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PATRIOTISM AND THE NEW ZEALAND PRIMARY SCHOOL:
THE DECISIVE YEARS OF THE TWENTIES

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History at the University of Waikato.

Roger Openshaw
1978.

FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF PATRIOTISM ARISING FROM
MY D. PHIL. ORAL EXAMINATION, HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO, 5 DECEMBER, 1978.

Towards a Working Definition of Patriotism

As most people have definite views about patriotism, it is hardly surprising that the term possesses wide and varied connotations. While the dangers of presenting yet another idiosyncratic view of patriotism are present, there are a number of sound reasons both for the term 'patriotism' being employed throughout the thesis, rather than related terms such as 'nationalism', and for patriotism being defined largely in the context of observable behaviour and ritual.

The classical definition of patriotism is "... love of country, pride in it, and readiness to make sacrifices for what is considered its best interest". This may be differentiated from that more exclusive term, 'nationalism', which is more usually regarded as being a conviction favouring the unity, independence, interest or domination of the nation.¹ Curti, whilst accepting these definitions as evidence of the close relationship between nationalism and patriotism, also points out that the latter term is both more restrictive and more complex.² Such differences favour the choice of patriotism as a central focus for study in the thesis.

As a term, 'patriotism' is sufficiently broad to embrace several related concepts and these can hardly be ignored without detracting from the value of the research. One such concept is 'loyalty'.

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1. See for instance, Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary, rev.ed. (1959), s.v. 'patriotism', 'nationalism'.
 2. M. Curti, The Roots of American Loyalty, New York: Russell and Russell, 1946, p. viii.

J.H. Schaar has defined loyalty as " ... something less than the typically uncritical adulation of one's own political group, often accompanied by rejective attitudes towards outsiders which is the heart of patriotism", but reminds us also that loyalty is " ... something more than the formal, rationally justified duty to obey law, which is the essence of obligation".³

The position of loyalty in the social matrix can serve to clarify the otherwise complex bonds existing between individual and state, pupil and school, teacher and teaching service, which characterised patriotism in the New Zealand primary school during the 1920s. Moreover, the decade immediately following the Armistice was to be of crucial importance for the development of both loyalty and patriotism, not just in New Zealand primary schools, but in schools throughout the Western world.⁴

While patriotism as a term has decided advantages for the particular type of research represented by the thesis, nationalism as a term has a number of serious drawbacks for a study of this nature. The first and most obvious one, is that it lacks the precision necessary in order to clearly illustrate the political relationship between the individual and the state which alone has relevance both for New Zealand primary schools, and for the decade being examined. The thesis analyses activities and beliefs which collectively implied a specific relationship between the future citizen and his political institutions as reflected in the New Zealand primary education system:

3. International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 ed., s.v. 'loyalty', by J.H. Schaar.

4. C.E. Merriam, The Making of Citizens: A Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931, passim.

loyalty to king and Empire, recognition of obligations and rights essential to the maintenance of the British way of life, the necessity of actively combating any attempt at subversion of that life style, especially by left-wing extremists. Such analysing requires the use of a concept which, while providing for the inclusion of non-political behaviour and activities, enables due emphasis to be placed on the political.

Clearly some breadth must be sacrificed in the interests of clarity. Earlier researchers, when faced with a similar problem, have sought a remedy in more precise terminology. Almond and Verba, for instance, in their comparative study of political attitudes and democracy, begin with an extremely wide concept of 'civic culture'.⁵ This they define as a mode of 'economic' and humane culture change which takes a slow course, and seeks the common denominator. As a term 'civic culture' resembles 'nationalism' in that it indiscriminantly embraces political and non-political aspects of culture, thus providing the researcher with a well-nigh insoluble task. While recognising value of such wide terms, Almond and Verba are quick to substitute the more narrow, but highly useful concept of 'political culture' which alone can enable them to concentrate on "... the specifically political orientations-attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system".⁶ For broadly similar reasons, 'patriotism' is a more preferable term than 'nationalism' for the purposes of this thesis.

5. G.A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963, pp 6-8.

6. Ibid., p.13.

As well as failing to separate political and non-political aspects of culture with sufficient clarity, 'nationalism' as a term has historically presented historians and philosophers with problems of definition. One of the worst of these concerns the concept of a nation itself, for a nation can exist in political, cultural or historical forms. The German experience provides a case in point. Herder in the eighteenth century, defined nationalism in a non-political sense, advocating instead, the development of an original and native culture, based on folk traditions. During the nineteenth century, however, the emergence of the German Empire resulted in the growth of a more politically orientated nationalism, but this did not displace the earlier cultural forms. German nationalism thus remained essentially romantic, for at its centre lay the idealised 'Volk', bound by biological ties, which extended well beyond Germany's political frontiers.⁷ After defeat in the Great War, German nationalistic sentiment became both more confused and more acute. To a considerable extent, the success of the Nazis in appealing to a large segment of German society lay in their ability to fuse cultural, racial and military forms of nationalism, with the 'medieval universalism' which had permeated German thinking for centuries.

The German experience with nationalism illustrates the dangers of employing the term for research purposes. Even in the English-speaking countries, 'nationalism' was never a straight forward

7. See especially L.L. Snyder, German Nationalism: The Tragedy of a People, 2nd edition, New York: Kennikat Press, 1969, p.153.

concept.⁸ New Zealand presents a further problem for the researcher in that it has been slow to develop a nationality of its own. During the 1920s, most New Zealanders still considered their country to be an integral part of the British Empire, on the grounds of common race, common sentiment, trade and security. Despite the deeds of the Anzacs, despite the rise of a number of New Zealanders to prominence in sport, literature and science, national feeling had developed little beyond the posturings of Seddonism Imperialism which had been popular at the turn of the century. The 1930s were to be somewhat different, but noticeable changes, especially where the schools were concerned, had to await developments in other areas, especially the wider emphasis on literature and the arts, and the growth of a more internationally orientated concept of patriotism as reflected in the 1929 Syllabus.

Lastly the often practical nature of New Zealand society and its schools make ideology, nationalistic or patriotic, difficult to trace with any accuracy. A more fruitful approach lies in concentrating on the school activities which Merriam has considered to be all important in political socialisation.⁹ For this reason the thesis identifies observable, or at least, researchable behaviour and activities which can not only be analysed, but also traced as they develop or change. The result has been that the definition of patriotism for the purposes of this thesis has been largely in the context of observed action, rather than in the form of a sociological model in any strict sense.

8. Thus Hans Kohn, in rejecting the extreme right-wing German concept of nationalism current in the 1930s, both over-idealised and underestimated western nationalism. See K. Wolf, "Hans Kohn's Liberal Nationalism: The Historian as Prophet" Journal of the History of Ideas xxxvii (October-December 1976): 651-672.

9. Merriam, p.72.

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- K. Wolf, "Hans Kohn's Liberal Nationalism: The Historian as Prophet". Journal of the History of Ideas xxxvii (October-December 1976): 651-672.

ABSTRACT

Patriotism and the New Zealand Primary School : The Decisive Years of the Twenties.

This thesis is concerned with patriotism, its impact on and its implications for the New Zealand primary school. The term "patriotism" is employed in a wide sense to refer to a number of activities and concepts which vitally affected both teachers and pupils. These included citizenship instruction taught under history and civics, special patriotic and commemorative observances such as Anzac Day, and a growing pre-occupation with loyalty and conformity which led to the introduction of flag-saluting and loyalty oaths.

The 1920s were decisive years for school patriotism. Initially the Great War upset the earlier relationship between patriotism and the primary school. Before 1914 school patriotism had been based on character-training and steeped in the mystique of Empire, particularly the imperial romanticism of Newbolt and Kipling. By 1918 these had become less important as new and more urgent considerations began to claim the attention of politicians and educationalists. War was now regarded as being a struggle between societies in which education played a crucial role. The necessity of national survival had largely ousted the ideal of the knightly crusade implicit in school patriotism prior to the outbreak of war. At the same time patriotism itself had become more intense, more zealous and more dynamic than ever before. As a result, its impact on the primary school was to be correspondingly distinctive.

1. The Zenith of Patriotic Zeal, 1918 - 1922.

The first section of this thesis traces the development of patriotic fervour during the early post-war period and analyses its impact on the

primary schools. Three important factors; the continuing influence of the Great War, the unresolved problem of external security and the apparent threat to society posed by militant socialism, had considerable effect on the teaching of patriotism. On one plane this led to an extension of patriotic observances in the schools, to a continuing School Journal bias towards patriotic and imperial articles, and to a growing emphasis on citizenship training as reflected in the 1919 Syllabus. On a quite different and ultimately more significant plane, however, the political, economic and social uncertainties of the early post-war period helped focus attention on the perplexing question of ensuring loyalty within the school system, for without loyalty, neither instruction in patriotism nor exposure to patriotic ritual could be successful. The gazetting of compulsory flag-saluting regulations and the introduction of loyalty oaths for teachers were measures which indicated a decisive shift in concern from the inculcation of patriotism, to the maintenance of loyalty in the teaching service.

2. The Decline of Patriotic Fervour, 1922 - 1930.

The second section of this thesis analyses the reasons behind the decline of patriotic zeal in the schools. Despite the initial fervour behind the early post-war extension of school patriotism, its impact on pupils had been limited by various environmental, administrative and educational difficulties. More important however, attitudes towards the teaching of patriotism changed during the 1920s, due to the existence of several new factors.

Excessive pre-occupation with teacher loyalty, especially on the part of the Government, provoked a number of confrontations and contributed in large measure to a growing public distaste for the direction school patriotism appeared to have taken. As the decade advanced, a growing movement towards the social and cultural aspects of education began to supersede the older, more narrow stress on patriotism. In a world which was beginning to find the ideal of human brotherhood more attractive, there appeared less place for the strident nationalism which had characterised patriotic instruction a few years earlier. By the late 1920s internationalist sentiment was beginning to have an impact in New Zealand, and this was to prove vital in both influencing the type of reading material available to pupils and in modifying the attitudes of politicians, education administrators and teachers.

The 1920s, therefore, were decisive years for patriotism and for the New Zealand primary school. In the years immediately following the Armistice, patriotism appeared destined to play a dominant role in education. By the end of the decade, its militancy and even its raison d'etre were being challenged. As far as the teaching of political values was concerned a new order was beginning to take shape in the primary schools which, while owing its existence to the events and decisions of the 1920s, was to last until the mid-1970s.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AJHR</u>	<u>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</u>
<u>EDF</u>	Education Department Files
<u>EP</u>	<u>Evening Post</u>
<u>Fml. Disc. Gr.</u>	Formal Discussion Group
<u>IF</u>	New Zealand Educational Institute Files
<u>Institute, the</u>	New Zealand Educational Institute
<u>MAEB</u>	Minutes of the Auckland Education Board
<u>MAHMA</u>	Minutes of the Auckland Headmasters' Association
<u>MDT</u>	<u>Manawatu Daily Times</u>
<u>MW</u>	<u>Maoriland Worker</u>
<u>MWEB</u>	Minutes of the Wellington Education Board
<u>NZCER</u>	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
<u>NZG</u>	<u>New Zealand Gazette</u>
<u>NZH</u>	<u>New Zealand Herald</u>
<u>O.B. Corr.</u>	Ormond Burton Correspondence
<u>RF</u>	Personal Files of A.H. Reed
<u>SJ</u>	<u>New Zealand School Journal</u>
<u>Statutes</u>	<u>New Zealand Statutes</u>
1919 Syllabus, the	<u>Regulations for the Organisation, Examination and Inspection of Public Schools and the Syllabus of Instruction, 1919</u>
1929 Syllabus, the	<u>Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools, 1929</u>
<u>WT</u>	<u>Waikato Times</u>
<u>Yearbook</u>	<u>New Zealand Official Year Book</u>

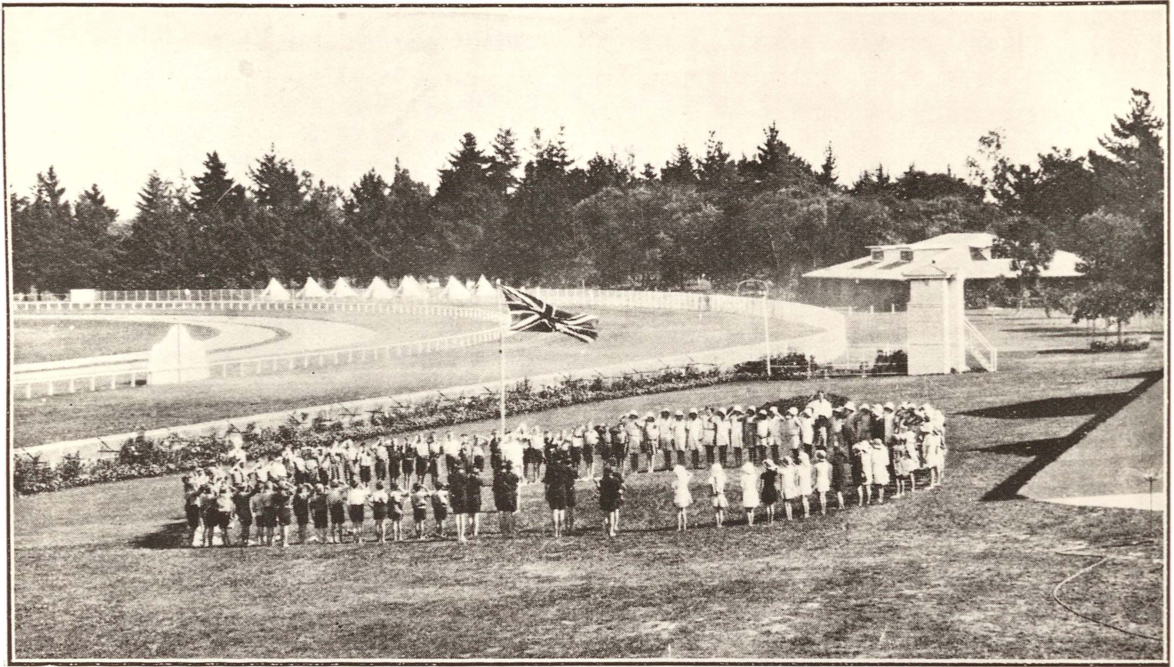
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All photographs unless otherwise
acknowledged, by courtesy of the
Alexander Turnbull Library,
Wellington.

Frontispiece. Saluting the Flag. New Zealand school children were required to salute the flag weekly following the introduction of a Departmental regulation in May 1921. While regular flag-saluting was to continue in the schools until well after the Second World War, it enjoyed its heyday during the 1920s as illustrated in this photograph of a children's health camp in Palmerston North.

(AJHR 1930, E-1
facing page 16)



SALUTING THE FLAG.

PREFACE

In recent years there has been considerable interest concerning the teaching of political values in the school. Research has centred on two main areas: the relationship between the demands of society and educational change, and the impact of political instruction on the school. New Zealand studies to date have largely concentrated on the contemporary situation and, in consequence, relatively little is known about the teaching of political values in New Zealand schools during earlier years. This study represents one attempt to fill the gap.

1. Definitions and Boundaries

Unfortunately the term "political values" is too diffuse and unwieldy for accurate employment. Because patriotism reflected many of interwar New Zealand's social, political and educational values, this term was selected as the best compromise between clarity and depth, and the need to analyse as broad a range of factors as possible. The expression "patriotic" will be employed in a wide sense to stand for a number of beliefs which collectively implied a specific relationship between the citizen and his political and educational institutions. These beliefs included loyalty to King and Country, recognition of the bonds linking the British peoples of the Empire, the obligation to combat subversion and knowledge of a citizen's duties and rights.¹ In schools the outward manifestations of these beliefs were illustrated by such diverse but related activities as school commemorative observances, class history and civics lessons, Navy League lectures, compulsory flag-saluting and the introduction of loyalty oaths for teachers.

1. See especially, E.P. Malone, "The New Zealand School Journal and the Imperial Ideology", New Zealand Journal of History 7 (April 1973): 12. New Zealand Journal of History hereafter cited as NZJH.

Although patriotism has been interpreted as widely as is practicable, there does exist a clear need for firm lines of demarcation. This study has sacrificed some breadth of coverage in the interests of depth and of conceptual unity. While this thesis is about patriotism, it is more particularly concerned with the relationship between patriotism and the New Zealand primary school. It is not an exhaustive study of patriotic attitudes in the Dominion during the 1920s, though it deals with these attitudes as they affected education. Secondary schools have been excluded from consideration except where a reference to them serves to clarify the situation with regard to primary schools. There are two major reasons for this deletion. First, the 1920s saw increasing numbers of secondary schools in New Zealand developing that degree of individuality which makes generalisation on the basis of a few examples, impossible. Second, and more important, secondary schools during this decade were not open to all, and for many pupils primary schooling was to constitute their first and last experience of formal education.² Private schools, denominational schools and native schools have been deleted for similar reasons.

Apart from a few necessary exceptions, discussion is limited to those aspects of patriotic activity which were linked directly to formal education. Children's comics and annuals are not discussed, even though

2. Despite a steady growth in secondary school attendance during the 1920s, nearly half the total school population ceased formal education after their Standard Six year. (See, C.E. Beeby, The Education of the Adolescent in New Zealand, [Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1937], p.6. New Zealand Council for Educational Research hereafter cited as NZCER). In terms of sheer numbers, the disparity between primary and secondary schools was even more noticeable. Even by 1934 there were only 31,829 secondary school pupils (including those in technical schools), as compared with 236,154 in the primary schools. (New Zealand Official Year Book, 1936, p.136). New Zealand Official Year Book hereafter cited as Yearbook.

their influence on pupils was probably considerable. The difficulties involved in demonstrating the exact nature of their impact are sufficient to require a different type of approach, not easily compatible with this study. School cadets have been included despite the fact that they were largely restricted to secondary schools during the 1920s, because of what they reveal about patriotic activity generally; the decision to abolish the Junior Cadets in 1912, for instance, illustrates a good deal about pre-1914 attitudes to school patriotism. Youth organisations such as the Boy Scouts are not mentioned because they operated outside school hours.

The thesis is confined to a relatively short chronological period. This has allowed attitudes and values to be analysed in depth, permitting continuity of structure to be more easily maintained. The choice of 1918 as a starting point was in part dictated by the changes that had already taken place in New Zealand society as a result of the Great War, though it has been necessary to discuss patriotic activity prior to 1918 in order to make subsequent developments clear.

The decade of the twenties had both a distinctive dynamicism and a conceptual unity. First, due to an exceptional combination of social, political and educational circumstances, patriotism in the years immediately following the Great War was to have a formidable impact on the New Zealand primary school. By the end of the 1920s, a new and equally remarkable combination of circumstances was responsible for drastically changing both the extent and nature of school patriotism. Second, educationalists and politicians throughout the decade were faced with two related questions; how best to ensure effective patriotic

instruction and, ultimately, how to maintain an acceptable balance between patriotic teaching and the new values of progressive education and internationalism. For these reasons, the twenties were decisive years.

A satisfactory resolution of these matters presents a considerable organisational problem. As far as possible a chronological approach has been adopted, but this has been subject to modification where, and when necessary. Accordingly, the thesis is divided into two sections, the first dealing with the rise of patriotic fervour in so far as it affected the school, and the second examining the reasons for patriotism's declining impact on primary education as the decade drew to a close. While this second section has a terminating date of 1930, it must be remembered that social and political forces are no respecters of even the most carefully drawn chronological boundaries, and that consequently many of the trends which began during the 1920s continued on into the next decade, and beyond.

2. Source Material

The source material for this thesis has been particularly diverse in nature. As a result only a small proportion of the material used can be discussed here, but the following section should serve to illustrate two important source-related problems: first, the task of tracing the initiation and implementation of decisions concerning school patriotism and second, the difficulty of ascertaining the impact of patriotism on the schools.

Tracing the initiation of policy as far as patriotism was concerned is no easy task. C.J. Parr, the Minister of Education for much of the decade,³ apparently left no personal papers, though fortunately

3. From May 1920 until April 1926.

the question of school patriotism received a good deal of discussion in Parliament during these crucial years, Departmental records dealing with flag-saluting, loyalty oaths and teachers who refused military service are still in existence, but many other relevant documents were destroyed in a fire several years ago.⁴ Middle-level administrative decisions are more easily documented; education board minutes, for instance, are readily available to the researcher. This is extremely fortunate, education boards being such a useful source of evidence both because of their unique type of membership, and their particular function within the education system.

Education board members varied considerably in their backgrounds. Only a small proportion of them possessed actual teaching experience. W.T. Grundy came to the Wellington Education Board with many years experience as a headmaster, but he was an atypical example. Most board members were accomplished administrators and successful farmers or businessmen, rather than educationalists. T. Moss was not unusual in being a Director of the National Dairy Association, President of the Wellington Division of the Farmers' Union and a member of both the Wellington Hospital Board and the Wairarapa High School Board of Governors, as well as sitting on the Wellington Education Board.⁶

4. Documents relating to the 1920s suffered particularly heavily in comparison with earlier and later periods.

5. G.H. Scholfield, Who's Who in New Zealand, (Napier, 1925), p.91. Grundy had also been a member of the Executive of the New Zealand Educational Institute and was its president in 1901.

6. Ibid, p.95.

Education board members were often sitting members of Parliament. In 1923 no less than three out of the twelve Wellington Education Board members were also MPs and other education boards had similar proportions. In addition to giving the boards considerable political weight, this also endowed them with a high degree of political awareness when discussing educational matters, though disagreements between board members were by no means strictly on party lines.⁷

Inspectors also played a crucial role in policy-implementation, with the added advantage for the researcher that they were more directly concerned with the classroom work of teachers and pupils. Inspectors' reports provide an especially valuable insight into matters of educational concern in the various education board districts. Unfortunately, the individual reports of district inspectors ceased to be published after 1921 as a result of an economy measure, and instead extracts from some of them were included in the Chief Inspector's annual report. Despite this drawback inspectorial comments remain an important source, due mainly to the position the inspectorate enjoyed within the education system. Most inspectors possessed substantial teaching experience and were usually able to interpret what they saw in the schools with considerable accuracy. Inspectors' reports, however, do have limitations. As Departmental employees, inspectors exercised an understandable caution. Only rarely did they indicate what they really felt about an aspect of Departmental policy, particularly if, like some forms of patriotic activity, it was at all controversial. Inspectors were also successful teachers, who, because of their generally superior professional and academic qualifications, often interpreted matters

7. Note especially the bitterness between Wellington Education Board members over the Park case in 1921. (See below, pp.168 - 169).

differently from the "average" classroom teacher.

Unfortunately, discovering exactly what the "average" classroom teacher felt about patriotism poses a virtually insoluble problem. The New Zealand Educational Institute⁸ had a vested interest in keeping close to the groundswell of professional opinion, and its records, therefore, provide some guide as to what matters teachers as a body were concerned about. Because the Institute began to turn from a rather narrow preoccupation with the working conditions of teachers to a much broader consideration of educational policy after 1918, these records provide an important source of reference as to what its members felt about patriotic instruction and citizenship training. As with inspectors, however, active Institute members were usually the better qualified, more successful teachers and to some extent this made them atypical commentators.

By themselves, formal sources of evidence are inadequate as a means of illustrating the formulation of educational policy at classroom level. The personal reminiscences of both teachers and pupils constitute a largely untapped source which avoids some of the pitfalls associated with more traditional sources. School centennial publications contain revealing snippets of information concerning school life. Occasionally they deal with an aspect of patriotic activity such as school cadet training or a class history lesson unrecorded elsewhere. Written reminiscences can also be supplemented by interviews and with questionnaires, for those who were pupils or teachers during the 1918 to 1930 period are in a position to provide the researcher with "inside" knowledge about an era which is not obtainable from other sources.

8. New Zealand Educational Institute hereafter cited as, the Institute.

While the interview and questionnaire provide a fresh perspective they do pose drawbacks. Fifty years is a long time for the human memory, and impressions gained in youth are not necessarily the same impressions that remain in middle or old age. Provided this warning is well heeded, however, reminiscences have an important function in a study of this nature, as a means of crosschecking more formal sources of evidence, and as a means of "humanising" history.

Ascertaining what ought to have been taught in schools about patriotism is relatively straightforward. Twice during the interwar period a new syllabus of instruction for public schools came into operation.⁹ On each of these occasions the history and civics section of the syllabus was intended to provide an important guide to the inculcation of patriotism in the classroom, and detailed topic lists were included. Unfortunately, knowing what ought to have been covered in hundreds of classrooms all over New Zealand, is just not adequate. While the syllabus was undoubtedly a major influence on the inculcation of patriotism in primary schools, individual teachers varied greatly in the way they implemented its provisions. Some merely taught the topics in their given order, with relatively little modification. Others used them as a basis for developing their own lessons.¹⁰ Judging from the high degree of inspectorial criticism a substantial number of schools failed to implement satisfactory history and civics programmes, their tardiness in this respect being partly explained by the low priority of the subjects for examination purposes.

9. The first in 1919 and the second in 1929.

10. See especially, Formal Discussion Group comprising Louis Williams, Colin Gillies, Hugh Brown, Richard Scobie and Bill Malcolm, convened at the author's request by the Auckland Headmasters' Association, and chaired by the Secretary of the Association, Roy Sanders (Rugby Hall, Auckland, 13 September 1973). Tape and typescript of proceedings [33 pages], Author's file. Formal Discussion Group hereafter cited as Fml.Disc.Gr.

The above illustrates the difficulties of actually assessing the impact of patriotic activity at classroom level. While this cannot be completely overcome, an analysis of reading material supplied to schools affords some indication of what children were taught. Many schools experienced considerable shortages of books, and for this reason the New Zealand School Journal¹¹ and the authorised texts in history and civics exercised a disproportionately great influence on both class programmes and children's personal attitudes.

Although from its first appearance in 1907, the School Journal was envisaged as being both a class reader and a textbook, its actual utilisation went far beyond the most optimistic forecasts. During the interwar period, the high proportion of inexperienced teachers made for an excessive reliance on the School Journal. In 1919 the Wellington inspectors complained that teachers were "cramming" the School Journal into children whilst they neglected the continuous readers. They attempted to discourage this practice by warning that in future inspectors would test children on their knowledge of continuous readers as well as School Journals.¹² This and similar warnings from other inspectors apparently had little effect. Consequently, when the eagerly awaited School Journal failed to arrive on time, entire school programmes were disrupted. During the 1920s frequent paper shortages caused major holdups, making prompt delivery impossible. Rural areas were particularly inconvenienced as a result. In 1921 a disgruntled teacher complained that, "country teachers have their work continually disorganised by the non-appearance of the Journal".¹³ Such delays failed to wear the

11. New Zealand School Journal hereafter cited as School Journal in text, and as SJ in footnotes.

12. Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1919, E-2, p.xii. Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives hereafter cited as AJHR. Continuous readers were class sets, rather loosely graded for appropriate levels of reading difficulty. For many schools, even continuous readers were something of a luxury.

13. National Education, (Wellington), 1921, p.217.

majority of teachers away from what had become an indispensable aid to education. By 1930 the Director of Education, T.B. Strong, added his weight to the already formidable volume of inspectorial criticism when he complained that, "too frequently ... the only matter studied more or less intensively in class or at home is the School Journal".¹⁴

The overseeing of such an influential publication involved considerable responsibility. Ultimate control of the School Journal rested with the Director of Education who formally approved the final drafts of each monthly edition, following consultation with the editor and the Senior Inspector of Primary Schools. In practice, however, the day-to-day task of selecting and arranging the articles belonged to the editor. Editors were appointed by the Department partly on the basis of their experience in teaching,¹⁵ though they required a thorough knowledge not just of recent educational developments, but of public attitudes as well. The present editor of the School Journal, P.R. Earle, has spoken of the School Journal's need, "... to rest on a broad basis of public assent".¹⁶

Careful consideration of public sensibilities was extremely important in view of the School Journal's massive circulation.¹⁷ During the interwar period school children throughout the Dominion received

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14. AJHR, 1930, E-2, p.21. As late as 1941 a visiting South African teacher expressed surprise at the extent to which School Journals were utilised as the basis of formal work throughout the New Zealand primary school curriculum. (See, Mrs M. Feluuck, "School Journals", Transvaal Educational News 1 [February 1941] : 16 - 17).
15. Thomas Fletcher (editor from 1919 till 1939) had previously been Headteacher at the Christchurch Normal School. His successor, F.L. Combs had been Vice-Principal of Wellington Training College before becoming editor.
16. P.R. Earle, "The Informative Article in the New Zealand School Journal, 1907-1948", (M.A.dissertation, Victoria University, 1969), p.110.
17. In 1918 for instance, 170,000 copies were produced and distributed. Of these, 63,000 were part ones, intended for Standards One and Two; 58,000 were part twos, for Standards Three and Four; and 49,000 were part threes, for Standards Five and Six. (See AJHR, 1919, E-1.p.13).

their monthly copy of the School Journal. Specially designed covers were available which allowed children to take their copies home for further study. In this way many parents became familiar with the School Journal's contents. In addition, School Journals were distributed to education boards, to the Institute, to training colleges and to every sitting Member of Parliament, as well as to schools. With such a wide circulation the editor needed to keep a careful eye on public attitudes. C.E. Beeby, himself *thoroughly familiar with the School Journal*, has observed that even an astute editor " ... needs the final check of an administrator with an even wider experience and a closer contact with the realms of public feeling".¹⁸ Comments such as *this* underline the importance of the School Journal, not just as a source for ascertaining what was taught in the classroom, but as an indispensable means of tracing changes in both educational and public attitudes.

Of course, the very importance of the School Journal as an indicator of trends poses a danger to the researcher, for it is relatively easy to postulate a trend on the basis of a few articles in what was an extremely diverse publication. Material *selected for* inclusion in the School Journal could be held for some years before being used. Quite apart from the routine editorial problems of selecting material suitable in vocabulary, style and length, the editor of the School Journal worked under stringent budgetary limitations which precluded the purchase of many copyright articles from overseas. While this does not necessarily detract from the value of the School Journal as an indicator of educational trends, it does signify the need for crosschecking evidence with other sources, both written and oral, wherever possible.

18. C.E. Beeby, Introduction to Educational Studies and Documents, No.25 (Wellington: School Publications Branch, 1957), p.6. For similar comments see, K.G. Smythe, "Social Attitudes in the New Zealand School Journal, Part Four, 1957-1970", (M.A. dissertation, Massey University, 1972), pp. 4-6.

After the School Journal, officially approved textbooks probably exercised the greatest influence on children. Together with School Journals they constituted the bulk of school children's reading material in an era where school libraries were a rarity. Illustrations of the shortages of books in schools during the 1920s abound. R.J. Harrison, an ex-pupil of Peria School, Northland has recalled that, "the School Library consisted of about a dozen books on the shelf in the cupboard".¹⁹ Pongakawa School, some twelve miles northwest of Te Puke was only a little better off with cupboards in the school porch providing a make-shift library for a few battered volumes.²⁰

In common with a number of other curriculum subjects during the interwar period, history and civics were largely taught from officially approved textbooks. In order to be officially approved, a textbook had to be examined and approved by the Senior Inspector of Primary Schools, whereupon it was included in the Authorised List for publication in the Education Gazette.²¹

19. R.J. Harrison, "Nineteen Sixteen to Nineteen Thirty", in One Hundred Years of Education at Peria, 1873-1973, ed. C.M. Rogers (Kaitiaki, 1973), p.5.

20. J.N. Blaymires, Seventy Years Later: A History of the Pongakawa School, (Te Puke, 1967), pp20-22.

21. Authority for the Departmental approval of textbooks derived from the Education Act, 1914, which provided that, "the class-books used in the school shall be such only as are approved by the Governor in Council", though approval was to be given under special circumstances, for the use of other textbooks. (New Zealand, Laws and Statutes, Education Act, 1914, 5 Geo.V, Statutes of the Dominion of New Zealand, 56 (5). p. 198). Statutes of the Dominion of New Zealand hereafter cited as Statutes.
Despite the apparently extensive powers granted to it under the Act, the Department's main powers lay in its veto over material regarded as unsuitable. Thus J.N.O. Caughley, the Assistant Director of Education, claimed that the Department, "... had no particular authority in connection with the issue of schoolbooks in New Zealand except that any book which is regarded as unsuitable may be disapproved for use in the primary school". (Caughley to the Secretary of the Vegetarian Society of New Zealand, 27 April, 1920), E.28/1/-, Education Department Files, Archives, Wellington. Education Department Files hereafter cited as EDF.

Officially approved textbooks enjoyed significant advantages over other textbooks. They were subsidised by the Education Department, and were therefore cheaper for parents and schools to purchase. Schools had the right to request parents to buy books appearing on the Authorised List for their children, but this did not apply to supplementary texts. Although primary schools were not actually compelled to use officially approved textbooks, it was to their advantage to do so, because inspectors often conducted examinations based on this source. It was hardly surprising under the circumstances that many teachers relied heavily on officially approved textbooks, particularly in the case of history and civics, where a considerable degree of background subject knowledge was an essential prerequisite for a successful class programme.

3. Acknowledgements

Background knowledge is also an essential prerequisite for research. Where this thesis is concerned, human errors are probably all too frequent, but the faults and fallacies contained herein can only be mine. If this work possesses any intrinsic merit after nearly six years, the credit belongs elsewhere. First, I am indebted to Ted Malone whose encouragement and ideas during my early fumbling stages did so much to stimulate my thinking.

A number of people, any one of whom knows more about education than this writer ever will, have contributed their knowledge and time without complaint. In particular I am grateful to Roy Sanders of the Auckland Headmasters' Association for his energetic efforts on my behalf in interviewing and in circularising past members of the Association. The staff of the New Zealand Educational Institute in Wellington gave me generous assistance and sustenance during my visits, and I am especially aware of the work done by Maurice Gianotti in directing me to the appropriate files.

During a formal discussion session in Auckland, Bill Malcolm, Hugh Brown, Louis Williams, Colin Gillies and Richard Scobie, all of whom taught during the 1920s, gave me valuable insights into the schools of the time which I could not otherwise have gained. My thanks in this connection also go to Doctor C.E. Beeby, and to P.R. Earle who gave me the benefit of their wide experiences in education.

I owe substantial debts to many staff members at both the University of Waikato and at Massey University, especially to Professor C.G.N. Hill and Professor W.H. Oliver who gave me sage advice on a number of occasions and lent me their shoulders to cry on in moments of crisis. I would like particularly to thank my past and present supervisors for their assistance and their patience. Possibly, they are as relieved as I am to see this thesis finally concluded.

That my research has been able to benefit from such diverse source material is due to the diligence and interest of many people and organisations. A.H. Reed went to some trouble to allow me to peruse his personal correspondence. Judith Hornabrook at National Archives was always ready to assist, even when given the vaguest leads. Staff at the University of Waikato Library, Auckland University Library, Auckland Public Library, Massey University Library, Alexander Turnbull Library and General Assembly Library were willing and cooperative. In particular I wish to thank Lucy Battye of Massey University who indefatigably tracked down obscure references, thus making my task far easier than it might have been. Spelling and presentation have been the bane of many a thesis writer. My own shortcomings in this respect have been considerably offset by the memorable efforts of Professor McLaren, and the vigilance of my typiste, Mrs Diana Steffert.

Many of those who assisted in the preparation of this thesis must unfortunately, remain anonymous. Three people however, exerted an influence which cannot go unmentioned. My parents have for many years encouraged me in my research and given their resources freely. Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank my wife, Margaret, who has sacrificed so much in order to make my D. Phil. candidacy a reality.

INTRODUCTION

Patriotism in the Crucible

"Patriotism", Johnson once confided to a friend, "is the last refuge of a scoundrel".¹ Doubtless in the dynamic, somewhat garish England emerging during the last decades of the eighteenth century, these words had a ring of truth about them. Nevertheless as a definition they conceal the fact that patriotism in its basic sense means merely, "... love of country, pride in it, and willingness to make sacrifices for what is considered its best interest".² Regarded in this way patriotism is common to most peoples at most periods in history. Changing circumstances and changing values within societies, however, endow it with more particular qualities. It is precisely these qualities which reveal so much about nations. New Zealand is no exception.

1. Patriotism before 1914

Patriotic activity in New Zealand primary schools was largely determined by prevailing patriotic ideals. Prior to 1914 patriotism in the Dominion was conditioned by three main factors: fear of foreign aggression, the development of national self-awareness, and the lack of accurate knowledge concerning modern warfare.

Patriotism is stimulated by the threat of war.³ Since the 1850s New Zealanders have shared with Australians a common fear of foreign expansion into the Pacific Basin. The comparative isolation of New Zealand, together with its sparse population and long, vulnerable

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1. Samuel Johnson to James Boswell, 7 April 1775, cited in J. Boswell, Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. one, (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p.361.
 2. M.E.Curti, The Roots of American Loyalty, (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1946), p.viii.
 3. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1954 reprinted ed., s.v. "Chauvinism", by H.D. Lasswell,

coastline made naval attack a serious possibility in the event of hostilities. During the late nineteenth century the threat of war appeared particularly acute, with the continuation of Anglo-Russian antagonism making the growth of Russian naval power a matter of considerable anxiety to settlers in the colony.

On at least two occasions during this period, the popular press helped to foment "Russian Scares". In 1872 the construction of several fast commerce raiders in Russian dockyards prompted the appearance of an article in the Daily Southern Cross which gave a fictitious, but convincing account of a Russian foray into New Zealand waters.⁴ Although the furore caused by this article died down rapidly, a more extensive scare during the years 1885 to 1888 resulted in several New Zealand ports being fortified against naval attack.⁵ Fear of Russia remained high in New Zealand until the thaw in Anglo-Russian relations began after 1907. Concern over the possibility of naval raids against the New Zealand coast remained, however, with Germany now identified as the major threat in the Pacific.

The rise in national self-awareness in New Zealand largely coincided with the beginning of the Liberal period. There was no New Zealand nationalism as such, but rather an affirmation of the country's

4. "The Raid of the Russian Cruiser Kaskowiski", Daily Southern Cross, (Auckland), 17 February 1873. The article claimed that a Russian cruiser had entered Wellington Harbour and that the Capital was being held to ransom. Men throughout the colony rushed to enlist after reading the article or hearing rumours of the attack, unaware that it was an elaborate hoax designed to draw public attention to New Zealand's weak port defences. In 1894 the article was reprinted in pamphlet form with a new preface describing the most recent Russian naval construction. See D.M. Luckie, The Raid of the Russian Cruiser Kaskowiski, Wellington: New Zealand Times Company, 1894.

5. This scare was initiated by reports of the Pendjeh crisis of 1885 in colonial newspapers.

particular identity within the imperial structure.⁶ From the mid-1890s until his death in 1906, R.J. Seddon epitomised a growing patriotism that found its chief outlet in a passionate championing of the British Empire. Not without justice, F.L.W. Wood has termed these years the age of "Seddonian Imperialism".⁷ New Zealanders also began to take a new pride in their own country's achievements, and significantly, this pride was manifested frequently in a desire to prove themselves the equals of Britons.

The South African War provided the ideal occasion for the display of these sentiments. In September 1899 Seddon rose in the House to request sufficient finance to send a mounted rifle contingent to the Transvaal. For most of his parliamentary colleagues it was an historic moment in New Zealand's short history. Those fortunate enough to be chosen to go overseas would be like " ... the patriots of old, activated by the same kindred spirit that caused those adventurous men, our early pioneers, to leave the Old Country ..."⁸ This and similar statements were characteristic of the enthusiastic reception Seddon's request for finance received in the House, a request which met with overwhelming assent.

Parliament's endorsement of the Cabinet's decision to offer a mounted contingent for service in South Africa might have reflected the strength of patriotic feeling in New Zealand, but more important it

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6. B.K. Gordon, New Zealand Becomes a Pacific Power, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p.20.
7. F.L.W. Wood, New Zealand in the World, (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), pp. 87 - 92. For a more detailed analysis of Seddon and the emergence of national self-awareness in New Zealand see S.S. Thom, "Some Thoughts on R.J. Seddon and the Emergence of New Zealand Patterns of Identity", M.A. dissertation, Massey University, 1973.
8. M.J.S. MacKenzie (Dunedin), New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1899, vol.110, p.84. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates hereafter cited as NZPD.

illustrated a profound lack of knowledge concerning the real nature of modern warfare. The near festive mood with which news of war was greeted in New Zealand prompted the Member for Matakana, R. McNab, to observe sadly that, "... any military operations by which New Zealanders can get an outlet for their surplus energies ... is always popular".⁹

The reasons for the popularity of the South African War were not hard to find. Imperial campaigns in the past had been short, and usually victorious. The Land Wars between Maori and Pakeha were already assuming the quality of semi-legend, with much of their original brutality forgotten. Even the sordid guerilla struggles which characterised the final stages of the South African War failed to dispel the common misconception that war consisted of a series of colourful battles, studded with heroic deeds. In these conflicts death was quick and clean. Such beliefs were reinforced by "war reports" supposedly written by front-line correspondents, but more usually compiled by over-zealous editors after the battles had taken place. All too often a few facts gleaned from official communiques were filled out with fanciful interpretation.

By 1900 reports of this nature were whetting the appetite of a New Zealand public eager for any news from the Front. Genuine war correspondents who possessed first-hand experience of South African conditions, were incensed by the apparently unlimited extent of public gullibility. Frederick Villiers, who was later to gain considerable reputation as a war photographer, was particularly annoyed at the

9. NZFD, 1899, vol. 110, p. 88. McNab was one of the six members present in the House who voted against the request, despite considerable pressure from other members.

extravagant language so often used in war reports appearing in New Zealand newspapers. He emphasised his point by quoting from one of the worst examples in which it was alleged that a "Highland Chieftain" urged on imperial troops despite his, "bleeding from every vein". Villiers turned from his quotation to ask in some exasperation whether the public could, "... for a moment believe that a man riddled with bullets and bleeding from every vein could take any interest in passing events?"¹⁰ Although he left the question unanswered, the conclusion was inescapable. The New Zealand public, for the most part familiar only with the popular press and "Penny Dreadfuls", harboured highly romanticised conceptions of imperial heroes fighting and winning battles all over the world, always against enormous odds.

This limited experience of the true consequences of modern warfare also afflicted the better educated sections of the New Zealand population, where the belief that war was a natural and even beneficial part of human relations flourished during the early years of the new century. In 1901, for instance, the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine published two articles by New Zealand writers under the general heading, "War in its Moral Aspects".¹¹ The first article was by G.K. Peacocke, a prominent Auckland lawyer and journalist. Peacocke argued that war was unavoidable unless

10. Frederick Villiers, "At the Front", New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, Auckland, (March-April 1900), p.458. Villiers later published a number of books and articles based on his experiences as a war correspondent. Two of the best known of these were. Pictures of Many Wars, London: Cassell, 1902, which included coverage of the South African campaign and Port Arthur: Three Months with the Besiegers, London: Longman, 1905, which dealt with the Russo-Japanese War.

11. G.L. Peacocke and W.S. Bain, "War in its Moral Aspects", New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, (May-June 1901), pp.169-174. Gerald Loftus Peacocke (1861-1938) came from a military family, though he himself apparently never served in the regular armed forces. Wilhelmina Sheriff Elliott nee Bain, was the author of several pamphlets condemning compulsory military training. (See W.S. Elliot, Compulsory Militarism, Invercargill: Southland Times, 1911). It is significant that, while Bain sharply disagreed with Peacocke that war was beneficial, she too believed it to be, "... one of nature's primary evolutionary forces from which there is no escape". (p.174) Thus for her, war was "natural".

a nation was prepared to cringe before its enemies. Such a policy was unwise for a small nation, let alone a great empire like the British. Adapting the then fashionable theories of Social Darwinianism¹² to his case, Peacocke claimed that war could actually benefit a nation. It extended the individual to his fullest physical capacities as well as developing strength of purpose. It made a people great because it encouraged obedience to authority. Furthermore, Peacocke believed that the South African War had demonstrated that, unlike armed conflict in previous centuries, warfare was now relatively humane. This was a claim most New Zealanders could accept, conditioned as they were to the romanticism of the spurious war reports so heavily condemned by Villiers.

Patriotism in New Zealand, therefore, was conditioned by three main factors. Up to the 1890s interest in the problems of imperial defence was kept alive by fears of foreign aggression. During the Liberal period a developing national self-awareness had found expression in the spontaneous outburst of patriotism that accompanied the South African War. Despite the growth of patriotic fervour during this period, patriotism also possessed an air of romantic unreality due principally to a woeful lack of knowledge concerning the real nature of modern warfare. Each of these factors, fear, national self-awareness and ignorance were to shape the teaching of patriotism in society's most massive enterprise, the state primary school system.

12. Social Darwinianism was a late nineteenth century theory of social evolution in which Darwin's theories on the survival of species were applied to human social development. Social Darwinianists argued that laissez-faire economics, by preserving a social differential in society, helped foster the qualities necessary for the survival of individuals and ultimately society itself. (See Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, 1972 reprint ed., s.v. "Social Darwinianism", by Sol Tax and Larry S. Krucoff). A leading Social Darwinianist, and one comparatively well known in New Zealand at this time, was the British writer, Benjamin Kidd (1858-1916). Kidd wrote several books outlining his theories of which the best known were, Social Evolution, London: Macmillan, 1894, and Principles of Western Civilisation, London: Macmillan, 1902.

2. Patriotism in the Primary School, 1900-1914

During the late nineteenth century the heavy stress on academic subjects in most New Zealand primary schools did not facilitate the teaching of patriotism. Patriotic ideals were inculcated only incidentally, through such general subjects as moral instruction. Since 1877, however, the New Zealand primary school system itself with its emphasis on free education for all, had a potential for mass patriotic instruction which its British counterpart did not possess to the same degree.¹³ All that was required was a change in public attitudes, and that condition was largely fulfilled during the Liberal period when patriotism became the cornerstone of a growing sense of national awareness.

The 1904 Syllabus marked a turning point as far as patriotic activity in the primary schools was concerned. History and civics were made examinable subjects from Standard Three on. At the same time the nature of these subjects was radically altered. The hitherto excessive reliance on memorisation was partially superseded by more purposeful instruction, which placed the main emphasis on the understanding of forces and movements in history. Although the focus was still largely on a chronological study of English history from 1066, the accent shifted from a mere concern with dates and battles to stories of courage, patriotism and duty through which children were expected to gain an appreciation of the responsibilities implicit in British citizenship.¹⁴

13. See R. Arnold, Towards a New Educational History, Wellington: NZCER, 1974. Arnold contrasts the equalitarian ideals of late nineteenth century New Zealand settlers with the stratified society of rural England, and examines the educational consequences for each country.

14. See J.L. Ewing, The Development of the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum, 1877-1970, (Wellington: NZCER, 1970), pp.102-108. Both history and civics, however, remained optional subjects for the proficiency examination at Standard Six.

This last aim was recognised as being of special importance: hence it was reinforced constantly both inside the classrooms through the School Journal, and on the school grounds by the cadets.

a) The School Journal. With almost every issue containing poems or stories with a patriotic theme, the School Journal was well suited to play a major role in the inculcation of patriotism. A number of School Journal articles during the 1907 to 1914 period attempted to show their young readers how children could assist the Empire. "Hero of the Lifeboats" described the heroism of a boy who rescued the survivors of a shipwreck off the English coast. His actions were praised by the article as not only courageous themselves, but as promising well for Britain's maritime future.¹⁵

Usually the events depicted took place in a context far removed from the experience of most New Zealand children. Despite the occasional attempt to make patriotism a meaningful concept in terms of home and school, much of the patriotic material in the School Journal at this time tended towards the romantic idealism which characterised a high proportion of adult reading material. The works of Kipling and Newbolt were especially favoured, with their power to transport children into the far-flung Empire of patriotic legend. A prime example was Henry Newbolt's poem, "Vitae Lampada". "Vitae Lampada" described the death of a young British officer after his regiment became surrounded by hostile desert tribesmen. After a desperate battle the officer was left alone with the regimental colours, silently awaiting the final, fatal

15. "Hero of the Lifeboats", SJ 4, part two (May 1910): 23. The authors of School Journal articles were rarely cited at this stage, an omission which generally persisted until the early 1930s. Wherever possible the author's name will be cited preceding the title of the article.

onslaught. Newbolt heightened the effect of his poem by employing a flashback technique. He alternated verses describing how the young man had made a similar silent stand against equally hopeless odds as a schoolboy cricketer.¹⁶

In one sense the young man's whole life had been a preparation for imperial sacrifice. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to see Newbolt's cricketer or his soldier as pallid anticipations of later fascist supermen. The fascist ideal may have rated duty and sacrifice highly, but it also rated them above morality. The imperial hero fought only in a just cause. V.E.Chancellor has claimed that in the decade before 1914, when "jingoistic" sentiment was at its height in Britain, British textbook writers were generally critical and objective both in regard to their own country, and foreign nations:

The tradition that power entailed moral duties stood firm against the claims of a 'my country right or wrong' attitude. Even where actions were justified on grounds which might seem suspect, the mere fact that such a justification was deemed necessary must necessarily have encouraged considerable discussion about international matters. If there were those who sought to encourage the unthinking obedience to the call of patriotism which goes to produce 'cannon fodder', they were only rarely to be found among the writers of history textbooks.¹⁷

Articles on patriotism in the School Journal reflected this British and Victorian tradition prior to 1914. While stories and poems on duty and sacrifice abounded, the School Journal refrained from excessive "flag-waving". Only rarely were foreign nations singled out as being potentially hostile to the British Empire. Even articles with a war theme did not follow the pattern one would normally associate with a fascist state. Although D.R. Jenkins found that there was a gradual increase in

16. Henry Newbolt, "Vitae Lampada", SJ 4, part three (April 1910): 69. An explanatory note informed readers that "Vitae Lampada" meant "they carry on the torch of life".

17. V.E. Chancellor, History for their Masters, (New York: A.M. Kelley, 1970), pp.137-138.

the proportion of School Journal articles with a war theme over the period 1907 to 1912, he also discovered that during the years 1912 and 1913 the number of these articles declined.¹⁸ The teaching of patriotism was apparently becoming more mature and more objective, rather than less so.

The concept of imperial sacrifice was also essentially a romantic one. Both cricketer and soldier in Newbolt's poem had performed their duty to the end. Even in defeat, they had not yielded. Likewise the Highland Chieftain who (to Villier's exasperation), urged on his men despite mortal injury, had fought to the limits of his endurance. The improbability of it all was irrelevant. Commitment to Empire involved more than just the physical plane. It was dependent on moral and religious fervour as well, and this made the net result of the individual's struggle less important than the process itself. Even in defeat the imperial hero could win a great victory if he fought in a righteous cause; if his spirit remained inviolate.

b) The School Cadets. The school cadets were the most conspicuous form of patriotic activity to take place in the primary schools prior to the Great War, but their growth and subsequent disbandment was, nevertheless, to follow a similar pattern to that of school patriotism in general. As a result of the two major Russian Scares, several of the larger New Zealand secondary schools had formed cadet corps prior to 1900. It was the rise in national self-awareness at the turn of the century together with the outburst of patriotic enthusiasm which accompanied the South African War, however, which were responsible for

18. D.R. Jenkins, Social Attitudes in the New Zealand School Journal, (Wellington: NZCER, 1939), p.4. Jenkins described his quantitative analysis of School Journal material in the following terms: "For each of the thirty years under review there was ascertained the proportion of the total number of pages of prose given to the various topics war, civics, drama, religion, and so on. The average percentages for the period were then calculated". (p.4).

bringing about substantial support for the creation of cadet corps in the primary school as well.

In 1902 regulations were issued making cadet training compulsory for all school boys over twelve years old, who were British subjects.¹⁹ At the same time teachers were encouraged to become school cadet officers in order to preserve the closest possible link between cadet training and the school. Over the next few years virtually every primary school and secondary school in the country formed a cadet corps, or contributed detachments or squads. Twice weekly, or more in the case of an especially enthusiastic instructor, cadets drilled in the school grounds wearing their cadet uniforms and carrying dummy (model) rifles.

By 1909 cadet numbers had grown sufficiently large to permit division into the Senior Cadets, based on the secondary schools, and the Junior Cadets, based largely on the primary schools. At its height in 1910 the Junior Cadet organisation was a miniature army comprising 30,000 boys and including ambulance and signal detachments as well as rifle battalions. In addition to their regular drills, cadets marched in parades marking important national occasions, and were inspected by a succession of distinguished visitors from overseas.²⁰

By 1910, however, the end was in sight. The cadet movement had become over-extended. Its very strength had become a weakness. As far as the public were concerned, the cadets had initially stood for healthy bodily exercise and youthful patriotism. Few had anticipated that these modest aims would be overwhelmed by ambitious battalion manoeuvres and

19. Two previous Acts of Parliament paved the way for the definitive regulations. The Defence Amendment Act, 1900, empowered the Government to make regulations concerning cadet training. The Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act, 1901, required that all children be taught physical drill. This included military drill for boys.

20. See R. Openshaw, "The Patriot Band - the School Cadets from their Evolution to the Great War", (M.A. dissertation, Massey University, 1973), p.48.

regular target practice on specially constructed miniature rifle ranges. Educationalists were becoming increasingly worried about the possibly detrimental effect military training could have on young boys. Physical education specialists considered the Junior Cadets a major barrier to urgently required Physical Education reform.²¹ In 1910 a conference of primary school inspectors recommended that the Junior Cadets be demilitarised and instead, taught physical drill by qualified instructors. The Junior Cadet organisation suffered a further loss in popularity following the passing of the Defence Amendment Act, 1909, for now cadet training became an issue in the far wider and more bitter controversy over compulsory military training.²²

The Government, already under attack over the cost of its administration in general, felt obliged to drastically reduce the scope of Junior Cadet training.²³ The final blow came in 1912 following the setting up of a Royal Commission on Education (the Cohen Commission). The Commission questioned some of the Dominion's most prominent educationalists, and found that most of them condemned military training in

21. The Inspector-General of Education, George Hogben, made no secret of his desire to reduce what he considered to be an excessive reliance on military drill in primary schools. The most important stimulus to reform in physical education, however, was undoubtedly the publication of the English Board of Education's 1900 Syllabus of Physical Exercises, which prescribed a coordinated and progressive programme of exercises designed to cater for the physical, social and emotional requirements of young children. See Ewing, pp.127-130.
22. See J.D. Milburn, "New Zealand's first Experience with Compulsory Military Training, 1900-1914", M.A. dissertation, Victoria University, 1954. See also, H.O. Roth, "The Prisoners of Ripa Island", Here and Now 43 (November 1954): 16-18. Roth describes the somewhat rigorous treatment meted out to some youths who refused military training prior to the Great War. A more recent account of opposition to compulsory military training is that of R.L. Weitzel, "Pacifists and Anti-Militarism in NewZealand, 1909-1914", NZJH 7 (October 1973): 128-147.
23. J. Allen, the Opposition member for Bruce and later Minister of Education in the Reform Government expressed particular concern over the size of the Junior Cadet organisation, and there is little doubt that his view had many supporters on both sides of the House, a fact acknowledged by the Prime Minister himself (NZFD, vol.151, 1910, p.770).

the primary school as being both a violation of the latest Physical Education principles, and a danger to the physical, emotional and even moral development of young boys.²⁴ Confronted with such an overwhelming tide of expert educational opinion hostile to the continuation of military training, the Commission recommended to the Government that the Junior Cadets be disbanded, a recommendation the Government gladly accepted. By early 1913 the Junior Cadet organisation had ceased to exist. In its place was a system of physical drill, headed by New Zealand's first National Director of Physical Education, Royd Garlick.

Again the nature and development of school patriotism was clearly apparent. The Junior Cadet organisation had grown from small beginnings during a time of intense patriotic fervour. At its peak it was indicative of the increased attention being paid to school patriotism. Despite this, it was based on romantic conceptions of war and duty that bore a striking resemblance to those which had so infuriated Villiers some years before. While the poems of Kipling and Newbolt inspired children to dream of becoming imperial heroes in exotic imperial troublespots, the Junior Cadet organisation allowed boys to act out their dreams on a somewhat smaller stage. The sentiments of many adults who supported the cadets was very probably akin to those of an audience, who saw in the marching cadets their own youthful reflections in the days when New Zealand was a pioneering land.

Even this romantic concept of patriotism had its critics in the last years before the Great War. The decline in the proportion of

24. The Report of the Royal Commission on Education, AJHR, 1912, E-2. See especially the comments of H.E.A. Milnes, the Principal of the Auckland Training College. (p.104). The Chairman of the Commission, Mark Cohen, at one stage exclaimed, "why should it be urged so persistently that in order to bring a child on you must dress him in military garb while in tender years?" (p.704).

School Journal articles with a war theme after 1912 noted by Jenkins was paralleled by a similar decline in Junior Cadet activity following the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Again this indicated, perhaps, that a more mature approach to the teaching of patriotism was in the offing, though it was a trend that was to be cut off abruptly by the Great War.

3. The Impact of War, 1914-1916

There was an immediate response in New Zealand to the British declaration of war against Germany. Large numbers of men queued to enlist. On 29 August 1914 a sizable military force from the Dominion seized German Samoa. On 16 October the New Zealand Expeditionary Force under the command of Major-General Godley sailed for Egypt. Behind this swift, enthusiastic reaction lay a patriotic fervour that had been encouraged by both society and school over the previous decade. New Zealand's entry into the conflict was justified in terms of justice and fair-play. Just as weak individuals were to be protected from stronger neighbours, so weak nations were to be upheld against those who would crush them. The New Zealand Herald, for instance, saw the coming struggle as " ... a war so righteous, so unavoidable, so far-reaching that it has welded all parties into one, and has buried domestic quarrels beneath magnanimous patriotism". The justice of the Allied cause ensured ultimate victory, for Germany was a "bully" that had to be checked.²⁵

True to pre-war concepts of patriotism, little hatred was initially expressed for the enemy. A number of New Zealand newspapers in 1914 recalled the close blood relationship which existed between the British and German peoples. A New Zealand Herald editorial argued that war

25. New Zealand Herald, (Auckland), 6 August 1914 . New Zealand Herald hereafter cited as NZH.

between Britain and Germany was deplorable, " ... for the Germans as people, the British as a people, have the most profound good will. We accept them and recognise them in every way as co-partners in a civilisation common to both".²⁶ The Herald stressed that these links would prove stronger than war itself. The German Consul in New Zealand, Carl Seegner, was singled out as being a man who, by his longstanding example of "probity and kindness" had ensured that, " ... national quarrels arising from antagonistic policies would not affect the personal relations of individuals".²⁷

Active service overseas in defence of the Empire was universally regarded as the most honourable means by which a young man could demonstrate his patriotism. It was to be a clean, healthy and broadening experience for the participants, conducted according to a set of rules which varied little from those governing an inter-school sporting fixture in New Zealand. Before leading the New Zealand Expeditionary Force to Egypt, Godley addressed his troops in phrases which bore a striking similarity to those of "Vitae Lampada":

And remember, every one of you, that not only are you soldiers, but you are comrades and fellow members of a team. It is exactly the same in a squad or company as in a football team or a cricket team, and you all know perfectly well that unless you all work together, and not only work together, but recognise the leadership of whoever is appointed to lead you, you will do no good in a cricket or football team. The same thing applies to soldiers. 28

By likening conduct in war to conduct at a school sporting fixture, Godley was using terms of reference that both his troops and the readers of the School Journal found familiar.

26. NZH, 1 August 1914.

27. NZH, 6 August 1914. Probably a substantial number of New Zealanders would have echoed the Herald's sentiments. Bill Malcolm, a school pupil in 1914, has recollected being told at school that the Germans were, " ... our cousins; a wonderful race. We should not be fighting them". (Fml. Disc. Gr.).

28. Alexander Godley, "Address to New Zealand Troops". SJ 8, part three (September 1914): 272-273. Most New Zealand daily newspapers either published Godley's address in full or made use of quotations from it.

With but one exception, every item in the part three School Journal for September 1914 was devoted to the outbreak of war. Several features of the prevailing patriotic fervour were identifiable in this issue. The idea of patriotism as being a natural outgrowth of love for one's family and loyalty to a school team was emphasised.²⁹ At the same time two of the articles saw warfare itself as an exciting, self-broadening opportunity for a young man, and these dwelled at some length upon the latest developments in naval warfare, with specially enthusiastic reference being made to the possibilities of employing aircraft and submarines.³⁰ The majority of articles, however, concentrated on the reasons for the war and on the necessity for thorough preparation in the moral sense. "The Causes of War" outlined Britain's moral and strategic reasons for involvement. It was argued that while the precise chain of events which had led to war were as yet inadequately understood, the main causes of the conflict could be identified and, "... responsibility and blame roughly apportioned".³¹ This last phrase was of particular significance because it again underlined the belief that the reasons for fighting had to be just ones, whether the enemy were unruly desert tribesmen or sophisticated brother-Europeans. The Allies, the article claimed, were defending themselves and the weaker nations against aggression.

29. SJ 8, part three (September 1914): 243-244.

30. Several New Zealand newspapers published articles describing the latest developments in naval warfare, including the Dominion and the Herald. The accounts in the School Journal were closely based on these. The original inspiration was the Preface to Jane's Fighting Ships, 1913-1914 edition.

31. "The Causes of the War", SJ 8, part three (September 1914):227.

Several School Journal articles in September 1914 envisaged the war as being a struggle in which mere technical skill and physical courage were inadequate, as indeed they had been inadequate for Newbolt's young officer as he made his lone stand under the regimental colours. All armed conflict, and especially wars in which the Empire was engaged, was first and foremost a spiritual odyssey for each individual warrior. Strength of purpose and even purity of soul were vital to success. Considerations of this type were predominant in "The Vigil", a compelling article based on one of Newbolt's poems of the same name. Closely paraphrasing the original poem, the article described how a youth in feudal times on the eve of knighthood, kept a dusk till dawn vigil in the castle chapel, splendidly arrayed in robes of white, red and black symbolising purity, courage and suffering. The parallel between the youth's lonely vigil in the chapel and the patriotic citizen's spiritual preparation for war was made very explicit:

True right today must be animated by the same spirit and only then
... fully assured of the justice in which we have drawn the sword
will it be possible to go forth believing that God will defend
the Right. 32

In both cases the individual had to undergo a pilgrimage that would demand his spiritual as well as his bodily strength, yet more than simply a pilgrimage was involved here. The use of upper-case for "Right" was especially significant. Without a righteous cause, loyalty and patriotism were meaningless. At the same time, hatred was not a component of this patriotism, except in terms of an equally generalised evil. Even in 1914, specific nations or races were not singled out as being evil in themselves.

32. "The Vigil", SJ 8, part three (September 1914): 240-242. The article was accompanied by a full-page illustration of the youth in the chapel, based on the painting The Vigil, by the Scottish painter John Pettie (1839-1893).

The knightly imagery so often employed in 1914 can, however, be misleading. The ghosts of the nineteenth century Romantics still lived on in Newbolt's poems and in the School Journals, but so too did a shocking naivety. Man's technological progress had oustripped his philosophy. In just two years this gap was to narrow considerably and in the process, bring forth far less knightly qualities.

4. New Concepts of Patriotism, 1916-1918

Few countries have, in proportion to their population, sustained a war effort as extensive as New Zealand's during the Great War. The Dominion's contribution was, as Sinclair has protested, " ... out of all proportion even to filial duty".³² As the War dragged on the burden became increasingly heavy. Early in 1916 the Gallipoli campaign had ended in a bloody defeat. In May conscription was introduced to enable the depleted New Zealand Division to be brought up to full strength for operations on the Western Front. During September and October the Division took part in the abortive Somme Offensive, a ghastly affair which even today inspires horror. Wading through mud-filled shell craters and swept by a relentless machine gun fire, the New Zealanders suffered over 7,000 casualties in just 23 days.³³

Inevitably, cracks began to appear in a society which had already undergone too much hardship. A grim sense of desperation gripped the

32. K. Sinclair, A History of New Zealand, revised ed. (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Limited, 1969), p.241.

33. An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, 1966 ed., s.v. "Wars", by W.E. Murphy. The casualty figures for individual New Zealand regiments more clearly illustrate the cost of the Somme Offensive. The Auckland Regiment, New Zealand Expeditionary Force began the battle with 1,500 officers and men, When they were withdrawn temporarily from the Front they had suffered some 1,000 casualties, including 300 killed. Other New Zealand Regiments had equally appalling losses. (See O.E. Burton, The Auckland Regiment, New Zealand Expeditionary Force, [Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922], p.116).

nation. The new mood of New Zealand society was particularly evident in its rapidly changing patriotic concepts. First, there was an increasing emphasis on group solidarity, with each and every individual now being regarded as fulfilling an important function in the total war effort, no matter how menial the task involved. Second, outward manifestations of patriotism came to be demanded as proof of loyalty. Those who failed for one reason or another to take part in the patriotic rituals of a society at war were often regarded with suspicion, if not hatred. Third, the generalised hatred of evil as such, which in 1914 had manifested itself in a dislike of Germany's actions, now became focused sharply on the Germans themselves. As a consequence, the usually favourable opinion in which many New Zealanders had initially held the Germans was replaced by an implacable hatred of all things Teutonic.

Each of these extensions of patriotism were interrelated, and in the restricted atmosphere of wartime New Zealand they tended to nourish each other. The heightened sense of urgency and unity which characterised society from about 1916, for instance, further encouraged the desire to ensure that everyone conformed to the standard of patriotism now required. In its turn the emphasis on conformity bred a deep distrust of those who clearly stood outside the main body of society. Such a mood could hardly help but affect the primary schools, for it was here that children were made acutely aware of society's changing attitudes and values.

a) Group Solidarity. The growing desperation of wartime New Zealand was responsible for bringing about an increasing emphasis on the need for national unity in the face of common danger. Newspapers and politicians continually pleaded for political and class divisions

to be put aside in the interests of the war effort. In February 1916, the Manawatu Daily Times reported on the outcome of a Christchurch recruitment drive at which there had been several noisy interjectors. Many of the interjectors had accused the organisers of the drive as being merely "society-blighters", unwilling to make sacrifices for the war effort themselves. The Times was critical of these interjectors, terming them "noise-makers" and seeking to identify them with the "Red-Feds", who, it was alleged, were opposing plans to introduce conscription. In comparison with such people, the paper argued, the so-called "society-blighters" were proving themselves good patriotic citizens who were prepared to help the war effort. The primary purpose of the Times article, however, was not to criticise but to encourage unity. All readers were therefore asked to remember that "the time [was] not ripe for hypercriticism and class dissension - the time [was] ripe for every citizen to make all sorts of sacrifice for the common cause."³⁴

While adult New Zealanders were being exhorted through their newspapers to make every sacrifice for the common cause, school children were being asked to make their own contribution towards victory. Jenkins believed that the year 1916 marked a fundamental change in the School Journal's portrayal of patriotism.³⁵ From about this time School Journal articles began to stress the horror and suffering of war. In one respect this was a logical development of the earlier concepts of heroic pilgrimage and self-sacrifice. Even the terminology was somewhat similar. An Empire Day article, for example, called upon children to,

34. Manawatu Daily Times (Palmerston North), 10 February 1916. Manawatu Daily Times hereafter cited as MDT.

35. Jenkins, p. 4.

"play the game of Empire" and make themselves worthy of their New Zealand kin serving at home or overseas.³⁶ Despite superficial similarities, however, most of the later war articles appearing in the School Journal were markedly different from those which had appeared prior to the outbreak of war. Far from being a matter of individual pilgrimage, armed conflict was now seen as uniting society in a common bond of suffering. As early as November 1915 a School Journal article entitled, "The Children of France in Wartime", described the bond which existed between French children whose fathers had been killed in battle. The article claimed that after the war was over these children would be members of poor but proud families whose, " ... scns would wear black knitted jerseys with pride, and not envy those with smart new clothes from the big shops".³⁷

Wartime grey was beginning to replace knightly white in the School Journal. Naive ideals of heroism had been displaced by a new emphasis on fortitude, resilience and unity. For the School Journal, mundane daily tasks became an essential component of patriotism. Children were now informed in sparse, grim phrases exactly how they could help the Empire through the crisis. In June 1917 an article by the Earl of Meath provided children with four watchwords: duty, sympathy, responsibility and self-sacrifice, which they were asked to employ throughout their waking hours as every task, however small, was vital to the war effort.³⁸

36. "Empire Day", SJ 11, part two (June 1917): 66-69.

37. "The Children of France in Wartime", SJ 9, part two (November 1915): 150-154. This article was adapted from an article of the same title by the British war correspondent Philip Gibbs, and published by the Daily Chronicle (London).

38. The Earl of Meath, "An Empire Day Message", SJ 11, part three (June 1917): 154. Meath (1831-1929), was an Anglo-Irish peer and a career diplomat who later became the author of several books on imperial topics. Much of his interest in writing for children stemmed from association with the Lads' Drill Association and the British College of Physical Education.

The article, "Empire Day", reinforced this point by suggesting that children in New Zealand were very lucky despite their having to carry out "irksome" little tasks for their parents and teachers. Children were bluntly told, "you are feeling little hardship, because the Empire is strong enough to protect you".³⁹ In order to illustrate the debt children owed, the article described some of the heroism that had characterised the imperial past. The, "... neglected wooden crosses ..." of Captain Scott's ill-fated Antarctic Expedition were recalled as having best embodied the imperial motto, "to seek, to strive, to find and not to yield". The article concluded with a brief citation of the deeds of imperial soldiers and seamen since 1914, in itself an indication that society was ransacking the past for the fortitude necessary to make even greater sacrifices in the future.

b) Loyalty and Conformity. As the drain on the Dominion's manpower and wealth continued, pressure for the suppression of deviance within society grew stronger. Mere protestations of patriotism were no longer considered to constitute unimpeachable loyalty. Patriotism had to be publicly demonstrated, and those who refused to do this were frequently subjected to harsh treatment.⁴⁰ Conscientious objectors were interned, often in poor conditions. Those who harboured controversial views on the conduct of the War often discovered that a few careless words could have unfortunate repercussions. A Tauranga man who was overheard to suggest that the German army was better than that of the Allies was

39. "Empire Day", SJ 11, part two (June 1917):69.

40. See A. Baxter, We Will Not Cease, Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1968. Baxter was a conscientious objector who while in France was subjected to considerable ill treatment including the notorious "Number One Field Punishment".

twice punished for his temerity. First, he was knocked down by an irate coaster captain. After his recovery he was arrested, taken to court and sentenced to three months imprisonment for a seditious utterance.⁴¹

School children became caught up in the general desire to involve everyone in mass patriotic activity. Parents and returned servicemen wrote to their local papers requesting an increase in school patriotism. One returned soldier advised readers of the Manawatu Daily Times to, " ... teach the children to sing patriotic songs and ever be present at patriotic demonstrations to pay homage to brave men".⁴² In fact, such agitation was unnecessary. In 1917 the National Efficiency Board had been formed to investigate ways in which New Zealand could be more efficiently organised for the prosecution of war, and in August of that year, it recommended, " ... that in every school throughout the Dominion the system adopted in the cities of America should be followed, and the flag of the Empire should be unfurled and saluted by every child when entering the school".⁴³

J.A. Hanan, the Minister of Education, readily concurred with this recommendation. In May 1916 he had expressed some satisfaction in the fact that the War had given children, " ... splendid lessons in patriotism and national service", which they could not have learned from, " ... theoretical lessons or lectures".⁴⁴ Hanan envisaged flag-saluting as

41. NZH, 6 July 1917.

42. J.A. MacManus to MDT, 8 January 1917. MacManus claimed that although once a socialist, he had come to realise that the War was a necessary one, and that victory was only possible through the cooperation of all New Zealanders, regardless of class or political belief.

43. SJ 15, part three (August 1917): 224.

44. AJHR, 1916, E-1, p.3. To a limited extent child participation in the war effort had been encouraged since 1914. The Children's Ambulance Fund for instance, was set up a few days after the declaration of war. (See SJ 8, part three [September 1914]: 252).

a further practical lesson in patriotism, and a School Journal article quoted him as having claimed that national efficiency in wartime would be increased, " ... through the important factor of the inculcation of a patriotic sentiment in school children".⁴⁵ Hanan also believed that in saluting the flag, children would publicly demonstrate their loyalty whilst at the same time their action would teach them to see themselves as an integral part of their own society, because they would be reminded of their duties to parents, school and Empire.⁴⁶

The emphasis on duty and sacrifice continued during the last few months of war. There were growing indications that Germany was close to defeat at last. The stronger the indications became, the more children were urged to do their utmost for final victory. In June 1918, a School Journal article reminded its readers that, "the little duties are thronging around you, at home, at school, in the streets, at work, at play. Do them - there is no room in our Empire for idlers".⁴⁷ Victorious runners had relaxed, only to be beaten at the post. Wars too, could be lost in the moment of apparent triumph. Final and complete victory required relentless effort to the very end.

45. SJ 11, part three (August 1917): 226.

46. *Ibid.* The article also included a relatively detailed explanation of the administrative process behind the issue of the flag-saluting regulation. Apparently it was desirable that children come to appreciate the reasons for flag saluting, rather than blindly obey the instructions of their teachers. It is also possible that the article was intended to reassure parents that the decision had been taken only after considerable discussion had taken place.

47. SJ 12, part two (June 1918): 67.

c) Hatred of Germans. From about 1916 the relatively favourable opinion of Germans and German culture prevalent in 1914 was replaced by an uncompromising hatred of everything Teutonic. Undoubtedly the ever increasing demands for loyalty and sacrifice in the face of an enemy who appeared to be unbeatable helped to bring about this drastic change of heart. In February 1916 an editorial in the Manawatu Daily Times admitted with some bitterness that New Zealanders had deluded themselves in believing that the enemy was weakening, and that henceforth the war had to be regarded as, "a fight to the death".⁴⁸ There was an increasing conviction that Germans would stop at nothing to gain victory for their country. Settlers of German descent living in New Zealand were often singled out for verbal abuse.⁴⁹ In February 1916 a correspondent to the Manawatu Daily Times demanded to know what Palmerston North's own Germans were doing for the war effort. The writer advocated that German businesses in the town should be boycotted, whether their owners were naturalised or not:

Its no good to jiggle and tinker with fate,
A German is always a German.
He appears to be British and loyal of course,
While true to the land he was born in.

So don't put a cow cover over a horse,
And expect to get milk in the morning. 50

Such extreme views were reflected by a number of Parliamentarians. In June 1916 J. Payne, the member for Napier, suggested that doctors and dentists of German descent should be interned to prevent them from

48. MDT, 18 February 1916.

49. It should be noted that while several newspapers, among them the New Zealand Herald and the Manawatu Daily Times, discouraged the more hysterical accusations of correspondents during the early months of the War, they generally refrained from such action after 1916.

50. "W" to MDT, 15 February 1916.

deliberately spreading diseases among New Zealanders.⁵¹ Teachers became the victims of a similar hysteria. In October 1915 Professor von Zedlitz was removed from his position at Victoria University College, the principal victim of the Alien Enemy Teachers Act introduced earlier that year.⁵² Von Zedlitz, however, had been a special case in that following the outbreak of war in 1914 he had volunteered to return to Germany as a Red Cross worker. Consequently the reaction of the New Zealand public had been understandable, if unjustified. Other teachers of German descent suffered persecution, although they did nothing to precipitate it. In June 1916 J.V. Brown, the Member for Grey Lynn, told the House that he had received a complaint from several local teachers that "... the German teacher at Waiotapu [was] undergoing Physical Instruction with other teachers at Rotorua".⁵³ This, they had felt, constituted an insult to the troops at the Front, and a moral danger to the children at home. Accusations of this type resulted in a number of teachers being dismissed, or resigning because of undue community pressure.

The murderers of Belgian women and children could expect no better. The last eighteen months of war saw the Germans increasingly portrayed in newspapers and magazines as bestial savages, devoid of human qualities. In June 1917, the Manawatu Daily Times reprinted an article from the

52. Alien Enemy Teachers Act, 1915, 6 Geo. V., Statute, p.361. This Act forbade the employment of any teacher who was not a British citizen by birth or by naturalisation, who had at any time previously been a citizen of an enemy state.

53. NZPD, vol. 175, 1916, p.801.

British Daily Mail which claimed that Allied prisoners of war in Germany were treated like cattle. Readers were urged to remember the prisoners with pride because " ... that they should retain their cheery confidence in surroundings and among people so ferociously hostile, so entirely un-British, so devoid of chivalry, sporting instinct or humanity, was a monument to the character of the race".⁵⁴

School children were reminded that German actions in the past entitled the Allies to wage war against Germany without pity. A School Journal article in October 1918 painted a grim picture of life in wartime Germany. Sympathy for German suffering was almost entirely obscured beneath a grim tone of moral superiority. The main character in the story was Grandfather Hans, who as a young man had taken part in the victory parade following the Franco-Prussian War. Now, old and sick, Hans watched his grandsons march off to war one by one, never to return. His only daughter died of malnutrition because of the British blockade. Finally Hans himself had succumbed to grief. The story contained all the elements of a tragedy, but the moral of the article was that the Germans had only themselves to blame. They were now paying the price for disregarding the laws which governed the conduct of civilised nations.⁵⁵

With such a criminal race, no compromise was considered possible. During the last months of the War, several New Zealand newspapers warned

54. MDT, 7 January 1917.

55. H. Brighthouse, "A War Story", SJ 12, part three (October 1918): 284-287. It is to be doubted whether many children sympathised with the Germans at this stage of the war. Newspaper reports increasingly referred to German atrocities in the last few months of the conflict, and the School Journal itself, followed suit. In November 1918, for instance, even Standard One and Two children were told how the "Huns" had plundered cities and enslaved women and children. (SJ 12, part one [November 1918]: 153).

their readers of the dangers in being "duped" by eleventh hour German peace offers.⁵⁶ In September 1918 the School Journal featured an article entitled, "The Fable of the Simple Potter and the Treacherous Serpent". The story concerned a kind but naive potter, who was repaid for his kindness by treachery. He had encountered a venomous serpent, but after capturing it he had been moved by its eloquent pleas for liberty. The potter therefore released the serpent, having first removed its fangs. This he believed, would render it permanently harmless. Unfortunately for the potter, the serpent showed no gratitude for being freed. It merely nursed its hatred and quietly raised a brood of equally venomous children. Acting upon the wishes of their parent, the young snakes entered the potter's home where they killed not only the unfortunate potter, but his entire household as well. Few children could have missed the point being made. For those who had, the article was concluded with a single line in block capitals:

A MODERN MORAL TO THIS FABLE. BEWARE OF A GERMAN PEACE.⁵⁷

Even in November 1918, a School Journal article warned children that German peace overtures were, ". . . mere diplomatic wiles . . . that must be scorned". Only unconditional surrender, it was asserted, could ensure a peaceful future world.⁵⁸ The viper could not be permitted to escape now that he had at long last been cornered. For children and adults in New Zealand the "knightly pilgrimage" of 1914 seemed far away.

56. See Waikato Times, (Hamilton), 9 October 1918, for instance. Waikato Times hereafter cited as WT.

57. "The Fable of the Simple Potter and the Treacherous Serpent", SJ 12, part three (September 1918): 217.

58. SJ 12, part three (November 1918): 290-296.

Résumé

Prior to 1914, three factors conditioned the development of patriotic attitudes in New Zealand. First, there was the fear of foreign aggression, which manifested itself in a concern with Russian and later, German expansion into the Pacific. Second, the rise in national self-awareness during the Liberal period produced an upsurge of imperial patriotism which became intensified as a result of the South African War. Third, while patriotic activity was on the increase during the early years of the new century, it was characterised by romantic conceptions of duty and self-sacrifice which were based largely on an inaccurate understanding of modern warfare.

Patriotic activity in the primary schools reflected these factors. The growth of patriotic fervour in New Zealand coincided with a rise in interest concerning the teaching of patriotism, with the 1904 Syllabus and later, the School Journal, becoming important guides to instruction in this subject. School patriotism, like the patriotism that characterised pre-war society itself, was essentially romantic in tone, stressing heroism and knightly virtues. Outside the classroom, the school cadets offered boys a means of putting these ideals into practice under controlled conditions. Despite the obvious magnitude of school patriotic activity, however, there is little evidence to suggest that there was any specific attempt to prepare children for war. Justice in its broadest sense was the core of school patriotism, rather than simply dedication to the state. The disbandment of the Junior Cadet organisation in 1912, and the subsequent decline in School Journal articles dealing with war subjects, both provide further evidence that patriotism was an extremely generalised concept at this stage.

The first two years of the Great War saw no major alteration of these ideals. From about 1916, however, the whole concept of patriotism began to change as New Zealand society faced up to the stress of total war. Unity, outward conformity and hatred for the enemy became vital components of the new patriotic ideals. The grim new mood of society was reflected in the primary schools, and especially in the School Journal which was so sensitive to such changes. The conception of war as a "heroic pilgrimage" which had characterised so many articles in the pre-war School Journal, was largely replaced with a new emphasis on fortitude and resilience. Small everyday tasks around the home and the school were considered to be vital to the war effort. Schools put a greater emphasis on loyalty and conformity during the latter stages of the War, and one of the most important consequences of this was the introduction of flag-saluting in 1917. Children were also taught to regard the enemy with a mixture of fear and contempt, and thus to help their country wage war without pity. For them as well as for adults, war had become total, affecting every facet of their lives.

By 1918, therefore, patriotism had already changed drastically from what it had been prior to 1914. Much of what was to follow would be a direct consequence of the war years, without which the course of political values teaching in New Zealand primary schools would probably have been radically different. To this extent, the future of patriotism had already been charted as the Dominion entered upon the first, uneasy years of peace.

SECTION ONE

THE ZENITH OF PATRIOTIC ZEAL

1918 - 1922

CHAPTER ONE

The Legacy of War

By 1918 patriotism had come to be based on assumptions which differed markedly from those of pre-war times. Because the Great War had so deeply affected large numbers of New Zealanders, the continuance of wartime concepts and modes of thought was assured. The influence of war had three major ramifications for primary schools during the early post-war period. First, war commemoration became an important activity with the object of fully acquainting children with the deeds of imperial soldiers and sailors in the recent past. Second, as a result of war experiences, school patriotism became the focal point for a re-examination of citizenship training and its implications for the younger generation. Third, the strain and tensions which had characterised wartime society persisted into the immediate post-war period. This last factor was to be a portent of subsequent developments in patriotic activity which were to deeply affect the primary school system during the early 1920s.

1. War Commemoration

The New Zealand primary school's traditional role as a district community centre facilitated its utilisation for war commemoration purposes. Many schools had begun planning the erection of war memorials during the war. They were encouraged in their actions by the Education Department which had offered them a special subsidy without waiting for prior Government approval.¹ The result was that when the war ended, a number of these schools were to some degree dependent on Government finance for the completion of memorials, and they were subsequently

1. NZPD, vol. 186, 1920, p.947.

embarrassed by the Education Department's sudden reluctance to make the necessary funds available.

Confusion reigned over the exact status of war memorial subsidies. In July 1920 the Member for Dunedin South, T.K. Sidey, attempted to clarify the situation by persuading the Government to recognise the subsidy officially. The Minister of Education, C.J. Parr, felt that the large number of claims already received by the Education Department made such a step impracticable. He conceded, however, that a serious problem indeed existed, and promised that those school committees which had already made application for assistance in the belief that a subsidy would be forthcoming would receive sufficient funds to enable them to complete their memorials as planned.²

Further evidence of both public interest in war commemoration and Government reluctance to allocate funds for this purpose is illustrated by the efforts of schools, libraries and museums to obtain collections of literature on the Great War. In October 1922, C.N. MacKenzie, the Member for Auckland East asked the Minister of Defence, R.H. Rhodes, if the Defence Department could assist these institutions by making some of its own collection of books and magazines available for re-printing. Again, however, finance promised to be a major difficulty in the implementation of such a scheme. Consequently the Government was not able to help beyond expressing its general approval.³

Deprived of government funds for war commemoration purposes, schools were largely forced to rely on reading material supplied by

2. Ibid.

3. NZPD, vol. 198, 1922, p.211.

the Education Department. Much of this material unfortunately proved inadequate for the purpose. The Story of the British Nation, the approved primary school history textbook until 1929, provided a general survey of British and imperial history and dealt only briefly with the Great War.⁴ School Journals during the immediate post-war period were mainly concerned with the Peace Treaty and its implications, and contained little on the actual course of the war beyond the limited references in the annual Anzac Day commemorative articles.

For these reasons schools were susceptible to the blandishments of commercial enterprises. Major publishers had little to offer schools in the way of war commemorative literature in the months immediately following the Armistice, but by 1920 a ten volume set of encyclopaedias entitled, Children's Story of the War had appeared in Britain. The sets made a considerable impact on British schools especially after the Queen personally dedicated Children's Story of the War to the young Prince George in 1921.⁵ The Queen's action stimulated New Zealand interest in the sets and convinced a young book distributor named A.H. Reed that

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4. The Story of the British Nation, first ed. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1916. This textbook was published in two volumes. The first volume traced the main themes and events of British history from pre-Roman times till the death of Queen Elizabeth I, and was intended for Standard Three and Four. The second volume covered the period from the death of Elizabeth up to the Battle of Jutland in 1916 and was intended for Standards Five and Six. Subsequent editions brought the second volume up to date and included the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Although the Standard Three and Four text did not totally cover the period, the history and civics section of the 1919 Syllabus made some provision for recent events to be discussed, while the part one and two School Journals contained suitable background articles.
 5. Sir (James) Edward Parrott, Children's Story of the War, 10 vols., London: Nelson and Sons, 1920. Parrott (1863-1922) was a prominent author of British history textbooks, and books on citizenship. Among his better known publications were, Finger-posts to British History, Nelson's School Series, London: Nelson and Sons, 1909; The Industrial and Social Life of a Citizen, London: Nelson and Sons, 1908 and; Britain Overseas: Empire in Picture and Story, London: Nelson and Sons, 1908. Parrott was also responsible for Nelson's Highroads readers used in many New Zealand primary schools during the 1920s.

a considerable market for such encyclopaedias existed in the Dominion. Reed decided to take a gamble. By early 1922, he had shipped 700 sets of Children's Story of the War into the country at a total cost of £750, a considerable sum by New Zealand book-buying standards.

The gamble succeeded to a degree that probably surprised even Reed himself. Schools began placing their orders even before his planned Dominion-wide advertising campaign was fully underway. Greatly encouraged, Reed allocated a proportion of his sets to specially formed distribution centres in each education board district. By August 1922 he had received nearly 300 orders from schools. Only 250 sets remained unsold by late September, at which time there were still 400 outstanding orders.⁶ By the end of the year Reed had not only recovered his original investment, but made a profit of £700. The response from New Zealand schools had been truly overwhelming.⁷

There were three major reasons for the interest shown by schools. The first was Reed's skilful advertising campaign which utilised the most modern techniques then available. The second was the securing of official support and encouragement. The third and most important reason however, was that Children's Story of the War appeared at a time when schools were desperately searching for a book which would both commemorate the Great War and appeal sufficiently to children.

Reed's advertising campaign employed methods which foreshadowed modern business practice. Regular advertisements appeared in National

6. A.H. Reed, Memorandum to Headteachers and Secretaries of School Committees, 26 September 1922. Personal Files of A.H. Reed, Wellington. Personal Files of A.H. Reed hereafter cited as RF.

7. By contrast the much earlier, New Zealand School Reader, written by W.P. Reeves in 1895 was a failure in terms of sales, despite considerable backing from both the Education Department and the majority of education boards.

Education and in the Education Gazette. Prospectuses describing Children's Story of the War in some detail had been sent to over 1,000 primary schools by May 1922.⁸ Further batches of prospectuses followed until by Reed's own calculations, virtually every primary school in the Dominion had been contacted in this way. The prospectuses were followed up with special bi-monthly memoranda addressed to "Headteachers and Secretaries of School Committees". A memorandum dated 16 June claimed that Children's Story of the War was, "... one of the most notable book bargains ever offered in New Zealand", and stressed that for a limited period only the sets were being offered to schools for only £2 15s 0d instead of the usual £3 15s 0d.⁹ In September 1922, the price was dropped to £1 7s 6d.¹⁰

By themselves, even lavish advertisements such as these could not have guaranteed sales. In the early 1920s Reed's "special offers" still represented a considerable outlay for many small schools. Major success was thus dependent on Reed's securing support from administrative bodies at each level of the education system. Before mounting his advertising campaign, Reed had prudently elicited promises of assistance from the Education Department and virtually all the education boards.¹¹ The

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8. A.H. Reed to the Taranaki Education Board, New Plymouth, 30 May 1922, RF. This represented approximately half of the total number of primary schools in the Dominion at this time.
 9. Memorandum to Headteachers and Secretaries of School Committees, 16 June 1922, RF.
 10. Circular to Headteachers and Secretaries of School Committees, 6 September 1922. RF.
 11. With the notable exception of the Southland Education Board, which informed Reed that it was unable to recommend the sets to its schools. No reason was given for this decision. (Reed to J. Caughley, Director of Education, 8 June 1922, RF.) Reed went so far as to ask the Governor-General, Lord Jellicoe for his opinion of Children's Story of the War, but Jellicoe considered that his official position disqualified him from expressing an opinion. (Jellicoe to Reed, 26 May 1922, RF.)

Department recommended Children's Story of the War for all primary schools, and even announced that the set would forthwith be included in its textbook subsidy scheme, a rare honour indeed for a privately distributed set of encyclopaedias. Parr was sufficiently impressed to allow Reed to quote his assertion that the sets were, " ... an excellent addition to any school library", in subsequent advertisements.¹²

Education board praise was equally glowing. Both the Auckland and Otago Boards were quick to grant additional subsidies of their own to further offset the costs to schools in their districts.¹³ E.C. Purdie, the Secretary of the Auckland Education Board, sent Reed a letter informing him that the Senior Inspector of Primary Schools, T.B. Strong, had read and approved of the sets for school library use. A list containing the addresses of every school in the Auckland area was forwarded with the letter in order to make it easier for Reed to contact them. The set that Reed had originally sent to the Auckland Education Board for inspection purposes was placed on public view in the Board's offices. The Canterbury Education Board recommended the sets as being, " ... eminently suitable for purchase for school libraries", and followed the example set by Auckland and Otago by making a special subsidy available.¹⁴ By late 1922 only two education boards had failed to provide subsidies to cover the purchase of Children's Story of the War. For most New Zealand schools the unique double subsidy brought the price of a single set to well under one pound.¹⁵

12. Memorandum to Headteachers and Secretaries of School Committees, 6 September 1922, RF.

13. A.H. Reed to the Wanganui Education Board, 30 May 1922, RF.

14. Circular to Headteachers and Secretaries of School Committees, 3 July 1922, RF.

15. Schools ordering five or more sets received an additional complimentary set. For this reason headteachers often encouraged families in their local area who wished to purchase Children's Story of the War, to forward orders through the school.

Although skilful Dominion-wide advertising and the securing of official support greatly boosted sales of Children's Story of the War, it was the appropriateness of the sets themselves that was ultimately responsible for their success. They appealed to a mixture of patriotic sentiment, national pride and personal memories which, in 1922, proved to be powerful supports for Reed advertising campaign. Returned servicemen were strongly represented both within the teaching service, and on the school committees, the latter often exerting a good deal of influence in the purchase of school books. At a time when post-war disillusionment and widespread anti-war sentiments had not yet penetrated New Zealand society deeply, veterans enthused wildly over the realism of the sets. C. Kibblewhite of Ohura School, who had participated in the Somme campaign, was one of many who wrote to Reed claiming that the sets provided " ... an excellent description of events with which I was personally familiar".¹⁶

National pride was a strong factor in the popularity of the sets, and New Zealand war heroes were given generous coverage in Children's Story of the War. Volume Four of the set devoted no less than three pages to Lieutenant Colonel Freyberg because, "thanks to his brilliant leadership, his superb courage and his magnificent example, he succeeded with a single battalion where brigades had failed, and won a renown which will never be forgotten while British hearts are stirred by the story of valiant deeds".¹⁷ Reed used this passage in National Education and Education Gazette advertisements to emphasise the New Zealand flavour of the sets.

16. C. Kibblewhite to Reed, Ohura School, Taranaki, September 1922, RF.

17. Children's Story of the War, vol. iv, p.257.

Patriotic sentiment and national pride were woven together in the description of New Zealand's reaction to war in volume one:

Less than three weeks after the declaration of war, a cable was sent to the War Office in London, saying that New Zealand had 8000 men ready to go to any part of the world at a moment's notice. These troops consisted of Mounted Rifles, Field Artillery and Infantry, and along with them were five hundred Maoris who were most eager to fight for Britain. Among the white volunteers were five members of the famous "All Blacks" football team which played so well in Great Britain a few years ago, and three Rhodes scholars. All the men were splendid specimens of young manhood. 18

Reed himself was quick to identify the mixture of patriotic sentiment and national pride which so frequently proved a major factor behind the purchase of Children's Story of the War. Again he shrewdly turned this to his advantage in subsequent advertisements. The securing of a set was represented as an act of patriotism in itself. Such was the enthusiasm for the sets in schools, that this was exactly what it became in the eyes of headmasters and school committees. In his circulars to schools Reed expressed his belief that "... there must be some public spirited man in every township and settlement who would gladly subscribe a small amount in order to place these books in the library of the school in his district".¹⁹ In September 1922, Reed suggested that children themselves could help their school obtain a set by donating as little as 1d each, an idea which was strongly reminiscent of the 1d contributions many thousands of school children had made towards the building of H.M.S. New Zealand in 1908.²⁰ In each case, this appeal to patriotism and to district pride proved an outstanding success and was responsible for further sales.

18. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 287.

19. Memorandum to Headteachers and Secretaries of School Committees, 26 September 1922, RF.

20. Ibid.

The success of Children's Story of the War is significant in that it clearly underlines the connection between war commemoration and the teaching of patriotism. For many schools this ten volume set, along with a simple memorial in the school grounds, provided a solid basis for commemorating the courage displayed by New Zealand servicemen during the Great War. Even more important, these books constituted the most appropriate means available of impressing upon children, the nature and extent of the commitment to duty now expected of all patriotic citizens.

2. The Lessons of War

During the Great War, education had become an issue of vital national concern, widely recognised as being of great value both to the individual and to society. The latter's claim on education at first appeared to be the stronger of the two, because *most* educationalists and politicians were convinced that the survival of Dominion and Empire depended on an efficient education system, capable of producing people able to contribute to the nation's well-being.²¹ Given the subordination of national life to the war effort which had occurred during the Great War, it was hardly surprising that education came to be regarded as another battle to be won, this time on the Home Front. In 1916 the President of the Institute, H.G. Cousins, told members that the War had at least achieved something positive by highlighting educational problems. A society at war, he claimed, could tolerate, " ... no wastage of human skill in a struggle for pre-

21. Though ultimately, the Great War strengthened the claims of the former. Educational progressives for instance, strongly attacked what they considered to be an over-emphasis on the "nationalistic" aims of education. During the early post-war period, however, this was still largely in the future. (See below, Chapter Seven *passim*).

eminence". Failure meant losing " ... the battle for human energy".²²

Cousins' immediate audience was probably well aware that the American educationalist John Dewey, had written in a similar vein,²³ but it was only now that the stimulus of war had made pleas for educational relevancy a national catchphrase. In October 1918, T. W. Rhodes, the Member for Thames, echoed Dewey's claim that, " ... the state of public education [was] the barometer of the nation's progress. To prevent the mercury rising [was] to defy a law of nature".²⁴ Doctor Newman, the Member for Wellington East, argued that only technically educated nations won wars, and contemptuously dismissed Greek and Latin as a waste of time.²⁵ Individuals who possessed technical skills alone, however, were not considered sufficient to ensure victory. Patriotism and loyalty were to provide the real sinews of wartime New Zealand. Future generations also, would need these latter qualities, and most late-war critics of education were agreed on the need to strengthen citizenship instruction in the primary schools. L.H. Isitt, the outspoken Independent Member for *Christchurch* North, summed up much of the prevailing feeling in the House when he asserted that the war had

22. H.G. Cousins, "Presidential Report, 1916", Reports of Annual-General Meetings, 1916-1939, p.5. New Zealand Educational Institute Files, Wellington. Institute Files hereafter cited as IF.

23. Dewey believed that educational reform was dependent on an analysis of the aims and needs of contemporary society. (See, J. Dewey, The School and Society, second ed., [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915] pp.3-12 and; Democracy and Education [New York: Macmillan 1916], pp. 12-27).

24. NZPD, vol. 183, 1918, p.163.

25. Ibid., p.103.

taught New Zealanders above all, " ... the wisdom and necessity of instructing [their] children in patriotism - in love for and pride in their country".²⁶

The Government, in fact, was strongly committed to improving patriotic instruction in the schools. The Prime Minister, W.F. Massey, took a keen personal interest in the matter. In November 1918 Massey expressed his admiration for the American school practice of daily dedication to the flag:

Go ye and do likewise. Our rising generation has a great deal to learn - they want to be taught pride of race - it does not matter what race they belong to in the British Empire - pride of Empire and love of country; they want to be taught what is meant by the Union Jack ... 27

Massey was particularly impressed with the concept of history teaching by example, believing strongly that children could best learn patriotism through studying the deeds of great men in the past, " ... from which the race [had] sprung". He also wanted children to become thoroughly acquainted with the more recent heroes of the Great War, especially Haig, Foch and Beatty, the latter considered by Massey to be, "a second Nelson".²⁸ More than merely citizenship training or even commemoration were involved here. There seems little doubt that Massey was alarmed lest the rigours of total war hastened the onset of a post-war reaction that would leave New Zealanders lazy and indolent. In the House, he posed the question of whether the British race would continue

26. Ibid., pp.211-212. L.H. Isitt entered Parliament in 1911 as an Independent, his Christchurch North seat having been held previously by T.E. Taylor. Like Taylor, Isitt was a man of strong, often extreme convictions, but he was certainly not alone in his views on school patriotism at this time.

27. NZPD, vol. 183, 1918, pp.186-187.

28. Ibid., p. 187.

to progress as it had done in the past, or whether it would instead, " ... act as the citizens of the great Empires that rose, flourished for hundreds of years, and then decayed". If they were not careful, the strength of the race could be dissipated by "laziness and luxury".²⁹

The Great War had provided a powerful stimulus towards the strengthening of citizenship education. Wartime influences and prejudices influenced patriotic teaching in two main ways. First, the 1919 Syllabus devoted considerable space to history and civics, because these subjects together constituted the chief means of inculcating patriotism in the classroom. Second, the increase in school patriotic observances begun during the war years was largely sustained, with the intention of giving pupils some practical means of demonstrating their loyalty to nation and Empire.

a) The 1919 Syllabus. In 1919 a new primary school syllabus was issued. In many respects this was similar to its predecessors of 1904 and 1913.³⁰ The content prescribed for history, civics and moral instruction was largely that of Hogben's Syllabus. The 1904 method of inculcating moral lessons through the study of great lives was continued in the 1919 Syllabus, but the study was extended to include more recent imperial heroes such as Scott and Beatty. The organisation and much of the purpose behind the 1919 Syllabus, however, was very different. History, civics and moral instruction each appeared under the larger heading, "Man and Society". In history, this new organisation betokened a greater emphasis on the concentric approach as an alternative to the

29. A view obviously influenced by Massey's deep interest in the Old Testament. By about 1917 Massey had adopted British Israelism and developed "... an almost mystical belief in the permanency of the Empire". (An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, s.v. "Massey, William Ferguson" by W.J. Gardner).

30. See Ewing, p.162.

older periodic approach. Consequently the forces believed to be behind historical progress became more important than the actual chronology. At all levels of study attempts were to be made to explain the present position of the British nation, " ... by studying the races from which it arose".³¹ The growth of national freedom, confidence, military power, industrial and commercial wealth were to be examined as a vital aspect of Britain's rise to pre-eminence. Because each of these factors could be traced from the earliest period of British history, they were also to be regarded as a basis for instruction in civics, especially lessons on the development of parliamentary government and constitutional monarchy.

Like history and civics, moral instruction was intended to be an integral part of citizenship instruction. The 1904 Syllabus had emphasised the development of desirable character traits such as kindness, politeness, obedience and truthfulness. The 1919 Syllabus stressed similar traits, but now the concentric method allowed children at each level to employ their existing knowledge as a basis upon which to develop a deeper understanding of how such qualities could be utilised in daily living for the benefit of all society. At the intermediate levels (Standards Three and Four), the children's awareness of desirable basic qualities was to be widened to include loyalty, respect for law, and service to the community, nation and Empire. At the senior level (Standards Five and Six), this was to be broadened

31. Education Department, Regulations for the Organisation, Examination and Inspection of Public Schools and the Syllabus of Instruction, (Wellington, Government Printers, 1919), p.82. Regulations for the Organisation, Examination and Inspection of Public Schools and the Syllabus of Instruction hereafter cited as 1919 Syllabus.

yet again to embrace, "moral courage", which outstanding citizens had demonstrated in the past through the performance of, "... heroic deeds in the service of mankind and in common life".³²

The stress on frugality of dress and diet at all levels in the 1919 Syllabus was particularly noteworthy. Although in some ways this was merely an extension of the moral instruction concepts present in the 1904 Syllabus it was greatly influenced, like so much of the history and civics in the early post-war period, by the impact of the Great War when wastage was condemned as a crime against society.³³

b) Patriotic Observances in the School. Patriotic observances were regarded in many schools as an indispensable supplement to regular lessons in history and civics. Because comparatively large numbers of children were brought together on these occasions, they possessed the added advantage of making children aware of "school spirit", which itself was viewed as being but a microcosm of national and imperial spirit.³⁴ Two of the most important patriotic observances were

32. Ibid., p.82.

33. The Institute also had pressed for the inclusion of "frugality" as a topic in any syllabus revision that might take place after the Great War. See for instance, National Education, 1919, pp.1-3,11.

34. T.B. Strong was a firm advocate of school patriotic observances for precisely these reasons. See T.B. Strong, "The Inculcation of Patriotism", Education Gazette, 1 November 1921, pp.2-4 and ; "Saluting the Flag", Education Gazette, 1 December 1923, pp.138-140. Also see T. Percy Nunn, Education: Its Data and First Principles. (London: Edward Arnold, 1923), pp.66-67, 212. Nunn's book was used as a standard text by New Zealand Training Colleges and University College Education Departments. There is some evidence to suggest that Strong and perhaps Parr too, had read and misinterpreted Nunn's comments on the role of school ceremonies. When Nunn spoke of the child's need for "intensifying and purifying social emotion", he was thinking of historical re-enactments and folk-culture rather than of patriotic ceremonies such as school flag-saluting. (See below: pp. 195-199).

weekly flag-saluting and Anzac Day, both of which originated during the Great War.

Even after the National Efficiency Board was disbanded at the close of the Great War, many primary schools continued to hold full assemblies every Monday morning during the course of which a brief dedication ceremony was performed, and the flag saluted by all present. The Education Department continued to encourage the practice. Each School Journal contained a list of dates upon which the school flag could be flown during the coming month. There were frequent School Journal articles dealing with the origins of both the Union Jack and the New Zealand Ensign. In addition flags were supplied free to all schools.³⁵ Although school committees were responsible for raising money for flag poles, the cost was considerably offset by a special Departmental subsidy.³⁶ When new regulations covering flag-saluting were finally introduced in May 1921, they merely standardised what was already considered to be a vital part of school life by a considerable number of headmasters.³⁷

Anzac Day observances provide a further example of the continuation of wartime activities and wartime attitudes into the post-war period. Anzac Day had been observed in the schools from 1916, though the precise date for commemoration was not actually fixed for the first two years. Beginning in 1918, however, the April issue of the School Journal included Anzac commemorative articles, and this became

35. Minutes of the Wellington Education Board, vol. eleven (18 May 1921), p.15. Wellington Education Board Offices, Wellington. Minutes of the Wellington Education Board hereafter cited as MWEB.

36. School Committees were therefore only required to find eight pounds for a flag pole.

37. The introduction of these regulations is discussed below, pp.111-112.

the pattern during the entire interwar period.

As in the 1919 Syllabus, war commemoration and patriotic sentiment were closely allied. Anzac Day soon became the major post-war expression of the Dominion's pride and grief. Schools throughout the country held special Anzac assemblies on the day immediately preceding the national holiday.³⁸ There was a tendency for these assemblies to become somewhat lengthy, and it was not unusual for children in some districts to faint after standing in the sun for an hour or more listening to speeches and addresses. In addition to participation in the school assembly, many pupils also took part in dawn parades the following morning. In Auckland, selected pupils represented their schools at these parades and laid wreaths for the fallen. Some education boards and school committees required teachers to attend as a matter of duty. Despite the arduousness of complying with this requirement, there appear to have been few objections raised by teachers during the early 1920s.³⁹ Like flag-saluting, Anzac Day parades and ceremonies were commonly regarded as being an important part of school life at this time.

3. Continuance of Wartime Strain and Tension

Although the deeds of imperial servicemen during the Great War were already becoming sagas by the early 1920s, memories of the War itself were still too sharp to be solely confined to textbooks and

38. The Anzac Day Act, 1920, made Anzac Day a public holiday of commemoration for the war dead.

39. The Auckland Headmasters' Association was one of several teachers' organisations that played a major role in dawn parades in Auckland during the early 1920s. It helped prepare wreaths, and arranged for representatives from schools within the metropolitan area to be present at the wreath-laying ceremony. Significantly, the Association only began to question the length of Anzac Day services and the requirement that teachers should attend dawn parades from about 1930. (See below, p.215).

patriotic observances. Wartime strains and tensions continued to dominate life in New Zealand during the early post war period. In the schools, this state of affairs was most clearly typified by the continuance of hostility towards Germany, and the persistence of resentment against teachers who had been military defaulters.

a) Hostility towards Germany. As the Great War drew to a close, the desire for both justice and future safety inspired a mood of uncompromising firmness among the Allies. The Waikato Times summed up prevailing attitudes in New Zealand when it asserted, "we have seen exactly what Germany is, and the conviction is general that she must do adequate penance".⁴⁰ Early post-war School Journals reflected widely felt hostility towards Germany. Although several articles which had appeared during the latter stages of the war indicated that Germany could expect a severe punishment, definitive School Journal reaction to the Armistice was delayed while the delegates debated at the Peace Conference. It was not until May 1919, barely a month before the Treaty of Versailles was formally concluded, that the School Journal somewhat belatedly featured "the Angel of Peace" on its front cover.⁴¹ Along the base of the angel's pedestal ran the traditional words, "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Men". By contrast, the face of the angel appeared stern. It was an Allied angel possessing all the righteous wrath of the victors, and as such it was a rather incongruous beginning to an era already hailed as the dawn of human brotherhood.⁴²

40. WT, 9 October 1918.

41. SJ 13, part one, May 1919. This angel was similar to that featured on the near contemporary Victory Stamps, issued during 1920. (Pim's Catalogue: The Stamps of New Zealand, 6th ed. [Auckland: Pim and Company, 1955], p.4).

42. The Covenant of the League of Nations had been formally approved in Paris on 28 April 1919.

Although it is very doubtful whether the figure or its caption were intended to convey such stern feelings, they did foreshadow the tone adopted by several School Journal articles which appeared during the immediate post-war period. Again, this closely matched public opinion. During the latter stages of the war, New Zealanders had displayed an intense hatred for all things German.⁴³ After 1918, this was a habit that proved difficult to discard. In the short term, at least, few New Zealanders were able either to forgive or to forget their wartime enemies. Uncompromising faith in Allied moral superiority boded ill for the vanquished. The School Journal reminded children that, "the Peace Conference was not only to make a peaceful world, but to decide upon Germany's payment for the crimes she had committed".⁴⁴ The restoration of territory conquered by the Germans was considered to be insufficient, given the unscrupulous nature of German actions in the past. Pressure for some form of "atonement" was strong. Germany was to pay heavily, because she among the Central Powers, was most responsible for the suffering of 1914-18. According to the School Journal:

... no payment could wash her white in the eyes of the nations. She must suffer for her sins and try to repair the evil she has done, then perhaps, after years of endeavour, she might stand once more among the nations, repentant and purified.⁴⁵

43. In the School Journal, as in contemporary New Zealand newspapers, hatred for the enemy nearly always meant hatred for the Germans only. Austria was rarely mentioned, probably because the imperial forces had only rarely encountered Austrian troops and on these occasions few if any New Zealanders had been present. Turkey was mentioned only in connection with the Gallipoli campaign, and Turkish troops were termed, "stubborn fighters".

44. "The Armistice and the Peace Conference", SJ 13, part two (March 1919): 6.

45. *Ibid.*

Every single German was a "sinner", who had now to begin a long penance for the crime his nation had committed against mankind. Children undoubtedly found this concept relatively easy to understand, for it bore a close resemblance to the object lessons they were familiar with through moral instruction sessions.

Even a long penance, it was believed, could not guarantee German good behaviour in the future. Germans were dangerous even in defeat. The Waikato Times pointed out to its readers that the German psychology was, " ... a mixture of unrepentant arrogance and cringing flattery".⁴⁶ In the circumstances it was hardly surprising that individual Germans were rather unflatteringly depicted. In March 1919 the School Journal published an account of the surrender of the U-boats at Scapa Flow, written by a young New Zealand woman who was working in Britain at the time. As one U-boat passed close to where the woman stood, she observed that, "forward of the conning tower the Hun crew were standing, the dirtiest looking men I've ever seen - they might have been coal heavers".⁴⁷ Submarine duty in all navies at this time was arduous and above all, unavoidably dirty. To the watching woman, however, the comparison with "coal heavers" underlined her moral indignation with the way Germans had conducted the war. It is very unlikely that she would have made a similar outburst concerning the appearance of British submariners. In the case of the Germans, the dirt, far from being a symbol of honest labour, had taken on a sinister, loathsome quality which only served to confirm wartime propaganda.

46. WT, 9 October 1918.

47. "The Surrender of the German Fleet and the Submarines", SJ 13, part two (March 1919): 211.

Like Flashman, the arch-bully of Hughes' Tom Brown's Schooldays, the German nation had deliberately chosen the path of evil. Consequently individual Germans deserved no pity. The Story of the British Nation praised British entry into the war as an "unselfish act", designed to preserve Belgian neutrality against irresponsible German military might. The reasons for German expansion were viewed in terms of overpopulation. To relieve herself of such a terrible human burden, Germany had planned to crush France and Russia prior to seizing British colonies. That Germany faced such a predicament in the first place, was regarded as her own fault for, "... although she had overseas colonies of her own, they had never been a success, for the Germans never understood that the proper way to make prosperous colonies is to allow their people the privilege of governing themselves".⁴⁸ In addition, the Germans had demonstrated that they were unfit to be either colonists or civilised Europeans because they had destroyed, "... cities, and towns, and other works of civilisation". They were therefore barbarians, both by habit and by descent.⁴⁹

These views were to remain unchanged in subsequent editions of The Story of the British Nation. The second edition introduced little that was new, but the third edition added eleven new pages, covering the 1916 to 1921 period.⁵⁰ These described the closing events of the Great War in a tone that varied little from that adopted in the previous

48. The Story of the British Nation, 1st ed., 1916, p.258. A misprint in this edition gave Germany's population as, "about 70,000 millions", truly a nightmarish figure! The misprint was corrected in subsequent editions.

49. *Ibid.*, p.256. A footnote claimed that both the Prussians and the Hungarians were descended from the Huns who had ravaged Europe in late Roman times.

50. The Story of the British Nation, 3rd revised ed., Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922.

51. *Ibid.*, p.280.

editions. America's entry into the war was claimed to have brought to the war-weary Allies, " ... both a moral and material strength that steadily increased as the struggle deepened".⁵¹ The Treaty of Versailles was hailed as, " ... indeed stern retribution for a colossal plot against the world's freedom, cruelly and cunningly worked out".⁵² Such comments served to underline the hostility towards Germans which persisted into the early post-war period.

b) Hostility towards Military Defaulters. Military defaulters during the early post-war period were also subjected to considerable hostility. During the Great War the Public Service Gazette carried monthly lists of those who had refused to serve in the armed forces. Even after the Armistice, military defaulters frequently found that society was not prepared to forgive or forget their actions. Their names were circulated around every government department and even reached the ears of private employers. Military defaulters who were also teachers were regarded with fear as well as hostility, because it was assumed that they would pass on pacifist views to the children in their charge.⁵³

Dismissal from the teaching service, while serious enough for the military defaulter concerned, was often just the first step in a

51. The Story of the British Nation, 3rd revised ed., p.280.

52. Ibid., p.285. There was, however, a warning that if Germany was given too severe treatment her "fragile" new democracy might be weakened. Some indication that Germany would eventually be welcomed back into the family of nations was provided by the statement that the League of Nations would attempt to, " ... maintain the promise of a new era of peace, goodwill and justice for all the countries of the world". (p.28).

53. Such fears were stimulated by a growing awareness of the teachers' great influence on pupils. See below, Chapter Six passim.

process which led to the isolation of the individual from the mainstream of national life. In 1917 R.O. Page was removed from his teaching post for refusing to serve in the armed forces. By early 1918 his case had been brought to the attention of the Canterbury University College authorities. Following a meeting of the Professorial Board, Page was banned from further attendance at lectures. In Page's case, the Professorial Board relented soon after the war.⁵⁴ Other teachers were not so fortunate, for educational authorities generally had long memories where the loyalty of teachers was concerned. Once teachers had been discovered to be deficient in patriotism, education boards were reluctant to re-employ them. Some teachers found that their past actions cast a long shadow indeed. As late as 1941, C.W. Boswell, the Labour Member for Bay of Islands was able to recall the case of a teacher (unnamed), who had been dismissed from the service as a military defaulter during the Great War. This teacher had been imprisoned for two years until his release in 1918. For the next ten years he remained disenfranchised, and education boards refused to re-employ him until 1932.⁵⁵

Even the slightest suspicion of disloyalty was enough to endanger a teacher's future career. A.W. Mayo, a mathematics teacher at Seddon Memorial Technical College, discovered to his cost that it was wise to refrain from expressing controversial opinions. In April 1918 he was censured by the Auckland Education Board for remarks he had allegedly made concerning the conduct of the war. The Board at first decided to give Mayo a further chance after he had admitted his mistake and apologised. Then, quite unaccountably, the Board reversed its decision and forced Mayo's resignation.⁵⁶

54. W.J. Gardner, E.T. Beardsley and T.E. Carter, A History of the University of Canterbury, 1873-1973, (Christchurch: University of Canterbury, 1973), p.213.

55. NZPD, vol. 260, 1941, p.61.

56. Minutes of the Auckland Education Board, vol. twenty (7 September 1920), p.89, Auckland Institute and Museum Library. Minutes of the Auckland Education Board hereafter cited as MAEB.

Despite Mayo's protests the Board remained adamant. Only in September 1920, again for no apparent reason, did it set up a special committee to consider the whole case. The five man committee carefully re-examined the evidence against Mayo, taking a full month to complete its report. The report justified the Board's original decision to retain Mayo after a stern warning had been issued, and went on to point out that the principal witness against him possessed a criminal record. The committee held that as Mayo had given adequate proof of his loyalty since being dismissed, he could safely be entrusted with a position similar to that which he had originally held at Seddon. A full board meeting approved the committee's recommendations by eight votes to two and the case was considered closed. Although this had the effect of removing Mayo from any "blacklist", he was not reinstated to his old position.⁵⁷ Neither was the case to be so easily terminated by the Board. Considerable public interest had been aroused and two patriotic organisations in particular, the Auckland Branch of the Returned Soldiers' Association, and the Auckland Squadron of the League of Frontiersmen, had followed the case with increasing misgivings. Both organisations were incensed by the Board's apparent failure to take a firm stand over a clear case of disloyalty, and both sent letters to the Board protesting against the decision to allow Mayo to return to teaching.⁵⁸ This time, however, the Board refused to re-open the case and Mayo was able to resume teaching unhampered by the past. Not all military defaulters

57. Ibid., 5 October 1920, p.120.

58. Ibid., 19 October 1920, p.136.

were so lucky.

Résumé

The Great War continued to profoundly affect the teaching of patriotism after 1918. The primary school itself became a focal point for war commemoration activities. School libraries became repositories for war literature. War memorials were built in school grounds, inspired by local pride, and sustained by a government subsidy. Reed's outstanding success in selling Children's Story of the War to New Zealand schools during the early 1920s underlines the intense interest in both war commemoration, and in teaching the younger generation the lessons learned by the Empire in four years of bitter fighting.

The Great War had also fostered an increased appreciation of education as a means of national development. Because the future citizen was envisaged as playing a vital role in his society, much attention was focused on citizenship training. The 1919 Syllabus featured a greatly increased history and civics section, much of it expressly designed to create patriotic and loyal individuals. As a support for the course suggested in the Syllabus, the Education Department encouraged the continuation of patriotic observances such as weekly flag-saluting and Anzac Day assemblies, both of which had been initiated as wartime patriotic activities.

Increased awareness concerning the role of school patriotic instruction, however, was also reflected in less institutionalised ways. The persistence of a wartime mentality in New Zealand society resulted in the retention of attitudes inappropriate to the dawning of a peacetime era. Germans were still regarded as criminals who could neither

be trusted nor pitied. School Journals and the history textbook, The Story of the British Nation, strongly supported the concept of war-guilt. Hatred and suspicion was also directed inwards, toward those who had been military defaulters in New Zealand. It was perhaps inevitable that, given both the residue of public hatred and the increased awareness of the teacher's role as citizen-maker that existed after 1918, teachers who had refused to serve in the armed forces would suffer heavily. For a number of those unfortunate individuals the war continued to exert an unbidden influence on their careers for a long time to come. Despite this the Great War's major role in the development of school patriotism was that of a catalyst. The nature of its future growth and impact were to be dependent on other, post-war factors.

CHAPTER TWO

The Problems of Insecurity

The degree of collective awareness fostered by a school system has often been dependent on how people conceive their nation's role in the world. D. Statt has carried out research with United States and Canadian children which indicates the existence of a strong causal relationship between national insecurity, and the patriotic values taught by the school.¹ Comparing samples of children from each country, Statt discovered that the United States children were far more familiar with the concept of "foreigner", than were their counterparts in Canada. The United States children also possessed a stronger sense of nationality. They thought of themselves as "Americans", and therefore as being different from children in other countries.

Statt concluded that the most important factor accounting for the difference between United States and Canadian children was the way in which they were educated.² United States school children were exposed to a great number of symbols and rituals with a national significance. Their school programme included regular civics lessons and a daily flag dedication ceremony.³ These activities were indicative of a sustained

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1. D. Statt, "National Identity in United States and Canadian Children", in Political Youth: Traditional Schools, ed., B.C. Massialas (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp.34-50.
 2. In selecting the United States and Canada, Statt attempted to minimise cultural difference as a contributing factor to differences between his samples.
 3. For further discussion of contemporary United States school patriotic activities see, D. Hess and J.V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967. Some aspects of Hess and Torney's research are discussed below, pp. 134-135.

attempt to strengthen the child's concept of nationality, and as such they revealed much that was significant about United States society generally.

Although the United States and Canada shared a common way of life, they had assumed vastly differing world roles. At the time Statt wrote, the United States was preoccupied with containing Soviet influence around the globe. Canada on the other hand, while committed to western alliances, had assumed no world role comparable to that of the United States. In order to maintain its position as a world power, the United States had to sustain a high degree of national purpose among its citizens.⁴ At the same time continuous global rivalry bred feelings of insecurity in United States society. The high degree of national purpose and insecurity were together responsible for producing what Statt termed, "the national identity phenomena".

Statt believed that such a phenomena would encourage a continuous effort on the part of schools, to inculcate future citizens with a high degree of patriotism. He suggested that United States schools did this through utilising emotional rhetoric, and that consequently the relationship between school and pupils was "symbolic" rather than "functional"; "geocentric" rather than "heliocentric". This latter aspect was reinforced by education authorities and occasionally government agencies, which, where necessary, took active steps to discourage or repress dissidents envisaged as posing a threat to the maintenance of patriotic zeal.⁵

4. Statt, p.48.

5. Ibid., p.37.

Statt carried out his investigations during a time of intense political and social conflict in the United States, and so his findings must be treated with some caution. No direct comparisons between the New Zealand situation during the 1920s and the United States situation during the 1960s possible. Nevertheless, despite the necessity for caution, Statt's findings do indicate a number of avenues which justify further consideration, the most important of which is his discovery of a strong relationship between the level of insecurity present in a highly mobilised society, and the utilisation of an education system to maintain a high degree of public commitment to professed national ideals. A relationship between the insecurity of New Zealand society during the early 1920s, and the high level of attention devoted to patriotic education can be demonstrated which supports Statt's general conclusions. After 1918 insecurity in New Zealand society stemmed from two major causes. The first was the fear of attack from an overcrowded Asia, which had persisted ever since the nineteenth century. The second was the revival of Great Power naval rivalry in the Pacific immediately after the Great War. Each of these were to have important consequences for the teaching of patriotism in New Zealand primary schools.

1. Fear of Asia

In 1905 the former New Zealand Premier, Sir Robert Stout claimed that the Japanese victory over the Russians would prove to be instructive for Australasians because " ... we cannot imagine in view of Japan's ... successes that between four and five hundred millions of people will [continue to] submit to ... the white races".⁶ Stout was convinced that in the relatively near future there would be a joint Sino-Japanese demand for territory in the nearly empty British

6. NZH (Supplement), 1 July 1905. Cited by Gordon, p.24. Obviously Stout was including China as well as Japan in his figure of " ... between four and five hundred millions ..."

Pacific colonies.⁷ Although few New Zealanders were as precise as this in explaining the reasons for their unease, vague fears regarding Asia continued to exist even following the Great War; a war in which both Japan and China had been, at least nominally, Allied Powers.

These fears were strong enough to temper New Zealand's outlook on the world during the early post-war period. What Wood has termed, "... the slow decay of the sense of security", strengthened loyalty to Britain.⁸ Britain provided New Zealand with markets for its agricultural produce, with suitable migrants to swell her white population and, most important, with naval protection. It therefore behoved New Zealanders to do all they could to keep the links between Dominion and Mother-Country strong. Dependence on Britain fostered public scepticism and even hostility to the newly formed League of Nations, because that organisation's internationalist claims appeared to undermine British strength and therefore New Zealand's security. Recognition of the Royal Navy's enormous and increasingly burdensome task of defending a far-flung Empire led to calls for a still greater appreciation of the need for a continuous naval construction programme among the New Zealand public at large.

a) Preserving the Imperial Connection. After 1918 the growing freedom of action possessed by the Dominions was established first, by their status as separate signatories to the Treaty of Versailles, and then by their membership of the League of Nations General Assembly. A substantial number of New Zealanders, however, believed that these developments would result in a dangerous loosening of imperial bonds,

7. Gordon, p.25.

8. Wood, p.77.

to the ultimate detriment of security. In May 1921, an editorial in the New Zealand Herald claimed that:

We [Australia and New Zealand] are outposts of Western Civilisation on the shores of Asia. That we can face our national futures cheerfully and hopefully is due to the fact that we are members of the greatest group of kindred peoples in the world. If we fail to play our part in this group and break away from it, we shall add political isolation to geographic isolation. Our five or six million people will be as a feather in the winds of world forces which we are unable to control. Not that our isolation would be likely to last long; we would come to an anchorage soon enough as a political appendage of Asia. 9

These fears were openly shared by the New Zealand Government. A month after the appearance of the Herald editorial, the Imperial Conference opened in London. While the Canadian and Australian Prime Ministers lost no time in acclaiming the new constitutional positions of the Dominions, Massey emphasised the unity of the Empire, and warned that in the event of war, such independence could result in any one of the Dominions from refraining, " ... from taking part or assisting the Empire in any way".¹⁰

New Zealand's reluctance to accept full nationhood was also readily apparent in her primary schools. The 1919 Syllabus in History recommended that teachers outline the role of the British peoples as protectors of native countries, and survey their future imperial destiny.¹¹ School Journals during the early post-war years made frequent and pointed references to the special relationship that existed between the white Dominions, and the Mother-Country. Parr was especially eager

9. NZH, 20 May 1921. The Herald's editorial was somewhat loosely based on the arguments of the British historian, H. Duncan-Hall. (See H. Duncan-Hall, The British Commonwealth of Nations (London: Methuen, 1920), p.138.

10. A.D. Ellis, Australia and the League of Nations (London: Macmillan, 1922), pp.57-58.

11. 1919 Syllabus, p.81.

that young New Zealanders should come to appreciate the value of the imperial connection. In June 1921, while the Imperial Conference was still in session, Parr wrote a special article for the School Journal describing how Britain, Australia and New Zealand were closely bound together by a common language, common ideals and an Anglo-Saxon love of the sea.¹² He foresaw no necessity for legal ties between Dominions and Mother-Country, because these might restrict the freedom of action possessed by each Dominion. Instead he stressed that New Zealanders could make their own laws, secure in the knowledge that, " ... the parliament and people of Britain [could] not hinder [them] in any way".¹³

A School Journal article in May 1923 outlined the obligations of New Zealand's Dominion status. Freedom was described as carrying its own burden of responsibility. New Zealand was a small, underpopulated and isolated portion of the Empire, and its defence could only be assured through the power of the Royal Navy. As this power was costly to maintain New Zealand was morally obliged to take up some share of the imperial burden. The Dominion, claimed the article, could provide practical help by supplying food to the Mother-Country, and by providing a new homeland for the surplus British population.¹⁴

An article entitled, "The British Empire Exhibition" explained the value of immigration to the security of New Zealand. The Dominion had to face the facts of Pacific geography. She was remote from Europe and lay close to a turbulent, overcrowded and unpredictable Asia. China,

12. C.J. Parr, "The British Empire", SJ 15, part two (June 1921):18.

13. Ibid., p.72. See Massey's claim that New Zealand had, " ... the right to make its own laws and manage its own affairs, but it had no right ... to interfere with the welfare of the Empire itself". (NZPD, vol.190, 1921, p.168).

14. "The Value of Empire", SJ 17, part two, (May 1923):54-57. No author cited, but the tone of the article suggests that the author was Parr.

it was pointed out, had the world's largest population. The Japanese possessed a navy nearly equal in size to that of Britain. Each of these nations constituted a potential threat to New Zealand's security. The article argued that the country's best means of defence against Asian aggression in the future was to encourage closer settlement by British migrants. Colonists of British stock were regarded as being the most suitable, because they came from a similar cultural background. As the Dominion's future development and security were at stake, the utmost care had to be exercised in the selection of migrants. Here the article stressed that while New Zealand did not actually exclude any races from entering the country, preference was given to people " ... of her own kith and kin".¹⁵

Massey himself displayed a keen interest in keeping children aware of the imperial connection and its advantages for New Zealand. In 1920 he was able to persuade the new Governor-General, Lord Jellicoe, to compose a short Empire Day letter to primary school children suitable for inclusion in the School Journal.¹⁶ The experiment was a success and similar letters, complete with Jellicoe's signature, appeared in Empire Day issues of the School Journal for a number of years. Given the close interest of both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education, it is hardly surprising that the Education Department saw fit to issue detailed instructions concerning the observance of Empire Day, and suggestions on the procedure to be adopted for school Empire Day assemblies were sent to the education boards, who duly forwarded them to the schools.

15. "The British Empire Exhibition", SJ 17, part three (May 1923):116. This claim was not strictly accurate. A system of selective immigration was enforced by the Immigration Restrictions Act, 1920. This Act was specifically aimed at Chinese immigration, and its provisions were extended in 1926 when the Immigration Department was instructed to issue no further permits to Chinese seeking permanent residence in New Zealand.

16. Massey to Jellicoe, 9 April 1923. E19/33/3. EDF.

The suggested ceremonies were noteworthy for their elaborateness. In 1923, for instance, schools were requested to assemble their children on the morning of Empire Day in order to " ... carry out a programme consisting of lessons in history and geography, addresses, readings, recitations and songs of an imperial and patriotic nature". A prominent part of the proceedings was to be occupied by "the singing of the National Anthem and the saluting of the flag ..."¹⁷ While schools were not obliged to adopt these particular suggestions, most conducted ceremonies of a broadly similar nature.¹⁸ In 1923 the Empire Day Movement, a British based organisation which aimed at fostering greater public awareness of Empire Day, wrote to the New Zealand Education Department asking what provisions were made for Empire Day observance in the schools. In answer, the Department merely forwarded a statistical return containing the name of every public school in the Dominion, claiming that:

... as far as the Department is aware, the day was observed in a suitable manner. Special lessons were taken in various subjects, prominence was given to the need for all parts of the Empire to form a united brotherhood linked together by the bond of loyalty to the Motherland. Suitable songs were sung, and in most schools a patriotic ceremony was arranged for.¹⁹

Imperial unity was also the theme displayed on the Empire Day Medal which was struck in 1926, and subsequently issued to every school pupil in the Dominion. The face of the medal featured an engraved portrait of the Prince of Wales, but it was the reverse side that was the most

17. "Empire Day, 24 May", a memorandum sent by the Education Department to all education boards, dated 16 April 1923. E/19/33/3, EDF.

18. The Department was, however, extremely firm on the question of dates as far as observances of an imperial or patriotic nature were concerned. When Mrs L.M. Harper asked the Department for permission to hold the King's Birthday holiday a day earlier in her school, she was reminded that days of "... historic or national importance are expected to be observed on the day on which they fall". (W.J.Chadge, for the Director of Education, to Mrs L.M. Harper, 15 May 1919, E/19/33/3, EDF).

19. A. Bell, for the Director of Education to A.A. Wallace, Chairman, Empire Day Movement, London, 21 February 1923, E/19/33/3, EDF.

significant. In a scene pregnant with imperial symbolism, the "Bridge of Empire" held pride of place. The bridge was built on the figures of Peace and Prosperity, who in turn owed their existence to continued cooperation between Dominions and Mother-Country. The Lamps of Justice and Freedom were depicted as guiding the path of the loyal citizen across the bridge, while in the harbour beyond, a ship "... typical of the Empire's sea-borne trade" was discernible setting sail for the distant horizons of Empire "... upon which the sun never set".²⁰ Such was the imperial connection; a bond that the school system helped to reinforce in the minds of New Zealand children during the early post-war period.

b) Early Doubts over Internationalism. E.F. Jenkin has claimed that New Zealanders generally regarded the League of Nations with caution throughout most of the 1920s, first, because they remained deeply conscious of their British heritage and second, because they feared that the League's internationalist claims would weaken imperial security.²¹ Massey in particular, believed that the British Empire would prove to be a far more durable organisation than the League, and he did not hesitate to make his view widely known:

I hope no effort will be spared to strengthen the other League of Nations, the British Empire. We must recognise that each of the British nations is growing steadily in population and influence, and I believe that the day will come when humanity will look to the League of British nations to keep the peace of the world. The League planned at the Peace Conference may not succeed, but the League of which I have spoken will succeed. 22

20. "The Empire Day Medal", E19/33/3. EDF. An undated unsigned memorandum, but almost certainly written by Parr in 1926.

21. E.F. Jenkin, "New Zealand and the League of Nations, 1914-1934", (M.A. dissertation, Auckland University College, 1950), pp.21-22.

22. NZH, 26 February 1920. Cited by Jenkin, p.5.

Francis Dillon Bell, later to become President of the League of Nations Union, has recorded that Massey thought the League a useless experiment.²³ There is some evidence to suggest that Massey came to regard the League not merely as useless, but dangerous because it encouraged complacency in defence matters. After being informed of the British Labour Government's decision to delay the construction of the Singapore naval base on the grounds that the League now existed to prevent future wars, Massey gloomily observed that it might turn out to be a pity that the League had ever been invented if the defence of the Empire was to be left to it alone.²⁴ In Parliament, he even went so far as to state that he would withdraw the Dominion from the League altogether if continuing membership, " ... meant weakening the connection between New Zealand and the United Kingdom".²⁵

While not all Massey's colleagues shared his views on the dangers of League membership, many were sceptical of the League's chances for success. R.A. Wright, who was later to become Minister of Education in the Coates Administration, expressed his doubts about the cost-effectiveness of League activities on numerous occasions.²⁶ Even New Zealand's delegate to the League of Nations, Sir James Allen, apparently had limited faith in the international cooperation advocated at its

23. Jenkin, p.23

24. Cited by A.P. Thornton, The Imperial Idea and its Enemies, (London: Macmillan, 1959), p.195.

25. NZPD, vol.170, 1921, p.169.

26. Even in 1930, Wright was advocating that the efforts of the League would be better utilised in, "... the education of the peoples of more bellicose nations ... rather than on those of the British people on whom so much time seem [ed] to be spent". (NZPD, vol.225, 1930, p.532).

Geneva headquarters.²⁷ As late as 1929 Willis Airey was able to claim with some truth that New Zealand had not, " ... either officially or in popular thought ... shown much enthusiasm for the League".²⁸

Particularly during the early 1920s, the general lack of enthusiasm for internationalism severely hampered the work of the League and its agencies in the primary schools. The 1919 Syllabus had been conceived before the League was founded, and consequently provided little real guide for teachers on how to approach the subject. The Department remained reluctant to extend or modify the existing history and civics section because in its view the teaching of internationalism was largely the preserve of the high schools.²⁹ Behind this justification, however, lay the belief that internationalism had not yet proved itself of sufficient worth to warrant a more definite place in what was an already overcrowded curriculum. This is amply demonstrated by the Department's attitude towards the teaching of Esperanto in schools, which the League of Nations regarded as a vital means of fostering international understanding.³⁰ In September 1921, the League of Nations Assembly called upon each member state to forward a report on the progress of Esperanto teaching. As Prime Minister, Massey received a formal request for this information in January 1922, and he immediately passed the matter on to Caughley. Although Caughley had somewhat more sympathy with

27. Allen was particularly critical of rising Secretariat expenses, and on several occasions suggested that the number of staff should be cut. For a more detailed discussion of the attitudes of successive New Zealand delegates to Geneva, see Jenkin pp.26-50.

28. W. Airey, Onward: A Study of the League of Nations, (Wellington: L.M. Isitt Ltd., 1929), p.102.

29. A view echoed by the education boards whenever they were approached by the League of Nations Union.

30. Esperanto had created limited interest since its publication in 1887, but the League of Nations was mainly responsible for the upsurge in enthusiasm for the language during the 1920s.

the aims of Esperanto than did Massey, his reply was hardly encouraging. As far as he was aware, "... Esperanto [was] not taught in any of the public educational institutions of [the] Dominion and ... up to the present, no steps had been taken to introduce it as a subject of the curriculum".³¹

Further correspondence between the Department and the League of Nations produced similar general expressions of sympathy from the Department, but no specific commitment either to train Esperanto instructors or to introduce courses in the language. Again, the principal reason behind Departmental reluctance was that no Director of Education really believed that Esperanto could justifiably be included in a curriculum that was widely considered to have too many subjects already. Thus, when the Dunedin Esperanto Club asked the Department to consider the introduction of Esperanto in schools, it was informed that the Department could not agree to the proposal, because of the "... wide variety of subjects [already] in the curriculum".³²

Quite apart from the difficulties associated with introducing an entirely new subject, the Department considered that, despite the claims of the League of Nations to the contrary, Esperanto lacked real relevance for New Zealand children.³³ The ideals behind the creation of international understanding were to be admired, but the goal still

31. Caughley to Inazo Nilobe, Under Secretary of the League of Nations, 8 September 1922, E29/18-248, EDF.

32. Parr to Mary McCuthy, Secretary, Dunedin Esperanto Club, 16 December 1924, E29/18-248, EDF.

33. Once they had ascertained the Department's position, advocates of Esperanto teaching attempted other lines of persuasion. In March 1923 for instance, F.L. Tocker of Aria School, Auckland, advised the Department that the study of Esperanto might, "... well hold to direct the explorer through the shoals and quicksands of English Grammar ...". The Department, however, was more impressed with the possibilities of French as a means of enriching the study of English. (F.L. Tocker to Education Gazette, 20 March 1923).

appeared unobtainable. Instructing children in the basic principles of good citizenship was one thing; teaching them to think of the world as one brotherhood was quite another. This was to remain the Department's attitude whenever the question of Esperanto was raised.

Like the Department, education boards for the most part remained unconvinced by internationalist arguments. While the boards were not directly involved with the question of Esperanto teaching, they were instrumental in deciding upon the terms under which a privately funded organisation could enter the schools under their jurisdiction. Most boards, particularly during the early 1920s, displayed a singular reluctance in granting entry rights to internationalist organisations. The League of Nations Union, for instance, was only rarely admitted to schools during working hours, a situation which contrasted unfavourably with the comparative liberty often accorded to the Navy League during this period.³⁴

Internationalist organisations were apt to be regarded with great suspicion especially if they possessed pacifist leanings. The National Peace Council discovered that its earlier opposition to the British Declaration of War in August 1914 had created a long standing residue of resentment which now extended to all the principles it claimed to represent. In September 1921 the Canterbury Education Board turned down a National Peace Council application which sought permission for its representatives to enter schools on the grounds that while the Board was " ... earnestly desirous that the endeavours of the League of Nations may bring ... peace within measurable distance, the propaganda of a body that at a time of imminent peril took up the attitude of benevolent, but nevertheless dangerous neutrality, which, had it been shared by the

34. See especially, MWEB, vol. eleven and twelve passim.

the majority of the people, would have spelt disaster for the British Empire ...", could not be permitted under any circumstances.³⁵

As late as 1926 the National Peace Council was still encountering considerable hostility from local education authorities. In May 1926, the Council sent circulars to every school committee in the country, outlining the principles behind the League of Nations, and claiming that New Zealand's system of compulsory military training was inconsistent with her League membership. According to the Maoriland Worker, one reply received by the Council warned:

If the conditions of the country do not suit you and your mob, get out as fast as you can. Russia is the place for such [sic] as you. The only way to keep peace in this world is to be armed to the teeth where [sic] you will find it in Russia to your heart's content. 36

Those who supported the League of Nations and its policy of international disarmament were likely to be accused of ignoring strategic realities. In 1920 Peter Fraser, the Labour Member for Wellington Central, claimed that the education system was deliberately inculcating racial hatred. He was immediately taken to task by R.A. Wright who warned him of the dangers which still lurked beyond New Zealand's shores:

... if a foreign nation were anxious to send to this country thousands and thousands of people who were regarded as undesirable, and whom we thought would bring down our standard of living, we would be compelled to use force. It would be useless talking to these people about brotherly love. They would simply laugh at us. 37

36. Maoriland Worker (Wellington), 28 July 1926. Maoriland Worker hereafter cited as MW. It was not until the early 1930s that organisations sympathetic to League of Nations ideals were able to gain better entry rights to schools as a result of changing public attitudes. See below, pp. 224-229.

37. NZPD, vol. 189, 1920, p.585.

The inculcation of patriotism was therefore considered to be more important than internationalist teaching. According to Strong the main aim of patriotism was to " ... prepare citizens to defend their homes and the homes of other people within the Empire against aggressors".³⁸ It was more than probable that in this context "other people" meant those of British descent, for during the early 1920s even other races within the Empire were sometimes seen as posing a cultural threat. In 1921 an Indian teacher applied to the Auckland Education Board for permission to seek vacancies in primary schools within its jurisdiction. The Board, however, refused to entertain the idea, and its stand was supported by the New Zealand Herald:

If education were a matter merely of arithmetic, reading, writing or other variety of mental gymnastics, Hindus would be acceptable and might be highly qualified instructors; but at all events, it touches citizenship, it conveys the essence of European civilisation, it stimulates pride of race and sets a standard of national honour. 39

Such a pervasive concern with security in both a military and cultural sense, militated against attempts to strengthen international understanding among New Zealand children.

2. The Resumption of Great Power Naval Rivalry

The second major cause of insecurity in New Zealand stemmed from the resumption of Great Power naval rivalry after 1918. During the latter stages of the Great War the United States and Japan, their naval architects unfettered by the urgent need to produce proven designs quickly, continued to develop battleships protected by improved armour and mounting new large calibre guns. In contrast, Britain had been

38. T.B. Strong, "The Inculcation of Patriotism", p.2.

39. NZH, 7 April 1921.

obliged since 1914 to put aside plans for new and superior battleships in favour of emergency building programmes utilising pre-war technology.⁴⁰

As a result of the War, the technological lead in battleship design and construction passed to Britain's rivals who, thanks to the introduction of major capital shipping building programmes, were soon on the verge of seizing quantitative as well as qualitative superiority. With the removal of the German battle fleet from the front rank of maritime powers, the United States Navy became the Royal Navy's most powerful rival. By December 1919 the United States government had authorised the completion of two further battleships, one battle cruiser and twenty-five smaller vessels. Although the General Board of the United States Navy considered this programme hopelessly inadequate, the Admiralty became thoroughly alarmed.⁴¹ The First Lord of the Admiralty, Viscount Long, warned the British government that America planned to build a navy second to none, claiming that "... the only navy for which we need have regard ... is the navy of the United States".⁴²

40. The advantages that British war commitments gave to the United States and Japan can be clearly demonstrated. Both the latter powers were able to limit their battleship classes to one or two ships, using each successive class as a basis upon which to develop superior vessels. United States battleship design proceeded logically through New York and Texas (completed 1914); Nevada and Oklahoma (early 1916); New Mexico and Mississippi (1918). Japan completed Fuso and Yamashiro (1915-17) followed by Hyuga and Ise (1917-18). Britain, unable to afford this luxury of experimentation, was forced to concentrate on the production of The Queen Elizabeth Class and the Revenge Class, none of which were comparable to the later United States and Japanese designs. (See S. Breyer, Battleships and Battlecruisers, 1905-1970, London: MacDonald and Janes, 1973, pp.62-63, 139-154, 217-232, 343-350).

41. S. Roskill, Naval Policy Between the Wars, vol.1 (London: Collins, 1968), p.213.

42. Ibid., p.214.

The new first Sea Lord, Admiral the Earl Beatty, urged an immediate resumption of capital ship construction, and Anglo-American relations deteriorated rapidly during 1920, amidst mutual recriminations.

The growth of the Japanese fleet was rather slower in attracting British attention, because the Anglo-Japanese Naval Alliance was still theoretically in force. Like the United States, however, Japan had steadily expanded her navy until by the end of the Great War, it ranked third in the world. Not content with this position the Japanese re-doubled their efforts, and in 1920 the Diet approved a vast naval construction programme aimed at providing the fleet with 27 capital ships by 1927.⁴³ Predictably, Japanese plans led to hasty revision of building programmes in both Britain and the United States. By late 1920, a feverish three-sided arms race was in progress with each nation seeking to produce battleship designs offering the best possible combination of speed, striking power and armoured protection.

New Zealanders observed the growth of naval rivalry between the three one-time Allies with increasing unease. The more the Royal Navy's overall margin of superiority dwindled, the greater was the likelihood that Britain would economise in the Pacific. When Lord Jellicoe visited New Zealand in August 1919, he discovered that "... in this distant Dominion they are keenly alive to the importance to their existence of a powerful and efficient British Navy, and are particularly anxious to see a Far Eastern Fleet developed as soon as possible".⁴⁴ The

43. Ibid., p.222. This was the so-called 8/8 Plan, which envisaged eight battleships and eight battlecruisers of post-war construction.

44. Roskill, p. 283.

intensification of the naval race over the next ten months increased this desire. At the 1921 Imperial Conference, Massey again stressed that New Zealand's security ultimately depended upon the maintenance of a strong British fleet in Pacific waters. Massey was far from happy with the British Government's abandonment of the Two-Power Standard,⁴⁵ and undoubtedly dwindling hopes of obtaining any substantial Royal Navy commitment in the Pacific was an important factor in his support for a renewal of the long-standing Anglo-Japanese Alliance. While the Canadian and South African Prime Ministers wished to avoid antagonising the United States, Massey argued that if the Alliance was not renewed the Empire ran the risk of turning a " ... loyal friend into a very dangerous opponent".⁴⁶

To Massey's annoyance, the British Government was inclined to favour the Canadian view. Firm agreement on naval matters, however, was to be deferred. On 10 July, while the Conference was still in session, President Harding announced that the United States would issue invitations to the principal naval powers to participate in a conference at Washington with the object of limiting naval armaments and reaching a common understanding over Pacific and Far East policy.⁴⁷

45. Adopted in 1889, the Two-Power Standard was designed to ensure that the strength of the Royal Navy was equal to the combined strength of any two foreign navies. This policy underwent substantial modification even before the Great War, but was officially abandoned at the 1921 Imperial Conference in favour of the One-Power Standard, which fixed the strength of the Royal Navy as at least equal to that of any other single power (See Roskill, p.21).

46. Cited by Gordon, p.52. Gordon has pointed out the discrepancy between New Zealand's official position of friendliness towards Japan, and the distrust of Japanese intentions amongst the public at large.

47. Roskill, p.298.

Massey returned to New Zealand anxious lest the British Government, in its desire to reach an agreement, would sacrifice too much at the Conference.⁴⁸ Something of this anxiety crept into an article he wrote for the School Journal, ostensibly about the Imperial Conference, but more probably an expression of his own fears for the future. The article described how, in the interests of peace, Britain had refrained from building new warships after 1918. Unfortunately, far from following the British example, the United States and Japan had "... been spending large sums of money on new battleships and [were] threatening our supremacy".⁴⁹ Massey wrote that while he was looking forward to the forthcoming Washington Conference, he did so with great trepidation because of the limits it might impose on British seapower. He argued that although Britain shared some responsibility to reduce rivalry at sea, the vulnerability of imperial trade routes made it imperative that Britain possess the largest navy in the world.⁵⁰

48. In August the Geddes Committee met in London, charged with reducing Government expenditure. The Naval budget was to be a prime target, and *possibly* Massey suspected that this might force Britain into accepting an agreement detrimental to imperial interests.

49. W.F. Massey, "The Imperial Conference", SJ 13, part three (February 1922): 17. In July 1921 the United States completed Maryland (33,590 tons, 8-16" guns), and had launched her sistership Colorado. In addition she had begun work on six South Dakota Class battleships (47,000 tons, 12-16" guns), and six Lexington Class battlecruisers (42,000 tons, 10-14" guns). The Japanese Ngato (34,116 tons, 8-16" guns) had been completed in November 1920, and her sistership Mutsu was due for completion in October 1921. Like the United States, Japan had also laid down capital ships of even greater dimensions, including four Amagi Class battlecruisers (47,000 tons, 10-16" guns), and two Tosa Class battleships (44,200 tons, 10-16" guns). Against these formidable vessels Britain had only one capital ship of partly post-war construction, the battlecruiser Hood (44,700 tons, 8-15" guns), and even she had been launched during the war. Britain's reply to the latest United States and Japanese construction was the so-called Super-Hood Class, but work on these only began in October 1921. (See Breyer, pp.168-174, 227-240, 346-356).

50. *Ibid.*

This latter argument was frequently used by the Navy League, as it strove to keep the New Zealand public aware of naval issues. Much of the Navy League's work was undertaken in the schools and in 1919 the organisation enrolled 10,000 school pupils as honorary members.⁵¹ On special patriotic occasions such as Empire Day and Trafalgar Day, its speakers addressed school assemblies on the navy's role in imperial defence. The Navy League's task in the schools was greatly facilitated by the goodwill of education boards and school committees. Both the Auckland and Wellington Education Boards gave annual permission for Navy League speakers to visit schools under their jurisdiction, subject to the approval of individual school committees. During the early post-war period education board permission was virtually automatic, and there was little questioning of the Navy League's right to instruct children during school hours.

School committee permission was similarly assured. On one notable occasion, however, the Navy League encountered bitter local opposition to its school visits. In October 1921 it made a routine request to the Auckland City Schools' Committee for permission to enter Napier Street School, Nelson Street School and Beresford Street School only to meet with a point blank refusal. According to the committee, the presence of the Navy League speakers in these schools on past patriotic occasions had encouraged " ... the fostering of the military spirit" among children. In consequence, the committee had decided to refuse any future Navy League applications for entry into its schools, and to deny the use of

51. National Education, 1919, p.72. The Navy League encouraged children to become members by distributing special badges to those had newly joined and through the presentation of a Union Jack to every school which enrolled one hundred members. A short description of Navy League activities written by the Secretary of the Navy League appeared under the title, "Navy League Notes" in each monthly issue of National Education.

Committee facilities during the forthcoming Trafalgar Day egg collection on the grounds that this was merely intended as a means of supplementing Navy League funds.⁵²

Navy League spokesmen were outraged. The committee's decision received much unfavourable publicity, and provoked a particularly indignant editorial from the New Zealand Herald. Legally, the Herald admitted, the committee was within its rights to refuse the Navy League application if it so desired. The paper went on to point out, however, that this was the first occasion in which a school committee had taken such a stand and hinted that changes in the present law were urgently required to forestall similar incidents in the future.⁵³

The Herald need not have worried. Within days of the incident first reaching the press formidable pressures were being brought to bear on the recalcitrant committee. The Auckland Education Board publicly expressed its dissatisfaction with the decision, and informed the Education Department. Massey himself learned of the whole incident through Parr. A week after the Herald's editorial, Massey personally wrote to the Auckland City Schools' Committee expressing his support and admiration for the Navy League's work among young people. Faced with pressure of this magnitude the committee backed down and permitted Navy League speakers to address the children in all three of its schools on Trafalgar Day, as the League had originally requested.⁵⁴

Because it enjoyed the full cooperation of the Education Department and the education boards, backed where necessary by the Government, the Navy League was able to exert considerable influence on the schools

52. NZH, 11 October 1921.

53. *ibid.*, 14 October 1921.

54. *Ibid.*, 22 October 1921.

during the early 1920s. In this same period frequent visits to New Zealand by British warships served to supplement the theme of imperial security at sea so heavily emphasised by Navy League speakers. For much of the time when they were in port, the warships were open to the public and visits from school parties were encouraged. In 1913, 120,000 children had visited the battlecruiser New Zealand when she arrived in Dominion waters for a two months stay. During this occasion the New Zealand Government distributed free rail passes to enable children from outlying areas to come and inspect the ship.

This success of New Zealand's visit set the pattern for subsequent post-war visits to Auckland, Wellington and Lyttelton. In 1919 New Zealand returned carrying Lord Jellicoe. In 1920, the Prince of Wales arrived in the battlecruiser Renown. Preparation for the Prince's visit had begun some months previously. The Education Department sent circulars to every education board giving details of the proposed royal visit, and suggesting that each board organise their own welcoming ceremonies. Under the circumstances it was hardly surprising that a good deal of rivalry ensued as to who could stage the most memorable show. The Wellington Education Board decided on a "living flag" display to be performed by **carefully** selected city school pupils under the Direction of J.B. Hopkirk, a specially appointed marshall, and this was to be followed by an historical pageant featuring aspects of life in New Zealand since the coming of the Europeans.⁵⁵

Next day it was to be the turn of the outlying Wellington district schools to meet the royal visitor in Parliament grounds. For these children there was to be a special parade of scouts and guides, followed by a free meal organised by the Navy League. The day was to conclude

55. MWEB, vol. twelve (14 February 1920), p.153.

Figure 1. H.M.S. New Zealand at Lyttelton
[1919]. Naval visits such as these were a
feature of the early post-war period.



with a visit to Renown. Other education boards provided similar opportunities for school children in remote areas to see the Prince of Wales and admire the power of the Royal Naval squadron lying at anchor.

Naval visits in even greater strength were soon planned. In 1924 came the most spectacular of all; a special service squadron spear-headed by the battlecruiser Hood. Hood was hailed by the New Zealand press as the largest and finest capital ship then afloat and the whole visit was the subject of a special School Journal article which emphasised the value of a large navy for the protection of imperial trade routes.⁵⁶ Once again special tours of the squadron by school parties were organised with the cooperation of the squadron's commanding officer, Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Field. A number of officers from the warships visited Wellington schools to address the pupils, while sailors acted as guides for wide-eyed visitors.⁵⁷

The most important aspect of all these naval visits was the opportunity they presented to reinforce the oft repeated lesson that imperial security, including the security of New Zealand herself, was ultimately dependent on the Royal Navy. For most New Zealanders, human brotherhood, international understanding and even faith in the League of Nations were worth little unless they were backed by maritime strength.

Résumé

Insecurity in New Zealand after 1918 was due first, to a long standing but vague fear of Asian expansion and second, to a more acute anxiety over the balance of naval power in the Pacific. These were related concerns, yet each of them had its own particular impact on

56. "The Visit of the Imperial Squadron", SJ 18, part three (April 1924): 134-142.

57. MWEB, vol. eleven (20 May 1924): p.445.

patriotic teaching in the primary schools during the early post-war period.

Fear of Asian expansion was partly responsible for an increased emphasis on lessons designed to make children more aware of the Dominion's special position within the Empire. School Journal articles stressed the value of the imperial connection to New Zealand's trade, economic development and security. School ceremonies on Empire Day and Trafalgar Day were utilised for the purpose of giving children a better appreciation of the advantages to be derived from living under the Union Jack. By contrast with the attention lavished on the teaching of patriotism during the early post-war period, internationalist activities and concepts were often ignored. The New Zealand Government remained sceptical of the League of Nations' viability. In a world where national rivalries remained strong, the British Empire appeared to offer better guarantees for security, and this point of view was reflected in the policies of the Education Department and the education boards. Advocates of Esperanto teaching in the schools discovered that the Department did not share their sense of urgency. Several internationalist organisations, among them the National Peace Council and the League of Nations Union, found it extremely difficult to gain entry into schools in the face of indifference on the part of education boards and school committees.

By contrast, the Navy League gained generous terms of entry into public schools. During the early post-war period there appears to have been only one recorded instance of a school committee refusing Navy League speakers on the grounds that their lessons were inappropriate for young children. On that occasion a great deal of pressure was subsequently applied, and this proved instrumental in influencing the

committee to reverse its decision. That this pressure included the personal intervention of the Prime Minister, illustrates just how high a value was placed on the Navy League's work in schools. In turn, this valuation was but a symptom of the Dominion's interest in naval affairs. The early post-war years saw considerable naval rivalry; a rivalry which further emphasised the need for continued vigilance on the high seas. School Journal articles and Navy League lectures on the balance of power at sea were intended to foster an appreciation of the Royal Navy's role in imperial defence among children, which would last into young adulthood. Frequent visits to New Zealand by British warships were utilised by education authorities to provide children with a practical demonstration concerning the importance of seapower in the maintenance of peace.

CHAPTER THREE

New Zealand and The Bolshevik Scare

The continuation of wartime modes of thinking along with the sense of insecurity which persisted after 1918, were responsible for the increased attention paid to the teaching of patriotism. While these factors also account in some degree for the high incidence of tension in New Zealand during the early post-war period, they do not by themselves explain the fundamental change in emphasis that characterised school patriotism at this time. Such a change was largely attributable to the intense fear of militant socialism or Bolshevism. Before the effect of left-wing militancy on school patriotism can be considered, however, its impact on New Zealand society as a whole must be examined.

What R.K. Murray has termed "the Great Red Scare" was a world-wide phenomenon in the years immediately following the Bolshevik revolution.¹ Societies already strained to breaking point by the War, reacted to events in Russia with a mixture of fear and loathing. Throughout Europe and North America, "it seemed, suddenly, as if the Great War had only dammed the forces of workers' control, that it would leap forth with renewed and devastating power".² In Britain, liberals as well as conservatives became increasingly alarmed at Bolshevik successes, Beatrice Webb writing that "their [the Bolsheviks'] creed, like the plague of influenza, seems to be spreading westwards ...".³ Murray has described

1. R.K. Murray, Red Scare. A Study in National Hysteria, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), Preface, pp.ix-xii.

2. D. Mitchell, 1919: Red Mirage, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), p.32.

3. Ibid., p.19.

how in the United States, "harassed by the rantings and ravings of a small group of business and employers organisations, and assaulted daily by the scare propaganda of the patriotic societies and the general press, the national mind ultimately succumbed to hysteria".⁴

Although the Red Scare never quite reached these proportions in New Zealand, it did have a considerable impact on society and consequently on the primary schools throughout the Dominion. As in Britain and the United States, public fear was fed by reports of Bolshevik subversion in the streets and in industry. For many New Zealanders the actions of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the increasing incidence of industrial action and the seemingly frequent arrests of extremists charged with the sale of subversive literature merely served to confirm their fears that the country was now facing a co-ordinated attempt to disrupt the established social and economic order aimed at the establishment of Soviet system of government.

1. The Menace from the Left

The shock of the Bolshevik Revolution reverberated round the globe. Although Russia itself was militarily weak, communiques issuing from Moscow hailed the imminent collapse of World Capitalism with a conviction that caused considerable alarm, in a West still very much at war.⁵ The Allied press, already prone to exaggerating German war crimes, reacted by giving credence to equally unfounded rumours of Bolshevik atrocities. The United States press was among the worst in this respect, Murray claiming that "horror stories of every kind filled the columns of American newspapers", ostensibly referring to events in Russia.⁶

4. Murray, p.16.

5. Thus in November 1917, Lenin invited "... all the belligerent peoples and their governments to open immediate negotiations for an honest, democratic peace ...". The First Decree of the Council of People's Commissars, cited by L. Kochan, The Making of Modern Russia, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962: Pelican Books, 1963), p.253.

6. Murray, pp.35-36.

Although New Zealand newspapers rarely displayed such sensationalism they frequently reported accounts of Bolshevik activity in a manner which encouraged public unease. In March 1918 the Waikato Times published a report claiming that the Russian Bolsheviks had set aside 300,000 roubles for a global propaganda campaign, aimed at fomenting world revolution. The paper then went on to report that several people had been arrested in the United States for distributing Bolshevik propaganda.⁷ Although the Waikato Times did not openly suggest that the two items were linked, the fact that they were grouped under a common heading probably led readers to conclude that this was indeed the case. Over the next three years, this method of reporting militant socialist activity was to become a feature of several leading New Zealand newspapers, and helped to contribute to public alarm.

While the War continued, the impact of Bolshevik activities, however sensationally reported, was considerably blunted. With the announcement of the Armistice, however, came the news that Central and Eastern European states were becoming engulfed in Bolshevik insurrections. To horrified observers in the victor-nations, " a tidal wave of revolution seemed to be curling westward".⁸

As interpreted by the plutocratic press and plutocratic politicians - who, after all, were without benefit of hindsight - it appeared as a gigantic upseething of the Abyss which had carried the frontiers of the Bolshevik revolution to Milan, Barcelona, Glasgow, Belfast, Pittsburgh, Seattle, Winnipeg, Buenos Aires and Sydney, as well as to Berlin, Munich, Vienna and Budapest. 9

7. WT, 20 March 1918.

8. Mitchell, p.117.

9. Ibid., pp.136 - 137.

In New Zealand, nestled deep in the South Pacific, the threat appeared no less real. The Waikato Times of 3 March 1919 carried a report entitled "Bolshevik Menace", which claimed that the Russian Bolsheviks had an army " ... a million strong ... well fed and equipped, drilled by German officers".¹⁰ On 4 March under the heading "The Menace of Bolshevism", there were reports of Bolshevik activity in China, and allegations that the Bolsheviks were behind industrial unrest in several European countries, including Britain.¹¹ Four days later a Waikato Times editorial discussed the chaotic situation in Germany, mentioning that New Zealand troops serving with the occupation forces there had been handed Spartacist leaflets. Although the editorial stressed that the troops had not been deceived by Spartacist arguments, it did warn that similar leaflets could prove to be an overwhelming temptation to the "ignorant".¹² Thus was the menace of Bolshevik bayonets overshadowed by the greater danger posed by Bolshevik propaganda.

2. Industrial Strife

The first four months of 1919 produced ample evidence throughout the world that the Russian example was infectious. Anarchy in Germany was accompanied by a whole series of calamities; the declaration of a Soviet Republic in Hungary, street fighting in Vienna, civil disturbances in Northern Italy, a major shipyard strike in Seattle, serious union troubles in Canada. Each of these events received extensive coverage in most New Zealand newspapers, but it was the British situation that caused particular concern in the Dominion. The very heart of the Empire now appeared as susceptible to the Bolshevik disease as had

10. WT, 3 March 1919.

11. WT, 4 March 1919.

12. WT, 8 March 1919. The Spartacists were the nucleus of the German Communist Party. Led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht they took advantage of the chaotic situations prevailing in Germany to set up soldiers and workers councils in several German cities including Berlin. By the time the New Zealand Herald article appeared, however, the Spartacists were a spent force, though still capable of creating alarm.

Central and Eastern Europe. In January 1919, soldiers' demobilisation riots broke out in several British cities. During the same month a forty hour strike by Clydeside workers led to a series of bloody clashes with the police in the streets of Glasgow that came to be known as, "The Battle of St. George's Square". Amidst the tension caused by these incidents came calls for a general strike from mining leaders, though this was narrowly averted.¹³

Faced with a rapid succession of crises, many Britons reacted with more haste than judgement. The Rt. Hon. R. Munro, Secretary of State for Scotland, claimed that the Clydeside unrest was "... not just a strike, but a Bolshevik rising".¹⁴ The British press denounced the strikers with equal fury, the influential Morning Post warning its readers that the series of strikes taking place throughout the nation could be explained in just two words; " attempted revolution".¹⁵

In New Zealand, news of industrial unrest overseas prompted anxious speculation as to the Dominion's own vulnerability. At the official opening of Parliament in August 1919 the Governor-General, Lord Liverpool, spoke of the Government's concern over the future of industrial relations:

New Zealand has not entirely escaped the unrest which is prevalent in many other countries of the world and which is the aftermath of the Great War, but I am confident that the good sense and industry of the citizens of the Dominion will more than counteract any attempts to spread the pernicious doctrines which have proved so mischievous in certain European countries. 16

13. See A. Marwick, Britain in the Century of Total War, (London: Bodley Head, 1968), pp.149-152.

14. Mitchell, p.127.

15. Marwick, p.150.

16. NZPD, vol.184, 1919, p.2.

Despite this platitude, however, the Government was by no means confident that good sense and industry would prevail in all quarters of the Dominion. The Member for Westland, Joseph Grimmond, was quick to point out that there was already " ... a certain amount of Labour unrest in New Zealand".¹⁷ Massey in particular was to remain intensely preoccupied with what he saw as the inability of some workers to recognise where their true interests lay. His own solution to industrial militancy was to propose a return to the rational harmony that had, he believed, characterised relations between the various classes during the nineteenth century, for " ... the employer [could] not be prosperous without the loyal cooperation of the worker, and ... the workers [could] not be prosperous without the cooperation of the employer".¹⁸

That this ideal was not being achieved, was, the Government suspected, due in large measure to foreign born agitators, and to the influx of foreign ideals which bore little relevance to New Zealand conditions. In October 1920 Massey was most upset upon being informed that several speakers at a Labour gathering in Wellington had advocated a Soviet style system for the Dominion, backed by " ... an alliance of Labour that would directly represent the workers of New Zealand in an industrial parliament". Terming the gathering, "seditious", he warned that "the Bolshevism that is being preached every day in the larger centres of the Dominion is worse than folly and can only end in one way - in disaster - and the matter must be taken in hand and stopped".¹⁹ Upon hearing of a further instance of militant socialist agitation on the wharves the Government Member for Hokitika, H.L. Michel, complained that New Zealand was suffering from "imported extremists" " ... who [were] in New Zealand, but they [were] not part of New Zealand".²⁰

17. NZPD, 184, 1919, p.87.

18. Ibid., p.469.

19. NZPD, 186, 1920, p.279.

20. NZPD, 187, 1920, p.552.

Evidence that agitators were at work was not difficult to find. New Zealand's industrial relations had steadily worsened in the years following the Armistice. In 1919 there were 65 stoppages and although most of these were of a minor nature, considerable unrest in the principal coal-mines from September onwards bode ill for the future.²¹ The following year brought 75 stoppages, including serious strikes by miners at Huntly and Waihi.²² In 1921 the total again rose to 77 and several of these assumed major proportions. As in the previous years miners and watersiders featured most prominently in industrial disputes, with the Government's concern over exports being clearly demonstrated early in 1921, when the Prime Minister personally intervened to settle waterside strikes in Auckland and Wellington.²³

To horrified onlookers it appeared as though New Zealand Labour was now imitating the example set by its more militant counterparts overseas. In an atmosphere where the predominant emotion was one of fear, almost any action from those on the political or industrial Left was liable to be interpreted as an attempt at subversion. In January 1921 the New Zealand Welfare League warned workers to pay no heed to "... heady socialist advocates".²⁴ The Workers' Educational Association was widely regarded as an instigator of militant socialist propaganda.

21. Yearbook, 1920, p.297,

22. Yearbook, 1921-22, p.524. The total number of disputes in 1920 exceeded those for 1913, New Zealand's worst year for strikes. The total number of striking workers, however, was far less than on the earlier occasion.

23. Yearbook, 1923, p.607. The Wellington dispute broke out on 18 February when some 2,000 men walked off the wharves in protest over their working hours. The dispute spread to the Auckland wharves a day later; and was also settled through Massey's personal intervention.

24. NZH, 19 January 1921. The New Zealand Welfare League was a right-wing organisation dedicated to defending free enterprise against socialism. Its publications included, Rules of the New Zealand Welfare League, Wellington: Harry H. Tombs, 1919; Today's Economics, (a series of pamphlets on capitalism, socialism and the distribution of wealth), Wellington: Evening Post, 1920; and The I.W.W. is active in New Zealand, Wellington: Evening Post, 1920. The New Zealand Welfare League enjoyed some support, especially during the early 1920s, but had declined by 1930.

A.B. Thompson has described how the Reverend J.K. Archer became the centre of controversy following allegations that he indoctrinated WEA economics classes in Sydenham with left-wing economic theories. Following a storm of criticism from the press, the Canterbury University College Senate set up a special committee to investigate all WEA work in the province.²⁵

Doubts over the WEA's political objectivity were also expressed in Wellington. At its January sitting the Victoria University College Senate condemned the organisation for carrying out revolutionary propaganda work instead of adhering to the strictly educational purpose for which it had been founded.²⁶ The Senate's charges were bitterly refuted by the Wellington District Council of the WEA, and at a special meeting there were angry denials of any sympathy for radicalism. In spite of this there is some evidence of support from within the WEA, for a more politically-orientated teaching programme designed to inculcate "class-awareness" among workers. One member at the meeting went so far as to assert that the WEA failed in its duty unless it presented the economic theories of Marx and Engels in a favourable light, and he tabled a motion which would have made it obligatory for all WEA tutors to include the works of these two political theorists in their courses. Although the motion was defeated and replaced by a resolution affirming the right of tutors to develop and teach their own courses according to their personal wishes, dissension of this type merely served to encourage

25. A.B. Thompson, Adult Education in New Zealand, a Critical and Historical Survey, (Wellington: NZCER, 1945), pp.92-93.

26. NZH, 22 January 1921.

further criticism of the WEA's work.²⁷

Churchmen too, became involved in the condemnation of militant socialism. While a few churchmen such as the influential Presbyterian minister, James Gibb,²⁸ were advocating Christian Socialist solutions to the nation's problems, others, particularly the more conservative Anglicans, were denouncing Bolshevik influence in the community. In March 1921, the Reverend F.W. Young delivered a hard-hitting sermon at All Saint's Church in Ponsonby, in which he claimed, "there are some among us who preach no flag, no country, no God".²⁹ The Reverend C.H. Grant Lowen was another minister who publicly denounced socialist activity, and at an Anzac Day gathering in St. Matthew's Church, Auckland, he warned listeners that there was " ... a great deal of disloyalty in their midst ...".³⁰

Such speculation undoubtedly helped spread the notion that Bolshevik sympathisers were everywhere. For those remaining unconvinced by the cautions issued through Parliament, press or pulpit, there was the pessimism of the country's leading economists. In April 1921 the Head of the Economics Department at Victoria University, Professor B.C. Murphy, told the Wellington Accounts Students' Society that Labour was now " ... idealistic and revolutionary ...", claiming that between 1915 and 1921 there had been no fewer than 200 strikes, a record that foreshadowed the imminent collapse of the entire Arbitration System.³¹

27. NZH, 26 January 1921.

28. See L.H. Barber, "The Social Crusader: James Gibb at the Australasian Pastoral Frontier, 1882-1925", (Ph.D.dissertation: Massey University, 1975), pp.208-209.

29. NZH, 14 March 1921.

30. NZH, 21 April 1921.

31. NZH, 9 April 1921.

The dam shored up by resolute government action in 1913 had again burst asunder, and throughout the country men speculated gloomily or excitedly on the probable results.

3. The Rise of the New Zealand Labour Party

For many Liberal and Reform supporters the political situation appeared as foreboding as industrial unrest. The Labour militants, defeated in 1913 and gaoled during the Great War, appeared to bounce back with renewed energy. P. J. O'Farrell has spoken of the "... surge of militant socialist confidence and dogmatism ...", that took place within the young Labour Party following Lenin's seizure of power in Russia, and news of Bolshevik insurrection in Germany.³² In October 1919, Harry Holland, the acknowledged leader of the Party's militant wing entered a hostile Parliament, where throughout the session he incensed political opponents by denouncing capitalism as anachronistic and immoral. The Maoriland Worker, concerned at the damage Holland was unwittingly doing for his cause warned, "when he declare [s] that he does not object to being called a Bolshevik, he should bear in mind that many of his followers might".³³

Despite almost trebling its 1914 vote to about 24 per cent of the Dominion total in the 1919 elections, the Labour Party continued to alienate many potential supporters.³⁴ From the moment they took their places in the House, the actions of the eight Labour members tended to confirm the worst accusations of their enemies. Throughout the 1920

32. P.J. O'Farrell, Harry Holland, militant socialist, (London: Australian National University, 1964), p.97.

33. Ibid., p.97.

34. Thus the Reform Party strengthened its own position with the electorate in 1919 by contrasting its own patriotic and imperial zeal with the "disloyalty" of the Labour Party. Reform won 46 seats and Labour, 8, while Liberal seats dwindled to 20.

session they defended the Soviet Union against Government criticism. In public, they lauded the appearance of the first Communist State, Holland likening Russia to, " ... a star of the first magnitude in the constellation of nations".³⁵

For its part, the Government utilised every opportunity to demonstrate the connection between Bolshevism and the Labour Party to the electorate. In July 1920, barely two weeks after the Labour members had been sworn in, Massey fiercely denounced them as "reds", "extremists" and "Bolsheviks". Claiming that the Labour Party desired the establishment of a Soviet regime in the Dominion, he bitterly observed that "if anything like it [Bolshevism] becomes established in New Zealand ... then I say, Heaven help New Zealand".³⁶

This policy was extremely successful during the 1920s, and contributed to Labour's failure to gain office. Influenced by the Government's repeated warnings many voters remained convinced that "the Left" was a single entity with world-wide influence. The impact of May Day demonstrations provides a case in point. In May 1921 the New Zealand Herald reported that a crowd of left-wing demonstrators in Sydney Domain had burned a Union Jack. Those who had instigated this act were allegedly members of the extremist Socialist Labour Party in Australia. The Herald's disclosure of radical influence across the Tasman provoked a number of letters from frightened readers throughout New Zealand who apparently believed that the Sydney demonstration would lead to demonstrations of a similar kind in the Dominion.³⁷

35. O'Farrell, p.108.

36. NZFD, vol. 156, 1920, p.279.

37. NZH, 2 May 1921. See also correspondence to the New Zealand Herald during the first two weeks of May 1921.

In fact, much of the concern from correspondents was needless. The formation of the radical Alliance of Labour in January 1919 and the creation of the Communist Party in March 1921 were decisive indications of an irreconcilable split between left-wing moderates and extremists in New Zealand. Despite the rhetoric of its parliamentarians, the New Zealand Labour Party was by 1921, firmly committed to working within the established democratic, constitutional context.³⁸ Unfortunately for the Party, however, many people were as yet unable to distinguish between the finer points of socialist theory.

4. Countering Militant Socialism

Government reaction to the problem of militant socialism went far beyond verbal attacks on members of the Parliamentary Labour Party. By 1921 a body of legislation existed for the specific purpose of countering militant socialist activity. Much of this legislation had been originally enacted to meet a threat of a quite different nature. Following New Zealand's entry into the Great War Parliament had passed the War Regulations Act, 1914, empowering the *wartime* Government to make such regulations as were required to preserve public safety.³⁹ During the course of the War a number of regulations were introduced under the Act which severely restricted the freedom of the ordinary citizen and as such they were due to expire after the conclusion of hostilities. Immediately after the Armistice all legislation passed during the War, including the regulations made under the War Regulations Act, 1914, was closely examined by a special

38. See O'Farrell, pp.114-116.

39. War Regulations Act, 1914, 5 Geo. V., Statutes, pp.128-129.

parliamentary committee headed by Francis Dillon Bell with the object of classifying it into two groups; that which was to be repealed forthwith, and that which was to be re-embodied in new bills.⁴⁰

By the time the committee had completed its work, the Reform Party had swept to its 1919 election victory. Upon taking office, the Government began to consider ways of countering militant socialist activity. The first tentative step in this direction was taken in October 1919, when the Government introduced the Police Offences Amendment Bill into the House. At a time when thousands of war-weary troops were returning home to a country which was shaking itself free of irksome war restrictions, some form of control was necessary, and there was much truth in Massey's claim that an important consideration in the drafting of the bill had been the sudden rise in violence and disorder currently plaguing New Zealand towns.⁴¹ Clause two, however, was noteworthy in that whilst it made it an offence to "... incite or encourage disorder, violence or lawlessness ...", it left these key terms undefined, thus permitting the arrest of political agitators as well as larrikins.⁴² Holland was quick to point out that the clause allowed " ... a man who may be a spokesman of the working class to be

40. Bell's experience as a lawyer had made him a valued member of the Reform Government and the succeeding National Government. After the War, as a member of the Legislative Council, Bell advised Massey on the question of wartime legislation. He was deeply concerned with the extent of militant socialist activity in the Dominion, but while he appears to have favoured the retention of regulations that would discourage agitation, especially on the wharves, he did express some misgivings over the Government's intention to ban "seditious strikes". (See NZPD, vol.187, 1920, p.3).

41. NZPD, vol. 185, 1919, p.747.

42. Police Offences Amendment Act, 1919, 10 Geo.V, Statutes, clause two, p.56.

seized and dragged before a magistrate ...", but despite Labour opposition the bill passed successfully through the House.⁴³

Notwithstanding the utility of the Police Offences Amendment Act in countering sedition, the Government introduced the War Regulations Continuance Bill into Parliament in August 1920. The new bill embodied many of the old wartime regulations originally issued under the War Regulations Act, 1914, only now the enemy was not Prussian militarism but socialist subversion. R.A. Wright, the Member for Wellington Suburbs, summed up much of the feeling on Government benches when he claimed that the legislation under consideration was vital because "... in New Zealand we have seen a series of strikes, first in one place and then in another, as if worked on some systematic plan".⁴⁴

Subversion of this nature necessitated the prompt enactment of comprehensive legislation to counter its possible effect upon the community as a whole. The bill before the House dealt with almost every aspect of subversion. Under clause eight, the Government was empowered to remove from any wharf individuals whose conduct or character were believed prejudicial to its effective control and administration.⁴⁵ Clause fourteen banned "seditious strikes", loosely defining such strikes as those which interfered with the movement of goods essential to public welfare or the effective conduct of industry.⁴⁶ In attacking these

43. NZPD, vol. 185, 1919, p.748.

44. NZPD, vol. 187, 1920, p.358.

45. War Regulations Continuance Act, 1920, 11 Geo. V, Statutes, clause eight, p.69.

46. Ibid., clause fourteen, p.69.

clauses, Holland complained that " ... there is not a single protest ... that the workers of this country could make against intolerable conditions, that could not, under the definition provided in these War Regulations, be declared by the government to be a seditious strike".⁴⁷

Destined to be even more controversial was clause two, a re-statement of a War Regulation first passed in September 1915:

No person shall print, publish, sell, distribute, have in his possession for sale or distribution, or bring or cause to be brought or sent into New Zealand, any document which incites, encourages, advises or expresses any seditious intention. 48

This clause drew the most intense Labour criticism of the entire debate. Holland bitterly condemned what he saw as the clause's deliberately vague wording, and attempted unsuccessfully to have the term "seditious intention" either more clearly defined, or deleted altogether.⁴⁹ Despite desperate Labour attacks on virtually every clause, however, support for the bill was more than sufficient to pass it through the House and it became law in October 1920.

For Labour members the matter of interpretation was to remain a bone of contention. Clause two was used within days of its appearing on the statute books. In October 1920 the left-wing newspaper Grey River Argus was fined twenty-five pounds for a letter in its correspondence column which advocated the violent overthrow of capitalism. The imposition of the fine prompted an accusation from Holland that the magistrates and the Government were grossly discriminatory in their use of the clause.

47. NZPD, vol.187, 1920, p.349.

48. War Regulations Continuance Act, 1920, clause two, p.58.

49. NZPD, vol. 187, 1920, p.3.

To add further weight to his charge, Holland alleged that a letter printed some days before in the New Zealand Herald which demanded an all-out war against socialism was equally seditious under the Act, yet had been overlooked along with others of its kind by government "watchdogs" who were more concerned with scrutinising Labour newspapers than with stopping subversion.⁵⁰

While this criticism had some foundation, the Government could counter with equal justification that the Left most often ran afoul of the law only because the militant socialist was more involved with subversive activity than was any other group in society. As far as the Government was concerned, prosecutions for the sale of extreme left-wing literature had reached alarming proportions by 1921. In addition, most major New Zealand newspapers provided an extensive coverage, not just of arrests and convictions, but of the whole question of militant socialist propaganda in the Dominion. This had the effect of providing a forum for public interest, and a focal point for further public alarm.

The New Zealand Herald provides an illustrative case. In March 1921 the Herald reported that two Auckland booksellers, Thomas Stych and Alexander Shemock, were each fined twenty-five pounds for having in their possession twelve copies of the book Red Europe. The Prosecution had alleged that Red Europe was subversive because it advocated the violent overthrow of parliamentary government as the prerequisite for establishing a socialist state, a view shared by the presiding magistrate, J.W. Poynton, who warned that "publications were being circulated stirring

50. NZPD, vol. 188, 1920, pp.752-753.

up class and sectarian strife, advocating arson, civil war, murder, and other terrible things".⁵¹ The Herald's report of the case and Poynton's summation provoked several letters to the editor deploring the extent of militant socialist activity in New Zealand. One correspondent related indignantly how he had been disturbed in his own home by a bookseller who attempted to persuade him to buy A Communist Programme for World Revolution, and the ubiquitous Red Europe.⁵²

Published on the same page as the correspondent's letter, was a report concerning the arrest of a Wellington man, Eduard Johnson, again on a charge of selling subversive literature. Johnson was a Swedish immigrant, and quite probably readers linked his case with an article which appeared four days later in the Herald which described the arrest of a ring of Bolshevik propagandists in Sweden.⁵³

The following morning's edition reported the arrest of yet another Wellington bookseller on a subversive literature charge. The Defendant, described as being the Secretary of the International Socialist Club, was alleged to have sold copies of the pamphlet Inside Russia which advocated " ... violence and lawlessness ... as a means to a political end, and [amounted] to nothing less than ... a eulogy of Bolshevism".⁵⁴

51. NZH, 31 March 1921. The Irish names of the two Defendants, together with Poynton's reference to "sectarian strife" suggests that some of the material in their possession related to the current crisis in Ireland.

52. NZH, 12 April 1921.

53. NZH, 16 April, 1921.

54. NZH, 17 April 1921. The Defendant's solicitor argued unsuccessfully that the pamphlet was "evolutionary" rather than "revolutionary".

Just over a week later, on 25 April, the Herald briefly mentioned that Johnson had been fined under clause two of the War Regulations Continuance Act.⁵⁵ In the same issue Bell set out the official interpretation of the clause, being at some pains to stress that:

It is neither unlawful nor seditious to advocate the wildest forms of socialism or communism. What is unlawful and seditious is to advocate murder and violence as legitimate methods for achievement of political ends. 56

For some Herald readers, however, Johnson's conviction constituted the final straw in what must have seemed a veritable catalogue of disloyalty. A typical reaction came from Robert G. Struthers, who, without troubling to define "seditious" in any sense, argued that all seditious publications were " ... inimical to the peace and good order of the social system".⁵⁷ This was a far more sweeping condemnation than that issued by Bell and public anger was reflected in a Herald editorial which strongly criticised the Government's leniency in suppressing subversive literature. According to the editor, the right of free speech enjoyed by New Zealand citizens did not extend to the incitement of violence.⁵⁸ Had he wished, he could have illustrated his argument by referring to a report appearing on the editorial page itself, which described how in Britain "... a communist plot to utilise the industrial crisis to effect a revolution ... had been frustrated", and "tons" of inflammatory literature seized by police.⁵⁹

55. NZH, 25 April 1921.

56. Ibid.

57. NZH, 28 April 1921.

58. NZH, 4 May 1921.

59. Ibid.

Revolutionary enthusiasm, especially as portrayed in the Herald, appeared world-wide and infectious. New Zealand was experiencing the troubles of Britain, the United States and Canada on a smaller scale. Well might the Chairman of the Mount Eden School Committee, R.H.A. Potter, echo the warning of the former Deputy Premier of Canada, Sir George Foster, in declaring "never has the devil's propaganda been so strong, so shrewd, so involved with anarchy and revolution as at present".⁶⁰ Both the devil and the actions of those who sought to exorcise him were to have a tremendous impact, not merely on New Zealand's politicians and press, but on its schools and teachers as well.

5. Résumé

New Zealand emerged from the Great War severely shaken. Susceptible to propaganda, ridden with hatred engendered by the conflict, and still numbed by the enormous sacrifices that victory had demanded, its citizens succumbed to the Red Scare that swept the world following the Bolshevik revolution.

The immediate cause of public concern was the appearance of Soviet Russia, but after the Armistice the fear of communism was made more intense by the unsettled conditions which characterised the early post-war period. Revolutions and insurrections broke out all over Europe. In Britain, the United States and Australia, strike followed strike in rapid succession. In New Zealand the existence of socialist agitators appeared to be confirmed by growing industrial unrest in the mines, and on the wharves. While the industrial situation deteriorated, Labour

60. NZH, 9 May 1921. Sir George had attacked the world-wide spread of militant socialist propaganda during the course of an address to the Ottawa Veterans' Society in April.

members of Parliament praised the Soviet system of government and made ominous, if vague references to the need for an "industrial parliament" which would better represent the workers of the Dominion.

Following its 1919 election victory, the Reform Government attacked socialism with great vigour. In Parliament Labour members were frequently accused of disloyalty. At the same time, the Government prepared to counter subversion in the community at large. A substantial body of wartime legislation was re-embodied in the War Regulations Continuance Act, 1920, with the express purpose of suppressing agitation. By 1921, there were a number of convictions for the sale of seditious literature, and the frequency of these cases contributed markedly to further public unease.

The militant socialist propagandist appeared to epitomise Bolshhevik malevolence at its most dangerous, because his wares were aimed at sections of the population whom the Government considered to be unable or unwilling to resist them. In turn, anxiety over the possible impact of left-wing propaganda on an ill-prepared population was to have important consequences for the schools. If the future of nation and Empire were here, here too was complete innocence of Bolshevik arguments. With considerable foreboding, educators and politicians began to turn their attention to the formidable task of preparing New Zealand children to meet and overcome the propagandist on his own ground. Almost inevitably, this led to an intense preoccupation with ensuring the loyalty of both teachers and pupils. School patriotism was about to enter a new and ultimately self-defeating phase.

CHAPTER FOUR

Saving the Children

Although legislation such as the War Regulations Continuance Act constituted an immediate response to militant socialist agitation both politicians and educationalists in New Zealand initially considered education to be a better long term solution to the problem. In its efforts to counter the possible effect of left-wing subversion on youth, the government employed two principal courses of action. The first was to increase the effectiveness of citizenship education in the schools, a step strongly supported by teachers and inspectors. The second and later course was considerably more controversial. In a reaction to what appeared to be a dangerous situation, the government resorted to sterner measures designed to ensure the loyalty of future citizens. These included compulsory flag-saluting and teachers' loyalty oaths, the last of which was to have consequences quite different from those envisaged.

1. Strengthening Citizenship Skills

With the coming of Peace, the problem of Bolshevik propaganda in relation to young people began to assume considerable importance. At the Institute's first post-war conference in February 1919, delegates were much concerned with seeking ways of making youth less susceptible to the agitators' blandishments. In his introductory address the acting President, A. Erskine, warned that though the war had been won, the fight for democracy at home could be lost through complacency. Producing citizens and workers able to take their place in industry was no longer sufficient. The greatest failing of the education system was, he argued, its inability to " ... draw out the qualities that would enable the worker to find relief in other interests from the monotony that characteris [ed] Labour under modern conditions ..."¹

1. National Education, 1919, p.2.

Although Erskine strongly believed that all individuals had the right to an education that would develop their talents to the highest degree, his concern with boredom was not entirely altruistic. Aware that each school child would ultimately join the workforce and participate in the shaping of his country's future, Erskine was convinced that boredom was dangerous because it produced a spiritual lassitude that could be exploited by others. For the future stability of the community it was essential that every youth " ... be supplied with the mental and moral equipment that [would] enable him to meet the influences that [would] be brought to bear on him from without".²

Erskine did not elaborate on the types of influence that could be brought to bear on school leavers, and a motion to formulate a number of recommendations for the forthcoming education bill, while calling for "social and moral training to fit young people to become citizens in the community", did not proceed beyond the statement of six general principles.³ The vagueness of the motion displeased a number of delegates who, during the course of the conference, were frank in revealing the concern of their branches. One of the first remits before the meeting called for the school leaving age to be raised to sixteen, lest " ... the masses ... not be equipped to play their proper part in the industrial and commercial struggles of the world".⁴ In calling for the acceptance of the remit, the Mount Eden Branch delegate referred to what he termed the "dissatisfied element" within all modern urbanised societies which had been forced to seek unskilled work in industry at the age of fourteen and consequently felt bitterness at having been left

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.3. These were: (a) health and sound physical growth, (b) hygienic school conditions and grounds, (c) social and moral training to fit young people to become citizens in the community, (d) scientific and technical training adequate to industrial and commercial ends, (e) intellectual and artistic culture for enlarging the life of the individual, and (f) knowledge of his own and other nations' history and geography.

4. Ibid., p.4.

behind educationally. Again, this was not merely a question of altruism. F.L. Combs, for instance, warned the Conference that unless the school broadened its base and introduced subjects more relevant to the needs and interests of the early school-leaver, the result would be precisely what the Mount Eden Branch feared - increasing dissatisfaction of the masses.⁵

The Conference was highly critical of the still prevalent tendency for the country to look upon children as potential wage-earners rather than as citizens and human beings. A continuation of that course meant disaster, and one delegate, L.F. de Berry, left no doubt as to the consequences of neglect in the schools:

It was extremely dangerous for the State ever to allow the young to go forth without having their judgement properly developed. At present many of the young people went out to become citizens without having any knowledge of politics and economics. In consequence of their ignorance, they fell prey to the arguments of agitators, whose fallacies they were unable to detect, and in a few years they were members of that class which was a source of unrest to the community. 6

The Mount Eden Branch remit was passed with a substantial majority, and the extent of Institute concern over the whole problem of militant socialist agitation was reflected in the very first issue of its official organ, National Education. The editor, C.J. McKinnon, referred to "the grim figure of revolution" that had arisen in the form of militant Labour and described the industrial situation in New Zealand as one of "menacing unrest":

5. Ibid. F.L. Combs was a Wairarapa headmaster, later to become President of the Institute in 1927-1928. See below, p.184.

6. Ibid. L.F. de Berry, M.A. Dip.Ed. (Otago), was at the time of the Conference, Headmaster of Marton District High School, about 42 kilometres northwest of Palmerston North. De Berry had been a member of the Institute for many years and was president in 1917. Later, he became Principal of the Dunedin Normal School (1928), and was President of the New Zealand Headmasters' Association (1930). His interest in making education more relevant to the needs of an increasingly industrialised society was demonstrated through his long-standing contributions to WEA summer school activities.

New Zealand at present is experiencing what on the surface appears to be a series of sporadic strikes. Actually they may be demonstrations in the nature of patrol operations screening the movements of the extremist forces in industrial strife. 7

The use of military terminology to describe " ... the astonishing penetration of Bolshevik propaganda" was illustrative of the contemporary tendency to view the militant socialist challenge as part of an aggressive campaign organised on military lines.⁸ The editorial did go on, however, to suggest that education could make a valuable contribution towards discouraging the state of mind which saw " ... 'Red Labour' on one side and 'Big Money' on the other", and instead encourage the view that society was based on unity and cooperation.

The following month, National Education again returned to the problem of militant socialist agitation amongst youth, this time advocating an effective school history and civics course as the best long-term solution. The magazine's editorial quoted Lewis S. Mills of the Connecticut Board of Education as having criticised citizenship instruction in much of the United States as "bookish". Mills apparently regarded this as very dangerous, claiming that "with the chaos of Russia before us, with the alarm of Bolshevism echoing across our hills, the task of teaching citizenship that saves and serves, that cooperates, that does not expect something for nothing, that respects humanity, becomes real".

The editorial went on to point out that " ... a well known New Zealand school inspector [had] said something to the same effect recently".⁹ While the inspector was not identified by name, criticisms of history and civics in New Zealand primary schools was certainly common among inspectors at this time. In their report for 1919 the Auckland inspectors

7. Ibid., pp.11-12.

8. Ibid.

9. National Education 1919, p.21.

deplored what they considered to be an undue reliance on historical readers and rote learning in civics instruction, claiming that " ... nothing [could] be regarded as a substitute for vivid personal teaching".¹⁰ The Otago inspectors believed that teachers returning to the profession after serving overseas with the armed forces could give sagging civics programmes in their schools a much needed boost "... by their noble example", which could not fail "... to have a lasting effect on the conduct of those engaged ..."¹¹ Like their colleagues in Auckland and Otago, the Canterbury inspectors deplored the excessive reliance on "textbook civics" and stressed the necessity for a civics course which would teach pupils the duties and responsibilities of citizenship:

It is very necessary that the feet of our pupils should be guided to the openings of the road to good citizenship, as strong and insidious forces are at work in certain quarters which may lead sooner or later to the disruption of society and of the general happiness of our people.¹²

The revised syllabus which appeared in September 1919 and went into operation in the primary schools early in the following year went some way towards meeting these recommendations. The adoption of a concentric system of approach, together with the reorganisation of history, civics and moral instruction under the general heading "Man and Society" was intended to make instruction more purposeful.¹³ The syllabus laid stress on the fact that " ... history must not be taught from books in the first instance", though books were recommended for the revision and memorisation of class work.¹⁴ In civics and moral instruction, more attention was to

10. AJHR, 1920, E-2 (Appendix B), p.iv.

11. Ibid., p.xix.

12. Ibid., p.xvi.

13. See below, p. 140.

14. 1919 Syllabus, p.24.

be paid to instilling children with work habits that would contribute to greater industrial harmony in the future, including pride in workmanship and recognition of "... the dignity of all honest labour, especially manual labour".¹⁵

One of the most significant innovations in a syllabus that introduced relatively few major changes, was the emphasis placed on the inculcation of loyalty and patriotism. In the 1904 Syllabus, loyalty and patriotism were subordinated to the larger task of character building which was to be dealt with incidently in moral instruction.¹⁶ In 1919, however, these two qualities permeated much of the suggested course in history, with the patriotism of Simon de Montford and Queen Elizabeth's love of England being identified as vital to the growth of British greatness.¹⁷ Colonial expansion had been a history topic in 1904, but like loyalty and patriotism it was merely part of a long list to be covered in a limited period.¹⁸ In 1919 there were explicit directions to teachers on how a lesson on colonial expansion could be utilised to provide a basis for further instruction on the causes of British greatness, the sources of her present strength, her future destiny in the world and the qualities required by her people to realise that destiny.¹⁹ This new stress on loyalty and patriotism was acknowledged by Parr himself, who later claimed that one of the major educational accomplishments of the early post-war years had been "the revision of the school syllabus in history and civics emphasising the inculcation of the principles of patriotism and loyalty to King and Country".²⁰

15. Ibid., p.82.

16. Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools, 1904. New Zealand Gazette 1904, p.1085. New Zealand Gazette hereafter cited as NZG.

17. 1919 Syllabus, p.79.

18. NZG, 1904, p.1086.

19. 1919 Syllabus, p.81.

20. AJHR, 1922, E-1, p.3.

2. Countering Disloyalty

Despite the improvements introduced by the 1919 Syllabus, criticism of history and civics teaching continued. In 1923 the Taranaki inspectors complained that "the practice of giving pupils extensive notes copied from the blackboard or from the teacher's dictation still largely prevails - a practice that cannot be too strongly condemned".²¹ Wanganui inspectors deplored the fact that teachers "... too often show[ed] want of continuity and fail [ed] to provide for impressing upon the children, elementary ideas of the growth and development of the nation and its institutions".²² The lack of purpose that still characterised much history and civics teaching was summed up by the Auckland inspectors when they admitted that many teachers "... failed to realise that the most important aim is the making of the citizen".²³ Rural children fared particularly badly, and inspectors in thinly populated Taranaki claimed that the majority of teachers showed "... little interest in either patriotism or civics".²⁴

Undoubtedly Parr was aware of the continued spate of criticism concerning history and civics. Whereas teachers and inspectors generally sought to counter the impact of militant socialist agitation on youth through further improvements in the syllabus, however, Parr was becoming increasingly doubtful if these measures alone would prove sufficient to meet the challenge. Evidence reaching his office increasingly underlined the fact that socialist propagandists were not prepared either to listen to rational argument, or to respect cherished institutions in their desire to influence the minds of the young. As early as February 1917, an overt challenge to the whole philosophy of New Zealand education had been made by the opening of a so-called Socialist Sunday School at Christchurch.

21. AJHR, 1923, E-2, (Appendix A), p.iii.

22. Ibid., p.ii.

23. Ibid., p.iii.

24. Ibid.

The School's rapid growth attracted public concern and the Government acted swiftly, forbidding further sessions and gaoling its first instructor, J.H. Chapple, for eleven months.²⁵ In early 1919 the School reopened under another instructor, and by May of that year supporters jubilantly claimed that it had an average Sunday attendance of 83 children. A second Socialist Sunday School opened at Palmerston North in October 1920, followed by a third in Auckland during May 1921.²⁶

Advocates of the Socialist Sunday School saw its primary function as one of counteracting the dangerous emphasis on patriotism and nationalism promoted in the public primary schools. Accordingly Socialist Sunday Schools taught children, " ... the gospel of love".²⁷ Ironically, in their enthusiasm to neutralise the "bias" of public schools they produced ceremonies startlingly similar to the patriotic observances they so bitterly opposed. At a social evening held at the Palmerston North Socialist Sunday School on the occasion of its first anniversary there was a special programme of songs, dances and recitations put on by the children. The highlight of the evening was a special ceremony entitled, "Our Flag", during the course of which a Red Flag "... which had been made by the loving hands of the children and teachers was displayed".²⁸ The evening concluded with cake, lemonade and the singing of "Auld Lang Syne", activities worthy of the most jingoistic Navy League presentation.

25. MW, 22 May 1918. The Reverend J.H. Chapple was well-known at the time, for his unorthodox political and religious views. He first became a national figure after his resignation from the Presbyterian Ministry following a sensational heresy trial at Timaru in 1910. Undaunted, Chapple joined the Unitarian Church and later became its leading preacher. During the First World War he was a conscientious objector. After the Armistice he continued his career as a Unitarian minister in Timaru and in Christchurch until his retirement in 1925. Chapple's at times somewhat bizarre fusion of Christian and socialist principles were illustrated in his numerous publications, among which were, Divine Need of the Rebel, and The Rebel's Vision Splendid.

26. MW, 2 June 1921.

27. Ibid.

28. MW, 2 November 1921.

Socialist Sunday Schools specialised in teaching children a broad type of Christian Socialism in which love, tolerance and human brotherhood were emphasised rather than revolutionary propaganda. This message was reinforced in a special section of the left-wing newspaper, the Maoriland Worker, entitled somewhat extravagantly the "Sunbeam's" column. The "Sunbeam's" column was edited by "Uncle Ted", who through short weekly articles attempted to counteract what he considered to be the dangerous connection between education and "militarism". In March 1921 he explained:

I must tell you why you have got a military machine, and why at school they are trying to fill your heads with the glorification of militarism. Soon I will tell you, but I hope you are saving these letters so you can follow them, and to follow them you must refer back again and again. 29

Had any readers expected a clear answer to the question of why "militarism" was taught in schools, they would have been disappointed. Although "Uncle Ted" made several references in his articles to "the evils of capitalism" and "the inequalities of the capitalist system", he did not attempt to analyse the shortcomings of New Zealand society in any depth, much less introduce children to Marxist economics or history. Instead, he constantly reiterated his basic conviction that "God is love and love is a God". Readers were advised to refrain from anger if persecuted by over-zealous education authorities and merely to "... send good thoughts and become god-like".³⁰

The column did, however, include a correspondence section through which children and their parents could express their frustration with the patriotic bias of public primary schools. Each week, letters described how hardships were overcome and injustices borne by families who were striving to give their children a good socialist upbringing.

29. MW, 2 March 1921.

30. Ibid.

Typical of the letters received was one by Jane Brenkley of Norsewood, who complained that though her children were compelled to salute the flag at school, she told them at home "... not to be like heathens and worship a bit of coloured rag".³¹ Referring to the Brenkley children, Uncle Ted warned, "the real worry, Sunbeams, will be if you let anyone make you believe that this country can do no wrong - that is what is called the, 'my country-right-or-wrong-principle' ".³²

Although no figures exist as to the total number of children who attended Socialist Sunday Schools or read "Uncle Ted's" column, it was in all probability very small. Despite this, the fact that a socialist alternative to the philosophy of the public schools existed at all was enough to provoke a strong reaction from education authorities. On 9 May 1921 R.H.A. Potter, wrote to the New Zealand Herald to suggest that the Union Jack should be flown at every school, every day in the school year in order to impress on children and their parents "... the duty of loyalty to King and Country".³³ The following day during the course of an interview, Potter went on to claim that the influence of increasing disloyalty in the community upon children could be countered through the introduction of regular Flag-Day parades at the City Domain, as this would give school pupils a practical lesson in good citizenship.³⁴

Potter's suggestions met with the immediate approval of several city school committees, among them the Ponsonby Schools' Committee which asked the Auckland Education Board to ensure that all headmasters of Auckland Schools were doing their utmost to encourage the development of regular school patriotic ceremonies, including flag-saluting and the singing of the National Anthem.³⁵ The Auckland Headmasters' Association

32. Ibid.

33. NZH, 9 May 1921.

34. NZH, 10 May 1921.

35. NZH, 12 May 1921.

was more cautious. While agreeing in principle with Potter's suggestion to hold regular Flag-Day parades, it pointed out that there were considerable practical difficulties to be overcome including the problem of transporting children to and from the Domain, and of coping with uncertain weather conditions.³⁶

The Auckland Education Board, aware of the interest aroused, discussed Potter's suggestions in some detail before deciding on a compromise proposal of its own. Although Potter's original idea of a central venue for regular Flag-Day parades was ruled out as impracticable, it was resolved that henceforth, the second day in June each year would be set aside for annual loyalty demonstrations of some length at every school in the Auckland area.³⁷

In Wellington, Parr had already committed the Education Department to resolute action. In May 1921 new instructions for teachers were inserted under the civics section of the syllabus.³⁸ These instructions began by identifying the main aim of school civics and history teaching as being to instil love of country, race and Empire. Reference was made to the necessity of selecting lessons which would stress the cooperative nature of British society, not only on the part of "... the various Dominions within the Empire, but on the part of every section of the community within which we live".³⁹

The most important section of the instructions, however, concerned the introduction of compulsory flag-saluting for every school in New Zealand:

36. Ibid.

37. NZH, 19 May 1921.

38. NZH, 27 May 1921.

39. Ibid.

... at every celebration, and at the beginning or end of each school week, the New Zealand flag or Union Jack is to be saluted and the National Anthem sung by teachers and pupils in the presence, where possible, of the whole school. A record of these ceremonies is to be entered in the teacher's workbook under the heading of civics, and examined by the inspector. 40

In justifying compulsory flag-saluting, Parr spoke of the need to counter "disruptive influences" within the community. In particular he stressed that "even children were not immune from these influences, for there were so-called Sunday Schools in New Zealand where ideas were inculcated which treated with contempt national feeling and tended strongly towards revolutionary socialism, also class warfare, which were not proper subjects for Sunday schools". Instead, school children had to be "... encouraged to love their country and their Empire".⁴¹

Some indication of the concern the Socialist Sunday Schools had caused is afforded by the degree of approval compulsory flag-saluting gained from school committees. The Remuera School Committee claimed that its headmasters ensured that the flag was saluted and the National Anthem sung every morning.⁴² The Grafton School Committee passed a resolution supporting Parr's action and sent a copy to the Minister.⁴³ In response to the large number of enquiries from teachers as to the precise form flag-saluting ceremonies should assume, the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, T.B. Strong wrote a series of two articles for publication in the new Education Gazette.⁴⁴ These articles were intended to give teachers some idea of the philosophy and spirit behind the instructions, and to provide some practical suggestions as to how they could be best implemented in the school.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. NZH, 29 May 1921.

43. NZH, 7 June 1921.

44. T.B. Strong, "The Inculcation of Patriotism", and "Saluting the Flag".

In his first article, "The Inculcation of Patriotism", Strong began by welcoming compulsory flag-saluting as " ... a counterblast to the openly expressed disloyalty that would, if it could, tear the Empire asunder and wreck social peace".⁴⁵ His suggested weekly patriotic ceremony included flag-saluting, patriotic readings and the singing of patriotic songs. During the course of the normal school week Strong envisaged that this ceremony would be reinforced through appropriate lessons in history, civics and geography.⁴⁶ The comprehensive nature of these suggestions was evidence of Strong's intense concern with what he regarded as the "impressionable nature" of youth. Consequently he continually sought the best means of channelling youthful idealism into "self-sacrificing patriotism". In a passage strongly reminiscent of Benjamin Kidd, Strong argued that "the extraordinary intensity of the emotion, of the ideal, in the mind of the child, and the part this faculty plays in producing that capacity for sacrifice upon which civilisation rests, must always be kept in view".⁴⁷

Along with the instructions governing flag-saluting Strong's comments on the inculcation of patriotism demonstrated a new awareness of the child's malleability. Both Parr and Strong, like many others, were coming to realise with some trepidation that malleability, especially when coupled with youthful enthusiasm and lack of practical experience, spelled vulnerability. This meant that the school, and more particularly each individual classroom teacher, had a crucial role to play in the creation of loyal citizens. That the Minister had seen fit to make

45. Education Gazette, 1 November 1921, p.2.

46. *Ibid.*, p.3.

47. *Ibid.* See especially Benjamin Kidd, The Science of Power, London: Methuen, 1918.

flag-saluting compulsory at all, was a strong indication that he seriously doubted whether all teachers could safely be entrusted with such a responsibility.

Once suspicion of this nature existed, it was only logical for the Government to ensure that all possible steps were being taken to guarantee the loyalty of every teacher. By early June 1921 there was no real evidence to suggest that the Government intended to introduce compulsory loyalty oaths for the teaching profession. Only a small push, however, was now necessary to start the inexorable process in motion, and that push was about to be provided with dramatic suddenness.

3. The Weitzel Affair

On 19 June 1921 Hedwig Weitzel, a graduate of Victoria University and a student of Wellington Training College, was arrested under the provisions of the War Regulations Continuance Act, for selling subversive literature. She had in her possession a number of copies of The Communist, a pamphlet of Australian origin which advocated the violent overthrow of parliamentary democracy. One of the pamphlet's main themes was that no reconciliation between Capital and Labour was possible, thus it followed that "propaganda should lead the struggle against that plague of the trade-union movement of the world [sic], the policy of reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, and against the hopes of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism".⁴⁸

This was certainly subversive material according to the definition provided by Bell some six weeks previously.⁴⁹ Weitzel did not deny

48. Quoted from The Communist by Parr, in response to an inquiry by the Government Member for Waipara, Sir George Hunter. (NZPD, vol.191, 1921, pp.461-462.

49. See above, p.98.

having distributed these pamphlets but in the Wellington Magistrate's Court she pleaded "not guilty", claiming that she had not been informed that such literature was banned. The Police alleged that she "... knew quite well all the risks she was taking in dabbling in a matter of this kind". Her parents, they argued, had been "... decidedly anti-British ..." during the Great War. The Weitzel's house was described as having been the wartime rendezvous of "... anti-militarists and revolutionaries of a pronounced character". Since the end of the War Hedwig herself had been frequently observed in company with well-known Communists and "... was as much a Communist at heart as any of the Party".⁵⁰

Such damning evidence made the verdict a mere formality. Weitzel was fined ten pounds, her studentship at Wellington Training College abruptly terminated and her Teachers' Certificate forfeited for "gross misbehaviour". While the sentence as a whole was intended as a stern lesson, the trivial fine imposed suggests that viewed purely as a distributor of banned literature, Weitzel was a comparatively small catch.⁵¹ Several aspects of her case, however, set her apart from others convicted for similar offences and created widespread interest and concern which was to have ramifications far beyond the incident itself.

First, Weitzel's German ancestry enflamed still smouldering wartime hatreds. When Holland subsequently stood up in the House to attack the Government's handling of the whole incident, Parr countered his arguments by demanding to know where Weitzel's father had been during the "German

50. NZH, 20 August 1921.

51. By contrast, Thomas Stych and Alexander Shemock (see above, p. 96), were each fined twenty-five pounds while the Swede Eduard Johnson (see above, pp. 97 - 98), was gaoled for three months.

War".⁵² Court allegations that her family had been anti-British proved equally damaging. Second, Weitzel's position as a trainee teacher made her appear a far more sinister threat to society than were the numerous booksellers that had previously made up the greatest proportion of convictions for the distribution of seditious literature. Her case underlined the urgency of ensuring that all teachers were loyal. As Parr was ~~angrily~~ to put it some weeks later, "if you are going to have disloyal teachers, you are going to have disloyal children".⁵³

Third and most important, was the impact of the small drama played out in the Courtroom itself. Seventeen female students from the Wellington Training College had been present at the hearing, and were alleged by the constable in attendance to have subsequently contributed money towards her fine. This brought the whole question of militant socialist influence at both the Training College and Victoria University College into prominence. Ever since becoming Minister of Education in 1920, Parr had been troubled by the extent of left-wing sympathy among the staff and students at these institutions.⁵⁴ Now, in the face of some concrete evidence, he was prepared to act swiftly. A somewhat reluctant Caughley was instructed to write to the Wellington Education Board and to the University College Council, requesting a full inquiry by each of these bodies into what Parr termed "... the serious issues raised by the Police Court case".⁵⁵

The Wellington Training College inquiry began in early September. It was conducted by Caughley himself, and the investigating committee comprised three members of the Wellington Education Board including

52. NZPD, vol. 191, 1921, p.970.

53. Ibid., p.934.

54. Particularly at the latter. See especially, J.C.Beaglehole, Victoria University College, (Wellington:New Zealand University Press, 1949), pp.182-199. Beaglehole provides a particularly full discussion of the Victoria University College Debating Society, and how its selection of left-wing topics and guest speakers aroused Parr's suspicions.

55. NZU, 2 September 1921.

its chairman, D. Forsyth, two members of the College staff and one representative of the Students' Association. From its outset, the inquiry concerned itself with three main issues. These were first, whether the court attendances of the seventeen students and their subsequent contribution towards Weitzel's fine was evidence of their support for Weitzel's views, second, whether these students were aware of the circulation of any militant socialist literature among other students at the College, and third, whether there was any evidence that students were subject to subversive influences when attending lectures at Victoria University College.

By 9 September the inquiry was complete and a day later, the New Zealand Herald printed extracts from Caughley's report of the findings under the heading, "Baseless Charges".⁵⁶ While all seventeen students admitted under close questioning that they had attended court out of personal sympathy for Weitzel's plight, they denied having offered any support for her offences, or having contributed to her fine. They strongly rejected any suggestion that Weitzel had ever attempted to influence their political views.⁵⁷ A thorough investigation had failed to reveal any evidence that militant socialist literature was being circulated around the College.⁵⁸ Moreover one of the committee members, Forsyth, had been strongly critical of both the prominence given to initial allegations against the seventeen students, which had apparently been based " ... solely on the 'ex-parte' statement of a police officer, in which fact and illicit inference were strangely

56. NZH, 10 September 1921.

57. Ibid. Though Weitzel claimed in court that she had on several occasions discussed "sociological questions" with other students, (NZH, 9 September 1921).

58. NZH, 10 September 1921. The inquiry into Victoria University College conducted by the Council reached similar conclusions, though it was revealed that some students owned copies of books banned under the War Regulations Continuance Act. (See Seaglehole, p.193).

mingled ... and the unnecessary circulation through the press of such mischievous rumours before the slightest investigation".⁵⁹

Despite these criticisms, the Weitzel case brought the question of teacher loyalty home to both the profession and the public in a way few other developments could. On 1 September, before the Training College inquiry actually began, a National Education editorial expressed the hope that the authorities concerned would "... not shirk the duty which lies upon them of removing the offender [Weitzel] from the service at once".⁶⁰ Most daily newspapers gave generous coverage to Weitzel's hearing, the subsequent inquiries, and the implications of the whole incident for education. On 7 September the Manawatu Daily Times came out in strong support of Parr's actions:

If the Minister of Education had permitted a young lady of Miss Weitzel's peculiar mentality to enter the teaching service, he would have earned the reprobation of every patriotic citizen in the Dominion. He has done the right thing in removing her from a position in which she might do incalculable injury by the disseminating of doctrines of a pernicious character. 61

In the next day's issue, the editor of the Times repeated his earlier expressed belief that "... the great body of the people ... endorse [d] the action of the Minister".⁶² He was probably correct in his assumption. For weeks after the release of the report on the Training College inquiry, newspapers around the country continued to receive letters from correspondents outraged at Weitzel's behaviour. As late as 19 October, the New Zealand Herald published a letter accusing the Victoria University College Council of being sympathetic towards "revolutionary socialism" because in a relatively short space of time the College had produced a "German professor [von Zedlitz] and a student with "... a German sounding name" [Weitzel], both of whom had proven to be disloyal."⁶³

59. Ibid.

60. National Education, 1921, p.301.

61. MDT, 7 September 1921.

62. MDT, 8 September 1921.

63. NZH, 19 October 1921.

Such public concern, especially when allied with Parr's single-minded determination to uncover disloyalty and the Government's desire to combat militant socialism, was bound to have political repercussions. Parr had taken a close interest in the Weitzel case since its beginning, and as early as 25 June had informed reporters that he would be taking proposals for teachers' loyalty oaths before Cabinet in the light of recent revelations of disloyal influences - both in the teaching service and in the community.⁶⁴ Final approval for the measure, however, had to await Massey's return from the Imperial Conference on 30 September. On 13 October, with public interest still high, Parr informed the House that a Bill embodying a compulsory loyalty oath clause for teachers would be introduced in the very near future, because " ... anyone in the capacity of teacher of the young ought to be above suspicion of disloyalty to the country and its laws".⁶⁵

Over the next few days the House heard further evidence that subversive influences were at work within the schools. George Sykes, the Independent Reform Member for Masterton, asked Parr whether he heard that eleven out of twenty-four pupils had refused to salute the flag at a Wellington suburban school. Parr was able to assure him that not only would he take appropriate action after first discussing the matter with Caughley, but that he was already considering a similar case involving a school in Otago.⁶⁶ Just a few hours later, Parr referred to yet another case, this time in Christchurch.

64. NZH, 25 June 1921.

65. NZPD, vol. 191, 1921, p.463.

66. Ibid., p.932.

When the promised Education Amendment Bill was finally introduced into the House on 28 October, members were in an expectant mood. Much of the Bill was taken up with the re-definition of the administrative and financial responsibilities of education boards. While this in itself included some controversial issues, the clause destined to attract the most criticism concerned teachers alone:

On and after the first day of April, nineteen hundred and twenty-two, no person shall be employed or shall continue to be employed or shall act as a teacher, in any public school, secondary school, technical school, Native school, or primary school unless, in the case of a British subject, he has since the passing of this Act made and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance, and, in any case, he has since the passing of this Act made and subscribed in the prescribed form an oath that he will not, directly or indirectly, use words or be concerned in any act which would be disloyal to His Majesty if such words were spoken or written, or such Act was committed, by a subject of His Majesty. 67

Government members were at some pains to stress that loyalty oaths were both justifiable and necessary. Parr opened what was to prove a lively debate, alleging that "there is, creeping into the teaching profession, a spirit of Bolshevism that needs to be suppressed".⁶⁸ Other speakers from the Government benches added their own suspicions to those voiced by Parr, the most damning criticism of all coming from the Member for Wellington North, Sir John Luke, who complained that "... the influences abroad in teaching were not the best and truest ideals".⁶⁹ Supported by a number of Liberals, Labour members fought the clause bitterly. Their efforts, however, were of little avail. The Government's sizable majority in the House was more than sufficient to carry the day, despite the defection of two of its members.⁷⁰

67. Education Amendment Act, 1921-22, 12 Geo. V. Statutes, clause two, pp. 263-264.

68. NZPD, vol. 191, 1921, p. 948.

69. Ibid.

70. See below, p.154.

From April 1922, every teacher in the Dominion would be obliged to sign an oath of loyalty or risk dismissal. The patriotic fervour of the early post-war period had reached out to engulf not just the schools, but the teaching service as well.

Résumé

The widespread fear of Bolshevism which characterised the early post-war period in New Zealand had a strong impact on primary schools. Educationalists were not exempt from the general anxiety around them, and their experience with young people made them acutely aware of the opportunities that unsophisticated school-leavers unwittingly offered to the propagandist or agitator. Many teachers and inspectors looked to improved history and civics courses as the most effective long-term means of protecting children from these undesirable influences. They assumed that armed with a thorough knowledge of his own heritage and a clear understanding of his country's political system, the future worker could counter the seditious arguments and false logic which constituted left-wing extremism.

For the Government, however, strengthening school history and civics courses, while valuable, was not sufficient to ensure the safety of the Dominion's youth. The determination of the militant socialist knew few bounds, and the growth of Socialist Sunday Schools increased Government fears for the children. Clearly, sterner measures were necessary. The introduction of compulsory flag-saluting in the schools was highly significant, because it not only demonstrated the Government's willingness to act firmly, but also indicated its growing doubts concerning the degree of trust which could be placed in teachers.

Suspicion and distrust ensured that the Weitzel case would be a decisive turning point. Weitzel's German ancestry, her student-teacher

background and most of all, the fact that she was soon to be instructing children in the very principles of good citizenship upon which the future of the nation depended, brought matters to a head. The outcome was the introduction of loyalty oaths for teachers, patriotism's most significant impact on the primary school.

Figure 2. Oath of Allegiance. c. 1936.
Loyalty oaths continued to be a requirement for entry into the teaching service, and in slightly modified form, are still provided for by the Education Act, 1964 (clause 162). The unique combination of circumstances which had led to their introduction, however, had been dissipated by the 1930s.

(Institute Files,
Wellington.)

NEW ZEALAND.—EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

(Section 11, Education Amendment Act, 1921-22.)

I, _____, of _____

DO SWEAR that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty KING EDWARD THE EIGHTH, his heirs and successors, according to law, so HELP ME GOD.

SWORN at _____, this
_____ day of _____,
193 in the presence of--

Justice of the Peace.
or Solicitor of Supreme Court.
or Chairman of Education Board, Secondary
School Board, Technical School Board, or
School Committee.

[FOR DIRECTIONS SEE OVER.]

SECTION 11, EDUCATION AMENDMENT ACT, 1921-22.

(1) On and after the first day of April, nineteen hundred and twenty-two, no person shall be employed or shall continue to be employed, or shall act as a teacher, in any public school, secondary school, technical school, endowed school, Native school, or private school unless, in the case of a British subject, he has since the passing of this Act made and subscribed the oath of allegiance, and, in any other case, he has since the passing of this Act made and subscribed in the prescribed form an oath that he will not, directly, use words or be concerned in any act which would be disloyal to His Majesty if such words were spoken or written, or such act was committed, by a subject of His Majesty.

(2) Nothing herein shall be so construed as to restrict the provisions of section fifty of the Evidence Act, 1908, whereby every person is entitled as of right to make his solemn affirmation instead of taking an oath.

(3) Nothing in section ten of the Promissory Oaths Act, 1908, shall limit the operation of this section.

(4) Any oath or affirmation required to be made under this section may be made and subscribed before a Justice of the Peace, or a solicitor of the Supreme Court, or the Chairman of an Education Board or of the governing body or controlling authority of a secondary school or technical school or of a School Committee, and every such Justice, solicitor, and Chairman respectively shall have authority to administer and receive any such oath or affirmation.

(5) If any person is employed or continues to be employed, or acts, in a private school, in contravention of this section, the managers of that private school commit an offence, and shall be jointly and severally liable on summary conviction to a fine of fifty pounds.

DIRECTIONS.

In order to comply with the provisions of the above section every teacher is to repeat the oath of allegiance as printed on the other side of this paper before one of the persons indicated in subsection (4), and then to subscribe the oath in his presence, and the person before whom the oath is taken will then sign as a witness. In the case of State schools head teachers are to forward these papers when completed to the Education Board or other body by whom they are employed. In all other cases, including private and denominational schools, the papers are to be sent to the Director of Education, Wellington.

If a teacher prefers to make a solemn affirmation Form V.-2, which may be obtained on application to the employing Board, is to be used.

The Impact of Patriotism: A Preliminary Re-examination

The early post-war period saw a rapid expansion of patriotic activity in New Zealand primary schools. Much of the initial impetus for this was provided by the Great War, which created a society far more intensely aware of patriotic obligations at both the individual and the national level. After the signing of the Armistice there was a fierce determination to pass on the lessons of those momentous years, and schools were the most obvious institutions for the task. Peace too, brought its problems, among which was the perennial question of New Zealand's continued security. The Dominion's isolated position in the Pacific far from the realities of British naval power made New Zealanders strong advocates of both the imperial connection and a powerful Royal Navy. At the same time the claims of the newly established League of Nations were greeted with caution and, occasionally, hostility. In the schools this was reflected in the stress placed on imperial topics in history and civics, and also in the favourable reception accorded the Navy League by most education authorities, in comparison with internationalist organisations such as the National Peace Council.

The most significant attribute of patriotic expansion during the early post-war period, was its ever-increasing emphasis on loyalty. The key factor in this trend was the fear of Bolshevism or militant socialism which, by 1921, had assumed considerable proportions in New Zealand. As far as primary schools were concerned, the introduction of compulsory flag-saluting in May of that year underlined the Government's sensitivity to the problem of militant socialist agitation among the young, and afforded some indication of its determination to resort, if

necessary, to tough measures in order to protect school children from undesirable influences. A month later, Weitzel's conviction provided the impetus for the introduction of punitive legislation in the shape of loyalty oaths for all teachers. When this legislation finally took effect, in March 1922, it constituted yet another aspect of a strongly buttressed, well supported and apparently effective framework of patriotic activity in the primary schools. In describing New Zealand primary schools during the 1920s and early 1930s Malone has written of:

... the deliberate indoctrination of children with a pattern of concepts about the British Empire which for convenience may be called the imperialist ideology. The pattern included ideas about the monarchy, international relations and the rights and duties of subjects in peace and war. In particular it was a well-matured doctrine of not only the relation of the individual to the state, but of the member nations of the Empire towards the "Mother Country". These concepts as presented to New Zealand primary school children were moral in character and as dogmatic in many respects as any religious doctrine which might have been taught in the schools under another regime. 1

In some respects, this is an accurate description. Patriotic activity was indeed at a high level during the interwar period, both in the community and in the primary schools. Some of its major manifestations such as flag-saluting and loyalty oaths were to persist until well after World War Two.² To a considerable degree, however, Malone exaggerates its strength. School patriotism today, in primary schools at least, is virtually non-existent, and what is extremely ironic is the fact that the causes of its decline harken back precisely to the period when patriotic activity was supposedly at its height.

The rapid expansion of patriotic activity after 1918 was an impressive facade created by difficult circumstances. Its dominance was, therefore, of necessarily limited duration once the conditions responsible for its growth had given way to other more durable factors. By the early

1. Malone, p.12

2. Flag-saluting remains a requirement for schools but few, if any, public primary schools have required teachers and pupils to salute the flag for many years. Loyalty oaths for teachers, likewise, remain a requirement and are usually taken "en masse" by first year teachers' college students. The significance behind both activities has, one suspects, been largely forgotten.

1930s school patriotism was not the force it had been ten years previously. The reasons for this were first, the limited nature of its impact on children and its failure to change the basis of education, second, its failure to sustain a high degree of public fervour in a society becoming more critical of Government measures designed to counter subversion, third, its inability to accommodate to the progressive philosophy of education which gained ground throughout the primary school system and fourth, its losses to internationalism following the general reaction against war that began from the late 1920s. It is to these reasons that Section Two now turns.

SECTION TWO

THE DECLINE OF PATRIOTIC FERVOUR, 1922 - 1930

CHAPTER FIVE

Patriotic Teaching and its Classroom Limitations

In studying the political socialisation of present day New Zealand children, M.J. Towers has concluded that a largely ineffective school civics programme tends to produce politically apathetic children.¹ Her findings suggest that in considering the impact of patriotic teaching during the 1920s, particularly its failure to sustain initial momentum, consideration should first be given to its actual classroom effectiveness before a more detailed examination of the consequences of its more obvious manifestations such as flag-saluting and loyalty oaths can properly take place.

Some of the difficulties connected with assessing the impact of patriotic teaching at classroom level have already been outlined in the Preface, but while any conclusions must necessarily be tentative, it is probable that the intense patriotic activity characteristic of the early post-war period failed to be translated into effective instruction in the schools. There were two principal reasons for this; the first rooted in the conditions which characterised much of primary education and which adversely affected instruction in all subjects to some degree, and the second concerned with the more specific difficulties attributable to the teaching of patriotic concepts.

1. The Lack of Instructional Prerequisites

Effective teachers and receptive learners are vital to successful instruction in the classroom. Neither of these prerequisites was adequately fulfilled in New Zealand primary schools during the 1920s. During the early years of the decade in particular, many teachers were

1. M.J. Towers, "The Political Socialisation of New Zealand School Children", (B.Phil. dissertation, University of Waikato, 1974), p.81. Similar conclusions have been reached by a number of overseas scholars, including Franklin K. Patterson, "Political Reality in Childhood", in The Learning of Political Behaviour, ed. N. Adler and C. Harrington (Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman, 1970), pp.149-154.

inadequately trained and quite unable to raise the standard of their instruction to a level which would have compensated for the numerous difficulties they encountered. School children frequently suffered from ill-health and from excessive fatigue, both of which adversely affected their ability to learn.

While the teaching service struggled to recover from the losses of the Great War, the training of young teachers to replace war casualties was severely hampered by financial stringency. Most teachers, even after 1918, began their training either as pupil-teachers or as probationers in a manner that differed little from that of their late nineteenth century predecessors.² The pupil-teacher system in particular provided a financially advantageous means by which many aspiring teachers without sufficient financial means received some payment for taking groups of children while themselves undergoing instruction in teaching theory from their headmaster outside school hours.

Both the pupil-teacher and probationer methods of training teachers had been severely criticised, even in pre-war times.³ By the early 1920s however, increased workloads for teachers gave this criticism even greater validity. Few headmasters had the time to assist junior assistants,

2. During the 1870s and 1880s the pupil-teacher system constituted the main method of teacher training. Boys or girls were eligible to become pupil-teachers if they were thirteen years or age or over and had passed the fifth standard. They were in reality "apprentice teachers" who worked in the classroom by day for a small allowance, while receiving instruction in general education from the headmaster after school hours (Ewing, p.6). At this time probationers were merely unpaid pupil-teachers in their own right. In 1908, however, the Education Department issued new regulations governing the employment of probationers which in effect, converted them into senior pupil-teachers with a definite position in the school. Boys or girls could be considered for the position of probationer if they were aged sixteen years or over, and had passed either the Matriculation Examination, the Junior Civil Service Examination or the Examination for Senior Free Places. A probationer was normally appointed for two years after which he or she was eligible to enter training college on similar terms to pupil-teachers (NZG, 1908, p.3192).

3. See especially, J. Ormond, "Education in New Zealand", The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, (December 1899), p.215. Ormond made some particularly cutting remarks about the conditions under which pupil-teachers worked. See also, A.E. Campbell, Educating New Zealand, (Wellington: Internal Affairs, 1941), p.78 and; Ewing, p.51.

and irksome after-school coaching commitments were a constant source of discontent. Quite apart from the extra strain on headmasters, in-service training imposed a considerable burden on trainees, many of whom were little older than the pupils they were supposed to supervise. In July 1921 the Auckland Headmasters' Association discussed the effect of current training methods on all junior teachers. The prevailing sentiment among the Association's members was well illustrated by the Secretary's written comment that, "numerous advice and scathing remarks were made re-the shockingly long hours that many junior teachers were forced to work ... to qualify for their profession".⁴

Statistics confirmed the Association's concern. In July 1921 Auckland Education Board members were alarmed to discover that 35 per cent of the Board's pupil-teachers and probationers had failed to pass the qualifying examination for entry into training college.⁵ The Principal of Christchurch Training College, J.E. Purchase, complained that pupil-teachers could actually lose ground in two ways. First, they suffered academically because they were frequently obliged to drop high school subjects in order to study for a "D" class teacher's certificate. Second, they worked so hard that many lost the habit of serious study before they even reached college. Despite these shortcomings, pupil-teachers and probationers together had for many years made up a high proportion of primary schools staffs. In the early 1920s this proportion increased rather than decreased due to heavy wartime losses among male teachers, and to the high failure rate among junior teachers who sat the annual entrance examination for training college.⁶

4. Minutes of the Auckland Headmasters' Association, Auckland, vol.1919-1925 (8 July 1921), p.82. Minutes of the Auckland Headmasters' Association hereafter cited as MAHMA.

5. Auckland Star, (Auckland), 20 July 1921, p.4. Pupil-teachers fared the worst with 47 passing the examination and 38 failing. For probationers the figures were 53 and 16 respectively.

6. In 1924 the practice of appointing pupil-teachers ceased, though it was to take some years for pupil-teachers to disappear completely from primary schools. Statistical returns for the number of pupil-teachers in any one year are unreliable, one reason for this being that many left the service during the course of the year and were not counted in totals.

In addition to those still undergoing some form of training, there were a considerable number of individuals who, although uncertificated, had charge of their own classes. Some of these teachers had been hurriedly accepted into the service during and immediately after the Great War, while others had been hired by education boards to alleviate local shortages among trained school staff. All were technically obliged to study towards a "D" class certificate, but heavy workloads often nullified their efforts. The exact number of teachers in this category was always difficult to ascertain because it varied from term to term, and from district to district. In 1920 the Canterbury Education Board had only 47 uncertificated teachers (excluding trainee teachers) out of 1,053 in its employ. In Auckland and Westland the proportion of uncertificated teachers was much greater.⁷ Rural areas suffered the most heavily, to the annoyance of local parents. In 1921 the Liberal Member for Ohinemuri, H. Poland, complained with some justification that, "we have every uncertificated teacher sent to the backblocks".⁸ Most districts, however, whether they were rural or urban, laboured under a shortage of certificated teachers during this decade.

Prevailing concern over the high proportion of uncertificated teachers in primary schools partially obscured the fact that many certificated teachers were but nominally qualified for their task. During the 1920s the system of awarding teachers' certificates was still based

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7. In Auckland, 141 out of 1,900, and in Westland, 39 out of 253. In each case pupil-teachers and probationers are excluded from the reckoning. The Department estimated that some 25 per cent of all teachers in public schools were uncertificated, but this estimate clearly includes pupil-teachers and probationers. (AJHR, 1920, E-1, p.19).
8. NZPD, vol.191, 1921, p.968. Most country schools were classified as "grade 0" schools (those with eight pupils or less). When "grade 0" schools are excluded from consideration, the proportion of uncertificated teachers, (again excluding pupil-teachers and probationers), to certificated teachers drops considerably in all districts. (AJHR, 1920, E-1, p.19).

largely on nineteenth century practice. At that time the lowest certificate obtainable had been the "E" class certificate which academically went little beyond the Standard Six level. Although the "E" class certificate had been officially deleted by 1897, many older teachers failed to ever gain anything higher and simply continued on as certificated anachronisms. As late as 1922, by which time the "D" class certificate was the lowest acceptable teaching qualification, no fewer than 47 per cent of all certificated teachers still possessed either "D" or "E" certificates.⁹

Poorly qualified and uncertificated teachers inevitably had an adverse effect on the quality of instruction. History and civics, which theoretically provided the best opportunities for patriotic instruction in the classroom, suffered badly from generally low teaching standards. The high proportion of uninspiring school history and civics programmes drew frequent comments from inspectors, who were particularly critical of widespread pupil disinterest. In 1920 Auckland inspectors complained that history and civics were among the worst taught subjects in the curriculum because "... a considerable number of teachers [did] not possess the necessary academic equipment, with its wide and detailed knowledge, to make a strong and helpful appeal to the child's mind".¹⁰ Similar comments were made by inspectors from other districts.¹¹

Pupil disinterest as a result of either poor teaching methods or ill-prepared courses was a direct cause of the discipline problem faced by many primary schools. Corporal punishment was used frequently

9. In 1921, 48 teachers held "A" certificates; 298, "B"; 1779, "C"; 1584, "D" and 215, "E". (AJHR, 1923, E-1, p.19).

10. AJHR, 1920, E-2, (Appendix B), p.iv.

11. See above, pp. 104 - 107.

and often excessively as a means of maintaining discipline.¹² Whether or not corporal punishment actually inhibited the learning process is a question still frequently debated in New Zealand, but during the 1920s its use undoubtedly helped to produce a classroom environment which limited the effectiveness of many teachers.¹³ Women teachers were particularly disadvantaged in this respect. Because women so far outnumbered men in the primary schools, much of the burden in history and civics fell upon them. Although there is no evidence to suggest that women teachers paid less attention to these subjects than their male counterparts, unruly pupils made their task difficult. Matters were made worse by the generally lower academic and professional qualifications possessed by women.¹⁴ In addition women teachers as a group often failed to gain the respect of the teaching service. Inspectors frequently believed them to be poor disciplinarians, an opinion often shared by headmasters. In 1921, for instance, the Auckland Headmasters' Association saw fit to deplore what it regarded as "... the unprecedented advancement of women teachers" in the service, because they failed to inculcate to boys the "manly qualities" that had won the Great War.¹⁵ There were women teachers during this period who overcame considerable hardship to make an outstanding contribution to education, but for many of them, teaching was an arduous uphill struggle in a generally unfavourable environment.

12. See especially, MAEB, vol. twenty-one (June 1920 to June 1921 passim).

13. See especially, Delta 12, Massey University (June 1973). This whole issue considers corporal punishment in New Zealand schools from psychological, sociological and philosophical perspectives.

14. In 1921 there were 2,467 women and 1,457 men employed as certificated primary school teachers in New Zealand. The loss of male teachers during the Great War, coupled with the continuing failure of the primary service to attract sufficient numbers of men, led to a considerable imbalance between the sexes during the 1920s. Moreover, a far higher proportion of the women held "D" or "E" certificates. (AJHR, 1923, E-1 p.19).

15. MAHMA, vol. 1921-1923 (18 April 1921), p.70.

Figure 3. A crowded classroom, 1919.
Such a closely packed environment was
not conducive to effective teaching or
learning.



Unreceptive children further compounded learning difficulties in the primary school. Sick and tired children are rarely able to learn well, and many children during the 1920s were both sick and tired. Although the early 1920s saw the inauguration of school dental and medical services on a limited basis, serious agitation for a full investigation of school health problems was not forthcoming until the end of the decade. In 1928 Dr J. Renfrew-White, a prominent Dunedin orthopaedic surgeon, claimed that the physique of many school children actually deteriorated as a result of regular attendance at public schools, and suggested that this was largely due to poorly ventilated classrooms, severe overcrowding and badly designed desks which aggravated spinal complaints.¹⁶

Renfrew-White's criticisms were widely reported in most of the country's daily newspapers, and provoked a bitter reaction from an embarrassed Education Department. Strong accused him of irresponsibility in making the results of his finds public, because " ... newspapers were always ready to hint that the Department does not know its job".¹⁷ Nevertheless the subsequent report of the Atmore Committee indicated the seriousness of the health problem and its detrimental effect on education.¹⁸

Poor classroom conditions were not the only barriers affecting the learning progress of school children. Severe dietary deficiencies were a persistent difficulty in urban areas throughout the 1920s, and some city schools were obliged to introduce hot midday lunches with cocoa in an attempt to alleviate the situation. Although the country districts were usually far better off in this respect, farm children laboured under difficulties of their own caused by the nature of their parents' occupations. Teachers new to country service were often horrified to

16. Otago Daily Times, (Dunedin), 7 July 1928.

17. Strong to Renfrew-White, 16 January 1928, 36/1/26, EDF.

18. Parliamentary Recess Committee, Educational Reorganisation in New Zealand (AJHR, 1930, L-8A), pp.119-120. See also, Ewing, pp.186-188 for a brief discussion of the health problem in the public schools.

discover that their children dropped off the sleep during the afternoon, especially during the haymaking or shearing seasons. In 1920 the Chief Medical Officer, G.H. Wilkins, reported:

In dairying districts it is remarkable how tired and sleepy the children are during school hours owing to the amount of farm-work performed by them in the early hours of the day. It has been humorously suggested that in some schools it would be a kindness to provide dormitories rather than classrooms. 19

This had been an acute problem during the early 1900s as farmers strove to *increase* production, yet despite the efforts of education authorities it was to remain very much a factor to be taken into consideration by country teachers until well into the post-World War Two period.

2. The Specific Difficulties of Patriotic Teaching

Poorly qualified teachers, an unsatisfactory teaching environment and unreceptive children constituted severe drawbacks to the educative process in the schools. The bulk of formal patriotic teaching took place in history and civics lessons and in addition to suffering from the above mentioned difficulties, the effectiveness of these subjects was further compromised by the highly abstract nature of patriotic concepts. In order to be completely successful the teaching of patriotism first required that the children be familiar with such ideas and symbols as the Empire, the monarchy and the flag. Furthermore, patriotic teaching often took place without the child's particular stage of mental development being adequately taken into account. At all levels of the school, this neglect of basic educational theory was to prove a severe handicap.

Successful instruction in a group situation has always been an inexact science. In relating Piaget's findings concerning the application

of the child's stages of mental development to contemporary social studies programmes in New Zealand, A.H. McNaughton has claimed that no teacher can ever be sure that a story or picture presented to children during a lesson will have the same effect on every child. McNaughton argues that each child brings a unique set of perceptions to bear on the material in question, and that these perceptions are governed both by the child's own past experiences, and his particular stage of mental development.²⁰

The teaching of political concepts has always been especially prone to the difficulties outlined by McNaughton, because of its highly abstract nature. Two recent studies support this and are, therefore, of relevance. In the late 1960s Hess and Torney tested approximately 12,000 children, aged seven to twelve, from both middle and working class areas in a number of United States cities.²¹ They found that all the children tested could be placed in one of four clearly defined stages in political awareness. Each of these stages was broader and more sophisticated than its predecessor, with the child progressing from one stage to another as he acquired more sophisticated concepts of the political world. Most children reached the first stage of political awareness by the age of seven. At this stage children could identify and recognise the importance of political symbols such as the United States flag and the Statue of Liberty, although the adult concept of a nation possessing definite geographical boundaries and a set of common ideals did not yet exist. While the children had some sense of belonging to a political unit, this was largely conceived as a non-political, non-rational, "we".²²

20. A.H. McNaughton, "Piaget's Theory and Primary School Social Studies", New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 1-2 (1966-67): 112.

21. Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children.

22. *Ibid.*, p.27.

Hess and Torney found that children aged nine to eleven had generally reached the second stage of political awareness. This stage was characterised by rapid progress in the acquisition of political understanding, though the children's swift rate of advance tended to make their beliefs both emotional and subjective. Children of this age for instance, believed their country to be "the best", and were proud of their freedom as Americans, though few of them were sure about what "freedom" actually meant. Concrete symbols such as flags, however, became less vital to their understanding of political concepts.²³

By the age of twelve, most of the children tested had entered the third stage of political development, and were beginning to perceive something of international relationships. This process was continued well into the fourth and final stage which began from about thirteen and lasted well into late adolescence, though even at these later stages basic political concepts and values were still being clarified. At each stage Hess and Torney stressed the importance of adult conceptions of citizenship in guiding the child towards a more complex knowledge of political activity.²⁴

A similar study by R.W. Connell in Australia confirms the existence of Hess and Torney's stages of political awareness, while extending understanding of the way children actually acquire political concepts.²⁵ Connell introduced the term, "task-pool", to describe the way in which children dealt with differentiations between the powers of political figures.²⁶ He discovered that children accumulated their knowledge of leading community, state and national figures in a common task-pool, with individual political roles becoming blurred as a result. When asked about

23. Ibid., pp.29-30.

24. Ibid., p.13.

25. R.W. Connell, The Child's Construction of Politics, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1971.

26. Ibid., p.20.

the powers any single individual possessed, children drew from their task-pools the powers they considered to be appropriate to the role. Usually these powers were but vaguely conceived, and tended to be far in excess of the realities of democratic power.

Connell found that the first figure to be identified as an individual, was the Queen. From the age of seven until about eleven, children commonly regarded the Queen as a powerful ruler, living in a world of romance and pageantry. Not until early adolescence did most of them recognise the Queen's role as being largely ceremonial. Other political figures took even longer than the Queen to be rescued from the task-pool, with the process not being completed until late adolescence.²⁷ At all stages, however, children had some conception of a ruling elite consisting of the Queen, the Prime Minister and members of Parliament, towards which the rest of the population owed certain obligations.

The children questioned by Connell were generally more familiar with their obligations as future citizens than they were with their democratic rights, with the latter only becoming clear in their minds from about middle adolescence. Connell concluded that this was the result of the limitations imposed not only by successive stages of political awareness, but by the political socialisation process then characteristic of many Australian schools where the major emphasis of teaching concerned obligations.²⁸ On the other hand comparatively few children before the age of twelve were able to define clearly the responsibilities of political figures towards the body politic, beyond that they should be "good" in the same way that a father was "good" to his family.

27. Ibid., p.38.

28. Ibid., p.59.

This somewhat vague transfer of concepts from the child's immediate environment to the political world beyond was also characteristic of the child's reaction to political events outside Australia. The Vietnam War was then raging, and Connell discovered that children as young as five felt personally threatened by this conflict. A military campaign thousands of miles distant was personified in the child's mind as a potentially violent intrusion into his immediate environment, and this subjective attitude towards all forms of political activity continued to be a dominant feature in the political conceptions of children until well into adolescence.²⁹

The findings of Hess and Torney in the United States and of Connell in Australia relate to today's televised world, in locations far distant from New Zealand. Despite these disadvantages, however, each of the studies has a potentially vital contribution to make to the understanding of patriotism in New Zealand schools during the 1920s. In each case the age of the children examined spanned almost exactly, the Standard One to Standard Six years in the New Zealand primary schools of fifty years ago. While contemporary United States and Australian children are probably more aware politically than those living in the 1920s, many of the findings discussed above concern the innate characteristics of school children, and these have not altered markedly over the past half-century. Most importantly, the conclusions reached by Hess and Torney and by Connell suggest a fruitful line of approach in analysing the probable impact of patriotic teaching on New Zealand children.

First, Connell's conclusions concerning the impact of the Vietnam War on contemporary children has relevance in indicating the possible impact

29. Ibid., p.103.

of war on New Zealand children during the early 1920s. Although the New Zealand children did not have to contend with the intrusion of a "televised war" into their living rooms in the same sense as Connell's Australian children, the schools they attended played a much larger part in keeping them aware of violent international conflict. This was especially true during the early years of the decade, when the lessons of the Great War and the sacrifices made by imperial troops were constantly referred to as exemplars of future conduct.³⁰ The Gallipoli campaign in particular, was often described in heroic terms, heavy with classical references. A School Journal article appropriately entitled, "The Tale of the Wooden Horse" urged children to remember the courage of the Anzacs. The article went on to compare the courage of the New Zealanders as they stormed the Dardanelles, with that of the Greeks at Troy, and pointed out with a singular disregard for geographical accuracy, that both had fought on the same battleground.³¹ In addition to learning about the Great War, children were being kept awake as to the possibility of future aggression. In a section entitled "The Maintenance of Empire", The Story of the British Nation, argued that British controlled territory was vast enough to provide centuries of prosperity " ... if only she could hold it against her enemies".³² Navy League lectures and frequent visits from imperial warships underlined British willingness to resort to arms if diplomacy failed.³³

30. See above, pp 18 - 28,

31. "The Tale of the Wooden Horse", SJ 15, part one (April 1921):36-42.

32. The Story of the British Nation, 3rd ed. p.257. Presumably this meant centuries of British prosperity; a fine example of rather naive economic imperialism!

33. See above, pp. 77 - 78.

Second, both Hess and Torney and Connell emphasised the weakness of civics courses that merely stressed duties and obligations. The New Zealand 1919 Syllabus was an apt example of this. The moral instruction section provided for the promotion of "... truthfulness, obedience, and attention to duty, and an appreciation of the role of mutual service".³⁴ In each Standard this theme was to be reinforced by a study of great lives in British history. School Journals provided a further source of material for lessons on duty and service. One part two article in June 1922, for instance, reminded children that "playing the Game of Empire" entailed showing loyalty to one's side. Those children who failed to live up to their responsibilities as future imperial citizens, it was argued, were jeopardising the very existence of British civilisation because the fate of the Empire rested ultimately in their hands.³⁵

Surviving research from the interwar period in New Zealand suggests that the continual stress on obligations and duties, far from making children more aware of their responsibilities as future imperial citizens, tended to be condensed by the children into a mere catalogue of "don'ts", virtually devoid of any positive patriotic significance. In 1931, H.V. Clarke carried out a series of tests to ascertain the moral concepts of Wellington school children. Anticipating the techniques of later researchers, Clarke began by selecting 4,293 children from seventeen Wellington schools, ranging in age from eight to seventeen years. Some fruitless preliminary investigations led him to make an important discovery. He found that it was easier to obtain sensible answers about what was "wrong" rather than what was "right". Clarke attributed this to both the age of the children tested, and to the teachings of the school.³⁶

34. 1919 Syllabus, p.24

35. "The Game of Empire", SJ 16, part two (June 1922): 67 - 71.

36. H.V. Clarke, "An Inquiry into the Moral Conceptions of Some New Zealand School Children", (M.A. dissertation, Victoria University College, Wellington, 1931), pp.16-17.

Third, contemporary United States and Australian research underlines the importance of working to a syllabus designed with children's developmental stages in mind. Few children can fully understand events and concepts far removed from their immediate background. With good reason, today's social studies programmes stress the examination of family and small community relationships in a variety of cultural settings, leaving wider national and regional studies for the secondary schools. During the 1920s, this was practised only to a very limited extent. The 1919 Syllabus in history and civics made some concessions to the limited cognitive powers of young children by initially concentrating on familiar community figures such as the postman, but all too often, classes became enmeshed in learning unnecessary details such as the history and operation of the postal service throughout New Zealand.³⁷

History stories for the middle and senior divisions, were an attempt to lighten the previous stress on the rote learning of dates which had characterised even the 1904 Syllabus to a considerable degree. It was undoubtedly hoped that children would identify personally with worthy individuals from English history, but the findings of Hess and Torney suggest that such identification was improbable. Although a number of children were theoretically capable of perceiving the importance of political events well beyond their immediate family environment by the age of twelve, full appreciation of the significance of these events, and of the individual's place in history, were still some years away. Hess and Torney's children, all products of a far more sophisticated school environment than were their New Zealand counterparts of fifty years ago, were still revising their political concepts in middle adolescence, with home and school remaining their primary interests.

37. 1919 Syllabus, p.24.

Clarke provided a valuable clue as to the preoccupations of New Zealand children during his day when he discovered that the twelve year old children he questioned usually cited "home offences" (stealing, disobedience), when asked to list "... the wickedest things that anyone could do".³⁸

During the 1920s confusion among children was probably increased by the romantic nature of many history stories, especially given the child's tendency to fantasize about people and events beyond his immediate experience. The feudal adventures of Richard the Lionheart and the Black Prince, both popular subjects for history stories during the early 1920s, were more likely to reinforce the child's conception of an all-powerful father-king, steeped in feudal mystique, than to foster an appreciation of the development of British constitutional government as the syllabus intended. Again, Clarke's findings support such an assumption by confirming that the children he questioned, regardless of age and sex, placed a great stress on romantic adventure at the expense of reality.³⁹

Fourth, contemporary United States' concern with the inculcation of patriotism and civic values is reflected in its multiplicity of social studies programmes. New Zealand patriotic fervour during the 1920s, though evident in the history and civics sections of the 1919 Syllabus, failed to become a major aspect of classroom work. Few teachers were prepared to make efforts to improve instruction in history and civics, due to the stifling influence of proficiency. As a good pass in the Standard Six proficiency examination was a passport to free secondary education, parents and children alike saw education in terms of grades. A similar examination-

38. Clarke, p.32.

39. Ibid., p.38. This was particularly true of children aged 8-9 and 14-17 years.

mentality prevailed among the teachers, whose professional reputations frequently hinged on their ability to secure a satisfactory proportion of examination successes. Because only English and arithmetic were actually scored by the examining inspector, it was hardly surprising that the non-examinable subjects such as history and civics were frequently neglected.⁴⁰

In the light of available research, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that New Zealand primary schools during the 1920s were not particularly successful in inculcating patriotic or civic concepts and this is confirmed by evidence obtained by Clarke only a short time after the period in question. Clarke found little to suggest in 1932 that children possessed much real understanding of the duties of imperial citizenship. Frequent inspectorial criticism of school history and civics tends to support his findings. Undoubtedly much of the responsibility for the failure of the schools in this area can be blamed on environmental factors, on the proficiency examination, or on the inadequacies of the 1919 Syllabus itself, but even if these handicaps could have been eliminated, complete success would have been at best, problematical. By their very nature, children often compromise the success of the most carefully organised and professionally taught educational programmes. Connell found that Australian children frequently fashioned well ordered social studies material into their own personal models of reality, prompting him to exclaim in exasperation, "try to mould soup!".⁴¹ This cryptic yet shrewd comment might well serve as an epitaph to efforts to inculcate patriotism in New Zealand primary schools during the 1920s.

40. See Ewing, pp.137-140.

41. Connell, p.1

3. Patriotic Teaching in Rural Areas

During the early 1920s New Zealand was a predominantly rural country. In 1921, only some 48 per cent of the population was classified "urban".⁴² The distribution of primary schools reflected demography, with some 26,000 children, or nearly one quarter of the total public school enrolment, attending schools located in rural areas. Even after 1926 when town dwellers became the largest single group, the Dominion continued to remain a nation of small semi-urban centres rather than one of large towns. Schools situated in the former areas possessed many of the characteristics of country schools, and shared many of their problems. Moreover, many of the advances that took place in transport and communications during the 1920s were in the North Island, particularly in Auckland and Wellington. Railways during this period showed only a meagre increase in new track and an actual decline in numbers of passengers carried. Roads remained largely neglected, with only a small proportion in close proximity to the major centres being classified as suitable for motor traffic in all weathers.⁴³ Even areas relatively close to these centres were often virtually untouched by progress.⁴⁴

Schools in rural areas faced three major difficulties. First, staff members were often isolated and therefore lacked not only the educational facilities of larger towns, but also the invaluable professional guidance of senior colleagues. Second, the nature of the relationship between school and community imposed considerable extra-curricular demands on country teachers. Third, and most important, rural parents placed great faith in the continuing validity of the traditional academic curriculum at the expense of subjects such as history and civics which were not compulsory subjects for the proficiency examination.

42. Yearbook, 1926, p.96. By this time "urban" had been re-classified for statistical purposes as a town or district with a population of 2,500 or over.

43. In 1921 there were over 44,000 miles of roads, but less than 1,000 miles were sealed. Most of the 90,000 vehicles registered at this time were confined to the four main centres. (Yearbook, 1923, p.629).

44. Thames, for instance, had no adequate road link with Auckland and, therefore, little use for motor transport of any kind until after 1945.

As a result of the uneven population distribution and haphazard development within New Zealand, isolated teaching positions remained common. In 1926 Strong reported that "many of the schools, particularly in the North Island districts can be reached only by riding on horseback, and the distances are long and the roads bad".⁴⁵ Many young teachers languished for years in remote schools to the detriment of their professional progress and, occasionally, their sanity. After visiting Four Fathoms School in lonely Penguin Bay, Marlborough Sounds, Wellington Education Board inspector G.J. Watson was horrified to discover that the young woman teacher there " ... had not been taken out anywhere (except to go for term holidays) until about two weeks ago". Watson recommended that the Board remove the woman concerned and appoint no further teacher to the district until better conditions could be guaranteed, complaining that " ... it is difficult to get out, except by launch, and the mail launch visits do not come on a Sunday - this teacher's only day off".⁴⁶

Unfortunately many country teachers discovered to their cost that physical isolation, in addition to being depressing, often led to increased demands on their time. Backblocks communities were closely knit communities and this, together with the absence of inhibiting social class barriers between teachers and local citizens, resulted in teachers becoming all too closely involved in community life.⁴⁷ Moreover, the teacher's expertise in group management and knowledge of developments outside the local area, frequently proved an added qualification for community leadership. H.C.D. Somerset's study of Littledene, a typical New Zealand rural community of the early 1930s, revealed that the recently

45. AJHR, 1926, E-2 (Appendix A), p.15.

46. C.V. Watson, reporting on Four Fathoms School, Inspection Report, (1926), WEB.

47. See especially, R. Arnold, A New Educational History for New Zealand, the text of an address given to the Wellington Institute for Educational Research on 5 September 1973, NZCER, Wellington, 1973. Arnold argues that rural New Zealand differed from rural England in that its teachers and farmers were social equals, hence they could cooperate for the school's benefit.

retired local teacher had been Secretary of the Farmers' Union, Secretary of the Agricultural and Pastoral Association, a member of the Benevolent and Improvement League, a local representative of the Public Trustee, the local reporter for a city newspaper and the author of a history of the district, in addition to his teaching responsibilities in a sole-charge school.⁴⁸ Commitments of this nature pressed heavily on the country teachers' time, undoubtedly contributing to the comparative neglect of non-examinable subjects such as history and civics noted so frequently by inspectors.⁴⁹

Even assuming the country teacher to have had the time and the inclination to stress history and civics, it was hardly likely that he would have received much encouragement from local parents. One of the reasons for this was peculiarly rural, and went beyond the national concern over proficiency. The 1920s was a period of increasing urban drift. Somerset's Littledene was typical among rural districts in having a population only about one-third the size it had possessed fifty years before.⁵⁰ The steady loss of population to the cities provoked considerable rural bitterness. In 1933, C.T. Carrington, a Member of the Legislative Council, complained that his son had been told that "... if he didn't study harder he would not get a soft city job, but would just become a carpenter or farmer".⁵¹

Most rural parents, however, had long recognised that the future for their children lay in the cities rather than on the farm. This required

48. H.C.D. Somerset, Littledene, A New Zealand Rural Community, (Christchurch NZCER), pp.50-51.

49. See above, pp. 104 - 107.

50. Somerset, p.69.

51. NZPD, vol. 236, 1933, p.38.

a sound education, and accordingly parents sought to influence both their children and local teacher to concentrate on achieving an academic standard equal or superior to that offered by the larger primary schools in urban areas. Few teachers could afford to totally ignore this pressure and many sought to accommodate it to the best of their ability. Somerset commented with some surprise that the Littledene school had "... a hard and academic course" of apparently limited value for a rural district, but he added that this type of education appeared to be desired by local parents because good examination grades meant a choice of boarding schools in the city.⁵² Advocates of the Danish Folk High School concept for rural areas were similarly surprised by the general lack of parental enthusiasm which again was due mainly to the preference for core academic courses.⁵³

Résumé

Despite apparently widespread concern with the inculcation of patriotism, the impact of patriotic teaching on school children was questionable. Even during the early 1920s, regular patriotic instruction failed to gain a place in New Zealand classrooms consonant with the prevailing patriotic fervour. To some extent this was due to the poor learning environment that characterised many primary schools. The losses of the Great War were only gradually made good by the influx of new teachers, and the deficiencies of the training programmes themselves meant

52. Somerset, p.72

53. The Danish Folk High School concept stressed the value of simple rural traditions and a naturalistic love of country and soil. (See especially, AJHR, 1924, E-1, p.8). A similar fate befell plans to introduce agriculturally based courses for secondary school pupils in country areas. In 1929 the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools, E.J. Parr, was forced to admit that despite the desires of some educationists, there was little enthusiasm on the part of parents for such courses. (AJHR, 1929, E-1, p.1).

that the service continued to suffer from a lack of adequately trained teachers. The latter, often possessing only minimal academic qualifications, were frequently unable to transcend the limitations of the classroom environment and their problems were made worse because of the ill-health and fatigue of many pupils in their care.

The above problems adversely affected instruction in most subject areas. In addition, the teaching of patriotism was hindered by further difficulties. Contemporary researchers have demonstrated that children come to comprehend political concepts only gradually, and their conclusions strongly suggest that the highly abstract symbols that constituted so much of patriotism during the 1920s would have been extremely difficult for pre-adolescent children to understand. This situation can only have been complicated further by the history, civics and moral instruction sections of the 1919 Syllabus, which were written with a somewhat superficial appreciation of the developmental process in children.

Although the specific problems associated with patriotic teaching undoubtedly hampered effective instruction in primary schools throughout the Dominion, it was the rural schools that suffered most. Country teachers tended to be rather less well qualified than their urban counterparts. This lack of adequate training and experience was rendered more serious by the nature of the rural environment and heavy demands it made upon the teacher. A further check to the effective teaching of patriotism through history and civics was provided by the attitude of rural parents. Most rural parents strongly supported the practice of teaching towards the proficiency examination, for success here meant that their children had a better chance of a high school place or of a well-paid occupation in the towns.

CHAPTER SIX

Patriotism under Strain

The tense political, social and economic climate of the early post-war period greatly sharpened patriotic awareness in New Zealand. In addition to having the support of a sympathetic government, school patriotism was greatly fostered by a widespread public acceptance of its initial aims. Teachers were in a more difficult position because of the problems they faced in implementing the history, civics and moral instruction sections of the 1919 Syllabus, but the inherent shortcomings of this particular aspect of patriotic instruction cannot be regarded as evidence that the service as a whole lacked patriotic zeal.

On occasions the enthusiasm of individual teachers ran ahead of Departmental plans. In 1920, for instance, a Canterbury teacher attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the Department that all schools ought to be issued with free engravings of the Queen and the Prince of Wales in order that they might better commemorate the recent royal visit to New Zealand.¹ The Institute considered patriotism to be a vital part of the child's education while at school. From its first appearance in February 1919, National Education constantly stressed the need to make children more aware of their patriotic obligations. Each issue of National Education contained a special Navy League column devoted to describing the Navy League's work with young people. In May 1919 an editorial entitled "The Schools and the Navy" commended the Navy League's programme of lectures in schools, warning that "unseen forces in the Pacific may in future impose upon this baby nation of ours a policy of naval expansion beyond the region of our present imagination".²

1. NZPD, 1920, vol. 186, p.77.

2. National Education, May 1919, p.72.

Between May 1921 and September 1922, however, widespread support for the inculcation of patriotism was to be severely shaken as the Government became concerned less with teaching patriotic values to children, than with ensuring the loyalty of pupils and teachers through regulation, legislation and, finally, persecution. The correlation between growing public unease and the increasing tendency towards compulsion and closer supervision can be clarified with reference to the work of the United States sociologist, N.J. Smelser.³ Smelser's research on collective behaviour includes detailed descriptions of the "value-orientated movement" and the "hostile outburst", the two forms of such behaviour most relevant to the inculcation of patriotism in New Zealand schools. Smelser defines the "value-orientated movement" as "... a collective attempt to restore, protect, modify, or create values in the name of a generalised belief".⁴ This definition captures the nature of patriotic fervour in New Zealand during the early post-war period; the values in that instance being love of country and of Empire, and the generalised belief being the fear that school leavers lacked sufficient patriotic conviction to enable them to meet the new challenges then abroad in the community. Describing the decline of "value-orientated movements", Smelser suggests:

If the shift is towards militancy, the moderates protest. Sometimes, in fact, what has at one time been a successful line of attack in a movement hinders the future development of the movement because advocates of this line of attack resist some new strategy or tactic.⁵

At this juncture the "hostile outburst" also requires consideration, because the increased attention to school patriotism in New Zealand was directly linked with the widespread fear of militant socialism. Using

3. N.J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.

4. *Ibid.*, p.313.

5. *Ibid.*, p.362.

the United States Red Scare of 1919-1920 as an example of the "hostile outburst", Smelser argues that in this case the Scare assumed considerable proportions as a direct result of government intervention in enacting legislation against suspected anarchists and communists.⁶ He goes on to describe the typical "hostile outburst" in terms of an activity curve. This curve begins to subside with increasing rapidity once past its point of maximum intensity, due either to diffusion of purpose, or to the removal of precipitating causes, or to a reaction against the hostility that has taken place on the part of the participants themselves.⁷ Murray confirms the role played by the latter factor in ending the United States Red Scare, observing that the excesses of patriotism the Scare produced, provoked great public disgust.⁸

The dissipation of the "value-orientated movement" and the "hostile outburst", due in the former case to a shift in tactics and in the latter, to a reaction against excesses, both have important parallels in the decline of support for patriotic activity in the New Zealand primary school during the early 1920s. The introduction of flag-saluting and loyalty oaths increased the shift towards militancy noted by Smelser as being a prime contributor to the disintegration of "value-orientated movements", and resulted in erstwhile patriots questioning the need for such activity. Loyalty oaths in particular introduced a new element into the movement for increased school patriotism, that of persecution. The Weitzel case and the subsequent furor over Miss Park brought the harassment of teachers suspected of disloyalty to a peak, with the actions of Parr, in particular, facilitating a widespread reaction against the excesses committed by an over-zealous administration.

6. Ibid., pp.226, 235.

7. Ibid., p.257 - 261.

8. Murray, p.240.

1. Compulsory Patriotism

The introduction of compulsory flag-saluting, in May 1921, provided the first indication that the switch from merely inculcating patriotism, to ensuring loyalty through direct Ministerial intervention, was not one that would gain unanimous approval from either the public or the teachers. Quite apart from the predictable barrage of criticism from left-wing groups, doubts as to the wisdom of the new regulations were also expressed by those who had in the past been active supporters of school patriotic activity. In July 1921, for instance, Cecil H. Clinkard, himself a regular guest speaker at school patriotic functions in Auckland, warned that the over-regulation of flag-saluting would result in the practice deteriorating into " ... an empty mockery of patriotism".⁹

A number of teachers considered flag-saluting by regulation to be both artificial and "showy". One teacher who claimed to have served overseas during the Great War complained in a letter to the New Zealand Herald that flag-saluting represented but a " ... superficial method of getting loyalty". While approving of the need for patriotism amongst the young, he rejected what he termed the "outward conformity" of the "American type", in favour of the "silent French type" which lay " ... too deep for show".¹⁰ A Christchurch teacher admitted that he saluted the flag, not because he felt it to be necessary, but because he feared the consequences of disobedience:

I will obey the law for the same reason that I would obey orders to introduce the dogma of some church. Latimer, Hampden, Pym, were ready to sacrifice themselves for a principle. They are to be admired, though I do not intend to go so far myself. 11

In mid-1921 these attitudes were not yet typical. Parr was even

9. NZH, 15 July 1921.

10. NZH, 12 May 1921.

11. MW, 29 June 1921.

able to claim with some justification that a leading headmaster had assured him that flag-saluting had met with no objection from teachers he had spoken with.¹² In the long-term, however, the change in emphasis brought about by the introduction of flag-saluting was to prove considerably more decisive than its immediate impact suggested. The first step in ensuring loyalty through compulsion had been taken. It required only the extension of government activity in a more personal and radical direction, for discontent to become overt.

The shift in emphasis was not long in coming. The Weitzel incident and Parr's subsequent statement of 25 June concerning loyalty oaths for teachers caused considerable misgivings well prior to the opening of Parliament.¹³ The churches either remained pointedly silent, or expressed doubts about the value of the measure. Bishop Brodie, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Christchurch went so far as to claim publicly that several denominations were unhappy with the loyalty oath proposals because subscription to the oath could at best result in a superficial declaration of allegiance.¹⁴ The reaction of the press was likewise, critical. The editor of the Manawatu Daily Times argued that even if some teachers were as disloyal as it was being claimed, this in itself was " ... not a sufficient reason for submitting the whole of the profession to a test of loyalty". Furthermore, he saw the introduction of loyalty oaths as having a detrimental effect on teacher morale:

To require all teachers to take the Oath of Allegiance would be to offend the dignity of the great bulk of the teachers, while it would not protect the service from the individual who is prostituting his position for disloyal purposes. 15

12. NZPD, vol. 191, 1921, p.974.

13. See above, p.119.

14. NZH, 28 June 1921.

15. MDT, 29 June 1921.

The doubts expressed over the wisdom of the oath outside the House, however, were nothing compared with its reception once Parliament opened. The Labour Members fought the loyalty oath clause of the Education Amendment Bill with tenacious fury, Fraser denouncing it as " ... a quite unnecessary and rather stupid piece of legislation". Fraser ridiculed any suggestion that teachers were disloyal, and accused Parr of leading a "heresy hunt" against the entire service because of the Weitzel case.¹⁶ S.G. Smith was one of five Independents in the House who deplored the measure, and he accused the Minister of " ... casting a stigma upon the teaching service".¹⁷

Most Liberal members present, while at pains to stress that they supported school patriotism, also condemned the loyalty oath clause. The Member for Wairarapa, R. McCallum, aptly summed up the doubts many in his Party felt:

By all means let us have our ceremonies of Empire, because they inculcate the spirit of loyalty among the boys; and it is right and proper too, to take the Oath of Allegiance on fitting occasions, but to introduce it in this insidious way savours of suspicion and mistrust, and is calculated to bring the oath itself into disrepute. 18

There were even indications that some Government members felt the same way. A.S. Malcolm, the Member for Clutha, acknowledged the reasons behind the introduction of loyalty oaths, but pleaded for "common sense" in their application.¹⁹ Although Malcolm swallowed his reservations and voted with his Party when the final division came, two Government members, including the future Coalition Prime Minister, G.W. Forbes,

16. NZPD, vol. 191, 1921, p.953.

17. Ibid., p.959.

18. Ibid., p.973.

19. Ibid., p.938.

ranged themselves with the Opposition.²⁰

Their defection was to no avail, and the Education Amendment Bill, together with its controversial loyalty oath clause, passed through the House and became law. Commenting on the new legislation, the editor of the Waikato Times stressed that "stout patriots on all sides of the House are opposed to the manufacture of loyalty by an Act of Parliament", but his most biting criticism was reserved for Parr:

... Mr Parr shares with many other people an idea that a wave of blighting communism is sweeping over the country and that it is necessary to arrest its progress at any cost. There is no doubting his sincerity, but a number of people doubt the wisdom of submitting one of the most loyal sections of a loyal community to a test that would imply the prevalence of disloyalty in their ranks. 21

If the press doubted the wisdom of loyalty oaths, the teaching service was even more sceptical. The introduction of the loyalty oath clause created considerable dissatisfaction among teachers, and helped to widen the already existing rift between teachers and the Education Department.

Teacher opposition to the new legislation only rarely took the form of open disobedience, and this led to some education authorities to suppose, erroneously, that no problem existed.²²

20. The final division went as follows:

<u>Ayes</u>		<u>Noes</u>	
Reform	34	Reform	2
Liberal	2	Liberal	10
Independent-Reform	2	Independent-Labour	3
		Labour	10
		Independent-Reform	1
		Lib-Lab	1
Total	<u>38</u>		<u>27</u>

21. WT, 1 November 1921.

22. The Department subsequently claimed that in nearly twenty years of compulsory loyalty oaths, only ten teachers in the primary service had refused to sign. Of these, six had finally agreed to sign after they had been permitted to add a "conscience clause". (Auckland Star, 23 September 1941).

The Chairman of the Auckland Education Board, E.C. Banks, reported in 1923 that during the first year of compulsory loyalty oaths, " ... no difficulty [had] been experienced by the Board in obtaining from all the teachers in its service ready compliance with the Act requiring every teacher to take the Oath of Allegiance".²³

Such apparent acquiescence, however, masked considerable dissatisfaction in the teaching service. The handful of refusals which came to the attention of either the Education Department or the boards merely indicated that few teachers were prepared either to withstand the pressures which could be brought to bear upon them, or to risk their careers. A teacher reluctant to sign the oath at his school had in the first instance, to face the wrath of his headmaster. Every headmaster was held personally responsible for seeing that his staff signed the loyalty oath form in the prescribed manner, and for forwarding all the completed forms to the education board concerned. Boards were apt to act swiftly if a school was slow in returning forms. In August 1922, the Wellington Education Board sharply reminded the Directors of both the Wellington Technical School and the Petone Technical School to send their lists of staff signatures to the Oath of Allegiance.²⁴ Understandably, few headmasters were likely to look kindly on a recalcitrant teacher, when any delay could result in a tersely worded memorandum from the board. Hugh Brown, a probationer at Geraldine District High School in 1923-1924 and subsequently a student at Christchurch Training College, undoubtedly had the "internal disciplinary system" of the school in mind when he claimed that " ... there were very subtle ways in which influences could be brought to bear".²⁵

23. AJHR, 1923, E-2, p.11.

24. MWEB, vol. eleven (16 August 1921), p.130.

25. Fml.Disc.Gr.

Brown was also aware of a less tangible but equally formidable type of pressure exerted by what Willis Airey once described as, " ... the tyranny of the public".²⁶ For teachers, public pressure was most frequently manifested through local parents and this obliged them " ... to pursue a cautious and guarded course ... in their professional duties".²⁷ Although parental pressure of this nature was never as obvious as it was in the United States, it was still unwise for a teacher to allow himself to be singled out for criticism, particularly where patriotism and loyalty were concerned.

For a teacher prepared to resist both headmaster and parents, there was still the board to contend with, and beyond the board, the Department. It took individuals of strong will and deeply rooted conviction to withstand the punitive powers these institutions were capable of wielding. Most teachers who initially refused to sign the oath, later found it easier to give way whilst attempting to salvage as much dignity as possible. In 1923, for instance, A.E. Caddick, a young teacher at Wellington College, refused to sign the oath. At length, when the Department threatened him with instant dismissal with no possibility of re-employment anywhere in New Zealand, Caddick gave way and signed, though he insisted on noting his protest in the document.²⁸

26. Airey, pp. 19-20.

27. F.W. Hart, "The Freedom of the Teacher", the text of an address to the New Zealand Education Fellowship Conference held in New Zealand in July 1937, in Modern Trends in Education, ed. A.E. Campbell (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1938), p.443.

28. W.A. Sheat to W.C. Purdie 17 April 1923, Ormond Burton Correspondence, Folder 43, Archives, Wellington. Ormond Burton Correspondence hereafter cited as O.B. Corr.

Few teachers were prepared even to go this far. Signing the oath and swallowing one's personal reservations was a far more attractive proposition. S.G. Smith, recalling his experience as a member of the Taranaki Education Board, complained to the House that the oath encouraged a pragmatic attitude to patriotism on the part of teachers, and he claimed to know personally of one teacher, who, when asked if he would sign the oath replied, "I do not want to lose my job".²⁹

For the majority of teachers, the real question was not whether the oath should or should not be signed, but why it had been deemed necessary to introduce it in the first place. Many teachers prided themselves on their patriotism and loyalty. Those who had served overseas during the Great War had already signed an Oath of Allegiance prior to their departure from New Zealand. After four bitter years of proving their love of country in the trenches in France they were, like Colin Gillies, " ... damned annoyed at having to re-affirm it".³⁰

The Institute and several branches of the Headmasters' Association strongly protested at what they considered to be a high-handed Departmental action. The Auckland Headmasters' Association believed that loyalty oaths pre-judged the entire teaching service because of a few individuals who were really disloyal. After a lengthy discussion on the whole question of loyalty oaths, the Association wrote to the Minister, protesting that "... the great body of teachers of primary schools are exceedingly loyal, and that therefore there is no necessity to enforce the Oath of Allegiance ...".³¹

29. NZPD, vol. 192, 1921, p.114.

30. Fml. Disc. Gr.

31. AHMAM, Minute Book 1919-23 (4 November 1921), pp.102-103.

As Departmental officers, inspectors were rarely able to make their opinions known in such forthright terms, but there is evidence to indicate that they too, were considerably discomforted by the Oath of Allegiance. Following the introduction of the oath in March 1922, inspectors lavishly praised the patriotism of teachers in their annual reports. These very generalised commendations contrasted markedly with their extremely specific criticisms of history and civics, and suggest that inspectors were attempting to represent teachers in the best possible light for the benefit of a Minister who appeared obsessed with the question of loyalty. In 1923 the Auckland inspectors insisted that, "teachers were earnest and loyal in every way".³² Taranaki inspectors spoke enthusiastically of the increasing numbers of teachers who were instilling " ... an appreciative attitude towards matters that tend to make them [the children] worthy citizens of our Empire".³³

Undoubtedly, both inspectors and teachers were adversely affected by the general deterioration of relations between the service and the Department at this time, and the introduction of loyalty oaths must in part be regarded in the wider context of the latter's " ... determined efforts to secure closer supervision of the professional work of teachers".³⁴ By 1923 every school was required to submit a scheme of work to inspectors for approval. In addition, all teachers were obliged to keep a workbook containing an outline of their daily and weekly work, Parr justifying this last measure by complaining that " ... too many teachers appear[ed] to be satisfied with slovenly writing and carelessly set out work ...".³⁵

32. AJHR, 1923, E-2 (Appendix A), p.111.

33. AJHR, 1924, E-2 (Appendix A), p.x. Throughout the decade, successive attempts on the part of the Government to more closely control the activities of teachers provoked lavish inspectoral assurances as to the loyalty of the profession. This was especially noticeable immediately following the creation of the Teachers' Registrar in 1924, and again after the Government's unsuccessful attempt to extend the disciplinary powers of the education boards in 1927. (See below, pp. 173-175).

34. Ewing, p.164.

35. NZC, 1923, p.163.

Teachers were intensely annoyed by such remarks. The Institute reacted with a sharply worded editorial in National Education.³⁶ The Auckland Headmasters' Association was particularly critical of what it regarded as an increasing tendency towards dictatorship, and protested " ... most emphatically against the continued issue of regulations without previous consultation with the Institute".³⁷

In an already strained atmosphere, the introduction of loyalty oaths placed a serious barrier between teachers on one hand, and the Education Department and the Government on the other, which was to persist throughout the decade.³⁸ Consequently as both part of an unfortunate process, and as a drastic measure in its own right, the Oath of Allegiance considerably hindered school patriotism. A service which had learned to distrust its employers and which, in addition, had suffered the indignity of having the loyalty of all its members publicly called into question, could hardly have been expected to teach patriotism effectively.

Without the enthusiastic cooperation of the teachers, however, the patriotic zeal of the administrators was of little real value. S.J. Ingle, describing what he terms "the paradox of educational decision-making", has claimed that " ... those who have the nominal authority of formulating policy in reality have the least effect upon the end product".³⁹ In order to make a significant impact on the education system, any policy decision has to be fully understood and supported by the teachers who implemented it. Judged in the light of Ingle's research the decision to introduce loyalty oaths was a blunder, for it not only

36. Ewing, p.165.

37. MAHMA, vol. 1923-1928 (15 February 1924), p.69. The Association had made similar protests in November 1919, and in April 1920.

38. Ewing, p.166. Ewing claims that the confidence of teachers was not restored until the appointment of N.T. Lambourne as Director of Education in 1933.

39. S.J. Ingle, "The Politics of Education: A Study of Attitudes, Pressures and Relations in the New Zealand Education System", (Ph.D. dissertation, Victoria University, 1967), p. 331.

encouraged pragmatism and cynicism throughout the service, but forced even the most loyal of teachers to re-examine the foundations of their patriotic convictions.

2. The Battle over Religious Sensibilities

For a tiny minority of teachers, loyalty oaths were to present an intolerable intrusion, not just on the freedom of the teacher, but on the relationship between God and man. In early 1922 a Christchurch teacher, Frederick Page, refused to sign the oath for religious reasons and was in consequence relieved of his position. Dismissal left Page undaunted, for part of his aim in refusing to sign the oath in the first place had been to encourage other teachers to take a similar stand.

Support was not long in coming. Page was joined first by W.E. Purdie, a teacher at Marlborough College, Blenheim and then by Ormond Burton, a newly appointed teacher to Grafton Primary School, Auckland. Like Page, both Purdie and Burton refused to sign the oath on religious grounds. Each man regarded the oath as containing the unwarranted assumption that loyalty to one's nation came before loyalty to God. As Christians and as Presbyterians⁴⁰ they ranked God the higher of the two, though none of them would have considered that this implied disloyalty, or that it absolved the citizen from his duty. Indeed, Burton, the most well known of the three, had quit his first teaching post in 1914 to join the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Before going overseas he had willingly

40. Burton later rejected Presbyterianism and became a Methodist Minister in 1935. If the Presbyterian Churches' failure to support his stand over loyalty oaths at all influenced him in this decision he was to be sadly disillusioned, for his activities in the Christian Pacifist Society resulted in his expulsion from the Ministry in 1942.

signed an Oath of Allegiance, believing at the time, that this document included the unwritten implication that duty to God came before duty to the state.⁴¹

Burton was discharged from the army in 1919, a much decorated officer. His next three years were occupied in reading for his M.A. degree at Auckland University College, campaigning for the New Zealand Alliance, taking part in voluntary Y.M.C.A. work and in writing a history of the Auckland Regiment during the Great War.⁴² In late 1922 he decided to resume teaching. It was to be a fateful decision, prompted in part by Page's dismissal.⁴³ Before taking up his position Burton was required to sign the Oath of Allegiance. This he refused to do unless he was also permitted to state in writing, as an integral part of the oath, that he would do his duty to the state unless and until that duty conflicted with his responsibility to God. On 5 February 1923, Burton wrote to Parr outlining his position and requesting permission to take the oath in modified form. Parr refused his request, claiming " ... neither the Department nor myself has any power to modify the form of the Oath of Allegiance".⁴⁴ Burton continued to remain adamant, and was, like Page, dismissed.

In the meantime the third of the trio, Purdie, had also been prompted by Page's dismissal into a closer examination of the implications of signing the oath. Continued refusal to take the oath in its prescribed form resulted, once again, in dismissal. Purdie's subsequent attempts to gain the support of both the Institute and the Presbyterian Church were unsuccessful. Purdie's lawyer and friend, W.A. Sheat,

41. Page to Burton, 20 January 1924. O.B. Corr.

42. See above, Introduction, footnote 33.

43. Page to Burton, 20 January 1924, O.B. Corr. See also John A. Lee's defence of Burton, (NZFD, vol.199, 1923, pp.272-273).

44. NZFD, vol. 199, 1923, p.272.

confided to Purdie that the Institute was " ... a very respectable body and jealous of its reputation in this respect".⁴⁵ It was not prepared to risk its good name defending three individuals who were refusing the sign the oath because of a religious technicality, though Sheat did detect some support for their stand amongst individual Institute members.⁴⁶

The Presbyterian Church, likewise, offered small comfort. Its Wellington Headquarters took two months to reply to Purdie's request for assistance. When an answer finally arrived in late June 1923, it was discouragingly brief and even managed an oblique condemnation of Purdie's position:

I would say frankly that I regard the oath in question as needless and useless, but I also think that objectors to it are making trouble for themselves where none can be found. If we are to go through life looking for every possible difficulty and objection we shall never be without them. If you look at the spirit and intention of the oath I do not think that you can find disloyalty to God in it. Indeed, the very fact that it is an oath, implies a recognition of God as the supreme authority. ⁴⁷

Like Purdie, Burton too was unable to enlist Church support. He attempted strenuously to get the whole matter of loyalty oaths for teachers brought before a full General Assembly, but the prevailing climate of opinion within the Church militated against success.⁴⁸

Despite their failure to gain help from this quarter, the stand made by Burton, Page and Purdie attracted considerable interest. In an effort to get Purdie's case fully discussed, Sheat began a campaign in

45. Sheat to Purdie, 17 April 1923, O.B.Corr.

46. Ibid.

47. Reverend W.J. Cornie, General Treasurer of the Presbyterian Church, to Purdie, 20 June 1923, O.B. Corr.

48. Undoubtedly the Church feared a serious rift in its ranks over the issue of loyalty and Christian Pacificism. The Reverend James Gibb, then Chairman of the League of Nations Union and a prominent Presbyterian had just preached a sermon denouncing the Government's treatment of Burton and Page. Gibb's action provoked bitter opposition from within the Church and under the circumstances it was hardly surprising that the General Treasurer exercised considerable caution in Purdie's case (see Barber, pp.225-228).

the teacher's hometown newspaper, the Hawera Star. Initially, public reaction was decidedly unsympathetic. Few apparently " ... consider [ed] it worth kicking up no end of fuss over one or two individuals". Some Hawera residents even branded both Purdie and Sheat as "disloyal", though as Sheat ruefully confided, they were at least hearing the facts from the other side now.⁴⁹

Parr himself probably provided a major turning point when he personally became involved in the controversy. In a letter to the Hawera Star, the Minister argued that it was farcical for teachers to object to taking the oath on religious grounds, because even Ministers of Religion took a similar oath prior to serving with the Armed Forces. "The Chaplain argument, twisted out to stop criticism from church people", was Sheat's contemptuous verdict. Against this Sheat claimed that there was " ... a difference between a parson who voluntarily enter[ed] the service knowing that one of the preliminaries would be the taking of the oath", and teachers who in many cases taught for years before being suddenly required to do so.⁵⁰

Although Parr ignored Sheat's rebuttal, the mood of the public seemed to be changing. Sheat was surprised and relieved to discover that after some weeks of explanation and argument, people were " ... expressing disapproval of the Government's petty attitude and approval of my remarks".⁵¹ Likewise, Burton and Purdie found that after an initially poor reception people throughout the country were rallying to their defence. The Auckland Star and the Lyttleton Times both vigorously campaigned on their behalf, drawing praise in the House from John A. Lee, the Labour Member for Auckland East.⁵²

49. Sheat to Purdie, 17 April 1923, O.B.Corr.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. NZFD, vol. 199, 1923, p.273.

The whole incident now seemed stalemated, with neither side prepared to accept the other's position. Then, in October 1923, circumstances changed with dramatic suddenness. It is unclear whether the three teachers decided to present the Department with a "fait-accompli" which it could not ignore, or whether the Department had finally decided to let the teachers win by default. In view of the rising public sympathy for Burton, Page and Purdie, the latter appears at least probable. Whatever the reason, the three insisted upon being allowed to sign the oath. Upon adding their signatures, each man quickly attached a prepared reservation in the form of a covering note, specifically releasing himself from any obligations if he felt that duty to God conflicted with duty to the state.

Either through good luck or careful timing, Burton's letter of explanation which accompanied the completed forms never reached Parr. The Minister was overseas, and in his absence the final decision was Caughley's responsibility. There is some evidence to suggest that Parr had not adequately consulted Caughley over the introduction of loyalty oaths, and that consequently, the two men had a poor working relationship.⁵³ Certainly, Caughley disposed of the whole issue now before him with an almost indecent haste, claiming that "the Department is only concerned to see that the law is strictly observed".⁵⁴ No mention was made of any need to change the Act. After receiving notification of the Department's reaction, Page claimed jubilantly that, "the final step [embodiment of a special qualifying clause as an integral part of the oath], cannot now be withheld ...".⁵⁵

53. D.G. Thomson, "Policies, Problems and Politics in New Zealand Education, 1920-1930", (M.A. dissertation, Victoria University, 1972), p.42. See also below, footnote 57.

54. Caughley to Burton, 3 November 1923, O.B. Corr.

55. Page to Burton, 20 January 1924, O.B. Corr.

In fact, Caughley's decision to accept the oath in the form given by Burton, Page and Purdie rendered such a step unnecessary. The number of teachers who were to object to signing the oath on religious grounds was exceedingly small, and they were able to use the precedent now established with little difficulty. The most significant aspect of the case was not that three teachers had won the right to sign the oath in the form their consciences dictated, after a year of defying both the Government and the Department. It was not even that the length of the struggle and the considerable stature of Burton had thrust the question of loyalty oaths into the national arena. The greatest significance of Burton, Page and Purdie's stand lay in the behaviour of their opponents, who, in their desire to gain full compliance with the Act, unwittingly brought school patriotism itself into the public eye.

3. The Limits of Patriotic Zeal

Much of the responsibility for the ultimate decline of patriotic zeal in New Zealand lay with Parr. In many ways Parr was an outstanding Minister whose interests covered virtually every aspect of educational progress during a period of considerable foment. Upon his death in May 1941, the New Zealand Herald recalled:

In politics, he was normally classed as a Conservative, yet his achievements in remodelling New Zealand's education system were in themselves a denial of the ill-informed interpretations customarily given to such a political label. No other Minister of Education can claim responsibility for such an imposing and successful list of reforms as the School Dental Service, the establishment of intermediate schools and the national grading systems for teachers, all of which were introduced and actively developed under Sir James' direction. 56

56. NZH, 5 May 1941. See also Ewing, pp.155, 171, 175.

Unfortunately Parr's ability and energy often made him tactless when dealing with others. There is little reason to doubt Thomson's assertion that Parr frequently quarrelled with senior Departmental members through his failure to consult them adequately before deciding upon a course of action. On the other hand, there is some danger in viewing Parr solely through the eyes of education administrators and teachers, who, having all too often suffered because of his brusque manner, came to believe the worst of him.⁵⁷ In reality, Parr was a man of paradox; an enthusiastic supporter of the League of Nations, yet also an ardent imperialist.⁵⁸ It was this latter conviction which, when allied to his reputation for highhanded zeal, led him into difficulties over the question of school patriotism.

It would be unwise to regard Parr as the major factor in the upsurge of patriotic fervour that swept New Zealand during the years immediately following the Great War. If he had not been Minister of Education, the distinctive features of early post-war patriotism would still have been manifested in the Dominion's primary schools. The School Journal would still have been largely imperial in tone, the Navy League just as active in advocating child support for a stronger Royal Navy. Flag-saluting would still have become compulsory in schools, and in all likelihood, loyalty oaths for teachers would have followed as a natural consequence of the increasing Government concern with loyalty. Ironically,

57. Thomson, p.42. Thomson claims that Parr appointed Dr Ernest Marsden as Assistant Director of Education in order to by-pass the necessity of consultation with Caughley, whom he disliked. See also, National Education 1922, p.51. The editor of National Education alleged collusion between Parr and Marsden over several controversial regulations. An equally likely reason for Marsden's appointment, however, was his knowledge of intelligence testing; a vital commodity in a country only then beginning to appreciate its value to education.

58. Jenkin, p.29. As New Zealand's High Commissioner in London 1926-1930, 1934-1936, Parr had the responsibility of representing the Dominion at the League's Headquarters in Geneva. Jenkin considers that he performed his task as New Zealand's ambassador to the League commendably.

Figure 4. C.J. Parr: Minister of Education, 1920-1926. In some ways a visionary, but also stern and inflexible, Parr typified both the dreams and the dogmatism of the early 1920s.

(New Zealand Herald)



Parr's greatest significance lies not in his efforts to extend school patriotism, but in the blow he dealt to patriotic zeal generally through his precipitate actions. It was Parr who dragged the Weitzel incident out over several months by ordering two inquiries, both of which publicly exonerated the participants from all complicity. It was he who steadfastly refused to compromise with Burton, Page and Purdie, thus allowing the whole affair to attract widespread interest and sympathy for the three teachers. Once Parr had made up his mind, especially where patriotism and loyalty were concerned, he all too often pursued his chosen course beyond what most New Zealanders saw as reasonable limits. Nowhere is this weakness better illustrated than in his handling of the Park case.

The Park case overlapped both the latter stages of the original Weitzel incident, and much of the religious conscience question embodied by the stands of Burton, Page and Purdie. On 15 September 1921 Jean Gladys Park, a young teacher at the Carterton District High School near Masterton, angered by Parr's handling of the Weitzel incident, wrote an indignant letter to National Education. Park was especially critical of the Minister's decision to deprive Weitzel of her Teachers' Certificate and to subsequently force two enquiries into the behaviour of students:

It is said that political control of the teaching profession from the university down made the people of Germany as "putty" in the hands of her "War-Lords". It is just this principle that I see in the reported activities of the Minister.

Park's letter appeared in the 1 October issue of National Education, provoking the editorial comment that in this case, the Minister's actions had been " ... in the general interest of the country".⁵⁹ Unfortunately for Park, her letter attracted considerably more attention than the perfunctory comment of the editor of National Education. The Carterton

59. National Education, 1921, p.337

District High School Committee was incensed at what it interpreted as a blatant attack on Parr. Accusing Park of gross insubordination and serious misconduct as a teacher, the school committee demanded that the Wellington Education Board set up a full inquiry into the matter.⁶⁰ With some sections of the Carterton community backed by the local press already alleging that Park was guilty of disloyalty as well as misconduct, the Board lost little time in setting up a special committee to consider the charges against her. The committee duly reported back to the Board, and while it admonished Park to be more discreet in the future, it cleared her both of the school committee's charges and of the more serious allegations of disloyalty.⁶¹

The Board did not accept the findings of its committee without disagreement. In what proved to be a stormy session, three members of the Board, including the future Minister of Education, R.A.Wright⁶² claimed that the committee had been too lenient and demanded that it re-examine Park more closely. Their views ran counter to those of the other six members present, and a bitter debate followed in which Wright clashed with the Chairman of the Board, Thomas Forsyth. In answer to Wright's charge that Park had advised her class to read the Macriland Worker, Forsyth retorted that it had been merely a joking remark. Addressing the three dissenting members, he warned them that "political capital [was] being made and he for one [was] not going to allow the Board to be made a 'stalking horse' ".⁶³

The meeting upheld the committee's decision by six votes to three, a result which prompted the editor of the Macriland Worker to jubilantly

60. MDP, 15 December 1921.

61. Ibid.

62. Minister of Education in the Reform Administration from May 1926 until December 1928.

63. NZH, 15 December 1921; MW 21 December 1921.

exclaim, "... the three Jingoists were smacked to the boundary, and peace descended upon the proceedings".⁶⁴ In reality, peace was far away. Parr had been observing the Wellington Education Board's inquiry with considerable interest, and upon learning of its decision he determined on decisive action. His first step was to appoint A.D. Thomson, an ex-stipendary magistrate and public service commissioner, to hold a public inquiry into the charges the school committee had originally laid against Park and to report its findings to him. To reporters he claimed, "only this course can give satisfaction and allay the suspicions caused by the extraordinary actions of the Board".⁶⁵ Parr then threatened Park with cancellation of her Teachers' Certificate if she failed to attend the new inquiry.

As in the Weitzel case, Parr had chosen to act unilaterally. He was soon to become aware that the mood of the country had changed. There was now much less evidence of the intensive patriotic zeal that had characterised public reaction to the arrest and dismissal of Weitzel. The editor of the Manawatu Daily Times complained that, "the action of the Minister is an attack upon the Education Act and the Education Boards throughout the Dominion, and is without parallel in the history of public administration".⁶⁶ For the second time in just over a month, the Wellington Education Board met with its members in an angry mood. On this occasion there was unanimous support for their committee's decision to take no further action against Park. It was decided to advise Park to attend Parr's proposed inquiry but to avoid any mention of its actual legality. Forsyth was insistent that the Board's inquiry committee should attend

64. MW, 21 December 1921.

65. MDT, 27 December 1921.

66. Ibid.

any new inquiry, " ... even if unwelcome".⁶⁷ The editor of National Education who had been critical of Park's original letter, strongly criticised Parr's action and went even further than the Board in questioning the legality of the Minister's intention to cancel a Teachers' Certificate " ... in the arbitrary manner he had threatened to do with Miss Park if she didn't face a second inquiry".⁶⁸

Park, however, had no intention of facing another inquiry. In February 1922, she filed an injunction with the Wellington Supreme Court to restrain the Minister from cancelling or suspending her certificate. The stage was now set for an important legal battle. Both Park and Parr were ably represented, the former by M. Myers, later Chief Justice Sir Michael Myers, and the latter by Sir John Finlay, KC, one of the Dominion's leading barristers.⁶⁹ When the case came up in late May, the briefs had been thoroughly prepared. Defending Counsel alleged that the Minister possessed authority to cancel or suspend Park's certificate under regulations gazetted in February 1912, while Counsel for the Plaintiff argued that he could claim no such right.⁷⁰

67. MDT, 26 January 1921.

68. National Education, 1922, p.36.

69. National Education, 1977, p.51.

70. Park v. Minister of Education, New Zealand Law Reports, 1922, p.1208.

On 30 June, two days after hearing the final submissions, Mr Justice Salmond delivered his judgement. He found that the Minister had no legal authority to revoke Teachers' Certificates, once these had been awarded.⁷¹ Park had won. Parr accepted defeat with ill-grace, complaining that according to the Court's verdict, even if a teacher was to subsequently " ... become a forger, seditionist or even a murderer, the certificate of fitness that the Minister had given him is to stand for life and cannot be withdrawn".⁷²

The editor of the New Zealand Herald was quick to criticise Parr's remarks, pointing out that the Minister, in "... discussing the judgement of the court concerning the case of Miss Park, appears to have fallen a prey to unwarranted fears".⁷³ Other papers were not so kind. The Wellington Evening Post, the Auckland Star and the Christchurch Sun were among those papers whose editors bitterly attacked Parr's handling of the Park case, the last mentioned claiming that "Mr Parr is a patriot to the verge of fanaticism".⁷⁴

National Education, however, had the last word on a controversy which had been provoked by a single letter in its correspondence column nearly a year previously:

What was the result? A frantic outburst of hysterical small-town fanaticism in Carterton - a village heresy hunt - inaugurated by two or three individuals who ought to be thoroughly ashamed of themselves, alarms and excursions in high places, and a Board inquiry. What a spectacle for the Twentieth Century! 75

71. Ibid., pp. 1218-1219.

72. NZH, 3 July 1921.

73. Ibid.

74. National Education, 1922, pp.242-243.

75. Ibid., p.245.

Parr had overplayed what had originally been a strong hand. The arrest of Weitzel had stimulated a fresh burst of patriotic zeal throughout the community, but the introduction of loyalty oaths, the refusal to compromise with religious sensibilities and now, the relentless hounding of Park, had only brought public distaste.

Such a reaction was to re-occur elsewhere in the world when some totalitarian regimes repeated Parr's error on a far larger, more ambitious scale. Paul Neuburg has demonstrated how in several Eastern European Communist countries, intensive government sponsored school patriotic programmes emphasising both mass conformity and loyalty have bred an equally intense public reaction, with large numbers of people becoming alienated from the ideals to which they once lent some degree of support.⁷⁶ In New Zealand, the rapid substitution of loyalty for patriotism encouraged a similar process. From late 1922 on, almost any measure designed to further administrative control over the teaching service, no matter how seemingly innocent, had to be justified to an increasingly sceptical community.

The suspicions that Parr was now capable of arousing were aptly illustrated in his attempts to create a Teachers' Register. The Minister publicly announced his future plans in this direction in August 1922. These proposals were not, in themselves, unwelcome. A Register designed to include the names of every certificated teacher in the Dominion was a substantial step towards true professional status, and consequently had been long desired by the Institute. Unfortunately for Parr, it was his timing rather than the measure which was inappropriate. In the eyes of

76. P. Neuburg, The Hero's Children: the Post-war Generation in Eastern Europe, (London: Constable, 1972), pp. 100-110.

those who still considered themselves to be potential victims, the leopard could not change his spots overnight. Commenting on the proposals, the editor of National Education admitted, "we are not so sure, after our experience of Mr Parr's indiscretions of temperament, that such a strengthening of authority would be welcomed by the service".⁷⁷

With Parr temporarily overseas, the necessary legislation had to wait. Possibly Parr could have pushed it through Parliament during the busy 1922 session. Perhaps he even believed that time would allay suspicion. Explanations aside, it was not until September 1924 that a new Education Amendment Bill providing for the creation of a Teachers' Register was introduced into the House.⁷⁸ The Bill also outlined punitive measures, designed to protect professional standards. The Director of Education was given the right to remove the names of any teachers, who, in his opinion, were guilty of immorality or gross misbehaviour, while the Institute was permitted to request the removal of teachers whose professional conduct it regarded as unsatisfactory.⁷⁹ In each case the teacher concerned was to have the right of appeal.

It was indeed significant that Labour and Liberal criticism was directed not at the Teachers' Register itself, which they supported in principle, but at Parr's alleged failure to consult the teachers adequately before introducing it, and at its potentiality for Ministerial abuse.⁸⁰

77. National Education, 1922, p.281.

78. Education Amendment Act, 1924, 15 Geo.5, Statutes clauses 13-18, pp.375-376.

79. In the original Bill, the Director alone could remove a teacher's name. This power was modified in committee to give the final approval to the Minister.

80. NZPD, vol. 205, 1924, pp. 579-580.

Parr was at considerable pains to remove these fears. Gone was much of his past arrogance in debate as he strove to explain that both primary and secondary teachers had been consulted, and that the Institute had approved the creation of a Teachers' Register.⁸¹

As far as the House was concerned, bitter memories of earlier patriotic excesses were to remain for some years. In November 1927, the Government introduced a further Education Amendment Bill which provided among other things, for the legalisation of the Nelson system of religious instruction in state schools. While this in itself was controversial enough, the clause which drew the most prolonged argument was clause five. Clause five gave education boards and the governing bodies of secondary schools the right to fine teachers up to ten pounds for unspecified "minor offences". With the introduction of loyalty oaths and the subsequent furore over Park still fresh in the minds of most members, the atmosphere quickly became charged with emotion. Holland attacked the clause as being " ... repugnant to practically every teacher in New Zealand".⁸² The Labour Member for Avon, D.G. Sullivan, claimed that for Canterbury teachers, " ... it had a smack of a Police Court atmosphere and proceedings about it".⁸³ Equally strong condemnation of the clause came from the Liberals. R.W. Smith, the Member for Waimarino, expressed the hope that the Minister would delete " ... this very objectionable clause".⁸⁴ Significantly, Smith had voted for the 1921 Education Amendment Bill which had contained the loyalty oath clause.

81. Ibid., p.578.

82. NZPD, vol. 216, 1927, p.485.

83. Ibid., p. 396

84. Ibid., p.395.

The most telling indication that attitudes had indeed changed, however, came from the Government benches. W.S. Glenn, the Reform Member for Rangitikei, had also previously given his assent to loyalty oath legislation. Now, faced with a measure similarly intended to strengthen administrative control over teachers, he termed clause five " ... the most abhorrent, ludicrous thing I have ever heard of".⁸⁵

Glenn was not alone in his disgust, even among his own Party. As the session drew to a close the Government showed signs of disarray. Massey had been dead for two years, and Parr was in London. Without them, the Government lacked sufficient resolution for what promised to be another bitter struggle over the rights of teachers. By the end of the session the entire bill was quietly dropped. It was a somewhat belated recognition that an era had come to an end.

Résumé

By mid 1921, patriotic fervour had achieved its maximum impact on New Zealand primary schools. Patriotic assemblies were regularly held, the syllabus amply provided for the teaching of patriotism and the Navy League was particularly active in fostering youthful support for the Royal Navy. Smelser and Neuburg, however, have demonstrated how patriotic zeal, especially if it is energetically fostered by a heavyhanded administration, can breed an intense public reaction. Their findings have considerable relevance for New Zealand during the 1922-1924 period, for it was then that the emphasis swung decisively from the inculcation of patriotism, to the enforcement of loyalty and mass-conformity in the schools.

85. Ibid., p.396.

The first tentative step in this direction came as early as May 1921, with the gazetting of regulations providing for compulsory flag-saluting. This measure produced little reaction, but the same was not true of the loyalty oath legislation which took effect early in the new year. Many, perhaps most teachers, regarded the loyalty oath requirement as an imposition. Few were prepared to openly defy the law, but in stressing outward conformity, the Government had encouraged pragmatism and even cynicism. Cooperation between policy-makers and policy-implementors seen by Ingle as vital to successful classroom instruction was already declining during the early post-war period. Now, thanks to loyalty oaths it was dealt a further blow. A tiny minority of teachers who refused to sign the oath on religious grounds severely tested the new legislation. Their obstinacy, coupled with Parr's refusal to consider any compromise solution led to a long and drawn-out struggle which aroused considerable public interest.

Likewise, the Park case was unnecessarily enflamed into a major incident through the Minister's excessive patriotic zeal. A single letter provoked, first, an education board enquiry, and then a highly publicised Supreme Court case, the latter ending in a resounding defeat not just for Parr but for Government policy as well. The reaction of the press, which had been generally favourable to the Minister's actions in dismissing Weitzel a year previously, was now one of hostility. Parr was portrayed as a patriotic zealot; a fanatic, who had lost his sense of proportion.

All this could hardly fail to reflect upon patriotism itself. The first doubts had begun to appear, though as yet they were not to

prove decisive. What was indeed both decisive and ironic, was that the foundations for the later more intensive questioning of patriotic assumptions had now been laid by those who had sought most to strengthen patriotism in the schools.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Impact of Progressive Education

By the mid-1920s the intense patriotic fervour characteristic of the immediate post-war years was on the wane. The initial cause of this decline had been the excessive preoccupation with loyalty encouraged by an over-zealous government, but as the decade advanced, the long-term future of patriotic teaching in New Zealand primary schools was increasingly challenged by the growth of progressive education.

During the period between the two world wars progressive education became an important force for educational change in most western nations, including New Zealand. Although progressives were often in disagreement as to the degree of change necessary, they were generally agreed on the need for schools to embrace new attitudes towards both children and the learning process. Meyer has claimed that "progressive education in its early years focussed its attention on the child: freedom for the child, responsibility for his interests, stimulus to his initiative, and a high esteem for his natural development were the dominant and recurrent notes in the progressive theme ...".¹

Central to the whole progressive position was the belief that each child had the right to develop as an autonomous individual. This fundamental conviction entailed the development of new teaching techniques and teacher attitudes free not only from what progressives believed to be

1. A.E. Meyer, The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p.83.

the repressive discipline of contemporary schools, but also free from the "blind faith" and "mindless obedience" which they feared as the inevitable product of such discipline. Characteristic of progressive distaste for traditional schools was Maria Montessori's remark that "... the children like butterflies mounted on pins, are fastened each to his place, the desks spreading over the useless wings of barren useless knowledge which they have acquired".² Although many progressives were less cutting in their criticism, they all shared Montessori's concern, and it was this zeal for reform that set progressives apart from their more traditional contemporaries.

Before 1914 such criticism was little heeded, but the Great War sharply checked apathy by shattering the complacency of western societies. In a post-war world stricken by self-doubt, progressives were able to advance their arguments far more effectively than they had been able to do previously. Selleck has described how progressives in England were able to gradually exert a decisive influence on that country's educational development between 1918 and 1939.³ Initially they secured a firm hold within the universities and training colleges and were therefore in a position to influence the teachers of the future. Prominent among these institution-based progressives were T. Percy Nunn, Susan Isaacs and E.H. Hughes.

English progressives began to attract greater attention from both the public generally and from educational decision-makers through their

2. M. Montessori, The Montessori Method, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p.14.

3. R.J.W. Selleck, English Primary Education and the Progressives, 1914-1939, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

contributions to educational magazines and to education supplements in leading newspapers. Prominent among progressive writers during the early 1920s was the journalist H.C. Dent. Such activities brought impressive results. From the mid-1920s on, several important education conferences came under progressive influence, with the Hadow Reports of 1926 and 1931 constituting significant milestones in this process. The 1931 report on primary education was particularly noticeable for its progressive bias, with the preservation of individuality recognised as being of crucial importance. Consequently schools were asked to appeal "... less to passive obedience and more to the sympathy, sound spirit and imagination of the children, [rely] less on mass instruction and more on the encouragement of group work ...".⁴ Although English progressives were not yet the educational "orthodoxy" they were later to become, the extent of progressive influence in the Hadow Reports indicates that by the end of the decade they had already begun to make a contribution to educational thought and planning.

1. The Growth of Progressive Influence in New Zealand

The growth of progressive influence in New Zealand followed a similar pattern to England. As in England, New Zealand progressives first gained ground within the universities and training colleges. In part these initial successes were the direct result of progressive fervour overseas. During the early post-war period New Zealand university colleges and training colleges faced rising student rolls. In an attempt

4. English Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on (The Primary School), 1931, reprinted in abbreviated form in J. Stuart Maclure, Educational Documents: England and Wales, 1816-1967, (2nd ed. London: Chapman and Hall, 1968), pp. 189-190.

to remedy the situation they turned to Britain for qualified staff members capable of serving as a nucleus for future expansion.

Several of the outstanding individuals who arrived in New Zealand to take up university and training college positions during the early post-war years had strong progressive leanings. In early 1920 Canterbury University College appointed James Shelley as Professor of Education. At the time of his appointment, Shelley was already a scholar and teacher of considerable standing in Britain, having been Chief Instructor in the War Office School of Education during the Great War.⁵ Once in New Zealand he acted as a catalyst in the spread of progressive views throughout the South Island, both through his own reputation as a scholar and through his ability to attract staff of high quality to the university. In 1921 he was responsible for bringing to New Zealand, Dorothy Baster, a Manchester colleague. Upon her arrival in Canterbury, Baster took up a position as Infant Mistress at the Christchurch Normal School in addition to working as a part time lecturer in the Education Department of Canterbury University College. Over the next twenty years Baster was to instruct hundreds of young teachers in progressive methods, one admirer claiming:

For those students who had come to college after two years pupil-teaching in schools where "hands on heads", "fingers on lips" were used constantly, and the infant rooms were "sit-stilleries", her methods were revolutionary. 6

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5. Prior to the Great War, Shelley had been Lecturer in Education at Manchester University where progressive influence had been strong. In 1914 he was appointed Professor of Education at Southampton University.
 6. Joan E. Hay, "Dorothy Baster", typescript of an interview with members of the Christchurch Teachers' Training College conducted and recorded by Joan E. Hay at the author's request (Christchurch, 1974), p.1. Author's file.

New ideas led almost inevitably to the bulk purchase of new educational texts. From the early 1920s the two books most frequently prescribed by the education departments of New Zealand's university colleges and training colleges were John Dewey's Democracy and Education (1916) and Nunn's Education: Its Data and First Principles (1920). The former text embodied the latest views of a man recognised internationally as the leading United States progressive, while the latter reflected the moderate progressive views then gaining favour in many British educational institutions.

Nunn's views were to prove particularly acceptable to New Zealand teachers because he avoided the extremism of those such as A.S. Neill who totally rejected the traditional role of the school. While appreciating the need to safeguard the autonomy of the child, Nunn believed that the teacher had a vital responsibility " ...to see that the little world in which the child grows up is as rich as may be in those elements that go to the fashioning of the better types of individuality, and that other elements are excluded".⁷

It would be erroneous to conclude that educational change in New Zealand was entirely dependent on overseas expertise. As early as 1916 the Minister of Education, J.A.Hanan, prepared a comprehensive memorandum which outlined future national requirements in education.⁸ Hanan believed that it would be desirable to combine new concepts of education advanced by Montessori with the latest methods of practical instruction, and he argued with some conviction that, "the claims made for formal,

7. Nunn, p.6.

8. J.A. Hanan, A Memorandum by the Minister Dealing with some Phases of Educational Progress and Reviewing Existing Conditions in the Light of National Requirements, AJHR, 1916, E-14.

abstract, unapplied study - that it provides good mental discipline and culture transferrable to other activities - is now fighting in the last ditch all the world over".⁹ To a degree Hanan even anticipated the 1926 Hadow Report on secondary education in his advocacy of parallel but different types of high school to cater for the future social needs of the community.¹⁰

During the 1920s some progress was made in putting these recommendations into practice. Parr was particularly interested in the latest developments from the United States although Murdoch was later to claim that the Minister's instrumental role in introducing junior high schools into the country constituted "... an act of faith in overseas practice rather than a response to local problems and conditions".¹¹ Of perhaps greater importance for future educational change was the existence of a small but growing indigenous progressive movement in New Zealand. Within the university colleges were a number of scholars sympathetic to the aims of progressive education. Among this group were Professor T.A. Hunter at Victoria University and Professor T.D. Adams at Otago, both of whom greatly influenced the younger generation of New Zealand progressive teachers.¹² In addition a relatively small group of teachers closely involved in teacher training programmes had become early converts to the new education. Two of the most prominent of these were H. McClune, the acting Deputy-Headmaster of the Auckland Normal School and an Assistant Lecturer at the Auckland Training College, and G.H. Lord, the acting

9. Ibid., p.2.

10. Ibid., p.4.

11. J.H. Murdoch, The High Schools of New Zealand, (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1945), p.59.

12. Hunter became Professor of Philosophy in 1909 and later became President of the Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy (1927). He was also active in the WEA and was appointed Director of WEA tutorial classes in 1924.

Headmaster of the Auckland Model Country School. Cooperation between these two experienced teachers resulted in the publication of Democracy in the Classroom (1919), which was intended to give teachers practical suggestions in planning a viable classroom programme based on progressive ideals.

Like Nunn, McClune and Lord adopted a moderate progressive position. Although they valued the fostering of individuality in children and stressed the obligation of the teacher to ensure the autonomous development of each child, they also believed that the teacher had a professional responsibility to demonstrate by personal example " ... that he hate[d] and dread[ed] lies and mean actions ...", and desired " ... kind, true, courageous and honest children", able to take their places in society as responsible individuals.¹³

Through their attendance at training college and more occasionally, through university studies, many future teachers came into contact with progressive ideals and some later went on to make vital contributions to education. The careers of F.L. Combs and F.C. Lopdell are especially illustrative. Combs began his teaching career as a pupil teacher at the Hutt Central School in 1898. After gaining his Teachers' Certificate he enrolled at Victoria University College, initially as an extra-mural student, before taking up full-time studies. Although Combs had evidently become dissatisfied with educational progress in New Zealand long before attending university, it was his contact with Hunter at Victoria that prompted him to examine more critically the " ... lifelessness of the school, the suppression of spontaneity, of activity, of creativeness", and

13. H. McClune and G.H. Lord, Democracy in the Classroom (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1919), pp.202-203.

consequently to press strongly for educational reform through the adoption of progressive teaching methods.¹⁴ Lopdell was older, perhaps less impressionable than Combs when he first attended Otago University

in 1922, for he already possessed considerable teaching experience and had been Headmaster of Waimatuku School for some three years. Nevertheless Lopdell was later to acknowledge his debt to Adams for making him more acutely aware of the shortcomings which existed within the primary education system.¹⁵

Combs and Lopdell represented a small, well educated minority of primary school teachers, although this compact group was later to exert an influence for change disproportionate to their numbers. For those teachers who possessed an interest in progressive ideas but were unable to attend university, keeping up with the latest developments proved more difficult though opportunities did exist. The Institute was extremely sympathetic to progressives and in consequence, National Education devoted considerable space to their ideology with Combs himself being a regular contributor.

Some education boards were particularly helpful to teachers who wanted to extend their knowledge of current educational theory and practice. The Wanganui Education Board was excellent in this respect, and by 1919 had built up a professional library of nearly 500 volumes. This library was regularly enlarged and books were posted to teachers throughout the district.¹⁶ The Board's Leaflet issued periodically

14. G.W. Parkyn, Sight of that Immortal Sea, The Combs-Lopdell Memorial Address, (Wellington: NZCER, 1964), p.18.

15. Ibid.

16. AJHR 1919, E-2 (Appendix B), p.viii.

to schools provided a useful additional source of information. In 1922 a special forty-four page issue of Leaflet contained a comprehensive description of the Dalton plan and subsequent issues incorporated suggestions for further activities which extended the concept of group work.¹⁷

An increasingly important source of progressive ideas for New Zealand teachers was the English magazine New Era, published in England by the New Education Fellowship. Beginning in 1920, this magazine was posted on request to teachers all over the world. A small but growing number of teachers in the 1920s subscribed to New Era. One of them was Colin Gillies who later claimed it was one of the most important influences in his career.¹⁸

Despite the growing familiarity with progressive ideals among teachers throughout the Western world during the 1920s there were barriers to their effective utilisation in the classroom. Selleck asserts that teachers in England were slow to adopt progressive techniques (such as the Dalton plan), because of both their own lack of experience with new educational concepts, and the conservative attitudes of senior colleagues and inspectors.¹⁹ The existence of these barriers in New Zealand is confirmed by several comments from inspectors during the early 1920s. In 1922, for instance, the Otago inspectors expressed some satisfaction over the fact that few teachers in their district experimented with new methods of teaching, adding that those who did experiment were " ... a select few, whom we encourage to experiment".²⁰ The bulk of experimentation with new

17. See Ewing, p.155.

18. Fml. Disc. Gr.

19. Selleck, pp. 144-150.

20. AJHR, 1922, E-2, pp.i-ii.

teaching methods and concepts took place in the larger schools where there was likely to be more professional expertise available. In 1924 the Auckland inspectors considered that the Dalton Plan of "auto-education" was making little progress in the smaller schools, but that some headway was being made by the better qualified assistants in the larger city schools where parental assistance and library facilities were available.²¹

Despite this somewhat discouraging situation, there is evidence to suggest that there was more experimentation with progressive techniques, particularly amongst young teachers, than inspectors would have liked. Even by 1922 the frightening combination of youthful zeal and lack of expertise was causing chaos in enough classrooms to attract the attention of Strong. Strong expressed great concern over the sudden growth of interest in progressive education and warned that "there are teachers ... as there are inspectors and other educationalists, who are only too ready to follow a 'will-o-the-wisp' and mistake the shadow for the substance".²²

Just two years later Strong wrote with considerably more equanimity that the "doctrine of freedom" was "... entering the realm of actual teaching practice in the schools".²³ Certainly from the mid-1920s on, official attitudes became much more tolerant towards progressive teaching.

21. AJHR, 1924, E-2 (Appendix C), p. iii.

22. AJHR, 1922, E-2 (Appendix A), p.i.

23. AJHR, 1924, E-2 (Appendix A), p.i.

In 1925 Taranaki inspectors expressed their satisfaction at the " ... increasing number of schools in [the] district experimenting in self-government".²⁴ In part this change of attitude was attributable to the gradual movement of progressives into senior positions within the education system.²⁵ To an even greater extent it was due to the growing association of progressives with the New Zealand Labour Party.²⁶ By the mid-1920s, "educational and political radicals were beginning to like the look of each other",²⁷ and the alliance they forged was crucial for the progressive cause. Progressives such as Combs and Hunter became Labour Party members because for them the Party appeared to represent " ... the real party of education".²⁸ For this reason they energetically set about bringing teachers into the Labour fold, a task made easier by prevailing political and social conditions. By the late 1920s the lack of any real prospect for immediate educational reform was driving considerable numbers of teachers in the Labour camp and thus into the progressive one as well.

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24. AJHR, 1925, E-3, p.46. "Self-government" was used in this period rather loosely to refer to both pupil participation in classroom instruction (e.g. group work based on the Dalton Plan), and to the development of school councils able to play a role in school administration.
25. Thus in 1929 Lopdell became Vice-Principal of Auckland Training College and in 1936 was appointed Principal of Wellington Training College with Combs as his deputy. A number of men later to become influential figures in education began their teaching careers during the 1920s. Somerset was Assistant Master at Oxford District High School from 1922-1928. After visiting Europe on a Carnegie Fellowship he became Director of New Zealand's first Community Centre in 1938. W.J. Scott taught as an Assistant Master at Waitaki Boys' High School from 1927-1930, and then at Timaru Boys' High School until 1936, before taking up a position at Wellington Training College.
26. A process that had its parallel in England. Selleck describes how English progressives were able to gain both stature and influence through their links with the British Labour Party, one of the first fruits of this association being the 1926 Hadow Report. Several of the committee responsible for drafting the Report were progressives with strong left-wing sympathies, the most notable being R.H. Tawney (Selleck, p.110).
27. R.W. Heath, "Labour Politics and Education in New Zealand, 1904-1935", (Ph.D. dissertation, Victoria University, 1965), p.57.
28. *Ibid.*

After 1930 the disastrous impact of the Depression on education, together with the re-emergence of the Labour Party as the official Opposition, further facilitated the coalescence of left-wing political radicalism, progressive ideology and dissatisfaction with teaching conditions into a single movement.

The degree of teacher commitment to educational reform was to be subsequently demonstrated by both the massive support given to the Labour Party in the 1935 elections, and by the enthusiasm shown by many thousands of teachers during the New Education Fellowship Conference in 1937²⁹. Progressive ideals were now firmly established in the primary schools, but the foundations for this success lay in the 1920s rather than in the 1930s. In 1952 Lopdell, looking back on a long career, was able to claim with justification that "... in the twenties ... education began to set itself the wider objective of developing the whole person for life in a democracy, and the search began for methods of achieving that objective".³⁰ It was in this context that patriotism in the schools was to be re-examined and re-defined.

2. The Impact of Progressive Education on the Teaching of Patriotism.

Progressive education affected patriotic teaching in two main ways. First, the cultural aspects of education gained strength at the expense of the more limited emphasis on citizenship and loyalty. In history teaching this trend was aptly illustrated when subject matter with a New Zealand orientation began to take precedence over that possessing a British

29. See especially, Heath (pp.86-95), for a discussion concerning the political allegiances of teachers in New Zealand. In 1937 over 6,000 teachers attended New Education Fellowship Conference sessions in the main centres. (See Campbell, p.xiii).

30. AJHR, 1952, E-2, pp.1-2.

or imperial bias. Second, progressives displayed increasing dissatisfaction with the amount of time schools appeared to spend inculcating exclusively nationalistic and patriotic values at the expense of the wider social and international aims of education.

a) Changes in Educational Objectives. The underlying progressive belief that education must entail the widest cultivation of each individual's mental and physical powers was responsible for far-reaching changes in the New Zealand primary school curriculum which were to intimately affect patriotic activities. This had been demonstrated as early as 1912, when the Junior Cadets in the primary schools had been disbanded. Subsequent attempts to reinstate the system never looked like succeeding despite the impetus the Great War gave to military training.³¹ In 1919 the Auckland Headmasters' Association warned that "... reversion to the old Junior Cadet system in place of the present Physical Drill system would be a retrograde step", a position supported by the Institute.³² Teacher concern, however, was needless and even Massey, anxious though he undoubtedly was to promote patriotic activity in the schools, was unwilling to reverse the 1912 decision.

Education had simply outgrown the concepts originally behind the Junior Cadets, and the future lay with wider interpretations of citizenship and individuality. In Democracy and Education, Dewey, whilst supporting the need for citizenship education, warned strongly against a narrow interpretation of this aim. Dewey considered that the best means of developing the individuality of children lay in paying increased attention

31. See especially Hanan's replies to queries from A. Harris (NZPD, vol. 176, 1916, p.464) and, D. Budde (NZPD, vol. 177, 1914, p.713).

32. MAHMA, vol. 1919-1925 (5 December 1919), p.31.

to the social and cultural aspects of education.³³ Nunn argued that the

Erratum - Due to an error in pagination, there is no page 191.
Text and footnotes remain unaffected.

this aim Nunn advocated that educators expose the school child to his cultural heritage in its widest sense, including literature, handcrafts, music and history which together made up " ... the solid tissue of civilisation".³⁵

In New Zealand these ideals were manifested specifically in the teaching of history, by a movement away from citizenship training in the narrow imperial sense. Much criticism during the early 1920s was directed initially at the preponderance of British and imperial history (with its stress on political and constitutional affairs), over national and local history which was felt to be closer to the child's social needs. In 1920 the Auckland inspectors complained that for primary school pupils, " ... constitutional, political and foreign matters present but trifling interest ... the historical material in which the child is really interested, such as customs of the people, their occupations, their amusements, the details of daily homelife, is not readily available".³⁶ As a result of pressure from both teachers and inspectors the School Journal began to display a steady increase in the proportion of articles dealing with local history, a trend which pleased Strong. Strong was particularly impressed with a series of articles in the School Journal which outlined the development of New Zealand towns and ports, because he believed that these provided children with a clear illustration of how a local community overcame the initial difficulties confronting its

33. Dewey, p.120.

34. Nunn, p.8.

35. Ibid., p.211.

36. ASHR, 1920, E-1 (Appendix B), p.iv.

development.³⁷

Criticism of the lack of New Zealand topics in the history syllabus, however, continued to mount. The Otago inspectors plea in 1924 that teachers ought not to neglect New Zealand history reflected a growing conviction amongst teachers that national and local studies were both more valuable in themselves, and more stimulating for the pupils.³⁸ In 1925 the Wanganui inspectors pointed out that much imperial history was dry and uninteresting. As a counterweight they recommended a remedy of " ... inspiring and dramatic ..." New Zealand history.³⁹ In the same year the release of a special report indicated the degree of official concern with history teaching. While the report warned that political history should not be neglected, it criticised the current stress on constitutional matters and suggested that a greater concentration on the study of local communities would have more relevance for children.⁴⁰

Although strictly limited finance and the constricting proficiency examination continued to hamper reform, the 1929 Syllabus embodied many progressive principles. The growing interest in local history was reflected in the greater recognition accorded New Zealand topics such as the pre-European Maori and race relations after 1840.⁴¹ Even more

37. AJHR, 1923, E-1, p.13.

38. AJHR, 1924, E-2 (Appendix C), p.xxviii.

39. AJHR, 1925, E-2, p.51. The Hawkes Bay inspectors made a similar comment (p.54).

40. New Zealand Education Department, The Teaching of History in Primary and Secondary Schools, (Special Reports on Educational Subjects, No. 14), Wellington, 1925.

41. New Zealand Education Department, Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools, 1929, (Wellington, Government Printers, 1930), p.30.

important, the characteristic progressive bias towards the social and cultural ends of education (of which the developments in history were a part), was also very noticeable. Literature was given a greatly enhanced position in the English section.⁴² Drawing, music and physical education were now recognised as essential forms of self-expression leading to the creation of the complete individual.⁴³ The impact of the new education on the syllabus as a whole was evident in its whole tone, and epitomised in the assertion of " ... the need for the child to be learner through his own personal investigations and explanations".⁴⁴

b) School Patriotism under Attack. Although the growing emphasis on the social and cultural aims of education displaced much of the earlier stress on patriotism and citizenship training, the ideals behind this trend did not at first appear to exclude the need for patriotic teaching in the schools. Some educationalists saw no apparent contradiction in linking progressive methodology with the inculcation of patriotism. McClune and Lord utilised an old School Journal account

42. Ibid., pp,7-17, 109-112.

43. Ibid., pp.46-47,57,60.

44. Ibid., p.109. The rapidity in which cultural themes, particularly New Zealand cultural themes superceded the earlier emphasis on empire and patriotism was undoubtedly accelerated by the growth of national pride and the discovery of a specifically New Zealand cultural identity. Beeby has cited the School Journal as best illustrating the " ... steady pressure of a new sense of nationhood that took place during the inter-war period". (Beeby, Introduction to Educational Studies and Documents, No. 25, pp.5-7. Similar comments have been made by Earle (pp.20-21). School Journal articles which illustrate this trend to some extent are: "Rugby Football in New Zealand" (SJ 19, part three [April 1925]:80-88); "South Seas International Exhibition" (SJ 19, part three [July 1925]: 172-178) and; "Sir Ernest Rutherford", (SJ 19, part three [October 1925]: 257-262). For the most part, however, the impact of New Zealand nationalism was confined to a later period from about 1936 on. (See Smythe, p.5 on this point).

describing the visit of a British warship to New Zealand as material for experimental drama work which owed much to both Dewey and Nunn.⁴⁵ Strong made use of progressive methodology in order to make his suggested patriotic assemblies more appealing to children.⁴⁶ In 1925 Strong went so far as to claim that the new educational methods had great potentiality in training children in " ... the principles of good citizenship, including patriotism and obedience to authority".⁴⁷

In the longer term, however, progressive ideals were to make a far greater impact in the schools than the methodology with which it tended at first to be associated. The Great War forced progressives throughout the world to focus their attention on two vital questions: the sharp post-war rise in the inculcation of patriotism, and the degree to which internationalist sentiment could be utilised to counter this growth. Dewey, in particular, was highly critical of the way nations were making use of history teaching to inculcate loyalty to the state, his concern having been kindled by his experience of increasingly close government interference with education in wartime America. Though Dewey saw some virtue in assisting students towards a more sympathetic understanding of the world through an appreciation of history, he deplored attempts to impose what he termed "dogmatic-doctrines" designed to foster unquestioning obedience to the state. The apparent proliferation of this type of policy meant that throughout the world, "the state [was] substituted for humanity; cosmopolitanism [gave] way to nationalism. To form 'the citizen', not 'the man' [became] the aim of education".⁴⁸

45. McClune and Lord, p.18.

46. Strong, "The Inculcation of Patriotism", pp.1-2.

47. AJHR, 1925, E-2 (Appendix A), p.1.

48. Dewey, p.93.

Dewey's fears were shared by Nunn. While somewhat less explicit than Dewey, Nunn viewed the patriotic bias of much early post-war education with a similar alarm. Although he accepted that the school had a duty to society, he believed that this duty should embrace the wider aim of bringing up children " ... in the tradition of brotherly love, kindness and social service".⁴⁹ For Nunn therefore, " ... the patriotism whose core [was] the hatred of other nations [was] a poor and fruitless thing, but hatred of the deeds that stain our country's history [was] the obverse of a noble regard for her honour".⁵⁰

Progressives in New Zealand demonstrated a similar distaste for the direction education appeared to be taking. C.A. Batt, long a vociferous critic of teaching methods in the primary schools, feared that far from producing creative, "autonomous" individuals, the schools themselves were a major factor in creating what he termed, "the mob-spirit". Thinking of the Great War and its aftermath of loyalist fervour, he added that in New Zealand "the mob-spirit" was apt to become mistaken for "the community-spirit", with detrimental consequences for democracy.⁵¹

Several teachers who were later to play a major role in the advancement of progressive education during the 1930s were obliged to re-consider values they had previously believed to be self-evident. The experiences of Combs and Lopdell provide an excellent illustration of this re-orientation process at work. Prior to 1914 both men had, in common with many other New Zealand teachers, expressed their admiration for the achievements

49. Nunn, p.198.

50. Ibid., p.144.

51. C.A. Batt, Hands off the Child, (Wellington, 1927), p.47. Batt had gained something of a reputation in the Wellington and Wanganui areas through his earlier publications, the most important of which was, The Kingdom of Cram: An Unconventional Criticism of School Aims and Practices, Wellington: New Zealand Worker, 1925.

of the German education system. The Great War abruptly disillusioned them, and forced them to question their earlier assumptions that good scholarship and the efficient production of loyal citizens were the principal aims of education. Rejection of the German system (now significantly described as "Prussian" by many progressives), led Combs and Lopdell to a critical scrutiny of New Zealand's own schools. To their horror they discovered a similar emphasis on scholarship, and identified the same desire to create loyal citizens whose primary quality would be obedience. New Zealand was apparently repeating the mistakes which had led to Germany's ruin. Combs and Lopdell had " ... sought and found the canker in the bud, and realised that their own garden was affected too ...".⁵²

The canker, so most progresssives believed, could be neutralised not only by stressing individuality in the schools, but also by introducing a counterbalancing emphasis on internationalism which would replace the national frame of reference with one that stressed world co-operation. Dewey believed that the wider social aims of education transcended the narrow bias imposed by each state, and that consequently there would have to be a " ... reconciliation of national loyalty, of patriotism, with superior devotion to the things which unite men in common ends irrespective of national political boundaries".⁵³

52. Parkyn, p.18.

53. Dewey, p.98.

Nunn also felt that a decision on the basic aims of education had to be made rapidly because civilisation was sick, " ... even unto death". He hoped, however, that if education could develop the creative powers of the younger generation, it might " ... remould our best into a life far worthier than we have seen or than it has entered into our hearts to conceive".⁵⁴ Unlike Dewey, Nunn did not explicitly advocate greater attention to internationalism and human brotherhood in schools, but his concern over the narrow type of patriotism commonly taught, together with his disillusionment with much of contemporary society, indicated his conviction that education must rise above its nationalistic bias.

Because of their dissatisfaction with the aims of education, progressives tended to identify with radical political movements. During the 1920s both progressives and socialists discovered that close association brought mutual benefits. Socialists often discovered that progressives were both willing and able to apply left-wing ideals to the re-structuring of education. In return, progressives frequently found that socialism provided a political ideology receptive to their demands concerning internationalism in schools. In Britain, for instance, Beatrice Ensor⁵⁵ was to be instrumental in launching the magazine New Era in 1920. The first aim of New Era and of the New Education Fellowship founded the following year at a meeting of the magazine's subscribers was to "... help bring freedom and tolerance and understanding into relations, not only between parent and teacher and child, but also between one nation and

54. Nunn, pp.219-220.

55. Beatrice Ensor was one of the founders of the Theosophical Fraternity in Education in 1915, along with C.S. Arundale who had worked for many years with Annie Besant. Thus, although New Era professed to be non-political, it adopted a broadly socialist position on most educational matters.

another".⁵⁶

In New Zealand too, the internationalist aspirations of educational and political reformers coincided. The New Zealand Labour Party had adopted an internationalist stance during the Great War. In the early post-war years the Party was quick to point out that the attention given to patriotic activity in primary schools greatly exceeded that given to internationalism. Holland claimed in 1920 that "if one reads the School Journal he will find a vast amount of attention is paid to the militaristic, nationalistic and jingoistic side of education".⁵⁷ For Holland, the most tragic aspect of the School Journal was that the few articles which emphasised human brotherhood, tolerance and scientific knowledge were overshadowed by articles " ... laden with venom and with poison".⁵⁸

Throughout the early 1920s the Labour Party constantly criticised what it considered to be an excessively nationalistic bias in the schools, whilst stressing that the primary role of education was to promote concern for others regardless of race or nation. Successive Party Conferences sought to define in practical terms, what this was to mean for schools. In 1921 the Annual Conference overwhelmingly voted to make internationalism a major topic in history and civics.⁵⁹ Compulsory Esperanto was endorsed in 1922 as being the best means of facilitating international understanding among children.⁶⁰ By 1923 the Party had formally adopted " ... constructive education in humane thought", as a replacement for cadet training in secondary schools which it proposed to abolish once in power".⁶¹

⁵⁶ ?

57. NZPD, vol. 189, 1920, p.583.

58. See especially, H. Holland, "Imperialism in Practice: Some Suppressed History", (MW, 15 June 1921, p.7) and: "Education Will Save the World", (MW, 22 November 1922, p.10).

59. Heath, p.48.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*, p.49.

These Labour Party guidelines on the role of internationalism in education were reinforced in more specific ways by progressives with strong left-wing sympathies such as Beaglehole and Combs. Immediately following the release of a 1925 report on history teaching, Beaglehole took his opportunity to make teachers more aware of the potentiality of internationalism. Although the report had not been unsympathetic to the need for internationalist teaching in history it argued that the limited instruction available meant that " ... a study of the history of other nations [could] not be attempted in the primary school".⁶² Fearing that this might become the basis for a "stock-in-trade" Departmental reply when confronted with demands for increased internationalist teaching, Beaglehole wrote an article for National Education reviewing the report and criticising its lack of an internationalist viewpoint.⁶³

Combs began to press strongly for increased internationalist teaching in the schools during the late 1920s. From 1927 to 1928 he was President of the Institute, and he apparently used his influence to good effect because it was precisely at this time that the Institute most strongly pressed the Department to reserve one page in each issue of the School Journal for League of Nations notes.⁶⁴

The strength of the political bond between progressives and the New Zealand Labour Party illustrated in part by the attempts of Beaglehole and Combs to secure greater Departmental support for internationalist teaching has been described by Heath:

62. "The Teaching of History in the Primary and Secondary Schools", p.4.

63. J.C. Beaglehole, "The Cinderella of the Syllabus: Some Observations on a History Report", (National Education, 1925; pp.165-167).

64. D. Lynn, Institute Secretary, Westland Branch, to H.H. Parkinson, Institute Secretary, Hokitika Branch (5 July 1928), E.29/18-248, EDF.

This group included Combs and Hunter, A.E. Campbell, J.C. Beaglehole, W.N. Pharazyn and others who contributed to or merely read Tomorrow. They were indeed to be radical in politics, even if they did not join the Labour Party; and they were in strong agreement with Labour Party support for the League of Nations and efforts to settle disputes peacefully. In education they were mostly rebels against over-formalised methods in the classroom and desired both a broadening of the curriculum and freer access to schools and universities. 65

It was precisely this bond which gave progressive ideals their cutting edge during the 1920s, and hence contributed to reducing the viability of patriotic teaching.

Résumé

In 1941 the Nelson journalist and author, A.N. Field, took a somewhat uncharitable view of the relationship between progressives, socialists and internationalism. Unable to reconcile himself with the new educational developments then very much in evidence throughout the Dominion he grumbled that, "even a generation back it was recognised in New Zealand that the little trickle of university professors from Britain was bringing with it a steady insinuation of materialistic and subversive ideas into the minds of students". Among these ideas were " ... the worship of the Palace of Talk at Geneva", "the 'new' education", "communism", "refusal of military service" and Darwin's Theory of Evolution. 66

Field was suspicious of change, even to the point of paranoia, but despite his many unsubstantiated charges he identified several key

65. Heath, p.84.

66. A.N. Field, Why Colleges Breed Communists, (Nelson: A.N. Field, 1941), pp.8-9.

elements in the growth of progressive education and its impact on schools. Originally the New Zealand progressives had started out as a small, closely knit group associated largely with the university colleges and the training colleges. By the late 1920s and early 1930s progressive ideals had already permeated through the primary education system to a significant degree and were on the way to becoming the basis of a future educational "orthodoxy".

Growing progressive influence in the primary schools had important ramifications for patriotic activity. First, social and cultural education began to receive greater attention at the expense of the more narrow concern with patriotism and citizenship training. Second, progressives viewed the results of early post-war patriotic fervour in the schools with distaste and alarm. Those progressives who possessed left-wing views often became associated either formally or informally with the Labour Party in advocating the increased teaching of internationalism.

Much of the growing internationalist fervour within the primary school system was attributable to progressive influences. In society at large, however, forces were being set in motion which, whilst owing little to the progressives, were to be equally instrumental in causing a decline in primary school patriotism by the close of the twenties.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Growth of Internationalism and Anti-War Feeling

The rise of internationalism and anti-war feeling in New Zealand was the final factor in the displacement of school patriotism. To some extent the basis for this feeling existed in New Zealand even prior to the Great War.¹ After 1918 anti-war feeling, due mainly to widespread war-weariness, was sufficiently strong to oblige advocates of cadet training and patriotic instruction in the schools to adopt a cautious, even defensive attitude when attempting to justify their role.² In 1919 the Syllabus of Cadet Training contained an assurance to teachers and parents that "citizenship, not militarism [was] the real aim of the cadet force".³ Strong's suggestions concerning the inculcation of patriotism did not prevent him from remarking, "far be it from us to include a jingoistic spirit that finds its deepest expression in flag-waving, and in clapping the hands over the downfall of a foreign foe".⁴

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1. Especially after the Defence Act, 1909 had initiated compulsory military training for all male British subjects resident in the Dominion between the ages of twelve and thirty. (See above, p. 12). Several organisations were formed especially to fight the Act. Among these were the League against the Extension of Militarism, and the National Peace Council of New Zealand, both of which continued their activities after the Great War. (For the National Peace Council's post-war activities concerning education, see above, pp. 68 - 69).
 2. A similar attitude also pervaded School Journal articles on the Empire at this time. See for instance, C.J. Parr, "A Message to School Children for Empire Day", (SJ 15, part two [June 1921]:66-68).
 3. New Zealand Military Forces, Syllabus of Cadet Training, (Wellington, 1919), p.3. This syllabus was written for Senior Cadets in secondary schools.
 4. Strong, "Saluting the Flag", p.140.

Even, The Story of the British Nation, perhaps not altogether unwittingly captured something of the new mood with its jubilant claim that the League of Nations had, " ... struck at militarism".⁵

Within the community there was passive opposition, even to the much modified system of military training introduced in 1921. Territorial strength lagged well behind expectations and at its post-war peak in 1927 it was still below the 1913 level. Thereafter it declined rapidly.⁶ Members of Parliament were acutely aware of public hostility towards military activity in general. In October, 1922, for instance, following the tabling of a motion calling for a reduction in defence expenditure, there was much criticism over the continuation of military preparations. Although some of the doubts expressed during the debate derived from concern about the current level of government spending, a number of speakers drew attention to the changed mood of the nation since the signing of the Armistice. R.W. Smith complained that, "the people of the country were exceedingly dissatisfied and war-weary and tired of the whole business".⁷ W.A. Veitch, the Labour Member for Wanganui claimed that the military training of young men was proceeding even " ... when public opinion was strongly opposed to it".⁸ In indicating the Labour Party's disapproval of peacetime conscription, Holland stressed that there was " ... a growing opposition to the spirit of militarism", throughout New Zealand.⁹

5. The Story of the British Nation, third ed., p. 285.

6. By 1927 there were just under 22,000 men on strength as compared to 24,000 in 1913. By 1930 when conscription ended, the total was only about 16,000. Of course, the rapid decline in Territorial strength during the last years of the decade coincides with the dramatic rise in anti-war and internationalist sentiment. (See below, p.208).

7. NZPD, vol. 193, 1922, p.579.

8. Ibid., p.576.

9. Ibid., p.575.

It is all too easy, however, to exaggerate the extent and impact of anti-war feeling during the early post-war period. Against evidence of widespread war-weariness must be set not only the patriotic fervour which characterised these years, but also the massive demonstration by young New Zealanders of their willingness to fight again for Britain. During the Chanak Crisis of September 1922, some 12,000 volunteered to assist imperial forces against the Turkish nationalists then advancing against British positions.¹⁰ Of more importance for the development of both anti-war feeling and internationalist sentiment in the primary schools was the existence of Peace itself, for at least New Zealand society now had a much needed opportunity to return to normal.

1. The Gradual Return to Peace-time Attitudes

The process of returning to peacetime normality was a gradual one, but it was real nevertheless. In the schools, despite the impact of patriotic fervour, there were several indications that more objective attitudes towards international and imperial relationships were beginning to return, with the School Journal and The Story of the British Nation both illustrating this trend to some extent.

From June 1918 until May 1919, for instance, anti-German sentiment in the School Journal was particularly marked. Then, quite suddenly, war articles ceased to appear at all with the sole exception of the annual Anzac Day commemorative articles. After a lapse of some two years, however, came the first indication that, henceforth, the School Journal would be providing children with a more

10. One might suspect that many of the young men who volunteered had mixed motives. A great many of them had been too young for service in the Great War. Note especially the claim of Louis Williams that he and his friends wanted to join up because " ... we were young and adventurous and wanted to get a trip overseas ...".
(Fml. Disc. Gr.).

sympathetic and balanced view of the ex-enemy. The April 1921 issue of the part one School Journal was significant in that it featured two folktales, one German in origin and the other, Turkish. The fact that these were included in an Anzac issue was all the more surprising, especially in view of the bitterness that had characterised both the School Journal's earlier wartime indictment of German culture, and the Gallipoli campaign.

The German folktale, "The Faithful Shepherd Boy", portrayed Germans not as monsters but as individuals who possessed desirable human qualities such as honesty, steadfastness and courage.¹¹ Ironically, these were the very virtues which the School Journal considered had contributed to Allied victory, and children were told to heed the "... wise teachings of such tales".¹² Children were to soon learn that worthy character traits were not the only things to be shared irrespective of nationality. Responsibility for beginning wars and vulnerability to the effects of war were also international, according to the School Journal. Just one month after the appearance of the folktales a School Journal article on the Unknown Soldier referred to the dead in the Great War as tragic figures, sacrificed like chessmen to win a game.¹³

The Sassoonian touch was at its most explicit in, "The League of Nations", an article which appeared in July 1924, and concluded that the Great War had begun from a small flame lit in the powder keg of European distrust. Unfortunately, far from being destroyed, the powder keg had grown even larger and had a shorter fuse:

11. "The Faithful Shepherd Boy", SJ 15, part one (April 1921):54-57.

12. *Ibid.*, p.46.

13. "The Burial of the Unknown Warrior", SJ 15, part three (June 1921):174.

Civilisation is in very serious danger. Our old ancestors settled their quarrels with sticks and stones but these were useless when the arrow was invented. The arrow in turn gave way to the musket, and the musket to the rifle. More recently still the rifle has given way to the machine-gun, to great cannon, to poison-gas and liquid fire. Now we are threatened with death rays and poisonous gases by which whole nations may be quickly exterminated. 14

Malone claims that "until the thirties, the futility of war and suffering it caused were scarcely mentioned".¹⁵ Certainly, although these early internationalist articles illustrate the liberation of what H.C. Allen has termed " ... the true spirit of British liberalism" from the vicissitudes of the war years, the views they expressed had yet to find their strongest support in the community.¹⁶ For community support to become a reality, however, there had to be nothing less than a world-wide revolution in attitudes towards war and patriotism.

14. "The League of Nations", SJ 18, part three (July 1924): 174. The tone of this article should be compared to that of, "The Vigil", (See above, p.17).

15. Malone, p.17.

16. The same was true to a large extent of the imperial attitudes presented by The Story of the British Nation, with India providing a case in point. Immediately after the Great War the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms provided for a limited Indian participation in provincial administration (dyarchy). The following year, however, brought the Rowlatt Bills which, by sanctioning the detainment of political prisoners without trial, provoked the Indian National Congress into launching the first Satyagraha campaign. Unfortunately, by January 1922, the non-violent nature of the campaign had given way to outbreaks of looting and murder. Newspapers in New Zealand took a largely hostile view of the whole protest movement, with the Manawatu Daily Times claiming that the riots were a development of the political situation requiring " ... firm and immediate suppression". (MDT 25 January 1922). By contrast, the 1922 edition of The Story of the British Nation took a far more liberal view of post-war political developments in the sub-continent, asserting that the pressure of "... educated Indians for a measure of home rule", had only been partially satisfied by administrative changes in the Raj. Further changes were viewed as being both desirable and necessary, with the hope being expressed that " ... Indian loyalty [would] now be rewarded by further reforms". (The Story of the British Nation, 3rd ed. p.217).

2. New Attitudes towards War and Patriotism

There were two principal reasons for the dramatic rise in internationalist sentiment which began during the late 1920s. First, the assumption that Germany was to blame for the war was challenged by revisionist scholars working from newly released German and Allied state papers. Second, there was a growing realisation of the real costs, both human and financial, of modern war.

a) The Questioning of War Guilt. For the Allies, the conviction that they had fought in a just cause made the heavy sacrifices more bearable. This belief was embodied in the findings of the Allied Commission on War Guilt which concluded that the war had been wholly " ... premeditated by the General Powers ... ",¹⁷ and consequently ratified in Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles.

This complacent assumption of Central Power guilt did not remain unchallenged. Angered at having to bear the sole responsibility for war, German historians and diplomats began the mammoth task of editing their nation's pre-war foreign policy papers. Between 1922 and 1927 no fewer than 15,889 documents in 39 volumes were published in an attempt to counter Allied recriminations.¹⁸ During the same period Russian diplomatic papers released by the Bolsheviks indicated the part played by the Franco-Russian Alliance in the outbreak of hostilities.

17. Report Presented to the Preliminary Peace Conference (1919), in The Outbreak of the First World War, Problems in European Civilisation Series, ed. D.E. Lee (Boston: Heath, 1967), p.4

18. Ibid., p.vi. These documents became known collectively as, The Kautsky Documents. As early as 1919, John Maynard Keynes had criticised German war-reparations from a purely economic viewpoint in, The Economic Consequences of the Peace (London: Macmillan, 1919).

German and Russian material was quickly followed by state papers from Austria, France and Britain, giving historians a massive quantity of primary material to work from, much of it subject to several interpretations. German scholars, including Erich Brandenburg and Max Montgelas, strongly denied that Germany had planned the War. In Britain and the United States, revisionist scholars such as G.P. Gooch, G. Lowes Dickinson, Harry Elmer Barnes and Sidney Bradshaw Fay stressed the role of secret diplomacy and mutual European distrust in making armed conflict virtually inevitable once a spark had appeared.¹⁹

Although the new revisionist interpretations did not become immediately available for school use in New Zealand, something of their influence can be traced in a number of Schol Journal articles. The tentative thesis of collective guilt advanced in 1924²⁰ became more common and considerably more strident during the later 1920s. An article in 1928 argued that the old proverb "if you want peace, prepare for war" was demonstrably false because "... for years the nations of Europe had prepared for war, and the result was the most terrible war in history".²¹

19. See Erich Brandenburg, Von Bismark zum Weltkrieg dargestellt auf de Akten des Auswartigen Antes, Berlin, 1924; Count Max Montgelas, The Case for the Central Powers, London, 1925. In Britain, G.P. Gooch addressed the British Institute of International Affairs in December 1922, during the course of which he spoke of the secret British commitments to France made during the decade prior to 1914. Gooch reiterated these views in, The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1785-1919, vol.3, ed. A.W. Ward and G.P. Gooch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), p.508. The role played by secret diplomacy in the outbreak of war was more thoroughly explored in, G. Lowes Dickinson, The International Anarchy, 1904-1914, London: Unwin, 1926. In the United States, Harry Elmer Barnes concluded that France and Russia bore the main responsibility rather than either Germany or Austria. (H.E. Barnes, The Genesis of the World War, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926). A more moderate revisionist position was adopted by Sidney Bradshaw Fay. (See S.B.Fay, Origins of the World War, New York: Macmillan, 1928).

20. See above, p. 206.

21. "The Peace of the World", SJ 22, part three (May 1928): 258.

Although the article identified Germany as being the nation most responsible for the War, the rival military alliances were now roundly condemned as having brought pre-1914 Europe to the brink of disaster. In 1929 an article appropriately entitled, "Drifting into War" was even more explicit in advancing the notion of collective guilt. Secret diplomacy was blamed as the major factor in preventing arbitration between the member states of rival alliances, and the extensive war preparations of all the European states prior to 1914 was considered to be deplorable.²²

The new attitudes towards war guilt displayed by some School Journal articles were accompanied by an increasingly critical view of patriotism. In June 1929, the Empire Day issue of the part two School Journal featured a poem by the British poet, Frederick L. Knowles. Entitled, "The New Patriot", the poem strongly attacked traditional concepts of patriotism by demanding to know who the real patriot was:

... He who lights
The torch of war from hill to hill ...
... He who nails
A flag to some defiant pole?
... It is he
Who knows no boundary, race or creed,
Whose nation is humility,
Whose dearest flag is brotherhood. 23.

22. "Drifting into War", SJ 23, part three (April 1929): 89.

23. Frederick L. Knowles, "The New Patriot", SJ 23, part two (June 1929): 65. Knowles had written several critical works on Kipling prior to 1914. Like many other writers he was profoundly affected by the Great War, and this was reflected in his post-war poems.

In November 1929, an article entitled, "Remembrance" stressed the sordid nature of trench warfare. The lives of the soldiers was described as being no longer that of civilised beings, for they " ... lived like rabbits in deep burrows, amid mud and slush, cold and rain, fleas and filth, rats and lice, agony and death ..."24

While children were learning about the unmitigated horrors of war they were being told how future conflicts could be prevented. In August 1930, for instance, a long and impassioned article stressed the necessity for a stronger internationalist outlook among New Zealand children. The "old" idea that might was right was renounced in favour of " ... justice and mutual help between nations". The real enemies of mankind, urged the article, were not aggressive foreign powers, but ignorance, prejudice and disease.²⁵

b) Counting the Costs of War. While revisionist scholarship undoubtedly helped to contribute to the sharper criticism of patriotism in the School Journal, it is hardly a sufficient explanation as to why internationalist sentiment grew so quickly in the schools. Neither does it explain how internationalism became so strong in the community from the late 1920s. In any case, the new attitudes advanced by revisionist scholars and writers of war fiction alike required a public both receptive to and in sympathy with their arguments. For much of the 1920s, this important prerequisite was lacking in most western nations. A.C. Ward

24. "Remembrance", SJ 23, part three (December 1929): 290.

25. Phoebe Myers, "The League of Nations", SJ 24, part three (August 1930): 295. The number of articles on the League of Nations showed a sharp increase from the late 1920s on. See for instance, "A South American Quarrel", SJ 23, part two (April 1929): 65-71, which described how the League had intervened in the border dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay. In 1932, however, the dispute broke out into full scale war and the League's failure to intervene successfully a second time resulted in several South American states withdrawing from the organisation altogether.

has described how several British war novels appearing during the early post-war period had proved to be " ... books for the connoisseurs rather than for the multitude".²⁶

The works of Britain's most famous war poets, Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen failed to attract a significant public following during the early post-war period.²⁷ The same was true of C.E. Montague, despite the fact that his novel, Disenchantment (1922) received much favourable critical comment. It was not until the publication of Erich Maria Remarque's, All Quiet on the Western Front in 1929, that the war - protest novel became, almost overnight, a best seller. In many ways Remarque's book was little different from earlier, less popular novels, but fortunately it "coincided in time with the restoration of acute feelings to numbed minds and sensibilities".²⁸ A whole generation the world over was waking up and was horrified at what it remembered.

It is difficult to explain exactly why this "awareness" should have occurred at this time. Ward has claimed that the prolongation of the post-war depression with its attendant unemployment, poverty and political instability ensured that, "the tide of disillusion was constantly rising higher".²⁹ The ever present reminder of the human costs of war; in the streets, factories, farms and even in the schools further increased public

26. A.C. Ward, The Nineteen Twenties (London: Methuen, 1930), p.11.

27. Sassoon's Counter-Attack, and other poems, (London: Heinemann, 1918) and Owen's Poems ..., with an introduction by Siegfried Sassoon, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1920), received but fleeting attention from a public tired of war stories. Sassoon himself discovered how shortlived his own popularity was when he visited the United States in 1920. See S. Sassoon, Siegfried's Journey 1916-1920, London: Faber and Faber, 1921 : p.175). His poetry was read widely and appreciated, however, from about 1930 on.

28. Ward, p. 155.

29. Ibid., p.10.

bitterness. New Zealand was no exception for in proportion to her small population, the Dominion's war casualties were comparable to Russia's.

Even while the last battles were being fought in Europe, a constant stream of wounded soldiers considered unfit for further active duty was returning home to New Zealand. Hugh Brown, then a schoolboy at Christ's College, recalled that his faith in internationalism was kindled by the return of " ... old boys, some of them on crutches, some looking very sick".³⁰ C.E. Beeby remembered being similarly affected.³¹ During the 1920s other youths undoubtedly had similar experiences to Brown and Beeby, for in some cases teachers who had been wounded were kept on as staff members " ... because it was the best thing to rehabilitate them from a serious war-injury".³²

For many teachers, continued employment was less a matter of rehabilitation than of sheer economic necessity. Until 1930 teachers who retired prematurely were not guaranteed adequate superannuation. Consequently, many wounded teachers were forced to continue teaching despite their inability to cope adequately with the constant strain of the classroom. For those whose injuries extended beyond the mere physical, the position was even worse. A letter in National Education signed, "War Nerves" typified the plight of these forgotten men. "War Nerves" had seen extensive active service and while he had escaped superficially unscathed, he was a shattered man. Suffering acutely from

30. Fml. Disc. Gr. Hugh Brown later put his new convictions into practice as a teacher by setting up a model League of Nations in his classroom.

31. Interview with C.E. Beeby, 26 October 1973, at the NZCER offices, Wellington.

32. Fml. Disc. Gr.

sciatica contracted in the trenches and sensitive to any sudden noise, he confessed " ... at several times I have felt near the breaking strain".³³ A man such as this, who could merely plead ineffectually that his war service might " ... lessen the long list of years between [his return from the Front] and peace", was surely to his pupils a saddening reminder of the "lost generation". Perhaps it was this man multiplied many times, in thousands of locations, who helped the young to appreciate Sassoon's lament that, far from being an heroic pilgrimage, " ... the War was a dirty trick which had been played on me and my generation".³⁴

3. The Upsurge in Internationalist and Anti-War Feeling, 1929-1931.

Whatever the reasons behind the upsurge in internationalist and anti-war feeling, the fact that an upsurge took place is indisputable. Patriotism and its role in the schools became a subject for public debate and public criticism. Educational groups became more zealous than hitherto in their advocacy of increased international teaching.

Two school patriotic activities, Anzac Day observances and Senior Cadet training, were especially affected by the growth in internationalist and anti-war feeling in the late 1920s. Hugh Brown has recalled that both in the community and the schools, "Anzac Day ceremonies came into ... disrepute because a lot of the clergy who took the ceremonies were very strongly pacifist ..."³⁵

33. "War Nerves", National Education, 1 July 1929, p.292.

34. S. Sassoon, The Complete Memoirs of George Sherston, (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), p.655.

35. Fml. Disc. Gr.

Their views were often unappreciated by war-widows and mothers who looked upon the occasion as a means of honouring and rationalising the deaths of loved ones. Bitter disputes in many areas over the types of observance to be held meant that frequently " ... the Anzac Day ceremonies were just [relegated to something] more or less minor".³⁶

Calls from both the Institute and the Headmasters' Association for smaller, less elaborate ceremonies were probably influenced by the growing public controversy, with the great bulk of complaints regarding the length of Anzac Day services being made only after 1929. In September 1930, for instance, the Wellington Headmasters' Association requested that the Board no longer require the presence of school children at dawn parades because of the strains involved. The Association further recommended that school services be limited to a brief prayer, a hymn and the National Anthem, the entire occasion not to exceed ten minutes.³⁷

Meanwhile, in the secondary schools, a related controversy was developing around the Senior Cadets, which by the late 1920s had become a focal point for public criticism of school patriotism in general. K.C. MacDonald claims that the Waitaki Boys' High School Cadet Corps was maintained " ... in spite of the indifference and pacifism prevalent in the community".³⁸ The Corps was probably more fortunate than MacDonald realised, for public feeling could and did go beyond mere

36. Ibid., Also, see below, pp.227-228.

37. MWEB, vol. thirteen (15 September 1930), p.174.

38. K.C. MacDonald, A History of Waitaki Boys' High School, 1883-1958, (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1955), p.58.

indifference. Wright St Clair has described a ruse practised by the Hamilton Cadet Corps in the face of public hostility:

... as a "set-off" to show that school cadet camps had other objects than the fostering of war-spirit, but were a happy training ground in complete accord with all peaceful aspirations, whenever a train passed the camp, passenger, goods or stock train, all activities ceased, hats were removed and waved enthusiastically. Sometimes a good humoured engine driver returned the salutations. 39

Public hostility towards things military encouraged left-wing organisations to press the Education Department more closely about the aims of cadet training. In June 1929, the Secretary of the Auckland Women's Branch of the Labour Party, Mrs M.B. Soljak, complained to the Minister that Auckland Technical College Cadets had been instructed during rifle drill to "aim for the stomach in order to be sure of killing their man", and demanded to know if the Minister approved of " ... boys of tender years being given such instructions at school". Soljak was able to make her demands confidently, aware that, " ... the change of thought regarding war and militarism among decent minded men and women during the last few years, and the world wide desire for peace and freedom from all pertaining to war", made it imperative that she receive an answer.⁴⁰

Atmore's vague reply was in itself, an admission that he was acutely aware of the changes that had taken place in public opinion.⁴¹ He and his successors were to be kept busy until the outbreak of the Second World War, acknowledging and occasionally countering the objections

39. R.E. Wright St. Clair, Hamilton High Schools, 1911-1971: Hamilton Boys' High School, Hamilton Girls' High School, (Hamilton, 1971), no page numbers. Incident undated, but its position within the text strongly suggests that it occurred during the 1929-32 period.

40. Mrs M.B. Soljak to H. Atmore, Minister of Education, 17 June 1929, e.29/30/2, EDF.

41. Atmore to Soljak, 4 July 1929, E.29/30/2, EDF.

of a growing number of interested organisations.⁴²

The late 1920s also saw the beginnings of increased internationalist agitation from within the education system itself. The General Council of Education expressed concern at the lack of encouragement given to teachers wishing to disseminate information about the League of Nations. In 1927 the Council formally requested that the Department utilise the Education Gazette " ... for the purpose of familiarising the schools with the organisation of the League of Nations and of the League of Nations' Union".⁴³ The Institute began making similar requests regularly in 1928. Through National Education, the Institute urged every teacher to " ... become a member of the League of Nations' Union and to be an active participant on its behalf".⁴⁴ When the League of Nations' magazine Educational Survey began publication in 1929, a National Education article recommended it to all educators.⁴⁵ Along with its increased calls for greater teacher interest in internationalism, the Institute as a body became actively involved in supporting the cause

42. Among them, the No More War Movement, the National Peace Council, the New Zealand Esperanto Association, and the League of Nations' Union.

43. Education Gazette, 1 July 1927, p.11. The General Council of Education was a statutory body set up under the Education Act, 1914. It normally consisted of the Director of Education, the Assistant Director, a nominated Inspector of Schools and fourteen teacher representatives. The Council met in June of each year, one of its functions being to report on " ... new methods or developments in national education which in its opinion it is desirable to introduce into New Zealand". (Education Act, 1914, 5 Geo.V, Statutes, clause ten, p.183).

44. Report of the 46th Annual Meeting of the Institute (May 1929), Reports ...; p.26 IF.

45. National Education, 1 October 1929, p.197.

of peace. In 1929 it assisted in the organisation of a Peace March in Wellington to mark Armistice Day. The Auckland Headmasters' Association took a similar stand at this time, by issuing open invitations to all its members to attend anti-war rallies under the auspices of the League of Nations' Union.⁴⁶

The Department responded to these developments in a number of ways. The 1929 Syllabus in history, together with its accompanying textbook, Our Nations Story, illustrates just how far the Department had already gone towards accommodating the demands for the promotion of international awareness among school children. The choice of topics in the Syllabus provided a balance between the older emphasis on patriotism and Empire, and the newer stress on internationalism. In Standard Three, traditional imperial heroes such as General Gordon, shared the stage with newer arrivals such as Doctor Barnado, the latter being included expressly to stimulate " ... such virtues as kindness and consideration for others ..."⁴⁷ In Standard Four, the old emphasis on feudal history was largely retained but utilised to provide a comparison with the advantages of modern life including the help given to the poor.⁴⁸

Contemporary social and political developments were generally reserved for Standards Five and Six, and here again the choice of topics underlined the fine balance drawn between the patriotic and imperial on the one hand, and the international and humanitarian on the other. Although Standard Five children were to study both the Napoleonic Campaigns and the Great War under the topic heading, "Two Attempts to Seize World

46. And in 1931, the Association was represented officially by its President at a disarmament rally in the Auckland Town Hall.

47. 1929 Syllabus, p.31.

48. Ibid., p.32.

Power", they were also to trace the growth of internationalist feeling which led to the formation of the League of Nations, and examine important landmarks in international understanding such as the Kellogg Peace Pact.⁴⁹ In Standard Six there was the familiar imperial material grouped under the heading, "The Growth of Empire", but again it was partially balanced by topics in social and literary history such as, "The Story of Great Writers", "The History of Useful Inventions", and "Improvements in Social Welfare", the latter including the humanitarian work of the League.⁵⁰

The Appendix for the history section of the 1929 Syllabus, however, was the most explicit of all in its clarification of the balance now existing between patriotic and internationalist ideals:

The narrow nationalistic interpretation of history should be avoided, international jealousies should not be aroused - a fatally easy course; but there should be sedulously cultivated a strong faith in a more peaceful, harmonious, and prosperous world. Frequent reference should be made in the higher classes to the constitution and activities of the League of Nations, and to some at least of the disputes it has settled. One of the teacher's main aims should be to implant in the minds of his pupils a detestation of war as a means of settling international differences. On no account should too great an emphasis be laid on achievements in war. At the same time these should not be ignored, nor should there be anything but the highest praise for those who sacrificed their lives for their country's freedom. Every opportunity that occurs through annual commemorations such as Anzac Day, Armistice Day, Trafalgar Day, should be utilised to inculcate in the minds of the young love of country and a desire to promote peace among the nations. 51

The textbook, Our Nation's Story similarly balanced internationalist and patriotic ideals. Its authors strongly supported the League, arguing that " ... men realise that no nation can live by itself alone, and the

49. Ibid., p.33

50. Ibid., p.34.

51. Ibid., p.145

good of one nation is the good of all".⁵² The signing of the Kellogg Pact was hailed as a bid to outlaw war for ever, but it was also pointed out that Britain, " ... while signing the Pact, retained [ed] freedom of action in respect to several regions, the welfare and integrity of which [were] vital to her peace and safety".⁵³

Despite these firm indications that the Department had indeed assigned a prominent place for internationalism in the school, criticism still continued. In the first issue of Educational Survey, Willis Airey claimed that the Department was still not doing enough in promoting international understanding among teachers and pupils.⁵⁴ The Department's sensitivity to the issue was aptly illustrated by the rapidity of its rebuttal. The Education Gazette reviewed Airey's article in February 1930, and described his comments as " ...unfortunate, because we are doing our duty".⁵⁵ In fact, the internationalists had already won a substantial victory. For the Department, as for the schools, there was no turning back. Further progress in international teaching came in June 1931, when weekly broadcasts to schools on the aims and work of the League of Nations began.⁵⁶ This was something that the Institute had long been hoping for, and National Education commented with evident satisfaction that the Department had now "... recognised the educational value of lessons in favour of internationalism".⁵⁷

52. Our Nation's Story, (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1929), p. 142.

53. *Ibid.*, p.143.

54. Educational Survey, League of Nations, Geneva(1 [July 1929]:14-21).

55. Educational Gazette, 1 February 1930, p.20.

56. Individual schools had experimented with radio during the late 1920s, but not on a regular basis. The use of radio for League of Nations broadcasts was to anticipate the use of radio for other subjects from 1937.

57. National Education, 1 June 1931, p.251.

4. Postscript: The Climax of Internationalist Sentiment, 1932-1934

In 1929 faith in internationalism had never been so strong. The League of Nations had survived its uncertain beginning, and through its auspices supported by the combined will of its member states:

... disputes like those about Memel and the Aaland Islands were resolved peacefully; dangerous conflicts like the Greco-Bulgarian one were checked; a settlement was found to the territorial and ethnic tangle of Upper Silesia. For years the League prevented Balkan rivalries and the friction between Poland and Lithuania from erupting into full-scale wars and protected the status of the free city of Danzig and the rights of its citizens. The League stood as the champion of minorities ... With Chamberlain, Briand and Stresemann so conspicuously devoted to the League ideal, who could doubt that the League must grow ever stronger ... and that one day all the countries of the world might disband their armies and destroy their armaments. 58

In July 1928, France and Britain signed the Kellogg Pact renouncing war. The subsequent ratification of the Pact by the United States Senate in January 1929 further strengthened internationalist confidence and rekindled hopes that the United States might yet play a larger role in League affairs. It was not to be. The first step in the withering of faith began with the economic depression in October 1929. Then, in September 1931, came the Mukden Incident and the League's first great failure. As if to mock the past successes of internationalism, Bolivia and Paraguay resorted to full-scale war which the League this time was unable to halt.

Paradoxically, internationalist and anti-war sentiment reached a climax in the schools between 1930 and 1934. Jenkins, for instance, demonstrated that in 1932 " .. the detestation and abhorrence of war ... " reached its height in the School Journal.⁵⁹ Many articles with an

58. G. Scott, The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations, (London: Hutchison, 1973); p.400.

59. Jenkins, p.131.

internationalist or anti-war theme appeared to have been chosen for the almost religious intensity of their conviction. In a special Anzac Day article the British poet Geoffrey Dearmer described how an exhausted and frightened soldier during the Gallipolli campaign was befriended by a stray dog during a lull in the fighting. By licking the soldier's face the dog proclaimed himself " ... an open ally of the human race". The soldier was portrayed neither as a hero, nor even as master of the situation. Instead war had bent him completely to its will, and the return to human awareness was possible only after the dog had provided solace. This view of man and war was far removed from the early post-war accounts of the Gallipoli Campaign in which the Anzacs had been likened to the Archean heroes as they stormed Troy.⁶⁰

Enemy soldiers likewise, were now portrayed very differently. In March 1932, a story entitled, "Appy Einrich" appeared which described the bonds that had developed between a British and a German regiment stationed opposite one another on the Western Front. Every night a fat jovial German nicknamed " 'Appy Einrich" by the British, climbed on to the parapet of his trench and entertained both sides with a song. British and German alike came to look forward to " 'Appy Einrich's" appearances. During the times he sang an unofficial truce was observed. Unfortunately the British regiment was withdrawn secretly one night and replaced by a fresh regiment. The inevitable tragedy was related by a soldier of the new regiment some months later:

60. Geoffrey Dearmer, "The Turkish Trench Dog", SJ 26, part three (April 1932): 65. Dearmer published anthologies of poems in 1918 and 1923. Like Knowles, these reflected the disillusionment of the post-war generation of writers in Britain.

"Some of our fellows saw a bulky Boche climbing on to the parapet just across the way, and had a little target practice, and he went down in a heap".

"That was he", I said, "That was, 'Appy Einrich".

"What a beastly thing war is, and what ungrateful beggars we were to forget him".

"Yes, a beastly business killing men", said my guest. 61

Articles of this type struck hard at the basis of wartime animosity and at jingoism, although they were not overtly anti-imperial or anti-patriotic in sentiment. Articles on the Empire continued to appear in the School Journal, although they were fewer in number than they had been a decade earlier. Malone points out that in New Zealand, the old "imperial ideology" at its liberal best implied a belief in the equal rights of peoples and of cooperation between nations which was compatible with the values of the League.⁶² In 1932, a School Journal article outlined the role the Empire could play in the maintenance of world peace, concluding that, "if the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World are to come about, it will be most probably because the English speaking nations have set an example together".⁶³

While imperial sentiment could be of a very liberal nature, the existence of the League played an important role in broadening its horizons, as in the example above. In the case of patriotism, internationalist sentiment played an even greater role. The continuing modification of patriotism as a concept can be also illustrated from

61. A.G. Gardiner, " 'Appy Einrich", SJ 26, part three (March 1932): 292. The article was an extract from the author's collected essays which appeared under the pseudonym, Alpha of the Plough.

62. Malone, p.7.

63. "The British Empire", SJ 26, part three (June 1932): 129-130.

School Journal articles. During the early 1920s most articles about patriotism saw it as a mass emotion, accompanied by external symbols such as the flag. By the early 1930s it was a different story. In June 1932, an article entitled, "Home and Country" described patriotism as being the creed of "the fireside" and of "the textbook", rather than of the masses. It was claimed that, "love of country [was] in no way akin to the passion for power and self", and knew "... nothing of greed, of gain and lust of conquest".⁶⁴ This concept of patriotism went far beyond that of Strong's a decade before, and came close to the "folk patriotism" advocated by the Labour Party which Holland had felt to be an integral part of true internationalism.⁶⁵

As the Depression deepened and the international situation grew steadily worse, internationalist zeal in promoting their ideals in the schools actually increased. It was almost as if, having realised that the world had slipped from their grasp, internationalists had become determined to ensure that a future generation would one day recapture the lost opportunity. The League of Nations organisation itself became increasingly active in seeking the elimination of excessive nationalism from the history textbooks of member states. Although the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation had been formed by the League in 1922, formal approaches to League members were not even planned until the Casares resolution of 1925, and the first written enquiries sent out in 1931, were somewhat superficial in content.⁶⁶

64. "Home and Country", SJ 26, part three (June 1932): p.131.

65. See for instance, NZPD, vol.131, 1920, p.581.

66. See, N.T. Lambourne, "Declaration on the Teaching of History", a memorandum to the Minister of Education, 21 March 1938 E29/72/9, EDF. The June 1931 enquiry was concerned principally with the degree of nationalism permitted in school textbooks.

During the following year, the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation prepared and distributed a far more extensive questionnaire. This was divided into six sections covering not only the revision of textbooks, but the training of teachers in the aims and work of the League, and the amount of League material available for school use.⁶⁷ The New Zealand reply was drafted initially by Lambourne, and approved by the Minister. Like the questionnaire itself, it was far more detailed than it had been on the previous occasion. While the reply recognised that much remained to be done in New Zealand, especially in the preparation of teachers to take lessons on the League, it did point out with some pride that internationalism was now an integral part of the history syllabus in the primary schools.⁶⁸ In itself, this was a substantial achievement.

Internationalist militancy, however, was still causing education administrators some headaches. In April 1932, the Masterton Branch of the League of Nations' Union, exasperated by a long standing Wellington Education Board ruling which effectively barred it from the primary schools in the district, bitterly criticised the apparent ease with which the Navy League still gained entry. Both the Masterton Women Teachers' Association and the President of the League of Nations' Union, James Gibb, sent letters of protest in support of the Masterton Branch.⁶⁹

67. "Enquiry relating to the means adopted in all types of schools for giving instructions on the Subject of the League of Nations in a manner calculated to promote international understanding", Educational Survey 3 (December 1932): 103-105.

68. "Training of members of the teaching profession who are required to give lessons on the League of Nations", Educational Survey 4 (March 1933): 17. New Zealand's reply appeared along with those of 29 other nations and compared favourably with the best replies.

69. For a discussion of Gibb's involvement in the League of Nations' Union see Barber, pp.224-252.

The unfortunate Board was forced to put the whole question of entry rights for the Union to a full Board meeting. Though a motion for the relaxation of restrictions on the Union's entry rights during school hours was eventually lost, the fact that the Board saw fit to debate the issue at all was significant.⁷⁰ The Board's previous solidarity over entry rights was wavering, and this was underlined later in the year when the hitherto unquestioned right of the Navy League to enter schools was reaffirmed only after two Board members had obliged the Secretary to record their dissent.⁷¹

Two years later in 1934, the Wellington Education Board again had to reconsider the terms of Navy League entry, this time in the open and before a public increasingly critical of the type of patriotism the Navy League represented. Late in the previous year, the Board had again given Navy League lecturers permission to enter Wellington schools. Without informing the Board, the League invited Rear-Admiral Burges Watson, Commander of the New Zealand Division, Royal Navy, to address the pupils of several schools during April and May 1934. In the course of these addresses, Burges Watson warned of an impending Japanese threat to the Pacific region. On several occasions he pointed out that the League was a failure and that " ... further war was inevitable, if not imminent".⁷²

70. MWER, vol. fourteen (16 May 1932), p.14 and (8 April 1932), p.31.

71. Ibid. (14 November 1932), p.520.

72. Evening Post (Wellington), 12 May 1934. Evening Post hereafter cited as EP.

Reaction to the Rear-Admiral's comments was almost immediate. On 14 May the Wellington School Committee and Education Federation met to discuss the whole question of Navy League entry into schools. The meeting proved to be a stormy affair, with several delegates walking out as tempers frayed. Eventually, a motion to "... prohibit the Navy League sending lecturers to our public schools, thereby influencing and poisoning the minds of young children", was carried by a single vote.⁷³ After further discussion, it was decided to add to the resolution, the recommendation that " .. it would be far wiser to try and teach children ... that there are means of settling international differences other than by the unintelligent, brutal and discreditable method of war".⁷⁴

On 20 May the Institute entered the fray when its President, Miss M.E. Magill, gave her inaugural address in Wellington. Although she did not specifically mention the Rear-Admiral's visit to schools, she was probably aware of the implications now surrounding the growing controversy when she warned that, "the forces of reaction and of anarchy were aborad", and that it was up to teachers to " ... begin the war against warfare in the schools".⁷⁵ Her speech aptly captured the mood of the meeting, which passed a remit that " ... the Institute declare itself wholeheartedly against war and recommends its members to link up and support in every way the League of Nations' Union".⁷⁶

At this juncture, the Evening Post firmly linked the Wellington School Committee and Education Federation's protest concerning the Rear-Admiral's remarks, with the Institute's anti-war resolution. As early

73. EP, 15 May 1934.

74. Ibid.

75. M.E. Magill, Presidential address, Reports ..., p.8.

76. Ibid., p.21.

as 4 May, the paper had reacted sharply to what its editor termed, " ... the spate of militant pacifism ..." that had already "innundated its correspondence columns, warning its readers that New Zealand could expect no help from the League of Nations if attacked."⁷⁷ Now, the editor strongly condemned the Institute's resolution, complaining that in recent times " .. far too much stress [had] been laid on the note of sorrow and suffering" in war, and that given the worsening international situation, this emphasis was a grave mistake.⁷⁸

The editorial prompted a reply from G.R. Ashbridge, the Secretary of the Institute, who claimed that the poor international situation had been a major factor in prompting the Institute's resolution in the first place. Ashbridge went on to point out that the resolution, far from being irresponsible, " .. might almost have been lifted verbatim from the official Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools ...".⁷⁹ Not to be outdone, the editor of the Evening Post printed Ashbridge's letter in full, together with the comment that the Institute's resolution had been passed only as "pacifist propaganda".⁸⁰

Meanwhile the Rear-Admiral's original remarks to school children about the probability of war with Japan had gained the ear of the Labour Party. In Parliament, the Labour Member for Napier, W.E. Barnard, demanded that the Government " ... dissociate itself from the rash and provocative remarks made by him [Burgess Watson] ".⁸¹ Fraser, now the leader of a powerful Opposition, warned the House that Burgess Watson's comments

77. EP, 4 May 1921.

78. EP, 16 May 1934.

79. EP, 21 May 1934.

80. *Ibid.*

81. NZPD, vol. 238, 1934, p.56.

concerning Japanese aggression were insulting to Japan and thus, dangerous to New Zealand's own security.⁸² The Government made little attempt to defend the Rear-Admiral, or his point of view. J.G. Cobbe, the Minister of Defence, claimed only that Burges Watson had not realised that reporters had been present at the schools when he made his remarks, but added that the Government could not approve of anything that could be characterised as a reflection upon another nation.⁸³

It was obvious that neither the Rear-Admiral, the Navy League nor the Wellington Education Board could expect Government support or sympathy. The times had indeed changed. In 1921 an irate Auckland Education Board had enlisted the support of the Minister of Education to compel a recalcitrant Auckland City Schools' Committee to accept Navy League speakers in its schools.⁸⁴ Now, thirteen years later, the Wellington Education Board found itself obliged to dissociate itself from Burges Watson's remarks and to sharply remind the Navy League that only authorised League speakers had been given any right to enter Wellington Schools.⁸⁵ It is not recorded whether Auckland Education Board members appreciated the irony of the situation. In any case, the Auckland Board had gone through a similar process of reorientation symbolised in its choice of films to recommend to school children. In 1921 the chosen film had been, appropriately enough, Royal India, with its glittering imperial pageantry and its extravagant display of patriotism. Now in 1934, it was Dreyfus, a starkly realistic film which attempted to expose the sordid nature of patriotism when taken to extremes.

82. Ibid., p.72.

83. Ibid., pp.72-73.

84. See above, pp. 75 - 76.

85. WEBM 14 (13 June 1934): 475.

Patriotism was still taught in the schools, but the concepts behind it had changed and it had lost much of its earlier pride of place to internationalism. By contrast, during the last years of peace, internationalism proved too deep-rooted in the education system to lose ground, even though it went from defeat to defeat on the larger world stage. Although internationalists looked to the future in despair, their pleas to children continued to sound a plaintive, yet moving note.

In his 1935 Anzac Day radio talk to children, Ormond Burton admitted sadly that " ... none of the things we fought for has been attained". Instead there was only the threat of a war which would destroy " ... good thinking and fine living, as well as precious lives".⁸⁶ A School Journal article in September 1937, reminded would-be child flying aces that if they wished to be pilots, they would find " ... plenty of exciting work of a peaceful and useful kind: carrying passengers, goods and mail, fighting forest fires, or perhaps spreading poison to kill grubs and insects that destroy crops".⁸⁷

In May 1938, one month after the German annexation of Austria, a poem in the School Journal found some consolation in the fact that despite, " ... war in China, war in Spain", birds were " ... building nests again".⁸⁸ Despite what the future held, what had occurred in New Zealand primary schools regarding patriotism and internationalism during the 1920s and early 1930s could not be undone. True, the high hopes of 1929 had been dissipated, but equally a repeat of the "knightly crusade" of 1914 or the patriotic fervour of 1919-1921 was impossible. The second post-war world would be shaped around an altogether different ideal.

86. Ormond Burton, "Anzac Day 1935 Radio Talk to Children over 2YA", Manuscript papers, O.B. Corr.

87. "How Aeroplanes Fly", SJ 31, Part two (September 1937): 123.

88. Natalie Lynn, "Discord and Harmony", SJ 32 (May 1938): 225.

CONCLUSION

The 1920s were decisive years for patriotism and the New Zealand primary schools. In the years immediately following the Great War, a remarkable combination of political, social and educational factors converted patriotism into a dynamic force in society and gave it a considerable influence in the education system. Within a decade, however, a new and equally remarkable combination of factors secured a substantial reversal of this process with far reaching consequences for the schools. Such profound changes require explanation, not least because they took place over a surprisingly short period.

By 1918, pre-war patriotism, with its essential unreality, its Victorian romanticism and its inbuilt safeguards had been severely shaken. New Zealand society was now unstable and unpredictable. Four years of bitter fighting had encouraged an intense collective soul-searching producing suspicion of non-conformity, apprehension about the future; and a desire for total and visible loyalty. Patriotism was thus at a spiritual and emotional turning point, requiring only the anger, frustration and uncertainty of a traumatic decade to convert it into a dynamic and even frightening force in education.

During the early post-war years, three factors determined the extent of patriotism in New Zealand society and the degree of its impact on the primary schools. First, war memories and lessons learned as a result of war experience provided an initial impetus for an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm. Even while the war was still being fought, war memorials were appearing in school grounds, aided by a growing realisation that the Dominion was, perhaps for the first time, helping to make history on a world scale. Immediately following the Armistice, schools began to compete with one another to obtain commemorative war

literature. The lessons of war lent urgency to the development of citizenship instruction designed specifically to foster patriotism, including loyalty to the state, a knowledge of British forms of government and pride of race. Regular history and civics lessons were supplemented by school observances to mark days of special patriotic significance such as Anzac Day, Trafalgar Day, Armistice Day and Empire Day. To some extent, at least in the short term, war hatreds were kept alive in the schools. Much had been made of German barbarism and brutality during the war years and immediately after the war a number of School Journal articles described how Germany had been brought before the bar of international justice and punished for her crimes against humanity. At the same time hostility towards military defaulters persisted, especially if the individuals concerned were teachers, capable of influencing children with their beliefs.

Second, renewed naval rivalry in the Pacific served to accentuate the long standing New Zealand preoccupation with external security. Continued New Zealand interest in the naval balance between the Great Powers underlined the Dominion's anxiety over the steady erosion of British naval superiority. In particular, concern about Britain's willingness to continue bearing heavy defence burdens was largely responsible for the schools' stress on the mutual value of the imperial connection. Imperial unity was strongly upheld in the School Journal and open disagreements between countries of the Empire were deplored as increasing the possibility of future imperial dissolution. Frequent naval visits kept children aware of the navy's role as protector of imperial trade routes. Both inside and outside regular school hours the Navy League provided propaganda emphasising the navy's requirement for ships and men, and its need for public support. The League's work was

greatly facilitated by the generous terms of entry into schools that it often received from education boards and school committees. During the early post-war years, the League enjoyed a decided and largely unchallenged advantage over other organisations in this respect, especially those with an internationalist bias.

The third factor contributing to increased patriotic activity during the early post-war period was the world-wide growth of left-wing militancy. To many New Zealanders Soviet Russia appeared bent on fomenting world revolution both through her own example and by her policy of granting subsidies to revolutionaries beyond her own borders. The political chaos prevailing throughout much of Europe, together with the industrial unrest which gripped Britain, Australia and the United States, seemed visible proof of the existence of a giant subversive organisation operating on a world-wide scale. Within New Zealand, the marked increase in strikes after 1918 was interpreted by the Government, the press and by many educationalists as advance warning of political and social upheaval comparable with that occurring overseas.

Educationalists were particularly concerned at the possible effect of class polarisation upon children. Their fears were further intensified by the distribution of militant socialist propaganda in the main centres of the Dominion, much of it apparently aimed at young people about to leave school and enter the labour market. While the Government could and did use the socialist bogey to woo electors, it was also genuinely concerned at the apparent strength of the militants. In 1913 Massey had reacted sharply to industrial action by the miners. Now he became thoroughly alarmed at its resurgence in vital export industries as well as angered

by the support strike action received from Labour members in the House, some of whom had played a prominent role during the 1913 confrontation between strikers and the Government.

Fear of the corrupting influence of militant socialism had important consequences for education. By 1921 the Government had become convinced that even the increased attention then being devoted to citizenship training in the schools was insufficient to meet the challenge. The activities of the Socialist Sunday Schools appeared particularly ominous because they directly involved school children, and made deliberate if ineffectual attempts to neutralise the patriotic teachings of the public schools. In response Parr introduced regulations which made flag-saluting compulsory at all schools in the Dominion.

Compulsory flag-saluting reflected growing Government concern with teacher loyalty, and this concern was to grow far more acute as the year advanced, following the revelation of a number of incidents in which children, apparently supported by teachers or parents, refused to comply with the new requirement. Such incidents served to encourage the suspicion that a small minority of teachers were prepared to condone if not support disloyalty, but it was the Weitzel case in June that proved to be the final straw. Weitzel's attempts to sell subversive literature were serious enough, but she was also a training college student soon to be influencing the ideals of children in her care. Her actions highlighted the grim possibility that within the ranks of the teaching service, other possibly disloyal individuals were actively seeking to subvert the patriotic influence of the schools.

Patriotic zeal was now focused squarely, not on the instruction of the young, but on the loyalty of teachers. In October 1921, following inconclusive inquiries into both Victoria University College and the Wellington Training College, the Government introduced legislation making it compulsory for all teachers in the Dominion to sign an Oath of Allegiance before assuming their duties. When it became law in March 1922, it constituted virtually the final step in a remarkable escalation process. Patriotic influence on the primary school was now different in both degree and kind from that which had characterised pre-war times. Far more effort was concentrated on the inculcation of patriotism through a wide range of teaching strategies inside and outside the classroom. Greater stress was placed on outward conformity. Obedience was considered necessary to maintain the unity of society in the face of both external and internal threats. Patriotism itself had become sensitive and angry, concerned not just with teaching by example, but with hitting back at the forces which appeared during these early post-war years to assail it from every direction. As a result, not only children, but teachers, education administrators, politicians and ultimately the public at large were to be intimately affected.

These shifts in emphasis were to also prove significant for the fortunes of school patriotism. Although the Oath of Allegiance was to remain on the statute books as an anachronistic symbol of an earlier period, patriotism both in the community and in the primary schools was to lose much of its earlier zeal. The seeds of its decline were sown through the very rapidity of its growth, for it had been generated in the hothouse of a traumatic war and nourished during the early post-war years in conditions unlikely ever to be repeated in New Zealand.

As was the case with its rise, a combination of political, social and educational factors brought about the diminishment of patriotic zeal from the late 1920s. First, the fervour initially responsible for stimulating and then maintaining patriotism at a high level of activity began to wane. In the schools, patriotism was dependent both on teacher support and public fervour for success. These twin supports were rapidly lost following the switch in emphasis from the inculcation of patriotism to the identification and removal of teachers suspected of disloyalty. Whilst public opinion appears to have been generally sympathetic to increased patriotic activity in the schools, it was affronted by the Government's apparent determination to purge the teaching service of disloyal elements, regardless of the cost. In the press and in Parliament, loyalty oaths were condemned as unjustifiable, even in the context of what many regarded as threatening political and social problems. The actions of Parr in the cases of Burton, Purdie and Page on one hand, and in the Park affair on the other, served to accelerate these growing doubts. Widespread distaste for the extremes to which school patriotism had been taken were to be further demonstrated by continuing hostility towards legislation aimed at strengthening administrative controls over teachers, even when the primary purpose of such legislation was in the interest of the teaching service, as was the case with the creation of a Teachers' Register.

Second, as patriotic fervour began to wane, it was increasingly challenged by new educational developments. The introduction of progressive ideals initially came through the education departments of university colleges and training colleges, but by 1930 they were making a substantial

impact in the primary schools. The growth of the progressive influence was to have important consequences for patriotic instruction. Across the curriculum the emphasis swung from citizenship instruction and patriotic teaching to the wider social and cultural objectives of education. Progressive ideals were also instrumental in fostering a more critical view of school patriotism, because progressives asserted the right of every child to an education free of excessive national and patriotic bias. A number of progressives possessed strong left-wing sympathies, and alliance with political radicals not only strengthened their distaste for patriotic instruction, but also greatly increased their effectiveness in influencing future educational policy.

Third, patriotic activity was overshadowed by the rise of internationalist and anti-war sentiment after 1929. As internationalism became stronger in New Zealand society, so patriotic activity in the schools came under increasing criticism. Cadet units, once the pride of their local communities, came to be regarded in some areas with indifference and even hostility. Anzac Day became the subject of public controversy concerning its true purpose. Within the education system itself, teachers' organisations such as the Institute and the Headmasters' Association pressed strongly for increased internationalist teaching in the classroom. Even by the late 1920s, internationalism had become a substantial force in the primary schools. As a result the Education Department became more sympathetic to the inculcation of internationalist ideals. The 1929 Syllabus was a major landmark in this process. Considerable efforts were made in the history section of the syllabus to balance the new sentiments with the older patriotic influences. At the same time active steps were taken to promote a greater awareness of League of

Nations activities among teachers and pupils, particularly through the Education Gazette and by the introduction of special radio broadcasts to schools. In the School Journal, internationalist articles predominated after 1929. While patriotism did not disappear from the School Journal, concepts of patriotism changed markedly, with the emphasis swinging to a quieter, more rational love of country rooted deeply in an appreciation of values and customs.

As far as the primary schools of New Zealand were concerned, the events of the 1920s were to be decisive. Despite the rapid deterioration in the international situation during the 1930s, patriotism and internationalism were not again destined to exchange their relative positions. Internationalist sentiment remained strong in the schools even after 1935, and growing pessimism over the possibilities of finding a peaceful solution to the world's political ills led not to cynicism in the schools, but to even stronger expressions of faith in human brotherhood. In contrast, patriotic activity never again assumed the predominant position in the education system it had once occupied for a relatively short period after 1918. Even during the darkest days of the Second World War the inculcation of patriotism was deliberately kept to a minimum, and the large-scale mobilisation of pupil opinion which had characterised the Great War did not take place. Instead the trend towards the wider social and cultural objectives of education noticeable from the later 1920s continued at an increasing pace, eventually coming to dominate the primary school curriculum after 1945.

2. Parallels in Australia and the United States

New Zealand was notable in experiencing a dramatic upsurge in political fervour after 1918. While the impact of patriotism in New

Zealand schools during the early post-war period had important parallels in both Australia and the United States, however, the political and social dissimilarities existing in each of those countries dictated a different pattern of events. In Australia, the rapid changeover of political administrations in several states tended to polarise and thus enflame the whole question of school patriotism and loyalty. Hyams and Bessant have noted two elements which vitally affected the teaching of patriotism in Australian schools; the Labour Party's belief that the teaching of international relations in schools under a Nationalist Government was merely thinly disguised militarist propaganda, and the Nationalist Party's distrust of left-wing internationalist ideals in education.¹

In 1919 the State Conference of the Victorian Labour Party added two new planks to its education platform. The first advocated that " ... no articles relating to, or extolling wars, battles or heroes of the past [was] to be printed in the State school papers or books". The second demanded that " ... peace and internationalism be inculcated in the minds of all children attending State schools".² The Nationalist Party remained deeply suspicious of such recommendations and countered them with tangible expressions of loyalty to nation and Empire. In 1922, for instance, the Nationalist Party Conference spontaneously rose and sang the National Anthem in support of a resolution proclaiming " ... unfaltering belief in 'one King, one Empire, one flag' ".³

1. B.K. Hyams and B. Bessant, Schools for the People? An introduction to the history of state education in Australia (Camberwell, Victoria: Longman, 1972), pp.72-101.

2. Ibid., p.93.

3. Ibid., p.112.

Victoria's first Labour administration came to power in 1924 determined to implement Labour Party policy regarding the teaching of internationalism in schools. Inevitably, this led to violent reactions from their political opponents and from electors. Similar occurrences in New South Wales and in Western Australia led to rapid changes in administrations and hence in policy, with the state schools becoming a battleground. Such a situation found no real parallel in New Zealand, where a more stable political situation made for greater continuity in education decision making, and policy changes more faithfully reflected genuine shifts in public opinion.

The appearance of loyalty oath legislation in the United States also provides some interesting similarities and differences compared with the introduction of the Oath of Allegiance in New Zealand. Before 1917 loyalty oaths for teachers in the United States were virtually unknown but in the next two decades some twenty states introduced them to combat what was variously described as "socialism", "anarchism" and "communism".⁴ While the influence of the Great War and the fear of militant socialism combined to give rise to such legislation roughly within the same period as its introduction in New Zealand, vast regional variations together with the extremely decentralised nature of education administration in the United States made for important differences.

Fear of militant socialism was particularly strong in New York State, and as a result schools there experienced considerable harassment. In March 1919, the New York State Legislature set up a special committee

4. H.G. Good, A History of American Education, (New York: Macmillan, 1962), pp. 509-511.

to " ... investigate the scope, tendencies and ramifications of ... seditious activities and report the result of its investigations to the Legislature".⁵ Labour Leaders, clergymen and teachers were among the principal victims of the Lusk Committee's investigations, New York City becoming especially notorious for the zeal in which teachers suspected of having left-wing sympathies were sought out and removed from their positions. Among the numerous cases of teacher dismissals in 1919 was that of Benjamin Glassburg, a Brooklyn high school history teacher who was rash enough to claim that the Soviet regime had been unduly maligned in the United States.⁶

In April 1920, as a result of the Lusk Committee's recommendations, the New York State Legislature passed a number of tough new anti-subversion measures, including a total ban on Socialist Party membership, the creation of a special Bureau of Investigation to investigate subversion and the introduction of loyalty oaths for teachers. Taken as a whole these measures were far more comprehensive than anything passed by the New Zealand Government during this period. Even the loyalty oaths which teachers were required to sign, were considerably more onerous than loyalty oaths in New Zealand, because the actual implementation of the legislation was left to the local education authorities. As a result a number of school boards throughout the state required teachers in their employ to retake the oath every month, and to make a declaration that they had neither encouraged nor had taken part in unpatriotic activities. Parr had briefly considered such periodic oaths for New Zealand, but rejected them as unnecessary and impracticable.

5. Murray, p.98.

6. Ibid., p.171. Glassberg's Jewish background apparently intensified demands for his dismissal.

As in Australia, rapid political changes in some American states led to radical switches in policy. The Governor of New York State, Alfred E. Smith, was able to veto the legislation recommended by the Lusk Committee on the grounds that it struck a blow at "... the fundamental right of the people to enjoy full liberty in the domain of idea and speech".⁷ In 1921, however, Smith was defeated and the new Governor Nathan L. Miller, permitted the legislation to become law. Some three years later when Smith became Governor for a second term he again repealed the laws in question as being a violation of the spirit of the constitution. It was hardly surprising in the circumstances that many teachers kept a close eye on the politicians and scrupulously avoided introducing any controversial issues into the classroom.

3. Patriotism and Democracy

In 1969 Sinclair suggested that signs of undemocratic attitudes, especially the intolerance of minority opinions or conduct had occasionally appeared in New Zealand.⁸ Although few would disagree with this statement a number of writers have since attempted to stress New Zealand's affinity during certain periods, with fascist or communist nations. Malone, writing about the School Journal prior to 1930, alleges that "... a whole generation at least received a degree of ideological indoctrination which is supposed so far to be characteristic only of the totalitarian regimes".⁹ Such a specific charge as this warrants serious consideration, especially if directed at the years immediately following the Great War when patriotism was so intense. Allegations of indoctrination also appear to be supported by the attitude of the Labour Party at the time, which frequently complained

7. Ibid., p.238.

8. Sinclair, pp.298-299.

9. Malone, p.27.

at the preponderance of "nationalistic and jingoistic" material in the School Journal and in textbooks during the early 1920s.

It soon becomes evident, however, that charges of indoctrination and allegations of affinities with totalitarian regimes cannot be substantiated. The individuals who made and implemented educational decisions during this period did not have the resources available to indoctrinate children nor did they possess the single minded intentions of later fascist or communist administrators. The formal teaching of patriotism was greatly hampered by poor learning conditions in the schools. Many teachers were inadequately trained and a high proportion of pupils suffered from ill health or excessive fatigue. While most instruction laboured under these drawbacks to some extent, the teaching of patriotism was hindered by more specific difficulties. Patriotic symbols and concepts were all too often beyond the understanding of children. In addition, history, civics and moral instruction, the usual subject medium for the inculcation of patriotism, were only optional for the vital Standard Six proficiency examination, and therefore lacked the status of core subjects such as arithmetic and writing. Many teachers, especially those in rural areas, chose to neglect patriotism in favour of subjects where successful instruction could bring them concrete rewards in terms of grading, promotion and reputation.

Even if these difficulties could have been surmounted, the attitudes of administrators and teachers would probably have prevented indoctrination in any real sense from taking place. In considering evidence from the period, it is necessary to avoid excessive reliance on the often sweeping accusations of Labour Party members. In 1920, for instance,

Holland labelled those who sat on education committees as " ... the givers of flags and bunting", and as the harbingers of a Prussianised school system.¹⁰ Seven years later, Fraser complained to the House that proposed legislation giving education boards the power to fine teachers for unspecified minor breaches of discipline meant that the country was " ... going to authorise pettifogging little penalties which [could] be utilised by all the little Bumbles on the education boards as an instrument of attack on the teachers".¹¹

Such generalisation failed to do justice to a number of outstanding education administrators who sat in Parliament during the 1920s. R. McCallum, a member of the Wellington Education Board believed that the Government had been unfair in its treatment of Weitzel, and unfair to teachers in introducing loyalty oaths.¹² The Chairman of the Nelson Education Board, W.H. McIntyre, thought loyalty oaths unnecessary and unwise.¹³ S.G. Smith, a member of the Taranaki Education Board, claimed that loyalty oaths would prove to be a great imposition on the teaching service.¹⁴ All three men subsequently resisted any further attempts to tighten administrative control over teachers, even when this involved the extension of education board powers.¹⁵ McIntyre and McCallum were Liberals and Smith, an Independent, but the actions of the Chairman of the Wellington Education Board, T. Forsyth, afford a useful corrective to regarding all Reform Party members as ultra-patriots, intent on enforcing their own views of loyalty on the primary schools. Forsyth was to enter Parliament in 1925 as the Government Member for Wellington East yet he had considerable misgivings over the direction in which patriotism appeared to be heading, and did not hesitate to defend Park publicly when

10. NZPD, vol.189, 1920, p.583.

11. NZPD, vol.216, 1927, p.323.

12. NZPD, vol.191, 1921, p.971.

13. Ibid., p.973.

14. Ibid., p.959.

15. Especially in 1924 and in 1927. See above, pp.173-175.

Parr accused her of disloyalty.

Even Parr cannot strictly be considered an indoctrinator or a proto-fascist, despite his earlier attempts to inculcate patriotism in the school and to seek out disloyal teachers in the name of patriotic duty. Parr was often insensitive and dictatorial, but he was also a man of forward vision. He had a deep faith in progressive education and his imperialism, while intensely strong, was to some extent moderated by an interest in the League of Nations. There is little doubt that Parr viewed teachers in a different light from other civil servants. He strongly believed that they had "... reposed in them a confidence and trust peculiarly important and, indeed, sacred ...", because of their responsibility for "... moulding the minds and the character of the children of New Zealand".¹⁶ Such phrases make it comparatively easy for the modern researcher to classify Parr as one of Fraser's "little Bumbles", and consequently to accept without question Malone's contention that after 1918 the official view of education "... came to resemble fascism more than liberalism".¹⁷ Against this it must be stressed that to Parr and many other New Zealanders during the early 1920s, the lessons of the Great War, the continuing arms race in the Pacific and the challenge of militant socialism appeared matters of considerable import for education, while the sobering examples of political socialisation provided by totalitarian education systems which were to greatly influence thinking in the western world after 1945, were correspondingly less obvious.¹⁸

16. NZPD, vol.191, 1921, p.934.

17. Malone, p.20.

18. The term "indoctrination", for instance, had not then assumed the invariably pejorative sense it has today. (See, Oxford English Dictionary, 1933 ed., s.v. "indoctrination". George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four, which embodied the cynicism of a generation familiar with the regimes of Hitler and Stalin, was not published until 1949.

In addition, there is the danger of repeating the error of the American educationalist, I.L. Kandel, who overemphasised the rigidity of the New Zealand education system, and as a result, discounted the latitude it permitted for dissent.¹⁹ Ingle's assertion that teachers play a decisive role in implementing education policy provides a useful counterbalance to this view. A number of teachers expressed doubts over the wisdom of compulsory flag-saluting in schools, and teachers' organisations strongly protested against the introduction of loyalty oath legislation. Continued unease in the teaching service made the Government cautious about introducing further measures, and probably substantially aided the development of progressive ideals and internationalist sentiment, both of which owed much to teacher support and involvement.

While events in the schools during the 1920s neither produced an indoctrinated generation, nor provided clear evidence of fascism, they did leave the education system and the Dominion with a perplexing dilemma. By the early 1930s much of the teaching service had embraced internationalism, and the Institute itself had even come close to advocating pacifism. The full implications of this conversion did not become obvious until the early years of the Second World War, when a number of teachers either refused to join the armed forces, or indicated publicly their reluctance to support the war effort. Although like Burton, Page and Purdie some two decades before, these individuals denied any disloyalty, their actions inevitably provoked widespread public controversy.

19. See especially, I.L. Kandel, Impression of Education in New Zealand and; Inverted Snobbery and the Problem of Secondary Education in New Zealand, Wellington: NZCER, 1937.

The internationalist foment which had begun in the 1920s had changed official attitudes considerably and generally precluded the reoccurrence of the ill-treatment meted out to conscientious objectors during the Great War. Nevertheless, the need to maintain national solidarity prevented either the ruling Labour Party or the Institute from offering them much support, despite the fact that they had once assumed broadly similar positions themselves. For the Government the question was one of balancing public indignation over the issue with both the private sensibilities of some of its members and the responsibilities it faced as a wartime administration. Because a number of teachers dismissed as military defaulters or as conscientious objectors turned to the Institute for help, that organisation's problems were rendered as acute as those facing the Government. Reconciling the interests of the teaching service as a whole with the rights of individual members seeking legal aid had never been an easy task, and the Institute's efforts to grapple with this, the last of the unresolved problems of the late 1920s and early 1930s is well deserving of a separate study.

APPENDIX 1

Regulations for the Organisation, Examination and Inspection
of Public Schools and the Syllabus of Instruction, 1919.

MAN AND SOCIETY

N. History

The course of instruction in history and civics may be based on or selected from the programme set out hereunder, but any suitable four-year course based on the periodic or on the concentric system, may be approved by the Inspector. In all cases schemes of history must show some definite purpose and should deal with a series or with a number or series of important events which are clearly related to one another. The history must not be taught from books in the first instance, but a suitable text-book of history should be used by the pupils from which to revise and memorize what they have learned in class, and from which they may read sufficiently to fill in the general background of the special topics dealt with by the teacher.

Junior Division - The topics used for lessons in oral expression should include interesting stories from myths, legends, biography, and history. The discussion of the work of postmen, policemen, and other officials or people rendering public or social service should be developed on the "spiral" principle.

Middle Division - A series of the events in the history of England up to the end of the Norman period as set out in Appendix N.

Senior Division - Continuation of the line of study commenced in the Middle Division. The new material set out in Appendix N is taken from the period 1145 to the present time.

O. Civics

Middle Division - The earlier forms of law-courts and government, and the nature of personal rights as revealed by the study of the period of history dealt with. Comparison should be made between the above and some of the common customs of the Maoris.

Senior Division - Forms of education, general knowledge of forms of local government and of the functions of Parliament, together with a knowledge of the relations of the colonies to Great Britain. Courts and magistrates, elections, local and general taxation.

P. Moral Instruction

Though set lessons will rarely be given the school scheme should show a definite plan that will be kept in view by each teacher. As the training will generally be incidental the record of any special topic dealt with should be entered in the work-book after the matter has been discussed.

Junior Division - This should be made incidental to the discussion of some of the topics used in lessons in oral expression, and to incidents which arise in the ordinary course of school-work. Only the more elementary phases of character should be dealt with, such as kindness, politeness, consideration for others, helpfulness, neatness, truthfulness, and obedience. Though the lessons themselves should not be formal, the teacher should have a definite plan in mind, and by example and incidental teaching should maintain a constant influence favourable to the development of refinement and good character.

Middle Division - Though formal lessons need not, as a rule, be given, definite provision should be made by the teacher for lessons calculated to promote habits of order and of neatness, cleanliness, care of property in and about the school, respect for public and private property, politeness, kindness; good manners in the school, home, and the city; truthfulness, obedience, and attention to duty, and an appreciation of the value of mutual service. Lessons suggested by the study of history, by the general reading-matter dealt with, or by incidents in school-life in the class or playground, should also be included.

Senior Division - Numerous opportunities may be taken for the giving of moral instruction during the lessons on history and civics, as well as from reading-lessons and even from lessons on nature-study and geography, together with lessons on the employment of leisure, the selection of occupations, the use of money, duty to parents, to the school, and to the State. Good manners, habitual politeness, respect for others and for proper authority, self-control, truthfulness, honesty and generosity should be developed by the exercise of the qualities that go to make up the general atmosphere of the school, both in the class-room and in the playground. The teacher's personal influence and example will be by far the strongest factor in the development of character in the pupils.

Appendix N - History¹

The study of history is comparatively valueless unless it is dealt with in such a way as to show the relation of cause and effect in the affairs of human life, especially in their broader national aspects. Further, it will have little real value or interest unless some clear relation is established between the events of the past and the life of the present. It should also furnish pupils with noble ideals of life and character upon which they may model their own particularly with regard to their duties as citizens. The teacher will therefore need to read widely and thoughtfully far beyond the range of the events dealt with in mere text-books. He must develop an ability to realize vividly and to describe graphically broad movements in national life, and be able to establish relations between these movements, and between them and the spiritual ideals and life of the people. Although he will not present to the pupils the complete results of his study of history or the philosophy of life as he himself sees it, the teacher must nevertheless have a conception of history beyond a knowledge of events. Such a knowledge is necessary if he is to draw up a scheme of history through which in the limited time at his disposal he may give the children a vision in true perspective of the life of the people of which they form a part, and

1. In the original, the appendices preceded the prescriptive section of the Syllabus. The order is reversed here in the interests of clarity and of continuity.

of the possible future towards which they should strive. In the lower classes the teaching of history would consist chiefly of the presentation of interesting narratives, which will subsequently form part of the basis of the general school scheme, but which will in the meantime aim at developing in the child a love of truth, justice, and devotion to duty.

History Scheme

A scheme is herein outlined in accordance with the principles set out above, but any modification of it or substitution for it may be approved by the Inspector. It is not expected that all the topics mentioned below could be embodied in one scheme, but material for a suitable scheme may be selected therefrom. Neither is it expected that pupils will fully grasp the complete conception embodied in the scheme. Nevertheless, the teacher should have such a conception before his mind and should endeavour as far as possible to enable his pupils to grasp it.

General Plan

1. The chief aim is to explain the present position of the British nation by studying the races from which it originally arose, their chief characteristics, and their social, military, industrial, and constitutional condition; how they were related to each other, their early antagonism and final blending (Plantagenet Period); how the nation found itself (Tudor Period); the growth of national freedom, confidence, and power (Stuart Period); the development of democratic government, of industrial and colonial expansion, and the unification of the Empire (Hanoverian Period); relation of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland to Britain.

2. Britain's successive rivals for Empire - Spain, Holland, France, Germany. The relative fitness of these nations for empire-building.

General Method

In the lower classes, and even in the Preparatory Division, historical events, narratives, and personages should be used as part of the groundwork for subsequent lessons on the above. Comments, if any, should be very general in the lower classes, but more specific in the upper part of the school, where the previous work will be revised so as to develop the main idea. Each teacher will need to know the whole scheme in order to teach his part. Emphasis should be laid only on those events and persons that will illustrate the main scheme of lessons, but it will be found that most of the really important portions of the history of our nation may be connected with the scheme outlined. The general background of history not emphasized in the scheme should be filled in by reading a history-book with very little comment.

Suitable History Readers - As distinct from readers, there should be in the possession of each family represented in Standards IV, V, and VI at least one copy of a simple text-book. The use of any suitable book brought by the pupil should be permitted. The oral lessons in school should be devoted to the presentation of the lessons, to discussion, explanation, and deduction. The memorizing of the facts dealt with should be done by the pupils themselves at home from their text-books, so that school-time is not wasted by repeating the facts in lesson after lesson until they are remembered.

Middle Division (Two Years.)

1. The Celtic Element - Ancient Britons: Manner of living, homes, food, clothing, fighting, hunting, tribal rule, making comparison with the Maori race of a hundred years ago. Character fiery, impulsive, poetic, brave, and religious. Illustrate by reference to King Arthur and his knights, Boadicea, Caractacus. (Compare later on with the Highlanders, Irish, Welsh, Cornish, and French people of today.)

(Note - Make a vertical time-scale with alternate dark and light sections about 1 ft. long, each representing a century (the lifetime of a very old man). The scale may have to be made in two sections. Even before it is systematically filled in there might be written opposite the space left for some of the centuries any outstanding events in which the children will be interested - the discovery of New Zealand, the invention of the steam-engine, and the name of any historic event or personage mentioned in connection with the general reading of the class. Rule a red line to show the division of time B.C. and A.D. Opposite the proper century division B.C. print the names of the Celtic personages just referred to.)

2. The Romans - (a) Character, civilization, conquest, and colonization. (b) Julius Caesar and the extension of the Roman Empire over Europe. (c) Caesar's war; and the invasion and conquest of Britain and the resistance of the Celts. (d) The nature of the conquest. The work of the Romans. (e) Decay of the Roman Empire. Departure of the Romans. The gain to Britain from the Roman occupation.

3. The Anglo-Saxons - (a) The coming of the Vikings - their origin, (related races in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Germany), character, tribal law, and customs; state of civilization; religion, love of the sea; love of freedom; value placed on manhood. Compare with the Celts. (b) The early raids of the Anglo-Saxons and their settlement in England; area of settlement; establishment and combination of kingdoms; introduction of Christianity and consequent changes. (c) Great Saxons such as Egbert, Alfred the Great, the Venerable Bede, Harold, Hereward the Wake.

4. Progress - (a) Give the pupils some idea of the life in Saxon England in the ninth century, dealing with clothing, food, weapons, implements, buildings, industries, farming, social customs, amusements, law-courts, the Church and language. (b) A few sentences in Anglo-Saxon, middle English, and modern English, taken from Sweet's "Anglo-Saxon Primer," would, if written on the board, give an idea of the continuity of, as well as the changes in, our English speech.

5. The Normans - (a) Their Anglo-Saxon origin. Settlement in northern France. (b) Edward the Confessor, Harold, and William Duke of Normandy. (c) Compare the Normans with the English at this time: the former more civilized, refined, and educated, with better organization of law, industry, and religion, due to Roman and European influence. (d) The Norman Conquest. The feudal system as an attempt to make England one by legislation. (e) Show how Celts, English, Danes, and Normans in Great Britain were separated and often hostile. (f) Revise by summing up the results of the Celtic occupation, the Roman invasion, the Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman invasions, and trace the advance made by Britain between 55 B.C. and A.D. 1145.

Senior Division (Two Years.)

Standard V teachers should be thoroughly familiar with the matter covered and the plan followed in the study of history in the Middle Division. Revision of this work should be made chiefly by reference to the former lessons during the discussion of the new matter. At the same time the ideas formed by the pupils in connection with the work of the Middle Division should be made fuller and clearer.

1. General - For the work covered by the Plantagenet Period, the main or central idea is the union of the Celtic, Saxon, Danish and Norman elements through the Crusades, the tyranny of kings, war, progress in self-government and in civilization. This internal union was assisted by opposition to political, national, or religious influences from outside England. This unity, freedom, development of commerce and of civilization, with the prestige attained among the nations, produce a strong national spirit.

2. Unification of Races - (a) Feudal system. William I attempted thus to create unity, but the system weakened under Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II. Henry III and John attempted to regain feudal power. The signing of Magna Charta and the establishment of Montford's Parliament reversed feudal order, which provided that power should work from the king downwards, while under the new system it should operate from the people upwards. In this connection the industrial movement, illustrated by Wat Tyler's rebellion and the movement for religious freedom by the Lollards, might be noted. (b) England becomes more closely linked with Europe through its Norman possessions, through the territories ruled by Henry II, as well as by the Crusades, the extension of commerce, and the Hundred Years' War. The details of the war need not be dealt with.

3. Factors in the Unification of England - (a) The Crusades against the Turks, involving combination of English soldiers and leaders, an unusual amount of travelling through foreign countries, and intercourse with other nations. (b) Despotic or inefficient rulers - e.g. Stephen, John, Henry III, Edward II, Richard II. Note the common causes of grievance on the part of the people. (c) Notice specially opposition to foreign influences, an opposition which tended to unite the various races settled in England on a common basis of resistance to external interference. (d) The Normans in France soon came to be regarded as foreigners by anglicized Norman as well as by the English. Note the patriotic attitude of Montford and De Burgh. Help repeatedly given by the French to England's enemies. (e) Deal simply also with the temporary supplanting of the English language by Norman-French in the Court and in official and higher circles, and the ultimate assertion of the English language. (f) the Hundred Years' War under Edward III, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, and the Black Prince. The great victories gained established English prestige, created national spirit and confidence, and further severed the Anglo-Normans from France. (g) Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; Celtic countries at enmity with England. Attempts at conquest did not unify these peoples.

4. Progress - Note the progress made between 1066 and 1485 in connection with cultivation, industries, commerce, shipping, housing, clothing, means of communication, personal and religious liberty, social conditions, and civilization generally.

5. Tudor Period - (a) Central idea that England had, by 1485, become a united nation, confident in itself on account of its European victories, comparatively free from oppression by despotic rulers, and organized internally by the establishment of Parliament. (b) Fortunately for England, this was also the time of the world's most remarkable expansion in connection with geographical discoveries, the revival of learning, and the spiritual changes resulting from the Reformation. (c) England was probably, of all the nations in Europe, the best prepared to benefit from this world expansion. (d) From the study of the events of the period show that England was further aided by a long period of peace, by the unusual capacity, wisdom, and patriotism of the Tudor rulers, and by the gradual development of popular government, which was not opposed but was often fostered by the sovereigns themselves.

6. Henry VII - (a) The unusual extent of his power due to his personal qualities, to the desire for peaceful reconstruction after the long wars of the Roses, and to his good work in connection with the navy, education, law, economy, peace, geographical discovery, and the extension of commerce. Study of topics relating to the above. (b) From these estimate his character and his peculiar fitness to lead the new spirit of England.

7. Henry VIII - (a) The extent of his power. Reasons why greater power was permitted to him than to King John. (b) Review the growth of a desire for religious independence, noting the following: Anselm, Becket, King John, the Lollards, Wickliffe, the Reformation.

8. Queen Mary - English hatred of foreign Spanish influence.

9. Queen Elizabeth - (a) Her struggle against Spain. (b) Comparison between Spanish and English colonization. (c) The reasons for Elizabeth's power and popularity: her peace policy; readiness to make concessions to her people; her English spirit and wise choice of counsellors; her love for England; her personal qualities. (d) The lives of some of the great men of this reign, the number and eminence of whom indicate the vigour and spirit of the times. Review the reign of Elizabeth and estimate its importance.

10. Growth of Sea-power - (a) Henry VII gave scope to the adventurous Viking spirit of the English. (b) Foundation of the navy. Columbus; Cabot; Hawkins; Drake; Frobisher; Oxenham; Davis; Gilbert; Walter Raleigh; Richard Grenville. (c) Commerce extended through chartered companies. (d) Conflict with Spain, and the growing power of the English navy. (e) The defeat of the Armada established England's sea supremacy, and gave the same confidence on the sea as the Hundred Years' War had given on land.

11. Ireland - (a) Very briefly review the history of Ireland from the time of Henry II, noting the misrule by John and the spasmodic and ill-managed attempts at control up to the time of Henry VII. (b) This intermittent control weakened English influence and inflamed race-hatred. (c) Henry VII and Elizabeth, the two most capable Tudor sovereigns, subdued and controlled most of Ireland.

12. Make a summary of the progress made during the Tudor Period, especially under the headings "Growth of National Consciousness and Strength", "the Reformation," "Sea-power," "Colonization," "Commerce."

Standard VI.

1. Stuart Period - The main idea will be the struggle for a free Parliament against sovereigns claiming to rule by Divine right.

2. James I - (a) Compare his rule with Elizabeth's in relation to religious liberty, choice of counsellors, ideas of Divine right, intolerance, and sympathy with and understanding of the people. (b) Estimate the extent of irritation and discontent thus naturally aroused. (c) The Puritans. The Pilgrim Fathers. (d) Troubles connected with taxation; the king's defiance of Parliament. French and Spanish influence.

3. Charles I - (a) Conflicts between the king and the Parliament. (b) Struggle for personal and parliamentary liberty; for freedom from irresponsible counsellors; for freedom from foreign influences in State and Church. (c) The Petition of Right and the Grand Remonstrance. (d) The Civil War. The details of the war need not be memorized, but the main issues at stake and its final results should be clearly known. (e) In relation to the above study the life and character of Charles I, Buckingham, Strafford, Laud, Weston, Hampden, Pym, and Cromwell. (f) Reasons for the execution of the king and the establishment of a commonwealth.

4. Cromwell - (a) Supersession of Parliament by personal rule, and the results of this system of government. (b) A general summary of Cromwell's life and character, with an explanation of the nation's tolerance of his dictatorship.

5. The Restoration and its causes. Contrast Puritanism and Cavalier influences and tendencies.

6. Charles II - His reopening of the quarrel through his foreign leanings; his contempt for Parliament and the Puritans; his double dealing and his personal character.

7. James II - (a) His continuance of the policy of Charles II. (b) The Revolution. Review the significance of Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Grand Remonstrance, and the Declaration of Rights, as the basis of the new relationship between king, Parliament, and people, as established by the revolution. (c) Note the almost bloodless character of the revolution in England as compared with the trouble in Scotland and Ireland. (d) Summarize the results of this struggle for freedom, noting that the more it was checked the stronger it became and the more rapid was its progress. (e) Matter that has only conventional value because it has a place in the books or because it has hitherto been regarded as a necessary part of historical information should not be emphasized. On the other hand the essential facts connected with the topics studied should be carefully and thoroughly memorized from a suitable text-book after the topics have been clearly understood through discussion and explanation in the classroom.

From 1688 to the Present Time - Chief topics: 1. Development of Cabinet and democratic government. Parliamentary reform. Growth of free institutions. Toleration in religion.

2. Union with Scotland and Ireland.

3. Study of the causes and the nature of the French Revolution as compared with the English Revolution of 1688. Refer also to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

4. Colonial expansion. Colonization in America, and American War of Independence. Conflicts with rival Powers. Brief history of colonization in India, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

5. The life and character of a few of the great statesmen, inventors, explorers, and writers who have influenced the life of the nation in modern times.

6. Britain as the protector of native countries, and as the opponent of aggressive military powers - e.g. the French under Napoleon, the Russians in 1853, and the Germans in 1914.

7. Summary of the causes of Britain's greatness, the sources of her present strength, her place in the world, her future destiny, the qualities required in her people to realize that destiny.

Appendices O and P. - Moral Instruction.

The following programme is based on the course of moral instruction that has been successfully carried on in the schools of Manitoba:-

Preparatory Division

1. Manners. Personal tidiness. Behaviour in class-room and playground. Greetings at home and at school. Care of furniture, books, and other property. Punctuality and obedience.

2. Kindness to parents, elders and teachers; to other children in the home, school, and street; to domesticated animals.

3. Fairness. Consideration for others, Unselfishness.

Junior and Middle Divisions

Moral Instruction

1. Manners in eating and drinking. Politeness. Behaviour on the street. Modesty and patience.

2. Kindness to playmates; to the aged; to the less fortunate - e.g. the weak, cripples, stammerers, and imbeciles.

3. Truthfulness in speech. Keeping promises and confidences. Exactness. Avoidance of exaggeration in speech or in manner. The avoidance of affectation.

4. Honesty in work. Restoration of lost property. Preserving and protecting property.

5. Courage. Endurance of little pains and discomforts. Facing bad weather or other discomforts in the performance of duty. Manliness. Avoidance of tale-bearing. Following good examples and resisting bad examples. Confessing faults.

6. Self-control in food. Preference for plain and wholesome fare. Avoidance of selfishness, peevishness, obstinacy, sulkiness, temper, quarrelling. The avoidance of rudeness and hastiness in speech.

Civics

7. Knowledge and observance of local laws and customs. Rule of the road. Common city by-laws relating to the lighting of fires, disposal of rubbish, care of public gardens. The authority of caretakers, policemen and other officials.

Senior Division

Moral Instruction

1. Manners. Refinement of language. Behaviour in public places. Courtesy.

2. Kindness. Personal help to those in need. Making others happy. Kindness to animals.

3. Obedience in spirit as well as in letter. Respect for rules and regulations.

4. Truthfulness. Avoidance of prevarication or withholding part of the truth; of deception through manner or gestures. Importance of frankness.

5. Order. The value of system, punctuality, and promptness.

6. Courage. Importance of courage. The avoidance of bravado, boasting, or bullying.

7. Moral courage. Heroic deeds done in the service of mankind. The heroism of common life.

8. Industry. Helping in the home and in the school. Pride in thorough work. The dignity of all honest labour, especially manual labour. The use of leisure time.

APPENDIX 2

T.B. Strong. The Inculcation of Patriotism, 1921.

"In order that reconstruction may result in a continuous evolution towards the ideal state, it is essential to spiritualize education so that children may be empowered to give the best that is in them to their country. In order that the League of Nations may be bound together more effectively than by treaties, it is essential to cultivate deliberately in the schools a spirit of international good will." -- (Dr Hayward).

At a time when the foundations of society are being undermined by doctrines formulated by extremists who appear to think the way to salvation lies through blood and fire and not through constitutional action it is but to be expected that we shall be asked what the schools are doing to foster love of country and devotion to duty. The recently gazetted regulation requiring that the Flag shall be saluted regularly and the National Anthem sung is a counterblast to the openly expressed disloyalty that would if it could, tear the Empire asunder and wreck social peace.

We are proud to know that loyalty of our teachers has not been called in question, and what more convincing proof of their devotion could there be than that written in blood on the battlefields of Europe and the East! The inculcation of patriotism is in good hands, and we are quite convinced that men and women who know, directly or indirectly, the horrors of war - and who has not? - are not at all likely in their teaching to glorify the rule of the sword. The arbitrament of war means the plunging of millions into misery and sorrow. War is anti-social; war is essentially atavistic - born of savagery and hatred. Every high-minded man and woman, every enlightened nation in the civilized world today, desires war to cease and to be made impossible. To this end we should teach. At the same time we cannot ignore the world forces that are at work around us; it would be suicidal - criminal - to ignore what is happening on the other side of the fence. So long as the safety of our hearths and homes is threatened by the onslaught of savagery, so long must we prepare ourselves to defend our loved ones. This, then, is the stand we think ought to be taken in the schools: a war of defence is justifiable, a war of aggression unjustifiable. That there have been wars of the latter kind undertaken by England it would be futile to deny. No attempt should be made by the teacher either to excuse or to glorify them. England did this or that, but England still - our Motherland, who has sinned and blundered, will sin and blunder again, but yet bound to us by the strongest though most slender ties of sympathy and love. Higher ground than this we cannot take: that we live not unto ourselves alone, but to help every kindred and tongue to fight the battle of the weak and curb the tyranny of the strong. Nor is this, the ultimate goal of our teaching, inconsistent with our conviction that our first duty is to our own people. The more remote the object, the more difficult it is for children to regard it with real affection. It is easy for children to understand love for home, and love for and pride in the community or district in which they live. It is harder, but still within the range of their power, to feel true love for their country. To endeavour to extend this love beyond the bounds of the Empire is worthy of all praise, but impracticable until the love that begins at home is firmly implanted. As well expect to pick the fruit before the flower has shown itself.

Teachers will readily perceive that the principle we have enunciated is an old established principle in all teaching. In more familiar guise it reads, "Proceed from the concrete to the abstract, from the simple to the more difficult, from the known to the unknown, from the near at hand to the far distant." This basic principle must condition the methods we employ in the inculcation of patriotism.. Our teaching must be vivid, not obscure; emotional not cold; concrete, not abstract; concentrated, not diffuse or unrelated to its object. What higher aim can schools have than to implant in the minds of boys and girls those principles that will lead them to become worthy citizens of a great Empire! And the teacher possesses, to a high degree, the power to do this; it is, in fact, not too much to say that the moulding of the nation is largely in the hands of the teachers. Benjamin Kidd, in his fascinating book, "The Science of Power," says: "The effect of the conceptions of mind conveyed to the young by training and example under the influence of the emotion of the ideal is absolutely ineradicable. It gives a permanent direction to character which can never be altered. It creates in the individual a capacity to sacrifice in the service of those ideals which rises above self-interest, and which is entirely independent of the reasoning faculty of the human mind. In recent times the control of this limitless power through the direction of the emotion of the ideal in the young has been seen directed in its most characteristic forms to national ends. It has given in this connection the astonishing examples of sacrifice which may have been witnessed in the great world war that began in 1914". The power of the schools to mould the minds of children has long been recognized. The German Emperor, William II, and his Minister of Education deliberately used the schools to build up the bulwark of German militarism. Every social reformer seeks to use the schools for his promulgation of his doctrines. Such, then, being the importance of the part played by the schools in the formation of a nation's ideals, it behoves us to consider most carefully the emotional influences that are to be brought to bear on the children. It is scarcely necessary to say that the idealization of war should form no part of the teaching. War is horrible; but that it is, in the present state of international morality, a necessity in the defence of home-land and in the vindication of the rights of the weak no one can deny. The supreme sacrifice is that one shall lay down his life for his friends: this is the highest expression of devotion to country and to duty. Children are much more easily moved by the ennobling emotions than are adults, and, provided the teacher himself possesses high ideas, he will find no difficulty in implanting them in the minds of his pupils. The child mind is most plastic; the boy imitates his master, the girl her mistress, and it is scarcely too much to say that as are the teachers so is the nation. Mr Bateson, in his "Biological Fact and the Structure of Society," states in effect that the altruistic emotions which give that capacity for sacrifice upon which civilization is founded are most highly developed in the young, and that these emotions tend to disappear as middle age approaches. Professor Stanley Hall says that the normal child feels the heroism of the unaccountable instinct of self-sacrifice at a very early age. Benjamin Kidd, already quoted, further emphasizes the point by saying, "The extraordinary intensity of the emotion of the ideal in the mind of the child, and the part this faculty plays in producing that capacity for sacrifice upon which civilization rests, must always be kept in view."

The considerations set out in the preceding paragraphs will determine the course of action to be taken in the schools with respect to the inculcation of patriotism and the allied virtues. Dry-as-dust lectures under the guise of "lessons in civics" will be of no avail. On the other hand, merely declamation and flag-waving will be equally ineffective. Ceremonial will, however, play an important part in the teaching. To this Dr Hayward, in his "Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction," refers when he says, "What is desired is that great moral ideas shall not be 'mere ideas' - cold, verbal, isolated - but come into the mind with a certain momentum or background, with a certain massiveness or atmosphere." And again: "Both 'Empire Day' and 'St. David's Day' bear witness to the fact that previous to their introduction the idea of patriotism had been inadequately or unimpressively set before the growing citizens in both the denominational and undenominational schools. These same two celebrations brush aside, moreover, the curious pleadings in favour of 'indirect methods' which for years have blocked the way to moral and civic education." Simple ceremonies of the kind above referred to are already held in a number of schools. The following, which perhaps appears to be somewhat too elaborate, is held at morning assembly in a school-hall the walls of which are decorated with pictures, banners, and coats-of-arms appropriate to the different parts of the Empire. The pupils in this environment feel the significance of the ceremony they take part in. The Flag is but a symbol of the great family to the service of which the children pledge themselves, and the King the focussing-point for the affection and love of the widely scattered peoples of the Empire.

ASSEMBLY PROGRAMME

BOY'S VOICE (pupil facing the picture of King George and saluting):

"Our King inspires loyalty and devotion to our country and its laws because he rules by the consent of the people. God save the King!"

NATIONAL ANTHEM (sung by all).

BOY'S VOICE: "The Great War proved that thousands of New Zealanders thought our beautiful country worthy dying for. Like them, we pledge ourselves to live and, if necessary, die for our country and for our comrades throughout the Empire."

CHILDREN'S PLEDGE:

"Land of our birth, our faith, our pride,
For whose dear sake our fathers died,
O Motherland! we pledge to thee
Head, heart, and hand in the years to be."

CHILDREN'S SONG: "Sons of the Motherland."

CHILD'S VOICE: "As we hope to grow into citizens good and true, we every day declare what we are willing to undertake for the sake of God, our neighbours, and ourselves."

CHILDREN'S DECLARATION:

"I love God and my country:
I honour the Flag (Salute by teachers and pupils);
I will honour the King,
And always obey my parents,
My teachers, and the laws of the land."

CHORUS: "Land of Hope and Glory."

GIRL'S VOICE:

"Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.
Let us live to love and help one another."

CHILDREN'S HYMN:

"Father in Heaven who lovest all,
O help Thy children when they call,
That they may build from age to age
An undefiled heritage.
Teach us to rule ourselves alway,
Controlled and cleanly night and day,
That we may bring if need arise
No maimed or worthless sacrifice."

(NOTE ON ABOVE: The voices are changed once a fortnight, and the lines once a quarter. The school is drawn up in lines facing the New Zealand Flag, which is stretched on the wall over a large photograph of the King. From time to time the Headmaster refers to the other parts of the Empire, which are symbolically represented on different parts of the walls of the assembly hall).

Every teacher in charge of a school ought to devise a simple ceremony of some kind. It should never be allowed to become an empty formality, and so should be varied from time to time to renew the children's interest and throw fresh light on the central theme. The following method of varying the ceremony is offered as a suggestion to teachers:-

(1) Short weekly ceremonies beginning either with suitable introductory remarks by the teacher or with a recitation by one of the pupils, or a song by all, followed by the saluting of the Flag and the singing of the National Anthem. At times the ceremony could be varied by the reading of a suitable prose passage, by the telling of a short story, or by giving a short talk about some picture or pictures of a patriotic character.

(2) Once a month the ceremony might be longer and of a more elaborate character.

(3) Instead of either (1) or (2) above there might occasionally be substituted ceremonial associated with or arising out of some lesson in history, geography, or reading. The history lessons are, of course, rich in suggestions of the kind, and many of the lives of great men make a strong appeal to the emotions of the children. A reading lesson such as "The Story of Jack Cornwall" can be quite easily turned to the purpose we have in view.

The inspiration will, of course, depend very largely on the teacher's own feeling in the matter. If the emotional depths of his soul are never stirred by love of country and by admiration for the achievements of the race, for its struggle through darkness to light, for the heroes who have through the ages played their part in building up the civilization for the

benefits of which we enjoy - if neither lesson nor ceremonial has anything in it of patriotic fervours, it is not likely the children will catch any inspiration from the theme or feel any glow in their hearts. In a letter to Dr Hayward anent his proposal to make a wider use of school celebrations, Sir E. Ray Lankester thus refers to this point: "It is, I hold, only by emotional appeal that the moral law which is our heritage from thousands of generations of bygone men can be handed on and implanted in the youth of today. It is necessary that this emotional appeal should be deliberately and systematically made - it is made often well and wisely, but often foolishly or not at all - in every family, in every custom, tradition, song, and game where the young are concerned. The teachers of religions are more or less concerned with it. But it is of the highest importance that it should be a chief duty of the school and schoolmaster. The recitation under impressive circumstances of great stories, the singing of noble songs, and the crowning of heroes, not as exceptional or accidental occurrences, but as a regular and ordered part of the life of each week in a school, are undoubtedly methods of implanting the moral law: and it is of urgent importance to them, at once a leading feature in all school education. The difficulty which I find in this matter is purely one of detail. I think it would be undesirable to lay down, officially, detailed programmes of celebrations or ceremonials, because we know that such official direction tends (unless reduced to minimum) to take away all life and reality from such proceedings and to make them 'perfunctory.' " This point is worth stressing; upon it the whole success of the scheme depends. Deprived of emotional colouring the ceremonies and lessons will be almost worthless, and the former in particular will become nothing but a meaningless form. It is here the teacher's personality will count more than in any other part of school-work. His attitude in the matter will be reflected in the manner in which his pupils regard the ceremony - whether with levity, indifference, or with appreciative regard.

On all special occasions such as Empire Day and Anzac Day lessons appropriate to the theme should be given, and ceremonies of a suitable character devised. The specimen assembly ceremony already given indicates what might be done, but any teacher who would like to have a studied account of the value and use of ceremonial in schools should procure Dr. Hayward's "Special Foundations of Reconstruction". It may be worthy of note in passing that the opening ceremony described above bears a very marked similarity to those at a later date by Dr Hayward. The New Zealand teacher was first in the field.

The following outlines of Empire Day and Anzac Day celebrations are not so much ceremonial in character as indicative of the manner in which the lessons of the day may be grouped round the main theme.

ANZAC DAY

On the preceding school-day the usual school time-table might be modified to include lessons of a kind suited to the occasion, the lessons being taken in the morning and the celebration in the afternoon.

Morning

Geography: Route to Egypt; talks about Egypt, Syria, valleys of Tigris and Euphrates, Armenia; recent events in Asia Minor, Gallipoli and neighbouring waters, Black Sea and ports, Salonika, and Balkan States in brief outline.

History: Outline of Gallipoli campaign; similar stirring deeds in British history; devotion to country - Arnold Winkelried, William Tell, Garibaldi, etc.; the story of the deliverance of Palestine.

Reading, recitation, drawing, as suggested by above.

Afternoon

Addresses by the head teacher and others, including returned soldiers. Kipling's "Lest We Forget" might be recited, and patriotic songs sung by the children. The Honour Roll should be read, the Flag saluted, and the National Anthem sung. A suitable declaration might then be recited by the children. In Victoria the following is used: "I love God and my country; I honour the Flag; I will serve the King, and cheerfully obey my parents, my teachers, and the laws of the land." It is not suggested that this is the best form such a declaration might take. The teacher can vary it or omit it altogether. If a bugler is available, the "Last Post" might be sounded. Before this is done the meaning of the call should be explained, and Henley's poem (see June Journal) might be recited. During the sounding the whole school should stand reverently. A suitable song might close the ceremony.

As it is desired that the ceremony should be one of commemoration even more than one of celebration, it is hoped that any addresses given will not be tinged by the jingoistic spirit, but will dwell rather upon the sacrifices of our men, their loyal devotion even unto death, and their splendid achievements, upon our grief at the great losses suffered, and also upon our proud recognition of their splendid worth. The speakers should also dwell on the principles for which we fought in the Great War, on our duty to our country and to one another, on our desire that war should cease and the whole world be bound together by bonds of love and good fellowship.

"We here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." (President Lincoln, 1863)

EMPIRE DAY

The lessons and ceremonial on this occasion should aim to impress on the pupils the importance of unity within the Empire, of loyalty to the King who symbolizes that unity, and of friendliness among the nations.

Suggested Programme

1. Assembly, including the saluting of the Flag, and the singing of the National Anthem.
2. Addresses, which would naturally refer in part to the European War, Imperial defence, the defence of our own land, the resources, history, and development of New Zealand, and to the duties of all good citizens.
3. Patriotic songs, readings, and recitations.
4. Appropriate lessons in history and geography. These lessons should dwell not only on the greatness of the Empire and our pride in

its extent and resources, but also on the policy that has made the British the most successful and the most humane colonists in the world.

5. The League of Nations: The Covenants attached to the League are thus stated - "To promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war; by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations; by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and to the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous regard for all treaty obligations in the dealing of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this Government about this constitution of the League of Nations."

The lessons, ceremonies, and themes suggested above will, of course, be arranged differently for the different divisions of the school, and there is no reason why celebrations of this kind should be restricted to the senior classes. On such occasions, too, at an hour to be specified, parents and others might be present to view or to join in the ceremonial part of the programme.

The subject of the inculcation of patriotism will be further pursued in the next number of the Education Gazette, when an attempt will be made to show how lessons in history, geography, reading, and recitation may be utilized for the purpose we have in view. In the meantime the Editor will be glad to receive from teachers suggestions as to what might be done and short descriptions of any ceremonies they have devised.

APPENDIX 3

Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools, 1929

History

Introduction

The programme of work for the various standard classes is intended to be suggestive, and is not to be regarded as compulsory. In Standard II the stories are closely related to the fairy-stories and myths which the youngest children find so attractive. In Standard III the stories are stories of real people and actual incidents in British history. In Standard IV the treatment is more systematic, and the pupil is led to see that the growth of the nation has followed definite lines and has been gradual and continuous. The topical method of treatment, with a certain amount of repetition and more intensive study of the growth of the nation, is continued in Standard V. In Standard VI the aim is to give the pupil a clear conception of the way the Empire has been built up and the British system of government developed. The fact that Britain has had contact with other countries and has been deeply influenced by foreign affairs has not been ignored, but has for the most part been left for fuller treatment in the post-primary schools. New Zealand history and stories connected with the life of the Maoris have been introduced into the syllabus for the first time. Every New Zealand child should know something of the history of his own town, district, and province, thus enriching his store of stirring detail and adding reality to the whole study of history. Most parts of the country are rich in historical incidents, and these both the teacher and pupil should take a pride in seeking out and recording.

Throughout the scheme the aims have been to make the pupils acquainted with the history of their own country, and to show that, while wars have undoubtedly played their part in the development of the nation, the story of the British people contains much that is of infinitely more importance than battles. Whatever ideas a teacher embodies in his scheme, whatever principles guide his selection of topics, he should aim to develop in his pupils love of country, and pride in the deeds of famous men and women. Patriotism has its roots in the love and respect the pupil has for his home and his school, and he must be so taught that it shall be his joy and pride to play his part, however humble it may be, in the advancement of New Zealand and the Empire, and in the promotion of peace, well-being, and happiness among the nations.

Teachers of grouped classes should either take the prescription for each class in alternate years, or arrange a two-year course by selecting topics from both prescriptions.

STANDARD II

The presentation of the stories required for Standard II should be simple, direct, and personal. The appeal to visualization should be assisted by pictures and by suitable correlation with drawing and hand-work, or any means that will arouse the interest and curiosity of the pupil. The selection of topics should include -

1. Tales of the Maoris
2. Myths and legends of any great nations.
3. Romantic stories of great men and women stimulating to such virtues as kindness and consideration for others, courage, industry, and respect for law.

The following list is only suggestive, and is not intended to restrict the teacher's choice: The story of Maui. The story of Kupe. Hinemoa and Tutanekai. Local or general Maori legends. Wanderings of Ulysses. King Midas. St. George and the Dragon. Tales of Hercules. The Golden Fleece. Hero and Leander. Romulus and Remus. The Trojan horse. The geese that saved Rome. Leonidas and his Spartans. Horatius at the bridge. King Arthur and the Round Table. King Arthur's sword. The English slave children. King Alfred and the cakes. The White Ship. Richard Lionheart and his page. Robin Hood. King Bruce and the spider. Joan of Arc. Henry V and the Judge. William Tell. The boyhood of Nelson. H.M.S. "Victory." The "Lady of the Lamp." Grace Darling. Our Prince of Wales. The first Prince of Wales.

STANDARD III

The aim in this standard should be to arouse interest in great names and important events, thus providing a foundation of historical fact which can be built upon as the study of the subject proceeds. Suitable correlation should be effected, especially with geography and handwork; history dramatization should be utilized; and the use and construction of simple pictorial time-charts demonstrated. A selection to be made from each of the following:-

1. Stories from Local History. - Founding of the town or district.
2. Stories from New Zealand History. - The coming of the Maoris. How the Maoris lived. Tasman. Cook. First settlements by white men - whalers, sealers, missionaries.
3. Stories from World History. - The early Britons - comparison with the early Maoris. Julius Caesar and the Roman soldiers. The work of the Romans in Britain. Boadicea - the Druids. Introduction of Christianity. The Vikings. Alfred the Great. Canute. Battle of Hastings. A Norman castle. Richard Coeur de Lion. The first Prince of Wales. Robert Bruce. Bruce's heart. Joan of Arc. Caxton and the printing-press. Columbus and Vasco da Gama. Drake's voyages. The Armada. Sir Walter Raleigh. The "Mayflower." An English King beheaded. The Great Plague. The Great Fire of London. George Washington. Bonnie Prince Charlie. The story of Nelson. Abel Tasman and Captain Cook. George Stephenson. Abolition of slavery. Florence Nightingale. Charge of the Light Brigade. Abraham Lincoln. General Gordon. David Livingstone. Samuel Marsden. Captain Scott. Dr. Barnado. Westminster Abbey. Heroic incidents in the Great War. Our King. Anzac Day.
4. Citizenship. - Very elementary lessons based on the pupil's own experiences - e.g. School club. Subscriptions to club funds. Captain of club. Club rules. School rules. Laws we all obey. The postman. The policeman. The control of traffic - the rule of the road, "safety first" rules. Things that belong to us all - parks, etc. Care of public property. Respect for other people's property. Conduct in the street, train, tram etc. the flag.

STANDARD IV

In this class a more systematic treatment of the subject is expected. Disconnected lessons now give place to the selection of topics that show

how the people and their manner of life changed from period to period. The teacher should guard against treating the subjects in too much detail. A selection of lessons from the following:-

1. Local History continued.

2. New Zealand History. - Famous missionaries. Treaty of Waitangi. Famous Governors. An outline of the founding of each province. Some famous Maoris and stirring events connected therewith - Hongi, Te Rauparaha, Hone Heke, Te Kooti.

3. Stories from Australian History. - Early voyagers - Dampier, Tasman, Cook. Early settlements. Growth of settlement. Discovery of gold. Explorers.

4. Life in Early England. - The castles and the industries carried on round them. Why now no walled towns or strong castles. The monasteries - how the poor are helped nowadays. Games - e.g., archery, tournaments, the chase; comparison of modern games with those of early England. Houses and modes of travel. Farming.

5. Kings, Barons, and People. - William I and the feudal system. King John and Magna Charta. Crusades. Wars of the Roses. Queen Elizabeth. King Charles I. Queen Victoria. The King now no longer the warrior-leader, but the object of respect instead of fear.

6. England and Scotland. - Edward I - Scotland conquered; Wallace and Bruce. Edward II - Scotland lost. Mary Queen of Scots. James I. Queen Anne - England and Scotland united under the name of Great Britain. The Jacobites and the Georges. Queen Victoria and Scotland.

7. Great Sailors and Adventurers. - Columbus; Vasco da Gama; Cabot; Drake; Raleigh; Frobisher; Hudson; Cook; Nelson; Stanley; Scott; Shackleton; Amundsen; Sir Keith Smith.

8. Citizenship. - (All topics to be treated in a very elementary way.) Duty of boys and girls to their school. School rules; town and country by-laws - why we should obey them. General ideas of what a Parliament is; comparison with one or more of the following: School Council, School Committee, Education Board, City or Borough Council, Road Board. The captain of a school club, the Mayor of a town, the Chairman of the School Committee, and the Prime Minister compared. Taxes likened to subscriptions or levies made to carry on the work of a sports club. How boys and girls can be good citizens.

STANDARD V (FORM I)

In this class the suggested scheme aims to give the pupils some insight into European history, and also to show how the power of the English kings was first curbed, and then entirely altered in character; how the power of the baronial class dwindled and the power of the middle industrial class grew; and, lastly, how England became a great colonizing nation. The following are the suggested topics from which a selection may be made :-

1. The History of New Zealand. - Early arrangements for governing New Zealand. The New Zealand Association. Treaty of Waitangi. Sir George Grey. The Maori War in broad outline, but with greater detail in localities near which the war was carried on. Progress of settlement in North and South Islands compared. The goldfields.

2. The Story in Broad Outline of some of the British Reigning Families. - How we came to have Norman Kings. How the Tudors came into power. The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland. The foundation of the present line of Sovereigns.

3. England and France. - Friends and Allies today and in the Great War. England tries to conquer France - Edward III, Henry V. England loses her French possessions. England on the defensive. Napoleon and his attempt to secure world-power. England and France allies in the Crimean War.

4. Struggle for Liberty. - In England - the Civil War; the English Revolution. In France - the French Revolution. The English and French Revolutions compared.

5. Two Attempts to secure World-power. - The Napoleonic Wars. The Great War, with some account of the Franco-Prussian War, Treaty of Versailles, The League of Nations, and Kellogg Peace Pact.

6. England a Colonizing Nation. - The voyagers of the Tudor period. The founding of the American colonies - Raleigh's settlement - the Pilgrim Fathers. The French in America - the conquest of Canada - the loss of the American colonies - the present-day friendliness towards America. The founding of our Indian Empire - the trading companies, rivalry with French - Clive, Hastings - Indian Mutiny - Indians in New Zealand, Fiji.

7. Colonization by other European Nations. - The Spanish in the Americas, the French in Canada and India, the Dutch in South and Central Africa, and the Portuguese in India and Africa.

8. Heroes of European History. - Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, Garibaldi.

9. Citizenship. - The meaning of government by the people. Outline of the functions of Parliament. The Prime Minister and Cabinet. Rates and taxes, treated in a very general way and based on information the pupil can gain in his own home. Town and country by-laws with which we should all be familiar.

STANDARD VI (FORM II)

In this class three main lines of study are suggested, apart from New Zealand history - namely, the building-up of the British Empire, the development of the British Constitution, and the growth of British industries. A selection from the following :-

1. The History of New Zealand. - Early Governors of New Zealand. The founding of the provinces. Causes of the Maori Wars. Provincial Governments - historic buildings remaining in provincial capitals. Abolition of provinces and transfer of the capital. Progress in public works and in education. Famous New Zealanders.

2. Development within the Empire. -

- (a) Canada after the Seven Years War: Treatment of the French. War with the United States. Rebellion in 1837. Establishment as Dominion, 1867.
- (b) India after the Mutiny: End of the East India Company. Queen Victoria, Empress of India. Buffer States. Development of education, medical services, etc. Present-day government.
- (c) South Africa: Early settlers. Dutch and English Natal. Orange Free State. Transvaal. Boer War. Botha; Cecil Rhodes. The Union.
- (d) Egypt and the Sudan: Suez Canal. Dual control by English and French. Gordon; Mahdi; Kitchener; Cromer. Present-day government.

3. Improvements in Social Welfare. - English and Norman serfs. Labourers in the Middle Ages. The Industrial Revolution. Child-workers in modern times. How the worker is safeguarded today. Humanitarian and social work of the League of Nations.

4. The History of Useful Inventions. - Printing; steam-engine; hand-looms and the coming of machinery; hydro-electricity; telephone; electric telegraph; motor-car; wireless telegraphy; the conquest of the air; phonograph.

5. The Story of some Great Writers. - Chaucer; Shakespeare; Milton; Goldsmith; Dickens; Scott.

6. The Growth of the British Constitution. - The Great Council under the Saxon and Norman Kings. The first Parliament founded and improved under Plantagenets. Decay of Parliament under the Tudors. The Stuarts and the final triumph of the people - establishment of constitutional government. The beginnings of party government - establishment of Cabinet. Reform Bill of 1832. The franchise to-day in New Zealand and in England.

7. Citizenship. - How Parliament is elected. The duties and rights of a citizen. Ministers of the Crown - Cabinet. Important Government Departments: Post Office, Railways, Education, Public Works. Where the money for public works comes from. The national debt. Elementary ideas regarding free trade and protection. Public Health. Guardians of law and order, Justices of the Peace, Stipendiary Magistrates, Judges of the Supreme Court. General procedure in the law-courts. The meaning of true citizenship.

STANDARD VII (FORM III)

The aim in this standard is generally to revise and systematize the work of the preceding standards, and to bring the pupil into touch with out-standing world movements or personages of the period from 1603 to the present date. A selection from the following:-

1. Revision of the History of New Zealand previously taught. New Zealand's place in the Pacific. Her relations both within and without the Empire.

2. Citizenship. - General topics for Standards V and VI treated in greater detail.

3. British History. - Treated in greater detail than in Standards V and VI. The following list is suggested:-

- (a) Progress towards constitutional Monarchy: Causes of dissension between Stuart Kings and Parliament; Divine right; benevolences; monopolies; illegal courts; Church policy - Laud, Petition of Right; Hampden and Pym. Suspending and dispensing powers; Bill of Right. Act of Settlement. Cabinet. Enfranchisement of the people; education. Position of the King and of Governor to-day.
- (b) Consolidation of the British Kingdom; Union of English and Scottish Crowns. Irish Policy of James I and Charles I - Plantation of Ulster; Wentworth. Civil War. Restoration. English Revolution, 1688. Union of English, Scottish, and Irish Parliaments. The present situation of Ireland.
- (c) Growth and development of the Empire: Raleigh; Pilgrim Fathers; Navigation laws - Blake. Marlborough and the Treaty of Utrecht; Gibraltar. Seven Years' War; Pitt, Wolfe, Clive. American War of Independence. British Colonial policy in India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa; relation of Britain, Egypt, and the Sudan; Suez Canal; Gordon; Kitchener; relation of Dominions and Colonies to the Crown. Imperial Conferences.
- (d) Economic and social progress: Economic Union of England and Scotland. New farming. Industrial revolution - roads, canals, railways, steamships. Abolition of slavery. Child labour: Shaftesbury; Factory Acts. Corn laws and free trade. Recent inventions facilitating transport and communication. Influence of the press. Scientific progress in arts, science, and medicine (more fully than Standard VI) - Pasteur, Lister, etc.
- (e) Foreign movements affecting the British Empire: The French Revolution; the Napoleonic struggle (without minute detail). The Crimean War - the nursing service. Unification of Italy - Cavour; Garibaldi. The American Civil War - Abraham Lincoln. Britain and Japan - changed political importance of the Pacific. Rise of the German Empire - Prussia, Bismarck, and militarism. The Great War. Russia, Tsarism, Revolution. The League of Nations. Mandated Territories.
- (f) Projects: Studies in the lighter literature of the period. Biographies of important characters in world history - Edison, etc. Lives of leading statesmen - (a) In England: Walpole, Pitt the younger, Canning, Peel, Palmerston, Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Salisbury; (b) in New Zealand: Grey, Seddon, Massey. Local history as in Standard VI, etc.

Appendix

For very many children history possesses little charm. This should not, and indeed would not be, did teachers realize that the subject is most uninteresting to any one unless it is vividly treated. Why is it that the history we know best is that gleaned without effort from an historical novel or from a well-presented cinematograph picture? The pictures and the

statues representative of Greece and Rome have done far more to keep alive some knowledge of mythology and of ancient history than has any treatise that was ever written. Why is this? It is because history is for the most part meaningless and uninteresting unless the imagination is stimulated to reconstruct the past, to live over again the life of the time, and hence to take part in the march of events. For many teachers, and hence for many children, history is a dead thing, a matter of memorizing dull facts, of endeavouring in a purely unemotional and abstract way to connect cause and effect. To teach history successfully the teacher must read widely not necessarily text-books in history, but novels and plays that will enable him to form a clear mental picture of the life of the past. He must possess to a certain degree the dramatic sense, and be able to make the past live before his pupils. He should use pictures freely, and should, where these are unprocurable, prepare a blackboard sketch that will give life to his story. But all the effort to reconstruct the past must not be on the teacher's side only. His pupils can seek out pictures for class use. They can dramatize simple scenes, and for these manufacture suitable properties. They can themselves endeavour to illustrate some historical occurrence or assist in producing a stage-like presentation in relief of some striking event. They should be encouraged to ask questions about the lesson and take part in discussions on, say, the rightness or wrongness of a certain course of action.

In the lower classes - that is, in S.2 and S.3 - there should be no difference between the treatment of the history lesson and that of the story in the preparatory division. As this is the case, there is really no reason why S.1 should not listen to and enjoy the history lessons set down in the Syllabus for S.2. The essentials to success are (a) the telling of the story in a bright and vivid manner, (b) the constant use of pictures or blackboard illustrations, (c) dramatization by teacher and pupils, and (d) the retelling of the story by the pupils.

In the higher classes, and to a minor extent in S.3, the study of cause and effect and the linking of the past with the present should be always uppermost in the mind of the teacher. The pupil should be trained to reason intelligently, to draw and justify his own conclusions, to see all the institutions of to-day in their true perspective, and to gain from the history of the past some guidance for the future. History should not only inculcate in him a pride in the achievements of his own race, but enable him to draw inspiration and strength from the lives and work of the great men and women of all races and all ages. The narrow nationalistic interpretation of history should be avoided; international jealousies should not be aroused - a fatally easy course; but there should be sedulously cultivated a strong faith in a more peaceful, harmonious, and prosperous world. Frequent reference should be made in the higher classes to the constitution and activities of the League of Nations, and to some at least of the disputes that it has settled. One of the teacher's main aims should be to implant in the minds of his pupils a detestation of war as a means of settling international differences. On no account should too great emphasis be laid on achievements in war. At the same time these should not be ignored, nor should there be anything but the highest praise for those who sacrificed their lives for their country's freedom. Every opportunity that occurs through annual commemorations such as Anzac Day, Armistice Day, Trafalgar Day, should be utilized to inculcate in the minds of the young love of country and a desire to promote peace among the nations.

The teacher must realize that history and literature are inseparable. At the basis of all sound training in this subject lies the properly

directed reading of the pupil. The literature of the language has a store of interesting and vital material connected with the history of the race, yet the detail that makes the subject fascinating to the child, that makes history a living thing, is too often neglected. Teachers that love history read widely, yet they often fail to realize the necessity for wider reading by the pupils. Every class library should be well stocked with suitable historical works. The time devoted to individual reading should certainly be as long as that devoted to exposition by the teacher. The treatment of any topic might profitably be taken in three stages: oral exposition by the teacher, well-directed silent reading from the class library, and finally class discussion on the matter read, to remove misconceptions and to crystallize the pupils' ideas. Or it might be that reading by the pupils should form the initial stage. But reading and questioning paragraph by paragraph should be avoided.

One of the most valuable assets a teacher can possess in teaching this subject is the power of graphic description. To be able to describe events in vivid language, to paint word pictures that appeal to the pupils, is a gift of great value. But if he is to do this he must read deeply not only in standard works of information, but also in what is more important, the great literature of the period.

Poetry and song should be drawn upon to give that touch of emotion without which history will be cold and formal. Here the gramophone is at the disposal of all. National anthems and national songs can always be used. And added significance is given the best of lessons by such songs and tunes as "The Star-spangled Banner," "The Marsellaise," "The Harp that Once," "The Watch on the Rhine," "Scots Wae Hae," and "The Men of Harlech." But these should follow a graphic description of the events whose memories they enshrine.

Sketch-maps should be widely used by the teacher. In tracing the growth of the Empire, in showing the development of Britain, in outlining the campaigns in great wars, maps add vividness. The influence of geographical factors in history should be pointed out; the influence of climate, the presence or absence of great rivers and mountain-ranges, of narrow straits, great plains and deserts, of the discovery of minerals and fisheries, and so on.

Dates should not be neglected, otherwise the sense of historical sequence will not be acquired. As many of the lessons in Forms I, II, and III trace great movements in history, no lesson dealing with these movements should be taken without a date line in front of the pupils. Time charts serve a similar purpose, but many of these contain so much detail that the chronology of the development of the movement is difficult to follow. If the lesson commences with a blank date line, and this is gradually filled in as the lesson proceeds, the development is much more clearly traced. Such a date line in any given lesson should show the position not only of the main event, but of the principal events which led up to the main event and of those that flowed from it, and especially of those within the lifetime of the present generation. Every history lesson might well start with a little smart work in plotting such dates in their correct year of century. Pupils might be encouraged to keep such date lines in a book like a drawing-book. Each opening of the book might represent a century or two; several parallel date lines could be drawn, each representing some line of historical thought - e.g. growth of empire, electoral reform, England's relations with France. In this "Century-book" pictures

of contemporary life could be sketched or pasted.

To stimulate thought, encourage research, and to give practice in lecturettes by the pupils, no means is finer than project work. In a small school projects covering some movement in history should be set to the individual pupils, while in large classes, teams with their captains may be selected. The results of the research work should be given to the class by the individual pupils or captains in the form of a lecturette. The work covered by the class during ordinary lessons is thus valuably supplemented. For instance, if the wars with revolutionary France are being dealt with, such projects as the following may be distributed: The development of ships-of-war; the plans of attack at sea from earliest times to 1805; the life of Nelson; any special land campaign; the effect of war on trade and commerce; effect of war on literature and music, etc. The history of any province or other well-defined district of New Zealand, of the franchise, of education in New Zealand or England, would also form suitable projects.

Much of the information regarding the duties of citizens can be conveyed to school-children through the medium of their own school experiences. Thus the necessity for organized effort can be shown through the school football club, or through local efforts that are made with the assistance of school-children to raise money for school purposes. A prefect or monitor system will give the children a practical insight into the necessity for organizing a community, even a school community, to set on foot activities or to govern the actions of the pupils of a school in the interest of the whole school community. Many of the lessons on civics have in the past been much too formal in character, and have far outdistanced the pupils' experience. There are many matters in connection with local government, whether this refers to city affairs or to those in which country people are interested, that come well within the experience of children in the middle and upper divisions of the school. There are some matters, of course, that are outside their direct experience but yet should be referred to, since they are matters that are talked about in the home. In this category are such matters as rates and taxes of different kinds.

History and civics should not be dissociated. Much of the content of civics - e.g., the making of laws, the status of colonies and dominions - is only the culmination of century-long evolution of political ideas, and of course can be rationally taught only along with the history of those ideas. Indeed, the supreme aim of history should be the interpretation of to-day in its political, social, industrial, and religious aspects. Hence in Standards V, VI, and VII events should be traced to their influence on the life of to-day; thus it is of little use taking a traditional lesson on the American War of Independence unless it is shown what effect that great event had on (say) subsequent revolutions, and above all on the relationships between the component parts of the British Empire, and especially on those relationships as affected by the Imperial Conference of 1926. For we study history to get the meaning of to-day, and light and inspiration for to-morrow.

APPENDIX 4

War and Peace in the New Zealand School Journal, 1918-1932

1. A War Story. The Bellringer of Brunswick (School Journal 12, part three [October 1918]: 284-287).

Hans was a veteran of 1870, and when the war broke out it was his pride to think that, although he could no longer fight for the Fatherland, his grandsons could fight as he had fought. They, like him, would know what it was like to conquer Paris. They would know the fierce joy of devastating France.

Very soon after the war began the old bellringer at the church died, and, looking round for a successor, they decided there was none more fit for that office than Hans, the veteran. There would be victories to celebrate, and who more suitable to ring the joy-bells over Brunswick than one who had borne his part in those former victories which had always come when German armies went to war?

At first, almost before his arm was skilled in bellringing, there was much work for Hans to do. The impious Belgians who dared to defend themselves bit the dust below the legions of the All-Highest. He rang the bells when Liege fell, and again in triumph when Louvain was sacked, and when Brussels and Antwerp suffered for their criminal defiance of the Kaiser.

They told Hans to hold himself in readiness to announce from his bell-tower the fall of Paris. It was surely coming very soon. But, somehow it did not come, and they heard with incredulity of a check to the German arms at a river called the Marne. The first of his grandsons to fall died there. But he forgot that, and rang his bells with wild acclaim because the Russians who had dared to invade East Prussia and to threaten Berlin had been hurled back. A second grandson fell on the Russian front; but what of that? One cannot have victories without a price.

And the price, it appeared, of holding back Russian on the east and French on the west was high, for presently old Hans's sons, men in their fifties, were called out and marched gloriously away. Hans envied them. They were going to the war, and war was fine, especially this war, which was to make the Fatherland master of the world. It was a glorious war.

Germany was mistress of the sea too. How the bells rang out when the news came that the "Lusitania" was sunk! She had sailed in defiance of German orders, and their U-boats had sunk her for her impudence. The church-bells rang a merry chime that day.

They rang for Warsaw, for the victory that opened the corridor to the west, for the just punishment of the impious Serbians, and for the wrath that fell upon Rumania; always there were victories, and always the church-bells rang.

There was the great sea fight at Jutland, when the English Navy was annihilated; the fight which cleared the seas for Germany and swept the

English ships to fearful hiding in their harbours. Ah, that was worth ringing for! The fall of England! The end of the hated enemy! what though three nephews of old Hans were wounded? One cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs, and what an omelette was this!

At Verdun he had a son killed, and that gave old Hans to pause, because no orders came to ring the bells for Verdun's fall. Yet the great Crown Prince was in command. Hans did not understand.

Nor was he quite clear about Calais. Germany wanted Calais as a base from which to finish England. Why did the Germans not take it, then? He heard that they stopped by the English at a place called Ypres, but they must have been lying to him. The English were cowards. They could not fight.

Then people began to talk of the English front and of the awful German casualties on that front. It appeared that, after all, the English could fight a little. He lost two grandsons and a son on that front. Perhaps the English could fight quite well. But they told him to have patience, just a little time and he would see what he would see. The English were starving to death because of the U-boat, and Hans rang the bells for the unparalleled valour of the U-boats.

America declared war! People whispered to Hans under their breath that it was because of the U-boats, and Hans was puzzled.

There were so many things he did not understand. Victories came thick on victories. Everywhere the German armies triumphed, and there seemed no end to their victories. But, also, there seemed no end to the war. And Hans was hungry. He was an old man, and he had fought for Germany. He did not see why he should suffer hunger, but he was rationed, cruelly, and did not even get the ration he was entitled to, because he would have had to wait so long inside the shops, and he had, instead, to ring the bells for victory.

His daughter was unselfish, and she gave him of the food that should have been her own. When the dysentery came she had no stamina, and died. On all sides people were ill, and many died of a terrible ailment called hunger typhus. Every one was talking greatly of the awful losses at the front where the English were attacking. And they did not understand. London was long since laid in ruins by the zeppelins, and the U-boats ruled the seas, so that, of course, no Americans could come, and it did not matter that America had declared war. It was, in fact, amusing; but America was going to pay for it! But still the English forgot. Old Hans had no grandsons at all now except one who had been blinded.

He was hungry, and alone but for this blinded grandson, and still the war went on. They told him of a great sea victory against the Russians. They said that Russia was bursting with food, and that very soon it would reach Germany, and old Hans could burst with it. So he rang the bells with all the strength that was left to him when he learnt that Germany, who had conquered the earth, had now conquered the moon.

But he was very hungry now - hungrier than he had ever been in all his life. He craved for fat, and there was none. He did not think that he would live long now.

The blinded grandson died of hunger typhus in the night. Next day they came and told him to hasten to the church to ring the joy-bells, for there was victory, great victory, against the treacherous Italians, and all Germans must rejoice.

Hans did not rejoice. He, too, was dead. He was tired of victories. The German victories had been his death.

H. Brighthouse

2. The Peace of the World (School Journal 22, part three [October 1928]: 258-264).

It is now almost ten years since the Great War, with all its horrors, came to an end, and Germany and her Allies, who had been responsible for this great catastrophe, had to lay down their arms and seek for peace. The terms of the armistice were made by the Allied Army leaders, and were to be effective until the actual terms of peace were decided.

So terrible had been the slaughter of thousands and thousands of the flower of the world's manhood, and so tragic had been the sufferings of those who had been spared, that everybody felt the time had come to set up an organization that would prevent a repetition of such a war. The old proverb, "If you wish for peace, prepare for war," had proved to be entirely false, because for years the nations of Europe had prepared for war, and the result had been the most terrible war in history.

When the statesmen of the Allies met to consider the terms of peace, it was decided to establish a League of Nations, or a combination of Powers pledged to submit all their international disputes to an impartial Court, and to resort to war only when all other means of settling the disputes had been exhausted. This League of Nations was proposed by the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, who, if he had done nothing else, by this one act alone deserved to be ranked among the world's great benefactors.

Strange to say, after all the European Governments had ratified the agreements entered into by their respective statesmen, the United States Congress refused to endorse the action of their President. This was a decided blow to the League; but in spite of this it continued to flourish, and, though its founder has now been dead for several years, it still continues to do its work not only for the peace of the world but for the benefit of mankind in many ways. It has done much to relieve suffering among stricken peoples; it has combated sickness and disease; it has cared for the homeless; it has helped to stabilize the finance of bankrupt nations; and it has settled by peaceful means several disputes that would in previous times have been settled by war.

It is difficult to understand just why America refused to join the League. Perhaps it was that Woodrow Wilson was not tactful enough with his own people. Perhaps it was that the American people still refused to

believe that the nations of Europe would forsake their squabbles and alliances; and therefore they did not wish to be entangled in disputes in which they had not the slightest interest. But, whatever may have been the cause, the refusal of America to join the League was very regrettable.

No combination of Powers could be complete without the co-operation of the three great nations America, Germany, and Russia. Germany was admitted some years after the League was founded, when she had given proof of a chastened spirit and a desire to work in peace and harmony with other nations. The European Powers were averse to entering into any compact with Russia after she had refused to honour her pre-war obligations, and so Russia has not been invited to join the League; and America has remained aloof.

Many have been the conferences between the representatives of the various nations for the promotion of world peace. One of the most difficult problems is that of disarmament. Though the nations have approved of the principle of settling disputes by arbitration if possible, fear of attack has prevented them from consenting readily to a drastic reduction of forces.

Last year the Secretary of State for America, Mr Kellogg, was arranging a treaty with France, in which the two nations agreed not to go to war with each other, but to settle peacefully any disputes that might arise. It was a simple treaty, which agreed with American principles, for it did not bind America to go to France's aid if the latter were attacked. But before all the negotiations were complete Mr Kellogg decided upon a still bolder step. He invited the other Great Powers - Great Britain, Japan, Italy, and Germany - to join with France and America in a simple treaty in which they agreed not to go to war one against another. His invitation, which was sent out on the 24th April last, met with a ready response, for the various Governments enforced the principle, and it was decided to make the treaty even wider. The five British Dominions - the Irish Free State, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand - and India were invited to join in the treaty, and also Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland. Thus the total number was brought up to fifteen. There was a certain amount of discussion upon the actual terms of the treaty and the extent of its obligations, but these were clearly set out in a Note by Mr. Kellogg to the other Powers.

The treaty was duly signed at Paris on the 27th August, after M. Briand had welcomed the various delegates in a short speech. The actual signing took only four minutes; but, if the Pact has the effect of abolishing war, those four minutes will be perhaps the most important in the history of the world. Immediately afterwards copies were sent out to the Governments of all other nations, forty-seven in all, including Russia, and just as the Journal goes to press word has been received that Russia has agreed to sign.

The text of the treaty is as follows :-

(The names of the Presidents or Monarchs of the fifteen nations are here set out.)

"Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

"Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made, to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

"Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;

"Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavour and, by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force, bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

"Have decided to conclude a treaty, and for that purpose have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries (Space left here for the names of the Plenipotentiaries), who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles :-

"Article I. - The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"Article II. - The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

"Article III. - The present treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at

"This treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a Power shall be deposited at, and the treaty shall, immediately upon such deposit, become effective as between the Power thus adhering and the other Powers parties thereto.

"It shall be the duty of the Government of to furnish each Government named in the preamble, and every Government subsequently adhering to this treaty, with a certified copy of the treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence.

"In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty in the French and English languages, both texts having equal force, and hereunto affixed their seals.

"Done at , the day of in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty" "

In a covering note issued with a draft of the treaty on the 24th June, Mr Kellogg pointed out that the proposed agreement did not in any way interfere with the rights of any country to defend itself against attack, for every State had that right. If the cause was just, the world would applaud and not condemn. If one Power broke the treaty by entering into war with another, this act would automatically release the other Power from their obligations to the treaty-breaking State.

The League of Nations is a great advance on any peace organization that has been tried hitherto, but it does not actually forbid war. It insists on submitting all disputes to an International Court. If the decision of the Court is unanimous it must be accepted by the disputing nations; but, if one goes to war in spite of this, the League must use all its powers against the offending State. In any case, three months' notice of intention to resort to war must be given. If the decision of the Court is not unanimous, the members of the League reserve to themselves the power to take such action as they consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

The Kellogg Pact closes the last loophole left open by the League of Nations. It abolishes the most hideous means of settling disputes of an international character. The last Great War was bad enough, but, with all the modern discoveries of science and engineering adapted to the wholesale destruction of contending nations, the next war would lead almost to complete racial destruction. If the grim spectre of war ceases to haunt the nations of the world, and all can live side by side in love, peace, and harmony, then the Kellogg Pact which has just been signed will be one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed upon mankind.

3. 'Appy 'Einrich (School Journal 261 part three [November 1932]: 290-292).

"You've been to F66666, haven't you?" said my guest, a young fellow home from France on leave. "You know that bit of line north of the M----- road that you reach by the communication trench, which is always up to your knees in mud no matter how dry the weather is. You remember how close the lines are to each other at that point - not forty yards apart? I was there in a dull season."

"You were lucky," I said. "It isn't often dull there."

"No, but it was then. The Boche would drop over an occasional whiz-bang as a reminder, and he'd have his usual afternoon cock-shy over our heads at the last pinnacle standing on the ruins of the cathedral in the town behind us. But really there was nothing doing, and we became rather chummy with the fellows over the way. We would put up a target for them, and they'd do the same for us. They had some good singers among them, and we'd shout for the 'Hate' song, or 'The Watch on the Rhine' or something of that sort. They always obliged and we gave them the best we had back.

"Yes, we grew quite friendly, and one morning one of their men got up on the parapet over the way, bowed very low, and shouted 'Good morning!' Our men answered, 'Morgen Fritz. How goes it?' and so on. He was a big, fat fellow, with glasses, and a good-humoured face, and to our great joy he began to sing a song in broken English. After he had finished we called for more, and he gave us more. He had a real gift for comedy - seemed one of those fellows who are sent into the world with their happiness ready made. He laughed a great gurgling laugh that made us laugh to hear it. Our chaps gave him tremendous applause, and called for his name. He beamed and bowed, said 'Thank you, genteelmen,' and said that his name was Heinrich something or other.

"So we called him 'Appy 'Einrich; and whenever our men were bored and things had gone to sleep, someone would call out, 'We want 'Einrich. Send us 'Appy 'Einrich to give us a song!' Up 'Einrich would come on to the parapet, red and smiling and bowing like a prima donna, and off he would start with his programme. He always seemed willing, and evidently greatly enjoyed his popularity with our fellows.

"This went on for some time; and then one day we got news that we were to be relieved at once. We were to go that night, and our place was to be taken by a Scottish regiment. You need not be told that we were glad. Life in the trenches when there is nothing going on is about as deadly a weariness as man has invented. We gathered out kit together, and, when night fell and our relief had come, we marched back under the stars towards B-----.

"We had been too much occupied with the prospect of release to give a thought to the fellows over the road or to Heinrich. I remembered him afterwards, and hoped that someone had told the new men that Heinrich was a good sort and would always give them a bit of fun, if he was asked, or even if he wasn't asked.

"Some weeks afterwards at B---- I ran across a man in the Scottish regiment which had followed us in the trenches on the M---- road, and we talked about things there. 'And how did you get on with Heinrich?' I asked. 'Heinrich?' he said. 'Who is he?' 'Why, surely,' said I, 'you know Heinrich, the fat fellow across the way, who gets up on the parapet and says "Good morning!" and sings comic songs!' 'Never heard of him,' he said. 'Ah,' I said, 'he would have heard we were relieved, and didn't find you so responsive a crowd as we were.' 'Never heard of him,' he repeated - then, after a pause, he added, 'There was an incident the morning after we took over the line. Some of our fellows saw a bulky Boche climbing on to the parapet just across the way and had a little target practice, and he went down in a heap.' 'That was he,' I said; 'that was 'Appy 'Einrich. What a beastly thing war is, and what ungrateful beggars we were to forget him!'

"Yes, a beastly business, killing men!" said my guest.

- Extract from "Alpha of the Plough,"
by A.G. Gardiner, published in Dent's
"The King's Treasuries."

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EDUCATION BOARD DISTRICTS
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