The New Zealand School Journal and The Imperial Ideology

Although the Education Act of 1877 effectively kept religious instruction out of the New Zealand primary school curriculum, there was, nevertheless, a substitute of a kind. This was 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 régime.

These concepts were present in one form or another, mainly through the teaching of history and literature, from the beginnings of the national system of primary education, but the establishment of the New Zealand School Journal in 1907 provided the means to subject every child in the state school system, and most of those in private schools, to a heavy barrage of imperialist propaganda which was sustained until the late twenties. During the thirties it disappeared from the School Journal and was replaced by material of a clearly internationalist and even pacifist outlook. In the forties and fifties the School Journal became predominantly literary in content and practically devoid of ideological overtones.

The Journal was published because for some time there had been complaints, leading to questions in Parliament, about the lack of uniformity in school textbooks. In particular it was asserted that, as families moved about the country, they were forced to buy different textbooks.¹ The Journal was launched by the Inspector-General of the Department of Education, George Hogben, to meet this criticism.

¹ NZPD, CXXXIV (1905), 406.
Hogben saw the Journal as a course not only of supplementary reading, but of background information for both teachers and pupils on history, geography, science, nature study, health, and moral instruction.2

Until the late 1950s the format of the Journal changed very little. However, the nature of the content and the style did change a good deal, especially during and after the thirties. It was published in three parts: Part I for Standards I and II, Part II for Standards III and IV, and Part III for Standards V and VI.3 It was published monthly from February to November and issued free to the public schools and at a very low cost to other schools. In 1914 its use in state schools was made compulsory.4 Each issue consisted of 30-50 pages of stories, poetry and articles illustrated with line blocks and some photographs. It was in constant use, not only as a source of information, but for spoken and 'silent' reading, comprehension and spelling. It is estimated that at least one-eighth of school time was occupied with the use of the Journal; that is, about half an hour a day and probably more, as the Journal was frequently used for homework purposes.5

The Journal was launched at a time when the sentiments associated with the Flag, the Monarchy, the Empire, King and Country, were intensely popular. The Boer War had already focussed and heightened these sentiments. New Zealand sent a contingent of volunteers to South Africa. Nascent national feeling was given symbolic form by the passing of the New Zealand Ensign Act in 1901. In 1903 the annual observance of 'Empire Day' was proclaimed. In the very year the Journal appeared, 1907, New Zealand was granted Dominion status. The old school cadet movement, first initiated by the 1877 Education Act,6 reached its zenith in 1906 and 1907 when the number of companies reached 280, with 15,000 members.7 In 1909 the existing cadet companies were merged into the new compulsory military training scheme as part of the 'Junior Cadets'. This reorganization of the cadets, as it happened, cut right across the plans of those who had, in 1908, founded the Boy Scout movement in New Zealand.8 Add to these events the visit in 1908 of the American battle fleet, 'The Great White Fleet', the gift of the battlecruiser H.M.S. New Zealand to the

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3 A Part IV was introduced in 1946.
4 AJHR, 1914, E-2, p. 10.
5 D. R. Jenkins, Social Attitudes in the New Zealand School Journal, Wellington, 1939, p. 3.
6 Statutes of New Zealand 1877, p. 126.
7 A. G. Butchers, Education in New Zealand, Dunedin, 1930, pp. 234-5.
Royal Navy in 1909, the visit of Kitchener in 1910, and it can be readily seen that the School Journal was launched at a time when Edwardian imperialism was in full flood. The presence by this time of enemies of the imperialist ideology in the shape of ‘Red Feds’ and other radicals of socialist or anarchist leanings made the task of the Journal as a defender of imperial ideals seem more urgent.

From its first publication until the early thirties, an average of about thirty per cent of the space of the Journal was devoted to imperial, military and other ‘patriotic’ topics. In the heyday of Empire ideology, this material fell into a recurring pattern. The topics were often exhortatory in tone such as, for example, the annual Empire Day messages of the Earl of Meath and other imperial dignitaries. There were biographical articles about members of the Royal Family, published, it seems, on every possible occasion; lengthy accounts of royal visits to New Zealand; detailed reports of the visits of battleships of the Royal Navy, usually with a fervent message from the captain; articles on the genesis and symbolism of the Union Flag and the New Zealand Ensign; accounts of famous battles and the British heroes who figured in them; special treatment of the various phases of the life of Nelson; and many articles on civil government which stressed the subordination of the individual to the needs of the state and the Empire; selections of poems by Kipling, Newbolt and lesser poets which dealt with similar topics.

Most of these articles and poems stressed the Empire as a moral concept. They constantly emphasised that the glory of the Empire was that it was founded on liberty and justice; that it was ultimately in the defence of these that the reader (even the seven-year-olds of Standard 1) should be prepared to sacrifice himself. But the appeal was within the framework of the Empire’s interests; by implication, things which were not in the interests of the Empire could not be worthy of such sacrifice. Humanity for humanity’s sake in its own right did not appear until the Journal had ceased to be an organ of Empire.

Those children who attended the primary schools of New Zealand between 1907 and about 1931 were exposed to a thorough presentation of not only the central beliefs of this imperial ideology but also to a mass of supporting material, and to other means of indoctrination such as flag-honouring ceremonies, observances of anniversaries of battles, and the celebration of Empire Day. The age group particularly affected included those who were 7-12 years of age in 1907, and all those who reached these ages before 1930. This group would

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9 Jenkins, p. 4.
10 The Battle of Trafalgar received the most prominent treatment. Flags were flown on public buildings on its anniversary until the late 1930s at least.
have provided the bulk of the servicemen for both world wars, and are now (1973) in the 50-70 plus age group. It is not surprising that persons of this age group often find themselves in conflict with those born after the 1930s who know little of the old ideology.

The central features of the ideology were put most explicitly in the Empire Day numbers. They spelled out the nature of New Zealand’s place in the world: within the ‘family of Empire’. ‘The little mother and all her big children we call the Empire, and we keep up Empire Day just as we might keep up our mother’s birthday in the family, to show that we are still her loving children.’

The moral superiority of Britain was asserted as fact: ‘Britons have carried Christianity and civilisation to all the ends of the earth, redeeming from barbarism many of its dark places. Wherever the Union Jack flies, those who live under its folds, dark and white races alike, enjoy liberty and justice such as cannot be found under any other flag.’

Living in the Empire imposed a solemn duty on its members, for which children had to prepare themselves. Among other things, they were advised to read about its great men and find inspiration in their deeds. An article specially written for the Journal by an organizing lecturer of the Navy League in 1909 suggested a study of the lives of Nelson, Wellington, Gordon, Clive, Livingstone, Roberts, Wolfe, Salisbury, Beaconsfield, Bartle Frere and Cromer.

As late as 1925 Standards I and II (7-9 years) were being reminded of duty to the Flag: ‘we may never be asked to fight for our flag, but we are all expected to live for it. We must grow up into wise, brave and true men and women so that, wherever our flag flies we shall be able to sweep away everything that is wrong and evil. If we, British children, become men and women of the right kind, our Empire will always be a good and a great one and our flag will always stand for all that is best and noblest on earth.’

But the most comprehensive exposition of the Empire ideology was given by the Earl of Meath in his 1914 Empire Day message. While few articles were as comprehensive as this, most of the ideas it contained were presented at some time or another during the Journal’s imperialist phase. Essentially a romantic concept, the ideology of Empire was not notable for its logical consistency. In some

13 ibid., p. 119.
15 Meath (1841-1929) was an Irish peer who was an ardent Imperialist and founder of the Empire movement. He was also, among other things, founder and first president of the Lads’ Drill Association, president of the Church Army, of the Christian Union for Social Service, and founder of the Duty & Discipline Movement. He was a prolific writer on social and imperial subjects, Who Was Who, III, 1929-40, London, 1947, p. 927.
respects, as when dealing with ‘duty’ and the moral superiority of the British, it was clear and consistent enough; but it never quite reconciled nor even faced up to the contradiction between its appeal to selfish nationalism and its leaning towards a doctrine of a brotherhood of man in a peaceful world.

Meath’s 1914 message begins with a reminder of the ‘great indebtedness’ of children to the Empire: ‘a majestic community of free nations freely governing themselves, owing its being to vast sacrifice, enterprise, and valour on the part of your fathers and predecessors, bound together by one King, one Flag and one Navy, comprising more than a fifth part of the human race, and occupying more than a fifth part of the earth’s surface — a federation the like of which the world has never known before!’

The peoples of the Empire looked to one another for support. The moral drawn from this was that children had to look forward to a life of responsibility not only to their own nation, but to the Empire as well: ‘not only the State to which you belong, but also the Empire itself, looks to you to be ready in time of need, to think, to labour, and to bear hardships in its behalf! May you excel in the practice of Faith, Courage, Duty, Self-Discipline, Fair-Dealing, Even Justice, Good Citizenship, Loyalty, Patriotism, and Sympathy, and thus by your own individual action aid in elevating the British character, strengthening the British Empire, and consolidating the British Race’.

The same issue went on to quote at length an earlier statement by Meath, in which he revealed the trend towards self-contradiction within the Empire ideology, which he significantly refers to as ‘the Empire movement’. The movement, he explained, was not aggressive, not politically partisan, not restricted to any section or class or colour or sect; it was not ‘jingoistic’, it was not ‘flag-wagging’. ‘It may be said to be an earnest, organised effort, conceived in a deeply humble spirit, conscious of great responsibility, to arouse the people who constitute the British Empire to the serious duties that lie at their door.’ Among other things, children should ‘consider the poor and suffering’. And the reason? It had, contrary to what might be thought, ‘everything to do with Empire. Unless we consider the poor and suffering, and the interests of all classes, how are we to present a solid front to the enemy? We have to sympathise with all who owe allegiance to our Sovereign.’

Meath did not define ‘the enemy’, but his remark illustrates the point that the Empire ideology was in most respects an ideology of struggle. It was a struggle against forces which were never named, but whose presence was to be assumed. It therefore implied a belief in the probability of war, and the chance that the

duty of the young audience to which the Journal was addressed would ultimately lie on the battlefield, although aggressive war was always condemned. Many of the virtues deemed desirable were the virtues of the good soldier. The frequent publication of stories of wars and war’s heroes provided the ‘case studies’ of those virtues in action. Readiness to give one’s life in the cause was ‘the Supreme Sacrifice’. Willing obedience and a reverence for authority were stressed through these stories. On the occasion of the visit of H.M.S. New Zealand in 1913 the need to maintain strong forces was explained to Standards III and IV: ‘It seemed strange at first to be told that we keep our fighting forces strong so that there shall be no fear of war, but father explains that the world is like a playground, where the weak boys are knocked about. When they can help themselves no one interferes with them. I can understand that — can’t you?’

As 1914 approached, the Journals gave no hint of impending war (there was no mention of it until September 1914) but articles and poems continued to stress preparedness and a future in which a boy could expect to have to give his all. A poem, ‘A Boy’s Resolve’, published in the King’s Birthday and Empire Day Number in 1914 (Part I), makes this clear to Standards I and II:

I ought to love my country,
The land in which I live;
Yes, I am very sure my heart
Its truest love should give . . .

She wants men brave and noble,
She needs men brave and kind,
My country needs that I should be
The best man she can find.

Until the thirties, the futility of war and the suffering it caused were scarcely mentioned. It comes almost as a surprise to read in February 1914 that the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 are described as ‘one of the most wicked wars in history — wicked because it was unnecessary’. This appears to be the only occasion before 1914 on which any war was so described.

In the years 1914-18, discussion of the war was the dominant topic of the Journal, and the tone of articles dealing with the war became progressively more partisan and emotive.

The war is first referred to in the September 1914 issues. A lengthy and sober article explained for Standards V and VI the origins of

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17 *Journal*, Part II, June 1913, p. 54. A young girl is speaking of her visit to the ship.
the war in terms which would be regarded as a reasonable explanation today. Even the attributing of aggressive intentions to Germany would find some support among some academic historians. After explaining the significance of the Balkan situation the article went on to accuse Germany of aggression. "It is also becoming increasingly clear that Germany wanted war, and worked for war, and knew weeks beforehand that war would come. She aspires to be the greatest power in Europe, and to crush England, and become the mistress of the seas." Germany had taken advantage of Britain's preoccupation with Ireland to strike. She did not foresee, however, that the ranks [of the Empire] would close up.\textsuperscript{20}

The tone and style of this article on the causes of the war suggest that it was written by Hogben. Although Hogben did not edit the Journal, it was his creation, and many of the articles and the content of the Journal generally reflect his interests and attitudes. Hogben was a liberal imperialist and as such believed in the Empire as a civilising force with a high moral responsibility; opposed to aggressive war, but prepared (and expecting) to fight in defence of Truth, Liberty, and Justice.\textsuperscript{21} The liberal imperialists were not by any means out-and-out jingoists; they understood better than many critics the humility preached by Kipling in 'Recessional' and 'The White Man's Burden'. However, they did not see the assumption of moral superiority of the 'British Race' as incompatible with humility. Soon after his retirement (in 1915) Hogben, in an address to Wellington teachers, pleaded for a magnanimous treatment of Germany after the war, and reasserted the liberalism which underlay his imperialism. We entered the war, he said, to uphold the freedom of nationalities to live their life in their own way 'so long as they did not interfere with the legitimate rights or liberty of others'; as a practical protest against the unholy doctrine that Might is Right'; in defence of the sanctity of treaties; as a protest against the barbarous doctrine that the killing of our fellow creatures in war was a higher form of culture or civilization than any that could be developed by the pursuits of peace.\textsuperscript{22}

It may be more than coincidence that after the retirement of Hogben less and less of this liberalism appears to balance the more aggressive side of the Journal's treatment of the war. Hogben was succeeded by W. J. Anderson, who was sixty-one years of age at the time of his appointment, and retired in 1921. Neither he nor his immediate successors, J. Caughley (1921-27) and T. B. Strong (1927-33) appear to have had the same strength of character or intellect as Hogben and their policies appear to follow the prevailing political and public climate of ideas.

\textsuperscript{20}Journal, Part III, September 1914, p. 232.
\textsuperscript{21}This assessment is confirmed by Hogben's biographer, Mr H. O. Roth.
\textsuperscript{22}The New Zealand Journal of Education, May 1916, p. 92.
The issue in which Hogben’s article appeared also included Kipling’s ‘Recessional’ (not for the first time); a poem by Harold Begbie entitled ‘The Answer’ —

For the race that have ’stablished freedom, and made their paths through the flood,  
Have won their Right by their spirit’s sweat, by their bodies’ living blood —  
And what they have won by sword and soul, by soul and sword they keep;

an article on ‘Types of War Vessels’; another on ‘New Phases in Naval Warfare’; an article about the chivalric ritual of the vigil, illustrated by the famous painting by Pettie, and supported by Newbolt’s poem on the subject; an article on Patriotism (‘a schoolboy who tries to keep up the credit of his school, a rifleman who longs to add to the fame of his corps, will always feel that much is expected of him by others . . .’); an extract from a Disraeli speech on the Empire; ‘War Notes’; an appeal by Hogben for children’s donations to buy an ambulance. There is only one article which did not deal with the war. It was about astronomy.

At first the war was given extensive treatment only in the senior parts of the Journal; but gradually it intruded more and more into the junior section. The tone adopted towards Germany became less and less objective. The loss of lives was rationalised in the terms of the Empire ideology. To the end of the war, the Journal continued to praise martial qualities. An article on Napoleon admits his faults, but argues also that he was a man ‘of many virtues, indomitable, self-willed, ambitious, a born leader of men, and yet a statesman of no mean order’.

23 Earl Roberts on his death is described as a ‘model of all a Christian warrior should be’ and the same issue features a poem entitled ‘How Did You Die?’

Be proud of your blackened eye!  
It isn’t the fact you were licked that counts:  
It’s how you fight and why.

Ruskin was invoked on the virtue of obedience: ‘Obey, and you shall be free in time . . . it is only right freedom which is perfect freedom.’

The sentimental romantic treatment of war persisted until 1918. The famous air combat between the German ace Immelmann and the

24 ibid., February 1915, p. 2.  
25 ibid., October 1915, p. 274.  
English pilot Albert Ball is told wholly in terms of chivalry. In 1915 the sentimentality was no worse than Rupert Brooke’s ‘The Soldier’, but in 1918 the Journal offered ‘God’s Acre in France’ by Frank Ellis:

When the last booming gun is still
Fond hearts shall visit this sweet hill,
Pause by this consecrated sod,
This sacred acre owned by God,
And drop, where these young lives have died,
One only tear — and that of Pride.  

By the end of the war, there had been so much emphasis laid on the need to fight the forces of autocracy and militarism with strong discipline, with subordination of the interests of the individual to the State, and on the use of the education system to mould youth into the habits of obedience, self-sacrifice and unquestioning loyalty, that the devotion to the liberal ideals of men like Hogben received little more than lip service. With such heavy emphasis on the inculcation of patriotic virtues, the official point of view came to resemble fascism more than liberalism. The Report of the Education Department for 1918 is full of muddled thinking about the relation of the education system to questions of national morale in war, but it is quite clearly attracted to the notion that the schools could be used to produce a single-minded devotion to the purposes of the State. After making the curiously obvious point that ‘the human factor is predominant in education’ it goes on to say that a ‘clear grasp of this conception should furnish us with the most worthy ideal, stimulate us to vigorous action, co-ordinate otherwise conflicting or divergent agencies, systematise our endeavours, free us from side issues, subordinate our prejudice or self-interest, and in general provide us with a touchstone with which to test ourselves as well as our plans and methods’.  

Although this is far from being a policy of Gleichschaltung, it points in that direction.

The imperialist effort of the Journal did not slacken with the advent of peace. The years immediately after the end of the First World War were a time when hysteria was never far from the surface in New Zealand. To the anti-German sentiment which arose during the war was added the strain of casualties; the depredations of the influenza epidemic in 1918; the sectarian passions roused by the activities of the Protestant Political Association, echoes of the Irish troubles, the impact of the Russian Revolution, the difficulties experienced by

27 *Journal*, Part III, April 1918, p. 65.
28 This policy was strongly supported by the leaders of the primary school teachers’ organization, the New Zealand Educational Institute. Dissenters in the ranks got short shrift. See files of the NZEI’s *N.Z. Journal of Education*, 1914-1918, particularly February 1915, pp. 11-12.
29 AJHR 1918, E-1, p. 4.
thousands of men in adjusting themselves to civilian life, political instability, and a short but sharp depression. There were many who felt that traditional concepts of life were in danger and that, in particular, the Empire itself was threatened by Bolshevism and other disloyalties. In the background still lurked the Yellow Peril, with Japan now in the vanguard. Few men felt these threats more deeply than the Hon. C. J. Parr, who was Minister of Education from 1920 to 1926. He was convinced, for example, that there was a disloyal element in the teaching profession which had to be rooted out. ‘There is creeping into the teaching profession a spirit of Bolshevism that needs to be suppressed,’ he told Parliament in 1921. The overwhelming majority of teachers were loyal, but ‘there are black sheep in every flock and there are some in the teaching profession and I desire to weed them out. Men and women . . . who do not believe in the Empire . . . shall have no part and parcel in the training of the young of this country.’

Parr was as good as his word and secured the expulsion of a woman student from Wellington Training College, a member of the ‘Wellington Socialist Society’, who had been convicted of ‘selling literature encouraging violence and lawlessness’, and made at least one other attempt to have a teacher employed by the Wellington Education Board dismissed for similar reasons. This attempt was thwarted by the courts. By the Education Amendment Act 1921-22 teachers were required to swear an oath of allegiance. In 1917 it had been suggested in a memorandum from the Minister of Education that the schools conduct regular flag saluting ceremonies. In 1921, regulations were gazetted, making this practice obligatory, and harsh measures were proposed (although apparently not carried out) against pupils who refused to participate, including the suggestion that such pupils should be deprived of scholarships to the secondary schools. In answering a parliamentary question, Parr, although stating that in such cases parents were probably responsible, appeared to approve of the Otago Education Board’s expressed intention to refuse admission to any child who refused to salute the flag.

The official point of view was made even clearer in an article, ‘The Inculcation of Patriotism’, which appeared in the Education Gazette of 1 November 1921. It was written by T. B. Strong, the Chief In-

30 NZPD, CXCI (1921), 933-4.
33 N.Z. Statutes, 1921, p. 263.
34 The New Zealand Gazette, 23 June 1921, p. 1582. The existing regulations setting down the prescriptions for history and civics in primary schools were amended to include this requirement. The amended regulations stated that ‘a record of these ceremonies is to be entered in the Teachers’ Work Book under the heading of Civics and examined by the Inspector’.
35 NZPD, CXCI (1921), 922-3.
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spectator of Primary Schools. One of Strong's premises was that the schools were the place for determining for life a child's political ideas. Teachers should deliberately play on the fact that children's minds are 'plastic'. If associated with strong emotion, the inculcation of an ideal is 'absolutely ineradicable'. It was the duty of teachers 'deliberately and systematically' through emotional appeal to create in the children 'a capacity for 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'. This assault on the children's minds was an answer to the Bolshevist threat. 'At a time when the foundations of society are being undermined by doctrines formulated by extremists who appear to think that 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.'

Strong goes on to make detailed suggestions for flag honouring ceremonies.

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 worth dying for. Like them, we pledge ourselves to live and, if necessary, die for our country and for our comrades throughout the Empire . . .

However, these instructions again stress the idea that the Empire stands for freedom and justice and 'friendliness among the nations'. A place, too, is found for the League of Nations.

It was in this context that the Journal was launched on its peace time career. But there was not much evidence at first of friendliness towards the Germans. A 1919 article on the Peace Conference for Standards III and IV had declared that 'no payment will wash [Germany] 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 may stand once more among the nations repentant and purified.'

36 Quoted from Benjamin Kidd, a prominent Imperialist and Social Darwinist writer of the 1890s, in his fascinating book, "The Science of Power".
37 The New Zealand Education Gazette, 1 November 1921, pp. 2-4.
38 Journal, Part II, March 1919, p. 5.
The notion of war as a purifying fire was reasserted. The Empire had been impoverished by the loss of men, 'but purified by their sacrifice. It has attained a higher spiritual level.'

The bombastic note was likely to reappear from time to time. In an article on reading in 1922 'the English race' was said to 'have produced and are [sic] producing some of the greatest . . . [literature]. No race can boast a brighter, purer or nobler literature, richer than our commerce, more powerful than our arms.'

Professor F. L. W. Wood has pointed out that while in this period New Zealanders clung to traditional views on New Zealand's place in the world, new ideas, predominantly the expression of a growing sense of independence, were making steady progress. The content of the Journal in the 1920s shows this clearly. As we have seen, the old imperialist ideology at its liberal best contained a belief in the co-operation of nations and in the settlement of international differences by agreement. The principles of the League of Nations were therefore compatible with this belief. The League, too, had the nominal support of Britain. It did not include Bolshevik Russia in its membership. It had the strong support of many respectable liberals both in Britain and New Zealand. From the first, therefore, it was possible for the Journal to support the League. This support appeared to be the vehicle through which increasingly liberal and pacifist views of the war came to appear in the Journal. With it also came a significant shift in ideas about New Zealand's place in the world, and on international relations generally. Without the interest of Parr, it might be surmised, the change may have come earlier.

In 1924 an article on the League asserts bluntly that in international relations 'the way of force' had been 'a terrible failure'. It had meant the loss of millions of lives and the waste of vast sums of money; while in the end 'it brought happiness to no one'. The bombastic and exhortatory tone began to diminish in Empire Day numbers. While each April Anzac Day was commemorated, the articles dealing with it emphasized the qualities of the men who served, rather than the ennobling qualities of war as such.

While in 1929 the Governor-General's message for Empire Day followed the old formula, declaring that 'Each child must love and serve the State', in the same year there appeared a strong criticism

39 Journal, Part III, May 1919, p. 82.
40 Journal, Part III, July 1922, p. 175.
42 See W. T. G. Airey, Onward?, Christchurch, 1929, for an interesting discussion of public opinion about the League in New Zealand, and the value of the British Commonwealth as a model of international co-operation for the League.
43 Journal, Part II, August 1924, p. 111.
of war: 'like famine, disease, and fire, [it] is a scourge to all humanity'. The same article harshly criticized the old-style diplomacy.\textsuperscript{45} But the observance of Remembrance Day\textsuperscript{46} later in the same year was the occasion for all-out attack. The 'Great War' was the most disastrous in the history of the world, 'for almost every branch of modern science was called upon to assist in devising new and more terrible means of wholesale slaughter . . . the men in the trenches lived in mud and slush, cold and rain, flies and filth, rats and lice, agony and death.'\textsuperscript{47} The same issue prints a number of poems of the First World War, including Alan Seeger's 'I Have a Rendezvous with Death'.\textsuperscript{48}

The Empire Day number of 1931 (Part II) although designated as such had no special Empire features other than the poem 'God Bless Our Native Land' which unexpectedly also has an anti-war note:

\begin{quote}
Foe should be transformed to friend, \\
And Britain's rights depend \\
On war no more.\textsuperscript{49}
\end{quote}

In 1931, the editor of the Journal, T. A. Fletcher, was appointed an inspector of Maori schools and remained in this post until 1941.\textsuperscript{50} However, his name continued to appear in the \textit{Education Gazette} as editor of the Journal until 1938. In fact the Journal was edited by Miss A. M. Palmer, who had left a clerical job in the Department to join the Journal as a sub-editor in 1923. The marked change in tone of the Journal dates from the time she became the actual if not the nominal editor. In 1937 she was appointed 'acting-Editor' and retired from this post in 1940.\textsuperscript{51}

By 1932 nothing resembling the old imperialist ideology could be found. The tone of the Journal was internationalist and anti-war. The Empire itself was depicted hopefully perhaps as a force for peace. The federation of man was 'its great cause'. In the same issue a goodwill message from the Children of England asserts that the true greatness of a nation was not 'power and wealth' but the contribution it made to the prosperity and happiness of mankind.\textsuperscript{52}

By 1933 'empire' material had virtually disappeared from the junior parts of the Journal. Indeed the Empire Day numbers for Parts I and II included a poem entitled 'The New Loyalty' which attacked 'Babel', arms and armies and even royal privilege:

\begin{quote}
Journal, Part III, April 1929, p. 90.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Celebrated on 11 November each year, and known more commonly as 'Armistice Day'.
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ibid., pp. 291-5.
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Let us no more be true to boasted race and clan
But to our highest dream, the brotherhood of man.

and

Let royal hunting grounds be parcelled out anew
That little children’s feet may know the ground and dew.53

It is surprising that this sort of thing was able to appear in the Journal in view of the strong tendency for the conservative depression government to be obsessed with questions of ‘subversion’, and specifically the not altogether unsuccessful attempts between 1932 and 1934 of the Minister of Education (Robert Masters) to interfere with academic freedom at Auckland University College.54 Perhaps the Journal, on its past reputation, was beyond suspicion. Indeed, it was thought to be too valuable to be axed in the severe economy cuts made in education spending after 1932. Again the support in certain circles for the League of Nations gave anti-war ideas a certain respectability. The Parliamentary Recess Committee on Education of 1930 gave a very favourable hearing to the New Zealand League of Nations Union’s submission, and recommended that ‘in view of the great importance to humanity of the League of Nations’ its history, constitution and achievements be taught in all training colleges and schools.55

Perhaps in obedience to this suggestion, the New Zealand Education Gazette published in 1931 a lengthy address by Frank Milner, then Rector of Waitaki Boys High School, a strong plea for support of the League, in which he condemned ‘the holocaust of war’ and the harm done by ‘egotistical patriotism’ and quoted the Rt. Hon. H. L. V. [sic] Fisher to the effect that wars originated not so much in the ‘Chancelleries of Europe’ as in the classroom, ‘where history is perverted and where impressionable minds are imbued with national hatreds, jealousies and suspicions. . . .’56 For the rest of the thirties all that was left of the imperial ideology in the School Journal was devotion to the Royal Family. Every royal event, such as the Silver Jubilee of King George V, his death and the accession of King Edward VIII were marked by lengthy articles, although neither the abdication of Edward nor anything of the crisis which preceded it is mentioned. The treatment of King Edward VIII had emphasized his concern for the poor and humble; George VI and his family were presented in a domestic rather than an imperial light. Stories of war (and of Nelson, the perennial hero) continued to appear, but were

53 Journal, Part III, June 1933, p. 129. This was the last issue to be designated ‘Empire Day Number’.
54 F. A. de la Mare, Academic Freedom in New Zealand, 1932-1934, Auckland, 1935.
55 AJHR, 1930, 1-8A (‘The Atmore Report’), p. 136. The evidence of Walter Nash was regarded as particularly valuable.
56 Education Gazette, 1 September 1931, and 1 October 1931.
stories in which the human rather than the heroic touch was stressed, such as the well-known account of the fraternization of British and German troops in 'no-man's-land' on a Christmas Day early in the war.\textsuperscript{57}

The content and tone of the Journals during the Second World War are in striking contrast to those of the 1914-18 War. The war is not even mentioned in the Journal until April 1940, when an account is published of the disarming of a German magnetic mine.\textsuperscript{58} More is made of the death and funeral of M. J. Savage than any other event in 1940. For the rest of the war, there are no more than a few articles, chiefly in the senior parts of the Journal, about the war. These include accounts of the exploits in which two Victoria Cross winners, Sgt. Ward and Lt. Ngarimu, won this distinction, and the break-through of the New Zealand Division at Minquar Qa’im in Libya in 1942. The content of the Journal had become predominantly literary, and ideologically almost neutral, although the Allied war aims were clearly upheld and prominent place given to the 'Lend-Lease' speech of President Roosevelt in March 1941 and his death in 1945.

After the war, the Journal continued to be almost wholly literary in content. An emphasis on life in New Zealand, which had begun to appear in the thirties, now grew stronger.\textsuperscript{59} But the word 'Empire' simply did not appear. The stories of British victories and British heroes disappeared. Imperialist exhortation vanished. Whenever the Journal made a moral appeal in this period, it was purely humanitarian, and concerned with the relief of refugees and others who were suffering from the effects of war. Through CORSO children were asked to help the people of Greece: 'One way to remember Anzac Day is to consider what can be done to help the people who sheltered New Zealand soldiers six years ago.'\textsuperscript{60} Help for the people of China was also sought, and linked to statements about China which stressed New Zealand as a country in a Pacific setting.\textsuperscript{61}

The changes which occurred in the content of the School Journal and official attitudes which found expression in it, not only mirror with some fidelity general changes in New Zealanders' view of their country's place in the world, but changing attitudes to war and the relation of the individual to the State. It shows New Zealand first under the spell of the imperial ideology and reluctant to grow into national maturity, but, under the impact of the First World War and its effects, moving away from the ready-made world-view provided by the imperial ideology to a new view in which New Zealand might

\textsuperscript{57} Journal, Part III, November 1937, pp. 296-301.
\textsuperscript{58} Journal, Part III, April 1940, pp. 65-67.
\textsuperscript{59} Education [Wellington], XX, 10 (1971), 27. Also Ewing, p. 197.
\textsuperscript{60} Journal, Part III, April 1947, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{61} Journal, Part IV, April 1947, p. 67.
begin more to assert its individuality. New Zealand has come some way towards this, but it is interesting to note that many who were brought up in the old ideology seem to have searched for a substitute for it by adopting anti-Communist attitudes. Much more remains to be done by future historians of ideas in New Zealand to explore the process by which New Zealand's policy-makers acquired their ideas of the world and our place in it. In such studies the influence of our uniform education system must have a vital part. Many of the ideas of Empire presented in the School Journals were reinforced by the content and point of view of history, geography and English literature texts.\textsuperscript{62}

The change in the Journals also reflects a development of possibly far greater importance. If the Journals of the early 1920s reflect Parr and Strong, then those of the 1940s reflect Fraser and Beeby and a new attitude to children. In the heyday of the imperialist ideology children were regarded very much as \textit{tabulae rasae} upon which could be written indelibly and plainly the 'Message of the Empire', and so be launched on a life of Obedience and Sacrifice to State and Empire. How effective this treatment was we do not, possibly cannot, know. The very strong voluntary support for war service in 1914-18,\textsuperscript{63} the rush to volunteer during the Chanak crisis of 1922, and the persistent xenophobia of the twenties may be evidence that it was effective. Certainly a whole generation at least received a degree of ideological indoctrination which is supposed so far to be characteristic only of the totalitarian régimes.

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\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{62} The tone of text-books produced for the new primary syllabuses introduced c. 1930 was far less jingoistic than former works. The well-known (some say, notorious) \textit{Our Nation's Story} is recalled by many as rabidly chauvinist in tone, but in fact is relatively moderate. It strongly supported the League.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{63} The National Register, taken in 1915, showed that more than half the men aged between 19 and 44 years were willing to serve in the war. Most who said they were not subsequently made no objection. AJHR, 1916, H-35.}