern civilisation.² It shows a shift on the part of Maori from an active and violent resistance against the expansion of the railways along the length of the North Island to an amicable acceptance of such incursions. By way of background the narrative begins with a recount of the battle at Orakau during which Rewi Maniopotu challenged the advance of British Imperial troops with the famous declaration that “We will fight on; for ever, and ever, and ever” (McNamara 40). There is no attempt to explain to the readers the reason for such a declaration of undying resistance. Instead, the actions of the indigenous force are represented as a motiveless explosion of violence for the sake of it—to be expected, perhaps, in a warrior race whose facility in battle was widely known and feared in the collective memory of the settler community.

²That theme also emerges in other articles regarding the spread of improvements brought about by imperial endeavours. See for example: “Canada Past and Present,” *The School Journal* Pt. 3.3.7. (1909); “The Growth of Our Indian Empire”, *The School Journal* Pt. 3.5 6 (1911); “Great Britain and Egypt” *The N. Z. School Journal* Pt. 3.22.5 (1928).

In noting the consequences of the battle for the local inhabitants, the writer points to the causes without actually placing his finger on the heart of the matter when he says “at the close of the war a large area of native land was taken from the Maoris, or ‘confiscated’ as it is called” (40). What the article omitted was the fact that conflict had arisen over the land in the first place—that it was about who owned the land and who had sovereignty over it. McNamara’s article hints at a second, albeit connected, cause for the conflict—again without any elaboration. He describes the ending of the war as leading to the establishing of a boundary between the confiscated area and another large area of land that was “known as the King-country, within which the natives resisted exploration and settlement for many years and into which it was dangerous for a white man to go” (McNamara 41). When McNamara refers to a vast area of land that white men could not enter freely, the suggestion was that Maori within this tract were obdurately holding up progress (as in *exploration and settlement*). What had disappeared from view was an understanding or at least acknowledgement that the resistance to encroachment into the King Country by Pakeha was a response to the steady loss of land by either purchase or confiscation.

When McNamara refers to his stories as being of little known incidents, he was focusing on the excitement and challenge of pushing the railway—vanguard of civilisation—up the trunk of the North Island; stories that belonged among other, more familiar, chapters of imperial deeds. Implicit behind such anecdotes a far greater drama was still unfolding in the year of the *Journal’s* publication. “Between 1910 and 1930 ... a total of about 3.5 million acres [was acquired including land that was] among the more precious acres that Maori had retained through the onslaughts of the previous 50 years” (Ward *An*

Unsettled History 158-59). That *The School Journal* should overlook this aspect of the Dominion's history would have made perfect sense from the point of view of a government organ that sought to present a seamless tale of contact, improvement and assimilation—this in a country that partly defined itself by means of its excellent race relations. By promoting a national narrative that all but excluded the perspective of the indigenous people, the *Journal* proffered “the nation and national identity [as] alibis for colonization, devices which legitimate[d] on-going colonizing processes and practices” (ibid). Thus, *The School Journal* presented a national narrative that reinforced for its readers the inexorable and inevitable advance of civilisation that brought all unexplored realms within its purview. Here was a tale of exploration, adventure and improvement to stir the imagination of the children of New Zealand. It also prevented the possibility of a contrary story involving resistance to the unwelcome encroachment of European settlement.

McNamara's article further demonstrates the way text was used as a colonizing tool in its portrayal of the way the King Country was eventually opened up. The description of the formal ceremony initiating the entry of the railway into the domain of King Tawhiao is worth quoting at length:

In 1885 the Maoris were won over to a more friendly attitude towards the proposed railway, and the work of carrying it into the King-country was begun. The turning of the first sod at the northern starting-point of the new work was made the occasion of a picturesque ceremony on the bank of the Puniu River on the 15th April, 1885. The then Premier of the colony, Sir Robert Stout, was present, together with a party of officials, settlers, and citizens from Auckland. The Maoris were represented by the famous chiefs Wahanui and Rewi Maniapoto, about fifty natives of rank, and

some hundred others. The spot selected for the ceremony was on the Maori side of the river, distant only four miles or so from the battlefield of Orakau, where, twenty-one years before, Rewi had distinguished himself at the head of his tribe. Now Rewi, wearing a black velvet coat and a tall hat, stood before the gathering as a friend of the European—his old hatred of the race exchanged for a feeling of brotherly companionship. There were, of course, many speeches. Sir Robert Stout gave some good advice to the Maoris, exhorting them to cultivate their lands, to educate their children, and to refrain from the use of strong drink. On behalf of the native race, Wahanui replied in a peaceful and dignified speech, approving the restrictions placed on the sale of liquor in the King-country, and with characteristic Maori eloquence urging that the clear water of the Puniu should be the boundary across which liquor should not be carried.

(McNamara 41-43)

The first thing to note is that Maori are presented as “unfriendly” and needing to be “won over” to a more friendly, presumably co-operative, state of mind before progress on the construction of the main trunk railway could continue. The reader learns that such earlier hostility stemmed from race



Figure 8 A Beneficiary of Civilisation

hatred on the part of Rewi Maniapoto but that he now harboured brotherly feelings toward Europeans. The attributing of prior hostility to race hatred on the part of Maori was surely transference of motive from colonist to his victim—whose land and way of life he was usurping. To claim that acceptance of a European presence in the King-country could be attributed to a change of heart—a loss of race hatred—was to reduce the struggle of the Maori people to the realm of irrational behaviour by warlike savages who, after losing the battle of Orakau, retreated inland as if in a sulk. After some years, they emerged to accept the benefits of a modern and modernising world—hence Rewi Maniapoto, a worthy and distinguished opponent whom the reader could admire, arrives with the *savagery* of his tattooed face and traditional garb ameliorated by European clothing as shown in the sketch (Figure 8) that accompanied the text. Thus, he became a perfect symbol for the success of assimilation as the avowed enemy won over. Significantly, the readers would note that these Maori were also engaging with economic progress by working on the railway “to the entire satisfaction of the authorities” (ibid).

The reductiveness of a narrative that suggests the taming of a wild country—and equally wild people— denies any sense of meaningful agency on the part of the indigenous people who are made to appear by the writer as passive—if picturesque— recipients of imperial largesse and tolerance. Whilst it seems inconceivable that the editor of *The School Journal* in 1909 would be unaware of the actual history of conflict and resistance in the King Country, that history was elided here because it did not fit easily into an improving narrative of nation and empire. In this way, the *Journal* wrote a narrative that posited a harmonious and homogenous people united in their desire to be the best of Britons.

McNamara's article provides further evidence—unconsciously—that the leaders of the Maniapoto were anything but passive when he describes the advice given to the Maori by Premier Stout. Stout cautions them about the perils of alcohol and advises them to improve (*cultivate*) their land and to school their children. Such advice was in keeping with a prevalent paternalistic view of indigenous people that, however well meaning, positioned them as childlike and in need of instruction as to what was best for them. When recording the “dignified” response of Huatere Wahanui, in “approving the restrictions placed on the sale of liquor in the King Country”(42), the editor obscured the role played by the Maniapoto chief in establishing those constraints—that one of the conditions attached to the opening up of King Country lands was “the sale of liquor was to be prohibited” (Ward *A Show of Justice: racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand* 287). That the client race should negotiate such terms clearly did not fit the accepted narrative of Britain's *improving* mission. Such a narrative assumed Maori needed lecturing on what was best for them and further implied that, without such guidance, they would sink into a state of dissipated self-gratification. Similarly, Stout's admonition to cultivate the land reflected the view that, instead of putting land to work, Maori allowed it to remain idle as *wasteland*. What he really meant of course was that Maori should conform to the English (capitalist) model of producing excess goods for sale into the growing market for sheep and dairy products in particular. That New Zealand's economic role within the empire as a producer of food was a familiar theme to the readers of *The School Journal*. The point here was that, following the successful development of refrigerated shipping, all land production could contribute to a *national* economy, providing added impetus to the shift toward a unified, pastoral community.

McNamara ends his article by relating another story of contact between European and Maori—this time a “disagreeable experience” involving the surveyor. C. W. Hursthouse (McNamara 43). Charged with exploring lands to the south and west of Te Awamutu, Hursthouse and his assistant were prevented by Maori from travelling beyond Otorohanga in spite of a letter of introduction provided by the Native Minister, Mr. Bryce. Instead of bowing to Hursthouse’s insistence that he be allowed to proceed, two men were assigned as escorts to forcibly return the surveyors to their starting point in Alexandra (modern day Pirongia). One of the escorts, Aporo, was identified as the leader of an earlier raid upon the printing press in Te Awamutu. When he had gained reassurances from Wahanui and Rewi Maniopotu that they would allow him unimpeded progress through the lands south of Otorohanga, Hursthouse set forth once again. Once again Aporo told him he could not progress beyond Otorohanga itself. McNamara quotes Aporo as saying, “You have the key to this room, but not to the next one” (McNamara 45). However, the persistence of Hursthouse’s efforts to obey the instructions of Minister Bryce by entering the lands from which he had been barred led to his eventual incarceration at the hands of local Maori. After forty hours or so of being bound in chains, he and his assistant were rescued by a “party of the Maniapoto tribe [and by] Te Kooti of evil reputation” (McNamara 46).

This experience of Hursthouse is presented as an example of the dangers facing Europeans when subject to the incomprehensible whims of Maori whose motivation is uncommented upon beyond the idea that one of their number, Aporo, was clearly something of a trouble maker. McNamara presented the young reader of this story with a vision of early New Zealand as having been a wild place where mysterious things happened before it was gradually brought

into the modern, civilised world. This was epitomised by the opening of the railway and by the taming of such “evil” epitomes of savagery as Te Kooti who appears here as the agent of progress rather than, as previously, its foe.

The article by McNamara on the completion of the main trunk railway against the opposition of local Maori suppresses the points of conflict between the colonial government and the indigenous people. The pupils were given an exciting tale of imperial progress involving advances against the wild and puzzling opposition of the natives—the only motive being suggested being one of race hatred. From the point of view of a state publication whose object is to inculcate a sense of pride in a nation that—in 1909—was still very much in its formative stage, the acknowledgement of competing claims for sovereign authority would have seemed counterproductive. The narrative presented was of the steady and inevitable march of civilisation into New Zealand and of the sense that belonging to the British Empire was the only natural outcome and that if the indigenous peoples could be educated into recognising that, all resistance would wither away.

Appropriating the Maori Warrior: Maori and the Imperial Tradition

The romance of Rewi Maniapoto’s stand at Orakau continued to attract comment from the editors of the *Journal*. The writers offered up the warrior to their readers as a *New Zealand* hero—a historical figure who exhibited qualities that Pakeha New Zealanders could claim and celebrate as one cast in the best British tradition. The *Journal*, sought to demonstrate that Maori were worthy beneficiaries of the British Empire. There is also the sense that the editors were attempting to isolate aspects or characteristics that they could claim as being unique to the Dominion—seeking to separate out a New Zealand identity from

that of the other Dominions. In the February and March 1939 issues, the *Journal* revisits the battle of Orakau, describing the battle as a “Maori Thermopylae” (Cowan 66). In this way, it prepared the children for a tale of romantic heroism in the best tradition of the British Empire. The writer presented the fact that the Maori were fighting in a hopeless cause against Imperial forces as an act worthy of the highest respect. Here was the archetypal narrative of Maori as a noble adversary fighting a rear-guard action in a vain attempt to prevent the progress represented by the forces of the British Empire. In telling the readers of the “deeds of courage and fortitude,” the editor was building on a tradition of Imperial adventure stories (92). He added, “Nowhere in history did the spirit of pure patriotism blaze up more brightly than in that earthwork redoubt, torn by shellfire and strewn with dead and dying. The grim band of heroes proudly refused ... [to] surrender” (ibid). The laudatory tone and familiar narrative of a glorious defeat and/or death harks back to Imperial stories as Coghill and Melville’s attempt to save the Queen’s colours, the disastrous retreat by an Imperial expeditionary force from Afghanistan, the suicidal charge against Baluchi tribesmen of the Sind, or any number of the tales peppering previous issues of the *Journal* about soldiers making the ultimate sacrifice for Empire on the various battle fields of the world. In doing so, the writer invited the New Zealand children to take pride in the deeds performed by Maori opponents of Empire. In this way the *Journal* appropriated the martial deeds of the Maori at Orakau as being in the best of British traditions—thus this foe was worthy of befriending and the Pakeha worthy inheritors of that fighting spirit. The article eulogizes all Maori when declaiming,

no human situation can be conceived more desperate or more hopeless—
their lands gone, their race melting away like snow before the sun, and

now their own turn come at last; with enemies surrounding them on all sides and nothing but certain death staring them in the face We make bold to say that in whatever tongue the colonization of the New Zealand islands by the Anglo-Saxons be written ... men will ask in after times was it good to destroy a race who could so defend their native land? (96)

On the eve of the Second World War, the producers of the *Journal* chose a *glorious* feat of arms—cast in the British tradition but performed by enemies of the Empire—to inspire pride and patriotic feelings in the children of New Zealand. The rhetorical question invited a sense of loss in the reader that the Maori race should be destroyed in the noble and natural act of defending home and family and way of life. The implied justification was that such demise was inevitable, however sad, and that when the old was absorbed by the new a better amalgam would emerge. The *Journal* could not claim the utter disappearance of Maori but it did present the notion that as a race they had been absorbed into the British—Anglo-Saxon—race. The message here was that the noble, self-sacrificing and courageous qualities of both races were now blended to the benefit of the British—it was now legitimate to claim ownership of the heroism shown at Orakau as those events belonged to a historical narrative all New Zealanders shared.

The *Journal* taught the idea that a single, unified people arose after initial discord during an early period of contact. Such discord was only partly the result of a few bad Europeans who sought to take advantage of the ignorance of Maori. Most of the conflict arose—according to the official narrative as presented in the *Journal*—from the initial failure of Maori to adapt to civilised norms. Once Maori adapted to the presence of British institutions and customs, resistance fell away and there occurred a melding of the races, which in practice

meant that Maori mostly disappeared in any meaningful sense from that narrative. What remained was a sort of iconography relating to Maori but symbolising the country as a whole. The celebrated courage, nobility and martial prowess of Maori reflected in the events at Orakau came to represent the qualities of New Zealand's fighting men generally—the language used to describe the feats of historical Maori being no different from that which described the feats of New Zealand's soldiers at, for example, Gallipoli. The sacrifices made in both instances were directly—and romantically—compared to similar exploits from the classical world.

The Conflicting Case of Te Rauparaha

The internal contradictions of the *Journal's* approach to colonial history are particularly apparent in a lengthy, 1925, narrative of the life of the Ngati Toa chief, Te Rauparaha. The article is of particular interest as its author appeared caught between admiring or reviling this warrior chief. The account opens with a brief description of Te Rauparaha's escape from his father's enemies and his subsequent unruly boyhood, which saw him “gathering around himself a band of wild reckless youths [with whom he] created so much mischief that eventually he was expelled from the tribe” (“Great Maori Chieftans: Te Rauparaha” 102). Over several issues the writer details the rise of Te Rauparaha to become the most feared warrior in New Zealand at the time. At times, the story takes on the hues of the familiar Imperial tale about a rascally, high-spirited boy who grows into a great leader of men and commander of the battlefield— a trajectory followed by such Imperial heroes as Clive of India, for example. In this familiar way, the writer presents Te Rauparaha as being a great man. His story of overcoming loss of family and rejection by his tribe to rise to the greatest of

heights is romantic. The narrative dwells on his genius for war and the reader is left in no doubt as to why he was worthy of admiration in that regard. In spite of that, the author ends the account by denigrating Te Rauparaha's character. This ambivalence toward him is indicative of a wider uncertainty as to the place within the Dominion's narrative of all Maori.

When the Ngati Toa accepted Te Rauparaha as their chief, the tribal domain encompassed the sort of idyllic setting associated with a romantic South Seas tale of a noble savage oblivious in paradise. It was:

a beautiful country. The harbour[']s glittering silvery waters at noonday were in great contrast to the sombre green bush and the rugged picturesque mountains surrounding it. Prominent among the peaks was ... Pirongia, whose jagged pinnacles were the first to catch the early morning rays of the rising sun, and at sunset they glowed with crimson and pinky hues long after the sun had disappeared below the horizon.

The climate was mild and soft, from the bush and the streams all the food necessary to support life was procured. ("Great Maori Chieftans: Te Rauparaha" 104)

The arrival of Europeans with guns disrupted this idyllic life and set Te Rauparaha on the path of conquest. What follows is the story of his rise, which at the same time is analogous to the Fall in that by learning the effective use of firearms Te Rauparaha—and by implication, all Maori—left forever a simpler, more innocent life. The editor sought to convey a sense of this loss by describing how the tribe departed from Kawhia “as the sun lit up the landscape and shone on each peak and valley and stream, so familiar and dear to their hearts, a mournful cry arose” (107).

This part of the narrative stresses the foresight and long-term strategy of Te Rauparaha in terms that invite the reader's admiration and yet—as if afraid of being overly laudatory—he sought to qualify his praise by simultaneously pointing out that “he was cruel, crafty, and unscrupulous in his warfare” (107). What follow are detailed accounts of Te Rauparaha's conquests in both the North and South Islands. Whilst his genius and courage in warfare are dwelt upon at length, the picture that also emerges is of a cruel and vengeful savage who was falling into dissolute ways, having discovered a taste for alcohol which “dulled some of his finer qualities and strengthened the baser” (“Great Maori Chieftains: Te Rauparaha” 308). From his Kapiti Island fortress, Te Rauparaha launched a campaign against the Ngai Tahu in order to avenge past insults and secure supplies of greenstone. The author imagines Te Rauparaha as feeling a “savage joy” at the prospect of having a captured chief of the Ngai Tahu “die a death of torture” (302).

It is against the background of this narrative of a noble man fallen into a state of unrepentant savagery—he had the opportunity to lead a peaceful life yet chose to pursue war—that the *Journal's* editor places the story of the conflict between Te Rauparaha and European settlers at Wairau. In keeping with this theme, the *Journal* imagines the settlers betrayed by a conniving chief who reneged on a land sale in the Wairau Valley. The *Journal's* version of events uncritically advances the view that the sale documents were legitimate and that they “were signed by Te Rauparaha himself [who] immediately afterwards disclaimed the sale” (308). The writer continues by suggesting that, in keeping with his earlier reputation as a mischief-maker, Te Rauparaha—and his ally, Rangihaeata—then sought to create trouble for the settlers by burning down the huts of surveyors sent to map out the valley into plots. On the strength of this

act, the settlers sent a force to arrest Te Rauparaha. They were defeated in the affray that ensued and

most of the British men were killed, six managed to make good their escape, while the others were taken prisoner and afterwards killed in cold blood. Fearing a swift and terrible revenge from the white settlers, the natives returned at once to their homes at Kapiti. But they had no need to fear. The new Governor of the colony, Fitzroy, a man quite unfitted for this high post, adopted a very weak attitude, and openly laid all the blame on his own countrymen, thereby encouraging the Maori chief to believe him a coward. (309)

There was no mention here of the death of Rongo, wife to Rangihaeata—nor to the concept of *utu* that precipitated the killing of the prisoners. Furthermore, the impression is given that the Maori had been fortunate in this battle as they outnumbered the settlers and could fire from behind cover and in this way, the editor sought to account for the utter defeat of the settlers at the hands of the Maori. He intimated things would have been different had it been a *fair fight*. The *Journal* echoes the complaints of the settlers at the time by accusing Governor Fitzroy of weakness in laying the blame squarely at the feet of the settlers. The implication was that when dealing with men such as Te Rauparaha you must be strong to show them who was in charge. The article did not attempt to consider the justness of Fitzroy's findings; instead it lambasted him for being weak and unfit for high office. The *Journal's* account of these events appeared to closely follow the line taken by the settlers of the time who opined in the *Nelson Examiner* that Te Rauparaha was "a wily savage—whose whole life has been ... a tissue of treachery and bloodshed" (249).

The *Journal* makes a clear distinction between the trajectory of Te Rauparaha's life and that of other Maori chiefs mentioned within its pages. The references to warriors such as Rewi Maniapoto or Te Kooti—also feared by the settlers—highlighted a misguided if noble past that was overcome when they recognised the errors of their ways and sought to take part in the benefits of British civilisation. They saw the light and they were rehabilitated by a historical narrative that charted the spread of civilisation throughout New Zealand accompanied by the conjoining of Maori and Pakeha. In contrast, the final judgement on Te Rauparaha's career was denigrating. The *Journal* repeated the settlers' slurs regarding Te Rauparaha's motives in professing friendship for pakeha and the desire to live peacefully alongside the Europeans as being the cowardly act of a wily native bowing before the strength shown by Governor Grey. Such hypocrisy garnered its own reward when "a letter ... seemed to show that his professions were false" ("Great Maori Chieftains: Te Rauparaha" 309). When Grey released him from imprisonment "after some months of captivity ... his glory had departed from him [and] shorn of his ancient power and glory, the old chief had little enjoyment in life during his last few years" (310). The *Journal* intimates that his followers deserted Te Rauparaha and that he had lost the respect of others because of "the unpardonable crime" of allowing Grey to imprison him (ibid). Given the stature of Te Rauparaha in the Dominion's story, it was important for the reader of the *Journal* to understand the difference—his was not a name history could easily ignore. The *Journal* consigned Te Rauparaha to a dark and savage past, describing his "power and glory" as "ancient things" (310). He defined his life by the enjoyment he gained from fighting and from leading his people in conquest. He was unrepentant. He

wilfully refused to accept the enlightenment brought to his world by the British. As a result, he died lonely and bereft.

In this context, Te Rauparaha became an object lesson for the readers about a paradisaal land marred by a savagery that had since departed under the ameliorating influence of British civilisation. The children learned of the cowardly slaughter of Nelson settlers at the hands of a treacherous, savage and untrustworthy Maori chief who could not keep an honest bargain. They also learned that he got his *just desserts* in the end. There was also a moral lesson about the nature of nobility. The *noble savage* might begin his life in a similar fashion and showing similar promise as a Clive of India or the humble beginnings of a James Cook, but without the strength and moral certitude of the British character—grounded in a superior culture—he was doomed to fall. *The School Journal* occludes any questioning of the settlers' presence in the Wairua Valley—or of the legitimacy of the settlers' claims there or examination of the judgement passed by Governor Fitzroy—by reducing the motivation of Te Rauparaha and his allies to that of base greed and wilful violence. The *Journal* obfuscated the challenge to the legitimacy of the British presence this event represented—a challenge that disrupted the orderly narrative of advancement applied to similar events elsewhere. The difference was that at Wairau the British were defeated and then a British-led investigation found the settlers culpable whilst vindicating Te Rauparaha's position as the aggrieved party. British defeat and importunate behaviour remained veiled from the Dominion's children behind references to the Governor's "very weak attitude" and the fact that he "openly laid the blame on his own countrymen" ("Great Maori Chieftains: Te Rauparaha" 309). The *Journal* maintained the integrity of an

improving narrative because it dismissed any apparent justice on Te Rauparaha's side as being the result of a cowardly Governor.

The *Journal* aimed to create within New Zealand's children a sense of their country as a safe, unified community. It promoted a belief in the mission of all members of the British race and Empire to enhance and improve the quality of life of all who fell under the Empire's sway. The story presented Britain's dominant presence in New Zealand at the expense of the indigenous people in terms of Maori recognising the superiority of the British culture and then willingly submitting to it. That there were misunderstandings and examples of resistance the *Journal* deemed the inevitable result of Progress overcoming ignorance and wilful savagery. A discrete Maori identity was absorbed into that of the British Dominion. When presenting specific articles on Maori, the *Journal* conveyed to the children the sense that in the past they were divided, violent and backward but that the British *raised them up* to take part in a peaceful, unified and modern community. The *Journal* imagined a past that was exotic, exciting and instructive and of which its readers could be proud to claim ownership.

Chapter Four: Representations of Contemporary Maori

The School Journal tended to hide from sight the presence of Maori people as a living and contemporary reality. Such a narrative told of the assimilation of Maori within the compass of the dominant—British—culture. Writers assumed that the history of New Zealand was but a chapter in the on-going tale of the advance of the British race. As with other Darwinian type accounts of earlier conquests—whether by might or guile—the subject people were deemed to have come to the recognition of the superiority of the British way of life and to then embrace the intruding culture. It was in the interest of the Dominion to promote this narrative of a single, unified people committed to a burgeoning economy based upon the export to Britain of meat and dairy products. James Belich has pointed out that between the 1880's and the 1920's there developed "the 'protein industry': the mass export of frozen meat and dairy products to Britain ... [which] transformed the NZ countryside [and] reduced regional differences" (Belich 30). The significance of this shift from a local to a national scale of production lay in the need for greater central control of the economy, an economy that was increasingly dependent upon British markets to sustain it. Land use that did not contribute to the economy as a whole was deemed wasteful. It was important that Maori were seen to be willing participants of this project as, on the one hand, they represented a displaced indigenous race and, on the other hand, the traditional land use of Maori diametrically opposed the capitalist model of use that the government sought to impose. As an official government organ, the *Journal* proved the perfect instrument for disseminating the idea that Maori willingly adopted this vision of New Zealand as being an

integral part of the British (Imperial) economic enterprise. The lesson presented to the children was that whilst there were seemingly some romantic elements to the pre-European life of Maori, it was mostly primitive and harsh. When the British arrived, the narrative runs, Maori were quick—some more than others—to see the advantages of a more advanced civilisation and willingly took advantage of it. When the *Journal* wrote of contemporary Maori enjoying the benefits of that civilisation, it did so from within the framework of their belonging to Britain as fully assimilated citizens of the Dominion.

As K. Jenkins and K. M. Matthews note, “the function of schools for Maori were to ‘assimilate as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the native to those of the European population’” (Jenkins and Matthews 86). Assimilation was a process whereby the subject race surrendered its cultural identity in the process of adopting the cultural values, language and mores of the dominant culture (87). One of the *Journal’s* functions was to reinforce this process by transforming, through its representations, a uniquely Maori identity into that of an *indigenous Briton*. Several articles set out to demonstrate how Maori had successfully integrated with the colonial culture and adopted western ways of dress and behaviour, for example. That the process had also been smooth and harmonious was presented as justification for the establishing of the colony in the first place. What some of these articles also reveal is the ambivalence the *Journal* writers sometimes showed when describing Maori who were their contemporaries. Whilst there was a sense of romance about the Maori past and a genuine admiration for the race, there were also occasions when the editors presented Maori as figures of fun or as objects of spectacle—thus complicating the official ideology of amalgamation by an underlying racism. Another interesting consequence of the colonial society’s assimilation of

Maori was the transference of certain identifying motifs and cultural markers. As New Zealand sought to differentiate itself from the other British Dominions, it adopted and adapted an iconography from Maori—a deepening of the colonial appropriation beyond the physical spheres into the more abstract one of cultural identity. Thus, the *Journal* promoted pride in some things Maori—in particular, motifs from a Maori past—as being representative of who New Zealanders were.

Better Than Before: The Improving Role of Assimilation

The article “The Stoneage Maori”, which appeared in the March 1935 issue, made clear that the European presence proved of greater benefit than the simple preservation of old ways. This article challenged the idea that Maori lived a better life—an idyllic life close to nature— than that enjoyed since the arrival of the British settlers. The writer granted the fact that “savage races live closer to nature than we do [and that] they must study [seasonal rhythms] and fit in with the nature of which they are a part, or die” (“The Stoneage Maori” 58). However, such a life simply left Maoris at the mercy of nature whereas “civilised man better understands the lessons of nature” (ibid). The writer then goes on to describe the painstaking labour that went into the making of vessels and the building of houses and the cultivation of land without the benefit of superior tools made of iron and steel brought by the settlers. “The Maori method was simple and slow ... they had not thought of a revolving grindstone ... and their digging and gardening tools ... [were] laughably crude” (59). Even so, the author cannot avoid admiring the efforts and accomplishments of these ancient Maori. The descriptions of how Maori went about shaping stone or wood were detailed and presented in a neutral, observational style and there is no disguising the impressive nature of their accomplishing so much however crude

the tools. Months of labour produced things “for a man to be proud of” (62). The building of a house with “a ridge pole sixty feet long called for a great deal of patience and hard work ... but the Maori was seldom pleased unless still more work had been put in ... by carving the barge boards and end posts”(63). The lesson for the children is that the arrival of the European improved the lot of the Maori by bringing an understanding of the “secrets of nature that have made possible this present age of steel and machinery” (63). Even so, the writer tempers that message by conveying his appreciation and admiration for the expert way that the *savages* utilised nature to their advantage—however primitive seeming. This ambivalence regarding the place of Maori in the Dominion’s narrative emerges regularly throughout the *Journal*.

From early in the history of the *Journal*’s publication, there appeared to be a tension or uncertainty as to how best to represent the place and the role of Maori. The editors often deemed Maori as worthy recipients of British generosity who contributed to the romance of New Zealand’s history. At other times, they presented Maori as objects of ridicule or as fascinating *aliens*. The May 1909 issue held up New Zealand’s race relations for approbation in an article that compared the way the Dominion treated Maori to the way the American Negro was treated. While “thoughtful Americans” wondered what to do with the Negro, the Dominion’s children were informed that they were “accustomed to see Maoris sitting at table with Europeans, talking to them in the street, and competing with them on equal terms in sports and occupations” (“The United States of Today” 116). This evidence of an enlightened policy on matters of race was a cause for pride in the hearts of the children and provided further evidence of the benefits brought to New Zealand by the British. Underscoring this view was the observation that “the good Maori stands as high

as the good pakeha, and the bad pakeha sinks as low as the bad Maori” (ibid). Reinforced also is the idea of a racial superiority that allowed for the improvement of the Maori whilst the pakeha could only be brought down to the level of Maori.

The recall of historical incident was often used to justify the policy of amalgamation. The April 1909 issue recounted the benefit of being a *good* Maori in the story of Otaki’s Loyal Flag. In 1863, the local Maori in the mission settlement of Otaki came under threat from a party of Kingite warriors who sought to raise there the flag of the Maori King. Not wishing to contravene a Colonial Government proclamation that failure to prevent entry of Kingites into their lands would constitute an act of rebellion—and yet lacking the strength to prevent such an incursion—the locals were in a quandary. To solve the problem they turned to Mrs Hadfield, the Archdeacon’s wife, for help. Showing considerable resourcefulness, she devised a plan whereby they would hoist the Union Jack in response to raising of the flag of the Kingite party. Thus, no one could accuse the local community of rebelling against the Colonial Government and nor could the Kingite party claim unnecessary provocation in being confronted with the symbols of British sovereignty already flying when they arrived. In the event, the war party departed after two days leaving the locals unharmed (Hadfield 93-95). For the reader of the *Journal* the lesson was clear. The flying of the Union Jack was sufficient to protect the *good* Maori from the *bad* Māori and was thus a potent symbol of the benefits brought to them. The implication was that without such protection things would have been bad for the locals—leading to their death or slavery. That the locals were part of a mission settlement highlighted the extent of the advantages wrought by their raising themselves up to partake at the European’s—metaphorical—table. The article

demonstrates the positive power of assimilation at work here. By allying themselves with the British Empire and by accepting the *light* of the Christian faith represented by the presence of the mission, the local people were seen to embrace civilisation and its benefits—unlike the members of the war party.

The story of Tuhawaiki, told at the very end of the period under study, reinforced such desirable attributes in the assimilated Maori and yet in the process managed to make of him a figure of fun. Before he died in 1844, this South Island chieftain seemed to have embraced many European habits and mores. He would greet European visitors by pulling out a silver watch out and asking in the best English manner, “What time do you make it?” (“Tuhawaiki of Ruapuke” 251). He mimicked the European fashion of having a ceremonial guard—complete with British military dress uniform—attend important occasions. He signed the Treaty of Waitangi with alacrity. Settlers at the time respected him as one of few Maoris to defeat the feared Te Rauparaha. He was “open, simple-hearted, and his word could be trusted” (250). He was an ideal example of a *good* Maori enjoying the benefits of belonging to the British Empire. Yet the article adopts a light-hearted tone suggestive of a gentle mocking—this recount brings to mind the familiar trope of half-civilised savages aping the Europeans in their habits of speech and western attire. The children were surely amused by the picture of Tuhawaiki greeting Hobson’s envoy “proudly dressed in a cocked hat, scarlet coat and gold laced trousers” (252). There was a farcical element behind the idea of Tuhawaiki leading his “white visitors to his weather board cottage [to meet his son of whom] he was most proud for, as he pointed out with the air of a showman, the lad had six toes” (ibid). Even by 1941, the editors of the *Journal* seemed unsure of exactly how to represent Maori. Were their leaders wise and far-seeing men who recognised

the benefits of accepting British tutelage or were they comical figures who cut amusing capers in their cultural misappropriations?

Maori as entertaining spectacle was the object of the 1915 issue of *The School Journal* that published a tale taken from the memoirs of Colonel T.W. Gudgeon, *Defenders of New Zealand*. Intended to be humorous, it told of how an Irish deserter from the British Imperial Army in New Zealand outwitted two Maori men sent to capture him. This yarn is revealing of the stereotypes employed by the writer when referring to both the Irish character and to the Maori characters. The army valued the missing soldier for his usefulness as a servant rather than for his martial prowess and “his loss was more than his master could bear with equanimity”, especially as Pat “was a first rate groom” (Gudgeon 247). Pat—who the author also refers to as a “son of Erin” and as “Paddy”—proves a slippery character largely because of the *gift of the gab* which enables him to “chatter merrily on” when confronted by his pursuers. In keeping with the prevalent stereotype of the day, Pat’s countrymen are described as not having the “ballast”—mental stability—of other people. Even so, Pat exhibits an inborn cunning—“mother wit”—in getting out of a dangerous situation (248). Gudgeon describes the two Maori as “brawny” and yet not as clever as Pat who manages to evade the “many traps” they set for him. Furthermore, he makes them seem mercenary in accepting the reward of twenty pounds in order to “capture Pat, handcuff him and deliver him bound like Samson” (247). The author imagines the bounty hunters *enticing* Pat to their village where superior numbers could set upon him—a betrayal of hospitality reminiscent of Delilah’s duplicity in overcoming Samson. The means by which Pat confounds his trackers supplies the intended humour. Reinforcing a common stereotype of Maori as gluttons, Pat prepares a feast of fried pork and

boiled potatoes for his nominal captors—one they are too greedy and too stupid to resist. “The Maoris ... felt that their man was safe and their prisoner, and that it was fit and right that he should prepare a good dinner for them” (248).

When cooked,

Pat fetched the hissing frying-pan full of chops swimming in fat [and tipped the lot] over the head of the more powerful of the two. [Pat then] brought the frying pan with ... all his might on the head of the other and with such force ... that the fellow’s head came through the bottom ... which rested like a collar on his shoulders. (248)

As the Maoris roll on the ground in agony, Pat departs ruing the fact the “dirty varmints” made him waste good food.

The *Journal* here presented neither the Irishman nor the Maori in a positive light and the tale clearly intended to raise a laugh at the expense of both parties. The editor obviously anticipated his audience being comfortable with the notion that Maori and the Irish were fitting objects of ridicule. There were in fact very few such overtly racist tales in the *Journal* but the fact that the editor published this particular story confirms the impression of ambivalence as to how the *Journal* should represent Maori. Should it be as a dying race consigned to the pages of history or as a living spectacle put on display for visiting dignitaries? The editors of the *Journal* seemed unable to decide just how to represent Maori. At times they were presented as fully assimilated citizens of Empire indistinguishable from all other New Zealanders and at other times as the objects of laughter and the disdain reserved by a superior race for their inferiors. At the heart of the issue was the question as to whether readers of *The School Journal* should regard Maori as being *one of them—brown Britons* in whom the general populace might take a proprietary pride. Alternatively, they

were invited to look on Maori as an *alien*—and therefore easily dismissed—presence.

Humorous or not, the above articles point to the successful assimilation of the Maori race as British citizens—even if marred on occasion by recalcitrant Maori who clearly did not recognise what was best for them—which suited the ideology implicit in the narrative of a single and united nation. Thus, the June 1911 issue urged children to take pride in the heroic deeds of the British Empire and to be “proud of belonging to the race that produced the men and women that produced them” (“How Boys and Girls of New Zealand Can Help the Empire” 154). After mentioning various deeds of heroic self-sacrifice by British men and women involved in maritime disasters, the *Journal* includes in this aggregation “our equally courageous Maori heroine, Julia Martin” who swam to the rescue of the crew of *The Delaware* wrecked off a Nelson beach in 1863 (155).

Contemporary Representations and Appropriations of Maori

The reference to the brave Maori maiden pairs Julia Martin with Grace Darling who was a celebrated rescuer of victims from the shipwreck *Forfarshire* off the coast of Northumberland. In “Embodying the Colonial Encounter,” Katie Pickles and Angela Wanhalla argue that Martin’s—Matenga’s—act is defined by and constructed within a broader narrative of colonisation. Thus, “within an imperial frame of reference, and part of the imposition of cultural imperialism, the story of Huria Matenga was constructed in relation to the story of Grace Darling”(366). The *Journal* presents the actions of Julia Martin, and similar actions by other Maori, as explicable in terms of their having assimilated the values and behavioural norms of the British settlers. By placing Martin’s action

on a par with those of a long line of British heroes and heroines, *The School Journal* reinforced a common notion of Maori as having an inherent nobility which was enhanced by the example of the *senior* race; the value of Matenga's courageous act was contextualised by means of the preceding actions of England's Grace Darling. By identifying Matenga's act as being similar in courage and type to the Briton's act, the writer implies the differences between the two are small, which in turn suggests that the process of assimilation was unproblematic.

The appropriation of heroic or humane motives from within a Maori context and their reordering within a colonising text is evident in accounts of heroes awarded medals and certificates for their bravery. A second article from the same 1911 *Journal* recounted acts of bravery performed by children of the Dominion that won for them



Figure 9 Mamae Rangitahua and Ita Pokiha flanking Rikiranga Osborn

recognition via the Humane Society of New Zealand. Amongst the several tales of rescue was the account of two Maori girls who saved a young relative from drowning in the Wanganui River. This suggested that in a roll call of brave New Zealand children the Maori were included as a matter of course as being members of a fully assimilated and united people. As it did with Huria Matenga, the *Journal* positions its readers to identify with these young heroes as exhibiting qualities worthy of citizens of the British Empire; it also implies that they absorbed such qualities because of the colonisation of New Zealand. The

accompanying photograph in the *Journal* shows the two girls displaying their awards placed on either side of the fortunate survivor. The formal composition and western dress represent an Edwardian respectability that further enhances for the reader the image of Maori as fully assimilated into New Zealand society.

The June 1910 volume of *The School Journal* included an account of the Duke of Cornwall and York's 1901 visit to the colonies of Australia and New Zealand during which the writer noted that he was afforded an "impressive" welcome in Rotorua by his father's—King Edward VII—Maori subjects ("The Life of Edward VII" 146). He "saw the Maori ... on his own ground ... [and] at his best ... behav[ing] impressively, with enthusiasm, and with ceremony" ("The Life of Edward VII" 147). The Duke went on to see the Maori

in his *pas*, among his *puias*, and ... in the graceful *pois* of his women kind and the fierce war dances of his men. ... On this last day of his visit he saw the Maori as he had never seen in all his history. In numbers, in unity of racial brotherhood, in unanimity of loyalty to the Empire and the Royal house, in generosity of heart and enthusiasm of emotion, this demonstration surpassed everything in the annals of the race. (ibid)

Given the general silence in *The School Journal* about contemporary Maori, as distinct from the catchall phrase of *New Zealander*, this appearance offered readers a rare view of the displaced race in a setting coexistent with their own. Even so, it remains but a glimpse and one that highlights further the general invisibility of Maori in any role other than a historical one. The *Journal* offered few clues as to how Maori lived within the general society of the Dominion and the information it did offer served to reinforce a process of colonisation that began with the first contact. That is, the article implied that Maori had never before been as *united racially* or had been as *generous of heart* in all of their

previous history but rather that they had been a fractured, ungenerous people. “The implication here [was] that harmony would have existed were it not for the 'violent' nature of the Maoris. ... Aggression was considered intrinsic to the Maori nature” (Reid 162). This changed when Maori offered loyalty to the higher authority embodied in the British Royal House. The article thus offered further evidence of the providential nature of British colonisation, which in turn validated an imperial enterprise that spread reason and the rule of law to all the peoples within its purview.

As the only perspective the *Journal* offered was that of the coloniser, the article invited readers to share the assumptions of the writer who presumed that it was natural for Maori to be loyal to King and Empire. Interpreting events from a Eurocentric perspective also perpetuated a number of stereotypes regarding the Maori people. The *Journal* presented a constructed image of what Maori should be. Rotorua has a long history as a tourist destination with bubbling mud and traditional concert parties being among the attractions. When Prince George saw the Maori “at his best,” he saw him in his forts and villages, or—picturesquely—amongst his puias and he saw him dancing and singing (“The Life of Edward VII” 147). Such a scene was in tune with the idea that the Maori race was dying out and that displays such as the one described above were the product of a people and way of life whose time had passed and the performers were sort of breathing museum pieces. Peter Gibbons refers to this construction as a colonising process when he notes that “colonists produced (or invented) the Maori, making them picturesque, quaint, largely ahistorical, and, through printed materials, manageable” (Gibbons 13). Thus, it would have seemed natural to the readers of the *Journal* to learn of Maori emerging to welcome the heir to the British throne with a show that exhibited all the

expected behaviours of a race that had come to be categorised by their songs, war dances and singular dwelling spaces.

The year 1920 saw a repeat of the spectacle of massed Maori performers at Rotorua on another visit by the reigning king's son. This later article gave far



Figure 10 Prince Edward decorating a Maori soldier

greater space and attention to the details of the event over an eight-page article than the handful of paragraphs afforded the earlier visit. The *Journal* was, tacitly, acknowledging the existence of a distinct Maori presence—a presence that had not disappeared into the pages of the past. Even

so, the writer of “The Prince at Rotorua” was ambivalent in his portrayal of Maori. Was the ceremony of welcome something the children of New Zealand should take pride in sharing—owning as theirs—or was this better seen as an alien spectacle performed by a once savage race? What did he expect the readers to make of the inclusion of a photograph showing—without comment—the Prince presenting a uniformed Maori with an award? (Andersen 201). Although many Maori participated willingly and with distinction in the Great War as part of the New Zealand Dominion’s military contingent, this image does not seem to fit in with the general tenor of the article.

Opening with a description of the size of the temporary encampment that was to accommodate the many Maori visitors on the race course grounds at Rotorua, the writer went on to emphasise that “[a]lmost every one of the many different tribes scattered through the Islands of New Zealand sent representatives to this great gathering” (194). There is a description of the powhiri welcoming the increasing number of visitors coming onto the

temporary marae. The recording of days of preparation lasting well into each night conveyed the sense of the importance of the occasion—preparations that culminated in mass haka and poi performances in honour of the royal heir. The welcome offered up and the deference paid to the prince by the people of “rank” at this gathering confirmed for the reader the loyalty felt by Maori as subjects of the British Crown. It also pointed to a culture and a people that were far from dead. That Maori should demonstrate heartfelt loyalty to the British Monarchy and Empire was certainly in keeping with a leading message of *The School Journal*. The way in which they demonstrated their fealty, however, was so obviously different from that of the dominant culture as to elicit exclamations of wonder at the spectacle.

There were sounds of singing, and cries of welcome; but what strange singing! and what wild cries! ... One would suppose the demonstration to be one of anger and enmity rather than of friendship and welcome, so seemingly fierce were the dances ... so piercing the cries ... and every welcome ended with the weird, mournful tangi, where the memory of those called away to the spirit world was recalled and their absence lamented. (195)

This description suggests an exotic display of barely contained savagery with its elements of barely constrained violence behind the “wild cries” and “fierce dances” accompanied by “piercing” shouts. The writer explicitly identifies the singing as “strange” or “weird”. In other words, the *Journal* presented readers with an image of New Zealanders who did not obey the norm in expected behaviour and therefore who remained outside the mainstream of society as a living, breathing site of wonder.

In the photograph of the paramount chief of the Arawa, Mita (presumably Taupopoki) appears clad in traditional, chiefly costume brandishing a taiaha. There is no comment within the body of the text regarding



Figure 11 The Prince and Dr. Pomare

his presence or his function, leaving the reader to assume he is simply one of the *wild* warriors on display. Two further photographs are included without comment. Figure 11 shows the Prince sitting beside Dr Pomare on the porch (mahau) of an unnamed meeting house (possibly Ohinemutu). There is no reference to the photograph, its context or to the presence of Doctor Maui Pomare. However, it does offer graphic evidence of the success of the civilising mission with a member of the British royal family seated beside a westernised Maori and surrounded by the iconic meetinghouse from a (presumably) previous age. The last photograph in the article shows a Maori soldier being awarded a medal (figure 7)—most likely for service during the First World War but such an assumption must remain, for the reader, a guess.

The writer of the article does not seem sure of just how to represent the Maori of the 1920s. Having dwelt upon their fierceness, Andersen sought to bring New Zealand’s indigenous people *back into the fold* as it were by resorting to the romantic image of *the noble savage* existing in a state similar to that of Britain’s medieval past with its knightly pageants and winsome maidens. The festive occasion in honour of the Crown Prince is presented as a historical representation—“the gathering for a pageant”(199)—which demonstrated the way people of these islands were before the arrival of the European settlers. This suggestion casts historical Maori in a similar mould to the English in the days of

the celebrated Black Prince. The implicit narrative here is a Romantic one of beautiful maidens and chivalric deeds—a searching for a racial commonality that would account for a natural assimilation of the two.

The scene was beautiful [as] the Prince arrived amid thousands of cries of welcome and the waving of a thousand greetings. From a covered grandstand he looked out on the array of dusky Maori people, gathered before and among the hundreds of white tents, behind which in the distance rose blue hills, their outline broken with clumps of gum-trees. Towards the right lay the gleaming sheet of Lake Rotorua, with higher hills beyond (199).

This description brings to mind any number of paintings, for example, that depict non-white people cast in exotic, delightfully picturesque settings. The white background of the tents brings into sharp relief the exoticism of these “dusky” natives in the foreground. The whole scene overlooked the “blue hills” in the distance—surely a staple image from the romantic canon. Beneath the purview of the prince

stood a group of men, light-brown-skinned, muscular, fine types of men, and good to have as friends. From their ranks rose long spears, each spear ornamented towards its point with fluttering strips of flax. There another group held their ... spears couched as though ready for a charge (199).

In keeping with the theme of historical romance the above description explicitly linked these scenes to chivalric displays of medieval Britain complete with the description comparing the Prince’s walk amongst the crowd of people to the Black Prince of historical fame disappearing into the press of battle in order to “win his spurs of knighthood” (202). This image suggests a fierce, warrior

people *harnessed* to the equally martial British race—a noble and worthy subordinate race.

It is interesting to note the strong similarity between this *Journal* article and an account of the earlier royal visit that appeared in *Royalty in New Zealand, 1901* by Loughnan and Ngata, published in 1902, a similarity strong enough to suggest this was the *Journal* writer's source for describing the powhiri. What *The School Journal* left out from its version was the sense that Maori were consciously stepping forward to embrace a "new era" by adopting modern modes of governance and hygiene and that by means such as these "lay the future hope of the race" (Loughnan and Ngata 18 - 19). When organising the event the Maori "regulated the building and water supply ... made the rules for its government, ... supplied [and enforced] sanitary regulations ... All the authorities were of his own choosing and all the experts of his own race" ("Royal Tour: Special Number"). For Dr Maui Pomare, this event must have strongly substantiated his view—and that espoused by the Young Maori Party—that "the most promising future for Maori lay in progressive adoption of Western practices, institutions and technology" (King 332). Anderson's article simply presents the scene with little sense of the agency involved in establishing the camp that accommodated 5000 Maori. This evidence of a resurgent Maori people actively engaged in the modern world remained hidden from the readers of *The School Journal*. It better suited the editor to represent Maori as being figures from the Dominion's past. The *Journal's* standard view of Maori being fully assimilated into British society as a client race was challenged by the notion that a political party of and for Maori might manage their own affairs. Furthermore, one of Ngata's avowed goals was to effect a lasting "flowering in aspects of Maori culture" (King 332), health and well-being by "adopting western

practices, institutions and technology”(339). That was the context to the events described in the book *Royalty in New Zealand, 1901*. It displayed what Maori could achieve independently of direct Pakeha supervision and as such did not sit easily with the view that assimilation was blurring the distinction between the races—indeed, was then rendering obsolete the identity of Maori as a race independent of their assumed British identity. Hence, the edited version that appeared in the *Journal* article placed Maori as a form of historical spectacle on centre stage.

The selection of material by the editor of *The School Journal* reflected an inconsistent view on how best to represent Maori. Ideally, a unitary narrative would report the smooth assimilation of subject peoples within the confines of the dominant culture. Such a narrative would comfortably consign the early Maori to the annals of the past whilst the identity of contemporary Maori would sink into that of the dominant British identity. The articles relating to the Royal visits present just such an image of successful assimilation with the presence of contemporary Maori veiled by the popular representations of historical Maori. However, there is also a sense that, for the royal party, a genuine New Zealand *experience* must include representations of historical Maori. There appears to have been a process at work whereby the writers increasingly presented the cultural traditions of the subject race as definitive of the Dominion’s people as a whole.

Indigenous Appropriations as National Identifiers

From 1918, the *Journal* began decorating its front pages with graphic lessons depicting key themes or messages regarding the identity of its readers. Initially, the editors created imagery that fostered loyalty to the Empire. Over time, they developed an iconography that encouraged the children to recognise and to value the Dominion's unique qualities. A key part of that iconography involved borrowing and/or adapting Maori motifs as markers to differentiate New Zealand from the other Dominions. This development is suggestive of the desire to foster a sense of New Zealand's identity—expressed in terms of a distinctive history—being separate from that of Britain.

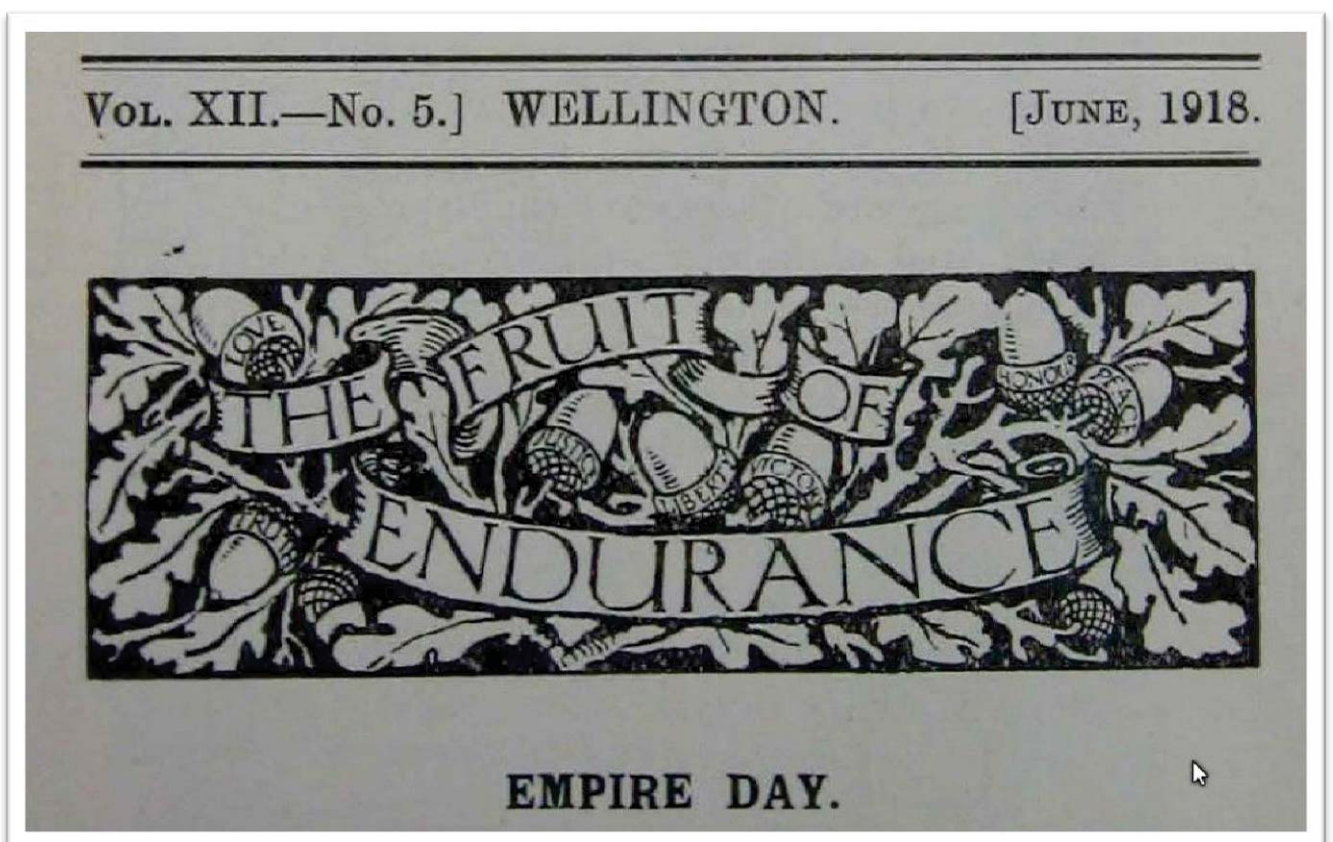


Figure 12 Empire Day 1918

The masthead to *The School Journal* of 1918 (figure 12) incorporated into its design acorn motifs with attendant notions of a wall of English oak—as a metaphor for the wooden ships of the British navy of yore—protecting the Empire. It depicted a series of acorns nestled amongst the leaves of the tree and each acorn was labelled with a quality or virtue that—the advocates of Empire taught—were most valued in its citizens. These were Love, Truth, Justice, Liberty, Victory, Honour, and Peace. A banner interwove these, proclaiming that the acorns were “The Fruit of Endurance”. Thus, the *Journal* likened the British Empire to the oak tree because of its strength and its longevity. The acorns symbolised both the casting of seeds far from the centre and the small beginnings of big things—planting the seeds of Empire in young minds. The readers would be familiar with the sentiments characterised by these images as they remained true to the message of Imperial rectitude consistently taught since the inception of the *Journal*.

Two years later the imagery reflected a shift in emphasis that involved both a more complex notion of learning and a more nationalistic context (Figure



Figure 13 Empire Day 1920

13). The image is dominated by the depiction of an inscribed monument extolling the virtues of work and education. The text recalls the familiar leitmotif of work being the duty of all—from God through the Royal Family to the most humble citizen of Empire. One departure from previous expressions of Imperial duty is the centrepiece that includes a pile of works of literature atop which a lighted lamp perched. The injunction of the caption “Light, More Light!” suggests a broader range of imaginative possibilities than typically presented in the heavily didactic articles and homilies that made up much of the *Journal’s* fare to that date. More significantly the memorial is depicted as wreathed by karaka leaves and berries—the so-called New Zealand laurel tree. This was significant because it was an early attempt to display a unique feature of New Zealand rather than simply transpose iconography from Britain. That the artist chose to place a laurel wreath around a stone monument so soon after the end of the Great War is suggestive of national pride as well as sorrow over New Zealand’s contribution and loss. By 1930, such tentative expressions of a peculiarly New Zealand iconography had blossomed into a full-blooded celebration. The flora (figure 14) had retreated to the background to dot a pastoral scene complete with a Maori meetinghouse nestled before the foothills of a snowy mountain range from behind which the sun is about to burst forth. The land is empty of people apart from those implied in the presence of the meetinghouse—suggestive of plenty of space available for colonial settlement. In the foreground, framing this deceptively bucolic scene, are two representations of carved Maori panels between which the title banner stretched. The artist placed beneath this image a ribbon etched in a taaniko style taken from common patterns that formed borders on Maori clothing or mats. The overall effect was of an invitation for the reader to enter a world of natural beauty in a

country defined by its unique history—a Maori history. These three examples represent a neat summary of the search for an iconography that proclaimed a unique identity for the Dominion—whilst the physical landscape loomed in the background, significantly the depiction of New Zealand brought Maori motifs to the fore. The race itself may have gone but all New Zealanders now claimed their artefacts as part of their historical inheritance.

The utility of such iconography was made clear in an earlier article about the issuing of a New Zealand coinage. The writer, Allan Sutherland, noted that these first New Zealand coins depicted images from its unique fauna: the kiwi and the huia. They also depicted images of early —therefore historical—Maori. The shilling showed “a well modelled figure of a young Maori warrior ... grasping a taiaha [whilst the threepence bore] two carved patu crossed” (Sutherland 197 - 198). Sutherland ends his piece by noting that:

attractive designs for coins ... are ... far reaching advertisements for the country they represent [and that] we have chosen for our new coins, not



Figure 14 Frontispiece 1930

emblems of our material prosperity, but attractive and distinctive features in the possession of which New Zealand is unique. (199)

Already, and increasingly, Pakeha New Zealanders were seeking to define themselves in terms of a romanticised past involving a noble warrior race, the qualities of which had been absorbed by the descendants of their conquerors. Whilst there is little in the textual material that points to a rise in a nationalist as opposed to an Imperialist patriotism, the search for an iconography different from a purely British one indicates a shift in that direction.

Conclusion

The New Zealand *School Journal* began with the avowed task of providing relevant materials for the teaching of all primary school children in the country. As well as providing a basic grounding in writing, mathematics and science, George Hogben sought to instil in the country's children a patriotic love of their country and their race. The writers of the *Journal* assumed their readers were British—specifically, Anglo-Saxon—and many articles sought to account for the dominance of that race. The country was New Zealand but the terms in which it was presented was always as an extension of Britain and her Empire. There were expressions of pride in the behaviour of New Zealand men and women under a number of trying circumstances—shipwrecks and wars figuring prominently but on the sporting or academic fields. Always, however, the desirable qualities shown were praised as being those expected of *British* citizens. World War I is often noted as an important time in the shaping of a distinctly New Zealand identity and there was some evidence of this in the *Journal*. The significance of the ANZAC spirit, however, was largely subsumed within the larger narrative of the Empire at war. The Britons from New Zealand performed their duty as expected. The post-war writings in the *Journal* support the theory of re-colonisation proposed by James Belich. Efforts were made to reshape presentations of Britain and Empire away from the more bellicose and boastful narratives of pre-1914 into an image of an organisation led by wise leaders—especially the Royal family—working hard to ensure the peace and prosperity of everyone within its purview. The presence of Maori in the New Zealand branch of Empire was by complicated this vision of an essentially altruistic enterprise. On the one hand, the writers sought to relate a narrative of the smooth integration of the indigenous race into the fold of the senior *race*—

thus rendering them invisible except as seen through a backward looking lens. On the other hand, on the few occasions when the children were urged to identify unique identifiers to set them apart from the other Dominions, it was often toward Maori motifs and qualities that they looked. Primarily then, whilst the *Journal* did seek to boost the pride of its young readers in their country, that country was almost invariably presented as being an extension of Britain and its citizens were citizens of the British Empire.

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