

Pre-print version of special issue submitted to *Citizenship, Social and Economics Education*. Subsequently published in Volume 16 Number 3 December 2017.

Editorial

In the footsteps of the Anzacs: Teaching about war, yesterday and today

On April 24 2015, I walked along the beach at Anzac Cove on the Gallipoli peninsula in Turkey just as the sun was setting. Exactly one hundred years before, soldiers from the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZACs) had been waiting on ships in the lee of the island of Lemnos. As dawn broke the next day, they were to land on the beach and take the peninsula from the Turks to enable British ships to advance through the Dardanelles Strait. It was eerily quiet as several thousand New Zealanders and Australians made their way along this precarious stretch of beach one hundred years later. Each of us was lost in our own thoughts. I was caught in the emotion of the occasion. I had been brought up on a diet of the Anzac myth of our brave and fearless soldiers. I remember the pride of representing the Girl Guides and laying a wreath on the cenotaph at an Anzac Day dawn parade in my home town. Two of my brothers joined the army. Yet, in the 1970s, as a university student, I marched against New Zealand's involvement in the Vietnam War. War, and the commemoration of war, had become a more complex matter for me by then.

In 2014, as the anniversary of the First World War was getting underway, I sat with a colleague in her kitchen and we discussed setting up a project that would examine how the war had been portrayed at the time and what had changed in today's representations. The project, "Teaching about war, yesterday and today" was born. After deciding to use the *New Zealand School Journals* (a teaching resource provided to all New Zealand school children) as our main historical source, we started analysing the build-up to the war, the patriotic and imperialist rhetoric, and the seeding of the Anzac myth. Imagine my surprise when my son phoned from the UK to tell me that he had been successful in winning two places in the ballot to attend the 100th anniversary of the Gallipoli landings. He wanted me to accompany him. He was excited. Attending the Anzac Day service at Gallipoli had become a rite of passage for many young New Zealanders and Australians. I was conflicted – what an amazing opportunity, but, did I want to be caught up in the very hype I was critiquing? In the end, I decided I would go. As I told my wider family, my cousin, the family's genealogist, told me that our grandfather's brother had died at Gallipoli. Great Uncle Samuel was not much older than my son when he was killed at Suvla Bay in August, 1915. And so, as I walked along the beach in 2015, I did have a lump in my throat and tears in my eyes. I was now carrying my family's mantle. I was linked to this stretch of land in a way that I had never expected, in a way that many other New Zealanders and Australians are. It made my relationship to the Anzac story more complicated. My thoughts included anger at the futility of war, especially the role of New Zealanders in this part of the world that had nothing to do with us. I felt sorrow for those who had died and those they left behind. I was reminded that as educators we have an important role to play in teaching about war in ways that highlight the multiplicity of perspectives and the avoidance of trite and superficial renderings of complex historical events. That is the point of this special issue – war, and teaching about war, is complicated. These are the very issues the authors of this special issue have grappled with.

From humble beginnings at my colleague's kitchen table, the project grew to include over ten academics, librarians, research assistants and summer scholarship students. Our most significant contribution was in finding, accessing, scanning and making available to students and scholars, almost every issue of the *New Zealand School Journal* since its inception in 1907. In 2015, we presented some of our findings at the Australian and New Zealand History of Education conference and, in 2016, at a further seminar at the University of Auckland. The articles presented in this issue of *Children's Citizenship, Social and Economics Education*, are drawn from those presentations. While the context for our research is clearly New Zealand, the findings will resonate with teachers and students of history, social studies, civics and literature world-wide. The contexts may differ but the conundrums are the same.

The first article sets the scene by discussing some of the very real tensions teachers face when teaching history. How do you engage students in both cognitive and affective understandings of history? Martyn Davison explores the Gallipoli campaign to teach empathy. He provides a comprehensive model that will help guide other teachers as they navigate their way through such historically-contested topics. He also makes the argument that the teaching of empathy in history classes also prepares students for participatory democracy by helping them to understand multiple perspectives and walk in the footsteps of others.

The next article introduces the first set of findings from different analyses of the early *New Zealand School Journals*. In this article, Lynette Kingsbury and Maria Perreau give a little more detail about the project and the sourcing and analysing of the early *School Journals* before highlighting the patriotic and imperialist themes that children were introduced to at the time of the First World War. The title of the article, "An Anzac Iliad", takes its name from the way in which ancient myths and legends were placed alongside reports of the Anzac campaigns, leaving the impression that the exploits of the Anzacs ranked alongside the heroes of old. This article also discusses how children were being exhorted to be dutiful citizens who understood the importance of self-sacrifice for the greater good of the empire.

The second of the historical articles continues theme of preparing young people for duty and sacrifice, in this case young men to be "war ready" soldiers. Stories in the *School Journals* included brave boys taking part in battle, such as Bugler Dunn, "a mere boy with the heart of a man." Rosie Bingham argues that, not only did items in the early *School Journal* reinforce the aspiration to be a soldier, it was a particular type of soldier – a very "manly" masculine ideal. When the Gallipoli campaign was reported, the Anzac soldiers embodied these particular masculine traits. They were portrayed as brave, strong and stoic, while retaining that typical Kiwi sense of humour and fair play. They were even described as "some of the finest specimens of manhood that this country has ever produced."

The third article brings us to the present day, to the resources prepared by various government and non-government agencies for the 100th anniversary of the First World War. Over 30 sources were examined from websites to picture books; from factual accounts to movie portrayals. The majority of resources were celebratory and commemorative, with picture books for younger children avoiding the real nature of war by telling the Anzac story through the role that animals (donkeys, horses, puppies, even eels) played. Resources for older children introduced a wider range of perspectives but the authors note that it was not until later in the 100th anniversary commemorations that topics such as conscientious

objectors or the role of women began to appear as resources to support a more complex and challenging approach to unpacking the myths of the First World War.

The final article, is more experimental in its format. Rather than traditional reporting on the findings of his three projects relating to teaching about the First World War, Peter O'Connor interweaves excerpts of text from these projects without commentary. Alongside children's innocent questions, such as whether the soldiers' mothers made their lunches, are emotional stories from real combatants. This piece is a fitting way to complete this special issue because it doesn't pretend to give us glib answers; it merely reflects our own confusion back at us.

And so back to April 25, 2015. My son and I huddled uncomfortably on the cold hillside above North Beach waiting for the dawn. An Australian didgeridoo sounded as the first rays of the sun came over the hill behind us. It was followed by a Māori karanga (call) which raised goosebumps on our arms. In the distance, a warship and set of frigates representing the countries involved in the conflict made their way towards us in the half-light. A roll call of fallen soldiers played on the big screens. You could not help but be caught up in the emotion of the commemorations. Later that day, we made our way up the hillside towards the New Zealand memorial at Chunuk Bair. On the way, we stopped at the many cemeteries. My son took to picking the wild poppies that grew on the roadside and placing them on the graves. We stopped to look at the tunnels dug by both sides, not more than 20 metres apart. We remembered the story of the two sides calling a truce, going out to help each other collect their dead, swapping cigarettes and small mementoes and then returning to their trenches to shoot at each other. We arrived at Chunuk Bair for the New Zealand Anzac memorial service a little early. We needed to wait while the Turks were finishing their commemoration of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk's great victory of 1915, on the same spot. Perhaps that is the real story of war – there are winners and there are losers, there is commemoration and commiseration, but everywhere are stories to tell – stories that help us understand what it is to be human in all its fragility, complexity and contradiction. It is my hope that the articles in this special issue add to our understanding and teaching of one of history's great contested stories – the story of war.

Carol Mutch

28 August 2017

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the North Shore Teachers College Trust and the University of Auckland for funding this project. I would like to thank Sarah Christie for sparking the idea of using the *School Journals* as data sources, and Hasan Abdali and Sarah Yates for getting the accessing and scanning of the journals underway. Thanks to all the contributors to this issue: students, Rosie Bingham, Lynette Kingsbury and Vanessa Cameron-Lewis; research assistants, Maria Perreau and Alexandra Bonham; and fellow academics, Martyn Davison and Peter O'Connor. An even bigger debt of gratitude, however, goes to University of Auckland librarian, John Laurie, without whose patience, expertise and perseverance we would never have the *School Journal* collection scanned and available for further research and scholarship.

Teaching about the First World War today: Historical empathy and participatory citizenship

MARTYN DAVISON

*School of Curriculum and Pedagogy
Faculty of Education and Social Work
University of Auckland, New Zealand*

ABSTRACT This article explores the concept of historical empathy and how it can foster a greater understanding of a significant episode in New Zealand and Australian history, the 1915 Gallipoli campaign. It also highlights the potential that the concept holds for encouraging students to participate in civic society. It does this by drawing upon the author's experience of teaching historical empathy to young people in a way that aims to affectively tune in to shared human traits and cognitively comprehend why another person holds a different set of beliefs. In doing this, the author's aim is to develop in young people an empathic understanding of the lives of others, past and present.

Introduction

In preparing to write this article, I attended a conference exploring, among other things, the challenges of teaching the First World War at the tertiary chalk face. When a presenter wearily remarked, "Please don't let me read one more student essay about Gallipoli that ends 'lest we forget'". There was much nodding of heads and murmurs of agreement among the audience. The comment neatly summed up what had already been said in the presentation about the dangers of teaching the First World War as an act of remembrance that distracts students from taking a more critical approach to past events. At this point, I squirmed in my seat as I silently recalled that I had used an essay with just such an ending to exemplify to high school students what being good at historical empathy looks like (see Appendix 1).

This episode reveals to me a tension between teaching with the purpose of affectively tuning in to the tragedy and futility of the First World War and teaching with the intention of comprehending a less familiar and more nuanced history of the conflict. For anyone who has studied the First World War or indeed been to its battlefields, for instance, on the Western Front or on the Gallipoli peninsular, it is hard not to feel a deep sympathy for the first of these aims. After all, "Even mentioning that the coach will pass by Passchendaele can bring tears to the eyes of the most hardened history teacher" (McManus, 2011, p. 28). And it is this empathetic feeling about loss that might appear to dominate popular sentiment about the

First World War. A key question, is whether this is at the expense of the second aim, historical comprehension.

Gary Sheffield, and many other professional historians, would likely say that it is. As Sheffield (2014) notes, the moving experience of visiting the battlefields and contemplating that loss, helps to “obscure the true meaning of the war. That Britain and her allies won the First World War, and not Germany” (p. 26). Engaging in historical thinking leads us to abandon the emotional and empathic notion of tragedy and/or futility and comprehend the First World War as a time that “Britain fought a defensive, just war” (2014, p. 26). This viewpoint reflects a wider belief within the history community, expressed by historian Simon Schama, when observing that his colleagues were “constitutionally allergic” to empathy (Schama, 2002, May 29). And for a long time, history educators have also seen it as something that could give you a nasty reaction largely because it led to students over-identifying with historical characters and creating a fanciful ‘let’s pretend’ version of the past (Clements, 1996). Asking students who were studying the First World War, to empathise with past lives, tended to lead to activities that began with: ‘Imagine you are in the trenches ...’ or ‘Write a letter home from the front ...’. As Booth, Culpin and Macintosh (1987) have argued, such activities could work, but experience tended to show disappointing results because they provided students with minimal guidance as to what to do and led to the projecting of present-day feelings into past situations. However, like Schama, I do not accept the argument that empathic understanding is an obstacle to knowing something of the past.

In this article, I make the case that historical empathy can foster an affective feeling for, and an understanding of, the past. I do this by drawing upon my experience of teaching historical empathy to young people in a way that aims to affectively tune in to shared human traits and cognitively comprehend why another person holds a different set of beliefs (Davison, 2012 & 2013). As such, I also highlight the potential that the concept holds for encouraging students to participate in civic society. Adopting the findings of Parker’s (1989) work on social studies teaching and participatory citizenship, I understand that students with strong civic values often have: an in-depth knowledge of history so as to highlight what it is to live in democratic societies; that they are part of a public community with shared concerns and diverse opinions; and, that they take part in discussions about these concerns.

Historical empathy as an affective and cognitive concept

I undertook my study as a teacher-researcher, exploring the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy and how they played out across 18 one-hour lessons in two social studies classrooms. The intervention took place at my workplace: a large co-educational secondary school in the suburbs of Auckland, New Zealand. It entailed teaching one Year 10 (fourteen to fifteen year olds) social studies class (Class A/C, $n=22$) the affective dimension of historical empathy first (A), followed by the cognitive dimension (C), and teaching another Year 10 social studies class (Class C/A, $n=23$) the reverse: that is, the cognitive dimension first (C), followed by the affective (A). The significance of the sequencing of these dimensions and the progress of students' learning is beyond the scope of this article but I have discussed this elsewhere (Davison, Hill and Sinnema, 2014).

Regarding a definition of historical empathy, my findings suggested that its affective and cognitive dimensions could be described using a series of equally weighted elements. This is significant because while it is commonly defined as vicariously walking in someone else's shoes, there are within the literature, two competing ways of interpreting historical empathy. One is mostly cognitive and the other is primarily affective. Some researchers view historical empathy through a predominantly cognitive lens (Foster, 2001; Lee & Ashby, 2001) arguing that it is about marshalling evidence and gathering contextual information. In contrast, other researchers focus more on the affective dimension of historical empathy (Bardige, 1988; Barton & Levstik, 2004) emphasising ideas such as students caring about what happened in the past and responding to past events with compassion. Adopting Gaddis' (2002) metaphor of moving through an historical landscape, I set out to place my affective and cognitive elements along an empathic pathway. This pathway graphically represents students affectively entering into the past and then cognitively working with the historical record before finally making an exit and arriving at a series of judgements (see Figure 1). This reflects Gaddis' argument that once a student has imaginatively entered into the past and taken in a series of impressions, they 'bail out' and begin to critically make sense of what they have empathically experienced. As such it bestows equal importance on the affective and cognitive dimensions of historical empathy.

[insert Figure 1]

The elements of historical empathy and how they relate to participatory citizenship

There follows a description of the elements that characterise historical empathy and how they might encourage students to play their role as participatory citizens. The voices of students who participated in the study are included to provide examples of their developing grasp of historical empathy.

Open mindedness allows students to be receptive to past experiences and makes it more likely that they will begin to take seriously, at least temporarily, values and beliefs that are different to their own (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Noddings, 2005). Receptivity, may lead to identification with historical characters, as Foster (2001) warns, but evidence from psychotherapy shows that empathetic individuals can identify with others whilst not agreeing with them (McWilliams, 2004). This is because they can perceive the thoughts of another person while retaining their own viewpoint (Shea, 1998). Without an open-mind, as Rachel in Class A/C, pointed out in the study, “You can’t really feel what the person was thinking”. It was also apparent in this study, however, that students did not begin by looking at a new historical topic with an open-mind and that, therefore, the uptake of this element is more likely if it is pre-taught. This could involve exploring with students their existing beliefs and knowledge of the First World War. For instance, the teacher could ask what they already know about conscientious objectors, nurses and soldiers and encourage them to carefully listen to and entertain the viewpoints of such historical characters. This is certainly not about empty-headedness, but rather students noticing their own beliefs and being receptive to considering the beliefs of others.

‘Feeling care’ fosters in students a sense that past-lives matter and of wanting to find out more by entering into that past. In the study, the element of ‘feeling care’ was evoked when students felt close to historical characters. For instance, Alvin in Class A/C, felt care when listening to interviews with veterans of the First World War and said that they could have been, “Just from next door or something, they really weren’t that far away.” For Hailey, a feeling of care emerged as she watched the film, *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981): “Even for me in the

movie ...they were actual people” (Class A/C). When, after watching *Gallipoli*, Helen asked, “What would I feel like if I went through that?” (Class A/C), there was a clear sense that she had entered into the past and was now pondering what she would have done, had she been there. In other words, students were beginning to want to make the strangeness of historical characters seem more familiar. This goal as Barton and Levstik (2004) argue, may help students explore their own and others’ beliefs; a key attribute if young people are going to engage with the diversity of beliefs that they will find in public life. Because, as Noddings (2005) reminds us, people might agree that there is such a thing as citizenship but it, “usually looks suspiciously like their own way (of life)” (p. 2). The significance of historical empathy may rest on the idea that it enables students to care about other, very different, lives. In my study, I deliberately used names from the local war memorial to foster a sense of care for past-lives within the students’ community before broadening my approach to look at historical characters from more distant places. As such, it helped students care sufficiently to want to find out more about the types of experiences these characters witnessed and to go and explore the historical record.

Imagination is about being projected into the past to consider what the possibilities were. For Rick, in Class C/A, it meant the ability, “to imagine ourselves to be there [in the past] as other people.” One way of doing this was for each class to watch the film *Gallipoli* (Weir, 1981). As Seixas and Peck (2004) have posited, film is designed to, “sweep their audiences into an apparent past [so that they have] a direct window into what the past looked like, felt like, and what it meant” (p. 109). They caution, however, that being ‘swept along’ into an imagined past is not what is wanted if learning history is about critical thinking. I agree with Seixas and Peck but only in guarding against imagination simply becoming an exercise in ‘let’s pretend’; something that the teacher can avoid if they are operating within both the cognitive and affective dimensions of historical empathy. Put simply, imagination cannot be avoided when studying history. As Dewey (1933) stated, history is unavoidably replete with, “matters that must be imaginatively realised if they are realised at all” (p. 291). And used carefully, imagination can open up unexpected teaching opportunities. For instance, Carol Ann Duffy’s poem, *The Last Post* (Duffy, 2012), imagines the First World War not occurring and the war poet putting away their notebook. Using *The Last Post* in class could mean that the students

begin to think about counter-factuals or, instead, they could be encouraged to think about what might be possible in the present.

Historical empathy's cognitive elements of: exploring evidence; building contextual knowledge; finding multiple perspectives; and, being aware that past and present are different, become helpful once students have, so to speak, entered into the past and now begin to work with the record of that past. They are of equal importance in the goal of realising social studies and history's potential to be taught to foster participatory citizenship. Evidence was thought of by the students in my study as: a checking device to test out hunches about the past; as a means of building historical knowledge; and, as a way of stimulating an emotional interest in the past. The first point reflects the almost universally held view that the claims of historians are only warranted if they are underpinned by evidence (Gosselin, 2011). The second is particularly relevant to empathising with an historical character because it implies sifting through the historical record to try and find relevant source material that may help to contextualise their life. The third, however, would be seen by Wineburg (2007) as a novice-like approach to evidence, far removed from the world of historians, who, he argues, handle evidence with cool detachment. Still, in terms of engaging with historical empathy, evidence that activates an emotional feeling for the past is useful in that it may foster student interest. In this study, both Helen (Class A/C) and Michelle (Class C/A) were clear that without such engagement, handling evidence could be demotivating.

Building contextual knowledge enabled the students in the study to develop a more rounded picture of historical characters. As they learnt about the context of soldiers' and civilians' lives in New Zealand and Australia in the first decade of the twentieth century so they were able to make better sense of what these historical characters might have thought about the Gallipoli campaign. Ashby, Lee and Shemilt (2005) have described this acquisition of contextual knowledge as developing, "a sense of period" (p. 167). This helps students avoid the problem of presentism: where present-day values are inadvertently transposed onto the lives of historical characters who likely held a very different set of values. In essence, seeing historical characters in their own time and space is akin to grasping in the present, "how social problems and events look from various perspectives" (Parker, 2003, p. 98).

Finding multiple perspectives also enables students to broaden their outlook by realising that historical characters are likely to encompass more than one emotion or view. By identifying

multiple perspectives, students are also ensuring that they empathise with not only a single-perspective account of the past, but also with the stories of others (Seixas & Peck, 2004). Hailey in Class A/C found that she, “got better at ... being empathetic when there was more to it, like when there was another point of view.” It is this attribute that Parker (2003) has argued is so central to the teaching of democracy. Using the term reversibility to describe changing places with somebody, he argues that the holding of multiple perspectives is more likely when students develop a genuine desire to listen to others especially when their values and perspectives are different to our own. In my study, I used cartoons printed in newspapers of the time to explore popular perspectives and how these might be different to what the students had found when building their contextual knowledge. For instance, a cartoon called, *The slacker*, provided a sharp critique of those New Zealanders who had not volunteered to fight. We discussed the questions this raised about society’s values in 1915 and what it might be like to take a position not supported by the majority, both in the past and in the present. In turn, this provided an opportunity to talk about the tension within democracy between unity (the war-effort) and diversity (the right to object).

Once this work on the historical record is complete, students exit the past (see the third part of figure 1). From this point, they begin making judgements about their experience of studying the 1915 Gallipoli campaign. The essay that Lucy completed (see Appendix 1) is an example of such a judgement and the elements, including care, imagination, contextual knowledge and evidence, that underpins it. This is also a time, when I encourage reflection on the practical consequences of what has been studied. This can include: exploring current debates that question the often told story of heroic young men killed by incompetent British generals (Wright, 2015); making sense of commemoration and Anzac Day (Pennell & Sheehan, 2016); and examining anti-war arguments, for instance, the *Coalition to Stop War* (www.noglory.org). With the experience of being in a classroom where time has been deliberately spent developing an empathetic grasp of the past, the students are well positioned to take part in these discussions on how we feel about, and understand, war in the past and present.

Conclusion

It is obvious to all but the most determined believer in time-travel that it is impossible to ever walk in the shoes of an historical character. But crucially, it is possible to imagine what that person's life was like and the sorts of things that might have influenced their decision to take one road and not another. Imagining ourselves in another historical time is not very far from Parker's participatory citizen who imagines being in another's place and in doing so takes the, "moral opposite of egocentricity and ethnocentricity" (Parker, 2003, p. 61). Imagination, it has been argued, is one of several elements that together not only characterise what it is to historically empathise but also encourage students to develop as citizens. As Ashby and Lee (1987) reasoned, nearly thirty years ago, that while it may be too simplistic to say that historical empathy will lead us all towards participatory citizenship, it is true that, "where the alien is seen as stupid and inferior, there is little chance of progress towards genuine understanding" (p. 65). Words that remain relevant to our world today.

I am not saying that an empathic pathway is the only way to teach participatory citizenship. Data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (Lang, 2010) found that New Zealand students in Year 9, who had not been taught social studies and history as discreet subjects, were generally well prepared to be future citizens. Their proficiency in citizenship was however, "only average in comparison with other participating OECD countries" (2010, p. 6) and there was a wide distribution of civic knowledge scores. Furthermore, the New Zealand Electoral Commission have reported on a rapid decline in voter turn-out for General Elections since 1981 and predict that the country could have a turnout rate of around 50 percent by 2040 (Electoral Commission, 2015, March). This suggests that there is much potential and some urgency for social studies and history teachers to contribute to the teaching of participatory citizenship.

Notes

1. The Gallipoli campaign in 1915, partly a response to the stalemate in France and Belgium, is sometimes described as a side-show in the larger history of the First World War. For the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) it was a defeat which foreshadowed worse losses on the Western Front. However, 8,709 Australians and 2,721 New Zealanders lost their lives in the campaign, and as a place where the ANZAC spirit was forged it has found a significant place in the narrative of New Zealand and Australian history. New Zealand's Ministry for Culture and Heritage sums up the story's significance in terms of it bringing to the fore "attitudes and attributes - bravery, tenacity, practicality, ingenuity, loyalty to King and comrades - that helped New Zealand define itself as a nation." <http://www.anzac.govt.nz/significance/>

Appendix 1: Lucy's* Essay

(*Pseudonyms were used for the names of my study participants to protect their anonymity)

Essay question: Why did a huge number of young men leave New Zealand in 1915 to fight a war thousands of kilometers away? And what were the effects of this decision upon these young men up until the end of 1915?

In 1915, over 120,000 New Zealanders travelled by sea to Gallipoli, Turkey. They went to stand for their country, to see the world, to support their friends, and because they felt it was their duty. The result of this decision was not the glory that they had expected but the death of many young soldiers.

The most common reason for soldiers to join the army was the hope of adventure. Most of the men settled in New Zealand during the time of the First World War had grown up on the isolated islands [New Zealand], and so the thought of adventure appealed to them. "It was more high adventure than anything else" (Vic Nicholson, ex-Anzac soldier). Soldiers also felt it was their duty. Posters were put up which shunned the idea of not joining the army, calling those people 'slackers'. Eventually, most of those people who didn't think it as being their duty thought it "wasn't their war" (Frank's character in the 1981 film *Gallipoli*) were blackmailed into either joining up or being sent to prison, when the need came for more soldiers. "I joined up because it was my duty" (Russell Weir, ex-Anzac soldier). Joining the war was "the thing to do at the time" (Vic Nicolson). Soldiers joined up because it was popular, and most of their friends were doing it. "I knew my mates would" (J. Gasparich, ex-Anzac soldier). They thought it would be fun to join up together. The final, but not only other reason, as it varies with different people, is because they were patriotic and loved their country. "We were very much for the British Empire. When the call came we went" (Bill East, ex-Anzac soldier). The soldiers wanted to fight for their country and its rights, believing they would return to New Zealand as heroes. "I don't think you could find a more patriotic volunteer than myself" (Joe Gasparich).

When the soldiers finally landed in Gallipoli after their long sea voyage, they found it was not as they expected. With gathered evidence from the diary of a young soldier, Bill Leadley, who was wounded at Gallipoli, we can understand the conditions that the soldiers were living in during the war. Bill Leadley describes the constant sound of war, the lack of hygiene and the bad food and the dirty water. The heat was above thirty-five degrees Celsius, and the men had bad sunburn. The heat was attracting flies which added to the unhygienic conditions. Many of the soldiers were getting sick and in June, Leadley got dysentery which got worse in September. He was also wounded in September, and states in his diary "I wish I could get well".

By the end of 1915, thousands of men had died, having lost their lives on the battlefield, or from infected injuries and illnesses for which they didn't have the necessary medication to properly treat. When the Anzacs realised that there was no chance of possibly winning the battle against Turkey, with so many dead, they made a quick and successful evacuation. However, those lucky soldiers who had survived then travelled to the Western Front, located from the Belgian coast to the Switzerland border. The Western Front was in a worse state than in Gallipoli and most of the survivors from Gallipoli died there during the next two years. 1915 is the year we will always remember as the year so many soldiers lost their lives, bravely fighting for what they believed in. As stated by the main character, Archy, in the 1981 film *Gallipoli* "You just had to be a part of it". Lest we forget.

References

- Ashby, R., & Lee, P.J. (1987). Children's concepts of empathy and understanding in history. In C. Portal (Ed.), *The history curriculum for teachers* (pp.62-88). London: The Falmer Press.
- Ashby, R., Lee, P.J., & Shemilt, D. (2005). Putting principles into practice: Teaching and planning. In M.S. Donovan & J.D. Bransford (Eds.), *How students learn: History in the classroom* (pp.79- 178). Washington D.C.: The National Academies Press.
- Bardige, B. (1988). Things so finely human: Moral sensibilities at risk in adolescence. In C. Gilligan, J.V. Ward & J. McLean Taylor (Eds.), *Mapping the moral domain: A contribution of women's thinking to psychological theory and education* (pp. 87-110). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Barton, K.C., & Levstik, L. (2004). *Teaching history for the common good*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Booth, M., Culpin, C., & Macintosh, H. (1987). *Teaching GCSE history*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Clements, P. (1996). Historical empathy – R.I.P.? *Teaching History*, 85, 6-8.
- Davison, M. (2012). Teaching historical empathy and the 1915 Gallipoli campaign. In M. Harcourt & M. Sheehan (Eds.), *History matters: Teaching and learning history in New Zealand secondary schools in the 21st century* (pp. 11-32). Wellington, New Zealand: NZCER Press.
http://www.nzcer.org.nz/system/files/press/abstracts/History%20Matters_ch%201_0.pdf
- Davison, M. (2013). *"It is really hard being in their shoes": Developing historical empathy in secondary school students*, unpublished EdD thesis, The University of Auckland.
<https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/20498>
- Davison, M., Hill, M., & Sinnema, C. (2014). Developing historical empathy: Showing progress. *Set*, 3, 52-60.
- Dewey, J. (1933). *How we think: A restatement of the relation of reflective thinking to the educative process*. Boston, New York, NY: D.C. Heath and Company.
- Duffy, C.A. (2012). *The bees*. Picador: London.
- Electoral Commission (2015, March). *Report of the Electoral Commission on the 2014 general election*. Accessed: http://www.elections.org.nz/sites/default/files/bulk-upload/documents/report_of_the_ec_on_the_2014_general_election.pdf
- Foster, S. J. (2001). Historical empathy in theory and practice: Some final thoughts. In O. L. Davis, E. A. Yeager & S. J. Foster (Eds.), *Historical empathy and perspective taking in the social studies* (pp. 167-182). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Gaddis, J.L. (2002). *The landscape of history: How historians map the past*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Gosselin, V. (2011). Historical thinking in the museum: Open to interpretation. In P. Clark (Ed.), *New Possibilities for the past: Shaping history education in Canada* (pp. 245-263). Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press.
- Lang, K. (2010). *Results from the international civic and citizenship education study*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.
- Lee, P. J., & Ashby, R. (2001). Empathy, perspective taking, and rational understanding In O. L. Davis, E. A. Yeager, & S. J. Foster (Eds.), *Historical empathy and perspective taking in the social studies* (pp. 21-50). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

- McManus, A. (2011). Poppies and pedagogy: learning from the 'Great War' Citizenship, *Social and Economics Education*, 10, 1, 27-36.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/csee.2011.10.1.27>
- McWilliams, N. (2004). *Psychoanalytic psychotherapy: A practitioner's guide*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Noddings, N. (2005). *Educating citizens for global awareness*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Parker, W.C. (1989). Participatory citizenship: Civics in the strong sense. *Social Education*, 53, 6, 353- 354.
- Parker, W.C. (2003). *Teaching democracy: Unity and diversity in public life*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Pennell, C. & Sheehan, M. (2016). Official World War I memorial rituals could create a generation uncritical of the conflict, *The Conversation, UK blog site*. Accessed: **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**
- Schama, S. (Presenter) (2002, May 29). *The inaugural BBC history lecture: Television and the trouble history*. London: British Broadcasting Company.
- Seixas, P., & Peck, C. (2004). Teaching historical thinking. In A. Sears & I. Wright (Eds.), *Challenges and prospects for Canadian Social Studies* (pp. 109-117). Vancouver, Canada: Pacific Educational Press.
- Shea, S.C. (1998). *Psychiatric interviewing: The art of understanding* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia, PA: W.B. Saunders Company.
- Sheffield, G. (2014) The centenary of the First World War: An unpopular view, *The Historian*, summer, 22-26.
- Weir, P. (Director). (1981) *Gallipoli* [feature film]. Hollywood, CA: Paramount.
- Wineburg, S. (2007). Unnatural and essential: The nature of historical thinking. *Teaching History*, 129, 6-12.
- Wright, M. (2015, 16th April). Great war myths. *The New Zealand Listener*. Accessed: <http://www.listener.co.nz/anzac-day/great-war-myths/>

Stages of historical empathy	Historical empathy elements	Teaching purposes
Entering into the past	Open-mindedness	To identify and foster awareness of students' beliefs and prior knowledge about historical event(s) and/or character(s) and a willingness to listen to and entertain other views.
	Feeling care	To model the attributes of being caring, sensitive and tolerant towards people.
	Imagination	To help students imagine the past, use resources such as films, photographs and first-hand accounts.
	↓	↓
Working with the historical record	Exploring evidence	To develop a willingness to: search across a wide field of evidence; check theories about the past against evidence; build historical knowledge by critically weighing-up the reliability and usefulness of evidence and; use evidence to encourage further engagement with the past.
	Building contextual knowledge	To build knowledge of the wider setting so that an historical character or event is not set apart from the beliefs and codes of behaviour which were common to society of that time.
	Finding multiple perspectives and being aware that past and present day beliefs are often different	To encourage students to interpret the past from multiple perspectives. And, to encourage students to interpret past beliefs as best they can whilst acknowledging that their present day beliefs are inescapable.
	↓	↓
Exiting the past	Making judgements	To enable students to make judgements (sometimes these may be moral or critical) about past events / historical characters, for instance in the format of an essay.

Note: = affective = cognitive = affective and cognitive

Figure 1: Historical empathy pathway

The Anzac Iliad: Early New Zealand *School Journals* and the development of the citizen-child in the new dominion

MARIA PERREAU and LYNETTE KINGSBURY

*School of Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education and Social Work
University of Auckland, New Zealand*

Abstract

The New Zealand School Journal was established in 1907 to provide reading material across the primary school curriculum. Linked to reforms of the school curriculum, the School Journal aimed to introduce curriculum content relevant to New Zealand children. With the outbreak of the First World War, however, the School Journal became harnessed to the war effort, becoming entrenched in civic instruction and an upsurge in imperialism. Inclusion of patriotic reading material strongly reflected notions of self-sacrifice and reinforced concepts of the dutiful citizen-child. This article explores how preparation for war, and portrayal of war, fostered a particular notion of New Zealand's developing identity and the role that the citizen-child had to play in the new dominion. Literary integration of subjects and genres, collapses of time and location, along with juxtaposition of items within the School Journal, particularly through the use of the Anzac story, solidified this emergent New Zealand identity. The School Journal, as de facto curriculum, became complicit in the creation and maintenance of the Anzac myth as a basis for the ideal New Zealand citizen through annual commemorative issues of the School Journal, culminating with Anzac Day as a newly-created national holiday in 1923.

Introduction

This article is drawn from the wider study but focused in on how the events of the First World War were taught to school children of the time. Through an examination of the collection of early New Zealand *School Journals* held in the Sylvia Ashton Warner Library on the Epsom Campus of the University of Auckland, New Zealand, researchers were able to gain an insight into beliefs and attitudes at the time of the First World War. The fragile documents were electronically scanned and made available as word-searchable text for academics and students to use for research purposes. Summer scholarships supported postgraduate students to explore the *School Journal* database and undertake investigations into topics of interest relating to the First World War. This article takes the theme of the development of the dutiful citizen-child through an examination of New Zealand's developing national identity and the use of fact, fiction and myth to promote particular ideals and reinforce notions of bravery, self-sacrifice and duty to the empire.

New Zealand's pre-WW1 status

New Zealand was first settled by Polynesian voyagers, *circa* 800 AD. Māori lived virtually undisturbed by outsiders for centuries until European sailors found their way into the southern oceans. An influx of new settlers from Great Britain in the 1800s led to an agreement to be signed between Māori and the British Crown. Although this agreement, known as the Treaty of Waitangi, has had a contentious history, it is still considered New Zealand's founding document. Land wars and land confiscation, illness and dislocation led to the decimation of the Māori population in the later 1800s and the rise as of the British colonist as the dominant group (Mutch, 2005).

In the harsh struggle for survival, a growing sector of these new colonials became absorbed in the possibilities and potential freedoms of their new land. Wishing to escape old oppressions and inequalities, they developed a sense of independence, acting to promote their rights and extend their entitlements. They sought to distance themselves from the motherland as they forged their new identity. Separation from their origins was also coupled with a growing disenchantment with the British Empire and awareness of the associated abuses of colonialism. They began to question imperial slave-trading, dubious methods of land acquisition and the trampling of indigenous rights (Stephenson, 2010).

The death of Queen Victoria in 1901, however, saw a revival of imperialism and upper-middle class values. This was of benefit to those in power who had gained from privileges associated with their connections to empire and the trappings of authority. The Victoria League, largely a women's organisation, and the League of the Empire, predominantly a masculine domain, were created for the purposes of revitalising allegiance to Great Britain. The revival of imperial thinking throughout British society, both in the home country and abroad, "increasingly equated citizenship and self-worth with love of nation and empire" (Bush, 2000, p. 126). Letter-writing between children of the empire, exchanges of flags, essay competitions and teacher exchanges were organised, along with a series of patriotic slideshows (Stephenson, 2010). Education became a site for instilling in the next generation a desire to honour and serve the empire.

In 1907, George Hogben, the Inspector-General of Schools, attended the first Imperial Education Conference in London. This meeting of international delegates was organised by the League of the Empire (Stephenson, 2010). Shortly afterwards, at the request of the Liberal government of Prime Minister Joseph Ward, New Zealand was granted self-governing dominion status by King Edward VII. As a dominion of the British Empire, the links to the monarchy were retained and, in New Zealand, represented by the appointment of a Governor-General. Although constitutionally significant, the event was relatively unheralded by the majority of citizens at the time (Cartwright, 2001). Britain continued to exercise a stake in New Zealand's defence and foreign affairs. Any indication of further movement away from the Great Britain was opposed by stalwart colonial imperialists, including William Massey, leader of the opposition at the time New Zealand became a dominion. Massey went on to become Prime Minister during the First World War period.

Early schooling and the establishment of the *School Journals*

The 1877 Education Act established a system of primary education in New Zealand that would be free, compulsory and secular. Reverend Habens, first Inspector-General of Education,

prepared a curriculum that included the traditional 3Rs, grammar and composition, geography, science, drawing and music (Mutch, 2005).

Part of forging a distinctive New Zealand identity was the recognition of local talent and the production of a national literature. Prior to the publication of the *School Journal*, William Pember Reeves, Minister of Education between 1891 and 1896, and a poet in his own right, endeavoured to print works by New Zealanders, eschewing slavish adherence to British subject matter (O'Brien, 2007). An anthology for use in schools, *The New Zealand Reader*, was produced in the 1890s.³ The *Southern Cross Geographical Readers*, textbooks for the middle and upper primary, with contributions from New Zealand teachers, were also published by a local firm.⁴ The purchase of multiple textbooks that were appropriate to age, subject and school, however, placed financial pressure on parents who began to advocate for a single publication available to all the country's primary schools (Ewing, 1970).

Hogben strongly shaped the philosophy underpinning public education in early twentieth century New Zealand, for which he was later knighted. In 1904, he reviewed and updated the curriculum. He believed education was instrumental in social change. Hogben added moral instruction, history, civics, physical education, health, and manual training to the syllabus (Campbell, 1941). Hogben believed that ideals of strength and moral virtue were attainable through discipline, obedience and self-sacrifice. His reforms aligned with the New Educationist movement which aimed to foster in school children a love and attachment to their country, beginning with the local and familiar and expanding outwards to the development of an imperial patriotic spirit (Patrick, 2009). It is no surprise that these precepts became a strong presence in the content of the early *School Journals*.

Hogben was responsible for the creation of the New Zealand *School Journal*. The first edition was published on May 9, 1907. It was a multi-subject journal, focusing mainly on history, geography and civics, divided into three parts according to class levels, and made freely available to all children in state-funded schools or at a minimal cost to those in private schools (Ewing, 1970). Content included non-fiction, fiction, poetry and illustrations. Children were each to have their own copy of the *School Journal* which they could use at school as part of their studies and later keep at home. For this reason, November issues were larger than usual, so children might continue their reading over the Christmas holidays (O'Brien, 2007).

Theory and method

This study examines how the First World War was portrayed at the time to provide insight into how the war's significance is remembered today and how that has influenced contemporary commemorations. The *School Journal*, as an adjunct to the prescribed curriculum, provides a rich source of information on the values and perspectives of the times. In this article, curriculum is viewed as a social and political construct (Mutch, 2005). As a contemporary analysis of curriculum history, it differs from early curriculum histories which celebrated developments without critically analysing them. McCulloch (1992) argues that to approach the curriculum, "as though it has arisen overnight, fully formed, without reference to its history, is to only inspect the tip of the iceberg" (p.9). Viewing the *School Journal* as a socially and politically constructed artefact reflective of its time provides valuable insights into how curriculum is constructed, by whom and for what purposes.

The process of locating, scanning and analysing the *School Journals* was a long and complex one. These highly fragile primary sources were not allowed to be borrowed directly from the Epsom campus library, so special arrangements had to be made through inter-library and inter-campus loans to enable the *School Journals* to be scanned at the University of Auckland's central library. A state-of-the-art scanner was used to reduce wear and tear on the bindings. Settings were frequently manually adjusted to ensure a higher quality digital reproduction. The librarian-in-charge checked the quality of the scanned documents and was available for consultation. Records of missing issues and pages were kept, as was a record of items successfully scanned.

Each scanned *School Journal* issue was then thoroughly read and reviewed. Details were entered into a shared Google Docs database, which provided bibliographic data, descriptive summaries and emerging qualitative analyses that were visible to all researchers engaged in the larger project. Data relating to content, themes, type of text, year of publication, class level and relationship to other items, as well as item placement within the *School Journal*, were synthesised and categorised. Images were also analysed according to depictions of people, objects, places and their relationship to the significant areas of focus. Details of the contributors were recorded. Sections for additional information and comments were added as new themes or emphases emerged from the analysis. Once entered, the summaries could be reviewed and edited. In this way, a large quantity of information was available, from which it was possible to make conclusions about language, style, content and messages. Once a strong theme was identified, researchers could access both original data and summary tables, from which to structure their articles (two of which appear in this Special Issue). The scanned journal articles remain available to other researchers at the University of Auckland through a restricted library portal.

This article draws on analyses of written and visual items in the early years of the *School Journal*, from 1907-1930. It discusses how stories, poems, photographs, maps and illustrations were combined in a variety of ways to reinforce messages of what it meant to be citizen-child in the New Zealand of the times. The use of classical mythology is highlighted, in particular, for the way in which this literary device was used to reinforce key messages. Findings are discussed with reference to the textual content, but due to copyright restrictions, visual material from the *School Journals* is not able to be reproduced.

The aim is that this article will contribute to the limited body of research using the New Zealand *School Journals* as a primary data source and, more uniquely, the use of the *School Journals* to portray the civic messages delivered to school children at the time of the First World War.

Findings and discussion

In the analysis of the themes, concepts of duty, loyalty and connection to the British Empire, along with the honour of self-sacrifice, particularly in service to king and country became clearly apparent. To help make these ideals relevant to school children, tales and teachings involving young people from around the world and throughout history were often used, framed by points of civic instruction. This article reports on three key themes: how the *School*

Journals constructed the notion of the dutiful citizen-child; how children were prepared for impending war; and how the Anzac myth was used to reinforce these dutiful citizen messages both during and after the war.

1. Constructing the dutiful citizen

The dominant culture and the citizen-subject construct

School curricula serve a range of purposes, not least of which is articulating the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes deemed by society as being worth passing on to the next generation. Reconceptualist curriculum scholars (see, for example, Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 1995) would ask, however, who decides what is important and for whom? At the time of the introduction of *School Journal*, the shaping of the dominion's citizen-child was largely moulded by the ideals of the dominant culture. With the decline of the indigenous population in the late 1800s, the majority of New Zealanders of the time had historical, familial and cultural ties to Great Britain. The British are portrayed in the *School Journal* as compassionate colonisers, who, despite making a few mistakes, brought law and order to protect both Māori and European New Zealanders through their governance and institutions. A *School Journal* article notes that the Treaty of 1840 was "one of the most remarkable ever made with a savage race" and has, "remained the foundation of Maori liberty and British power in our country, and it was by it that New Zealand became part of the British Empire" (1914/2/5/pp.70-71).⁵

Strong ties to Great Britain were maintained through the legal system, trade, language and education. Schooling, since the 1877 Education Act, facilitated the seeding of predominantly upper-middle class British values, the assimilation of Māori and the exclusion of difference. Stephenson (2008) claims that the development of British rule prioritised Western constructions of citizenship and belonging, which over time, marginalised indigenous ways of identifying with the land and limited the ways in which Māori could fulfil their rights and obligations as a tribal society.

In the *School Journal*, Māori are portrayed as in need of civilising. We are told that Samuel Marsden (an early missionary) was "a great and good man" who "came to New Zealand to teach the Maoris and to beg them to give up their savage ways of living"(1910/1/2/p.29). While Māori content was regularly included in the *School Journal*, it was presented from a colonial and patriarchal perspective. Māori were praised, for example, for how they "had taken to heart the teachings of the better class of Europeans" (1912/3/1/p.16). Their culture was portrayed through a series of "Maoriland fairy tales" (see, for example, 1912/1/10).

Prince George visited New Zealand in June 1901. Nine years later when he becomes King of England, the children of New Zealand are reminded of his great visit and of the *tangi* (funeral wake) held for Queen Victoria by local Māori in Rotorua:

On this last day of his visit he saw the Maori as he had never been seen in all his history. In numbers, in unity of racial brotherhood, in unanimity of loyalty to the Empire and the Royal house, in generosity of heart and enthusiasm of emotion, this demonstration surpassed everything in the annals of the race. (1910/3/5/p.147)

Consolidating New Zealand's place in the British Empire

New Zealand's constitutional history was presented to children as a continuous progression of British history through the centuries – part of a seemingly unbroken and legitimate chain of constitutional continuance (Patrick, 2009). Terms reflecting a close imperial relationship are echoed throughout the *School Journal* where New Zealand is talked of as the “Britain of the South” and Great Britain as “dear old Home-land” or the “Mother-land”. New Zealand children are located as British citizen-subjects in the making. In several issues, the “boys and girls of the Empire” are directly addressed by the Earl of Meath:

May you bear in mind that, of the allied peoples of this Empire, each one looks to the others for practical sympathy, protection, and co-operation; and that 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! (1914/3/5/pp.132-133)

Stories of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and King George V are regularly told and re-told, especially in the June issues, which coincide with Empire Day celebrations. Queen Victoria is the “Great White Queen” and King George V, the “Sailor Prince”. Children would learn of George's hard work ethic through an anecdote about joining the navy when he was 12 years old. There was no special treatment for Prince George; he did his duty as the other boys and men on board the ship did. He later embarked upon an eight-month tour of the empire, “so that the future King of England might become still more fully acquainted with the British dominions beyond the seas and their peoples” (1910/3/5 p.145).

These stories were supplemented by stories of earlier English kings, especially Alfred the Great, whose story was a regular feature across the years and school levels. Children were also introduced to the patron saints, St George, St Andrew and St Patrick; great British sailors and commanders, Drake, Cook and Nelson; adventurers, Livingstone, Shackleton and Scott. Other famous figures of history were introduced, but not always in such favourable terms, notably William the Conqueror and Napoleon Bonaparte. Children were reminded of:

... all the bold men who took the flag of England into unknown seas and lands—of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Raleigh, of Hawkins and Drake, of Frobisher and Davis, of John Smith and William Penn, of Clive and Wolfe, of Anson and Captain Cook, of David Livingstone and Cecil Rhodes, and of a hundred others. (1912/3/5/p102)

The children of New Zealand were given consistent examples of their value and worth to their dominion and the empire. The importance of the part they could play in elevating, strengthening and consolidating the greatness of the British Empire was reinforced at every opportunity:

England expects, and, indeed, knows, that every man will do his duty. But the doing of duty begins with the boy and the girl, and when young we must all train ourselves and fit ourselves

for the great duties and responsibilities which will fall upon us when we grow up.
(1909/3/4/p.101)

The citizen-child and the "golden deed"

One way in which the idea of duty was reinforced was through the notion of the "golden deed" (1914/3/1). Such deeds were undertaken by selfless citizens, including children, with no thought for their own safety or of any kind of reward. Notions of imperial citizenship and self-sacrifice were cultivated through these stories of heroic deeds. The selection of items was intended to shape the beliefs and values of children by appealing to their emotions, their sense of belonging and connection with the familiar (Patrick, 2009).

The 1910 article 'What makes a nation great?' tells children that it is people who make a nation great. The article gives brief summaries of people whom children should emulate: soldiers fighting for their country at the Battle of Trafalgar; courageous British soldiers who stayed aboard a sinking ship off the coast of Africa so that the women and children might survive in the few available lifeboats; a bugler boy who sounded the alarm in the midst of a Māori raid, "determined to do his duty at any cost"; New Zealand's Grace Darling, Julia Martin, who put herself at great risk to save the lives of a shipwrecked crew; and countless more "men and women who risk their lives for others in bush-fires, mining accidents, and when people are in danger of drowning." (1910/2/4/p.58)

The message is unequivocal: men and women, boys and girls should do their duty above all else, as in this poem:

*Do your best, your very best,
And do it every day,
Little boys and girls:
That is the wisest way.* (1907/1/6/p.92)

The examples selected for publication are arranged in age appropriate year levels. Even very young children can be dutiful citizens by being brave and rescuing others. There is "The brave fisher lad"; "A brave little boy"; and "Some brave New Zealand girls and boys". In "A brave little lad", "Richard Clough...is only seven years of age ... yet as young as he is, he not only kept his home from being burned down, but also saved the lives of his little sister and baby brother. (1911/1/5) The story ends: "How proud of him everybody was when it was seen what a brave boy he had been" (p.74).

Moreover, bravery was not only exemplified by boys who were fit and strong, as the story "Hans the Cripple" shows (1914/1/2). Hans lived in the Tyrol mountains in Austria and could not march and learn to be a soldier like all the other boys as he had to walk with a crutch. But he was vigilant when all others neglected their lookout post one night and set the warning bonfire to alert his village to a French raid. Hans is shot as he tries to escape and before he dies, he gives thanks to God that he has been able to do "something useful" (p.27) for his country. The story ends with Hans the Cripple being forever remembered as one of the bravest soldiers of the region.

Even Queen Victoria was said to have displayed the qualities of a praiseworthy child who did her golden deeds by serving her country throughout life:

*A princess must not dawdle -
'Tis hard to learn to rule,
And she must do her lessons
Like you who go to school.*

*She must obey her teachers -
No better child was seen;
And when she ruled the country,
Was never better queen. (1909/1/4/ p.57)*

Gendered role models

A broad set of gendered role models in the early *School Journal* includes a panorama of dutiful, self-sacrificing, loyal and patriotic citizens. In the tradition of Victorian character ideology, cultivation of desirable traits in children was made possible through stories of courageous deeds or the biographies of praiseworthy figures (Patrick, 2009). Boys were expected to be brave and adventurous (see the article by Bingham, in this issue, for more on masculine ideals). But they were also expected to be obedient. A story of Captain Cook begins by explaining that as a cabin boy, “whatever he was asked to do he did well, and soon was so highly thought of that he was made an officer” (1907/1/1/p.7).

Stories of women, of which there were few, always begin with what good little girls they had been as children. For example, the heroine, Annie McQuaid, was a “quiet little girl with retiring manners, a pleasant voice and appearance” (1908/3/9/p.268). While some stories tell of the deeds of ordinary citizens, others tell of well-known figures – yet they always begin in girlhood. Joan of Arc is introduced as:

...a good and kind girl [who] used to sit and sew by her mother’s side, or go out to tend her father’s sheep in the fields. So kind was she to birds and beasts that they would come when she called them, and feed out of her hands. She had pleasant ways with sick people, and with people poorer than herself. (1909/3/2/p.23)

Florence Nightingale is featured multiple times before, during and after the First World War – and across the three learning levels. Typically, the telling of the story does not begin with how Nightingale changes nursing and improves the care of soldiers but of how, as a young girl, she pretends to nurse her sick dolls, cares for animals and brings a sheepdog back to health. The girls of New Zealand are given a glimpse of the child they might be. It is the service to others in need that young Florence is praised for, “It was wonderful to see this bright girl, who might have spent her time in games and sports, giving herself with delight to nursing the sick people of the village” (1910/2/9/p.120). She is later praised for her work with the soldiers of the Crimean war, her new methods saving thousands of lives and gaining fame and glory throughout the Empire. “But all these honours were as nothing to Florence Nightingale. Her noble self-sacrifice was to her only the performance of a simple duty” (p.133).

Using Queen Victoria as a female role model also continued to reinforce gender stereotyping. In an early issue, Queen Victoria is portrayed as the sorrowful and loving Mother of the Empire. She is reported to have wept for the loss of life of her brave soldiers. Her “kindness of heart was proverbial and the terrible slaughter of her loyal subjects in the South African wars and elsewhere, caused her keen suffering and brought forth her true womanly feeling and sympathy” (1907/1/1 p.22). She wrote many letters of condolence to widows and mothers whose “dear husband or son had been smitten down on the blood-stained battlefield, fighting gallantly for Queen and country”(p.22).

2. Celebration of, and preparation for, war

Instilling patriotism through history and biography

As the extracts above demonstrate, stories in the *School Journal* were building in commemoration of war-themed stories and selective reporting of current events well before the outbreak of the First World War. From the very first issue of the *School Journal*, war was presented as a regular feature of history. It appeared that all nations went to war. Stories told of the Boers against the British, the Spanish against the Dutch, the Swedes against the Danes, the Poles against the Russians and the Romans against the Gauls. Children learned about the Crimean War, the 100 Years war, and the South African War; and of brave and fearless leaders – Richard the Lionheart, Horatio Nelson and Kitchener of Khartoum. Editorial and authorial comment, underpinned by a strong sense of patriarchal superiority, perpetuated ideals through uncritical histories and the celebratory reporting of imperial conquests and victories.

History, especially in the form of biography, was considered a useful vehicle for the achievement of civic and patriotic objectives, strengthening imperial bonds through empathy and connection. In 1912, School Inspector D.A. Strachan was of the opinion that:

History becomes a living subject when through vivid and dramatic treatment appeal is made to the emotions as well as the intellect, when the great men of the past become our friends, we sympathise with them in their struggles or wish them success in pursuit of their ideal.⁶

Instructional materials were often chosen to appeal to children or were prefaced with local or homely anecdotes to ground the lesson in the children’s own experiences. The case of Bugler Dunn provides an example that highlights duty and service. Dunn, a fourteen-year old boy in the British army, was wounded crossing a river under heavy fire from an unseen enemy in the South African Wars. Recovering in a London hospital, he was visited by the daughter of Queen Victoria, and presented with a silver bugle. Making his father and the empire proud, the youth declared that he only wanted to go back and fight with his men (1911/2/1).

In early issues of the *School Journal*, school cadet regiments were listed on the final page and celebrated for their abilities with drills and rifles. One article featured numerous photographs of the 13,000 cadets who turned out for Lord Kitchener’s 1910 visit to New Zealand (1910/3/3). Connecting young readers with soldiers and the glory of the empire through war, and the potential role that they could play, was frequently reinforced in prose and poetry:

*Children of the Empire, you are brothers all;
Children of the Empire, answer to the call...* (1910/1/4/p.64)

Using war to reinforce the dutiful citizen-child

Not only might selective usage of materials help to configure patriotic and dutiful citizens in peacetime, but targeted subject matter could provide a foundation for dutiful action in times of war. A corollary of the bravery and self-sacrifice message was that everyone could (and should) become a useful and moral citizen of the empire (see, "How boys and girls of New Zealand can help the Empire," (1911/3/5). Courageous young people were honoured and remembered in the *School Journal*, (see, "Some brave New Zealand boys and girls", 1911/3/5). This message set the scene for brave acts expected of soldiers by a well-prepared school readership being moulded for honourable lives of sacrifice (see, "Heroes of War," 1912/2/5).

Enduring personal qualities were assumed to be readily translated to seemingly ordinary people who also met the demands and pressures arising from engagement in war. Bravery and self-sacrifice in wartime is exemplified by the tale of a musical Polish boy captured outside the gates of Warsaw by the Russians. This boy was not militaristic like his brother. The enemy soldiers pressured him to play a happy tune but he sounded the alarm instead, saving the city but sacrificing his life (1911/1/8). This tale shows that children do not have to be war-like by nature to become gallant heroes. The story of a 10-year-old French girl who risked her life twice daily delivering hot drinks to soldiers in the trenches was also instructional, demonstrating that ordinary children could perform acts of kindness and aid the war effort (1915/1/5).

Stories of valiant soldiers also appeared regularly. When Victoria Cross winner, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts died in 1914, "Many of his old soldiers wept like children, for Lord Roberts was more than a brilliant commander — he was the soldier's friend, and the model of all a Christian warrior should be" (1915/3/1/p.2). Such stories stood side by side with children's poems:

*And now we're marching onward
In all our brave array –
On to the field of battle –
To conquer, not to slay.* (1908/1/4/p.58)

Messages in myth and legend

An extensive tradition, stretching back to the ancient worlds of Greece and Rome, provides a foundation for the construction of citizenship. In a tradition of imperial service and sacrifice, soldiers such as the unflinching Roman sentry (1910/2/7), or the brave standard bearer are represented as courageous, steadfast and dutiful in the face of mortal danger. The story of "The Brave Standard Bearer", tells of a youth, probably fictional, who led Julius Caesar's invasion of Britannia. In an illustration, he is sketched as fearlessly leaping into the fray bearing the Roman Eagle aloft, while his fellow soldiers take cover behind their shields (1911/1/7). The selection of such items reflects the belief that messages in the curriculum were thought to be readily translatable through time and space (Patrick, 2009).

Myths and symbols from ancient civilisations and battles of the past led to the romancing of legendary figures and epic odysseys, including that of Jason and the Golden Fleece. The women in this tale weep as their menfolk embark on their journey, believing the doomed heroes will meet certain death, although their fame will live forever in legend (Midford, 2012). These stories, adapted for the *School Journal*, were presented as lessons in morality, civics, geography and history (see, "Building of the Argo", 1910/3/10).

The past was often meshed with present concerns, including national identity formation. Texts were combined within *School Journal* issues or between class levels to offer linked teaching points across subjects. As an accompaniment to the classical myth of the Argonauts, for example, an article adapted from the *Canterbury Times* newspaper cast the national export of New Zealand wool in a similar golden vein. The photograph of a steamship in Lyttelton Harbour became an "argosy" bathed in golden light: "As the man on the wharf watched the disappearing steamship, a golden haze surrounded her. She was bearing on its precious voyage the Golden Fleece" (1910/3/3/p.92).

A steady flow of items served to reinforce messages of good deeds, bravery and honourable acts in the spirit of the British officer class (Grosvenor, 2005). Indeed, many New Zealand officers had been trained as school cadets from the age of twelve (see, "Lord Kitchener's Message and Visit," 1910/3/3) before leaving secondary school for the battlefronts of the First World War. Thus, the stage was set for legendary acts in wartime. With this Homeric foundation laid, it was only a short step to connect the Anzac soldiers' landing at Gallipoli, almost within sight of the ancient city of Troy, with the myths of antiquity (Midford, 2012).

3. Creating and sustaining the Anzac myth

New Zealand goes to war

By the outbreak of war, in August 1914, there was already a sense of an emerging national identity, pride in our place in the empire and an expectation that citizens would do their duty and willingly sacrifice their lives to serve both king and country. All three levels of the 1913 *School Journal*, for example, contain multiple entries about the battleship, HMS New Zealand, which was commissioned by the New Zealand government and gifted to the empire. The naval ship toured New Zealand during 1913 and the articles proudly celebrate "New Zealand's contribution to the insurance of the Empire" in that and subsequent years (see, for example, 1913/2/4; 1913/3/4).

As the war progressed, the *School Journal* became filled with patriotic items of relevance to war and the home front. Early in the war, New Zealand's first military act of consequence was to "capture" Western Samoa from the Germans, with the political help of a group of Samoan chiefs exiled to Fiji (1914/3/9). Civic duties included the raising of the Union Jack amidst military spectacle and promises of improved governance. A sense of national pride was instilled in New Zealand school children through photographs of the occasion and detailed reporting of "what, in a sense, may be termed New Zealand's first overseas conquest" (p.280).

The same journal issue contains the speech given to the New Zealand troops by New Zealand Defence Force Commander, Sir Alexander Godley. The address makes it clear that being a soldier from New Zealand means representing not only their country and their regiment, but being of equal calibre to the soldiers in the British Regular Army. "Remember that the whole of New Zealand will be watching you, and will expect to see ... something more than ordinary from the men who are here to-day." (1914/3/9/pp.272-3) Godley tells the soldiers that they are comrades and members of the same team. The expectation is that dutiful children reading the *School Journal*, will readily identify with the team analogy, and will undertake to be dutiful soldiers when they are called upon.

Creating the Anzac myth

Tales of war, other lands, adventure and heroism laid a foundation upon which to situate the myth of the ANZAC landing at Gallipoli in April 1915. A myth in this sense refers to a generalized, simplified understanding of the campaign. Not necessarily false, a myth is a "dramatized story that has evolved in our society to contain the meanings of the war that we can tolerate ..." (Hynes, 1999, p. 207). In the case of the Anzac nations, Australia and New Zealand, this myth underpins a significant intergenerational event of national importance. In Britain and around the Western world, the Gallipoli campaign is more of an embarrassment, a lost battle in a much larger war (Macleod, 2004; Pugsley, 2004). The difference in interpretation exists in how the history of the campaign was recorded and disseminated through the official and popular media of the day (Macleod, 2004).

The Gallipoli campaign was reported at length in the *School Journal*, (see, for example, 1915/3/8) particularly drawing on the celebratory materials available to an expectant and adoring public (Midford, 2012). The message that "Australians and New Zealanders amazed the whole world by their heroic gallantry at Gallipoli" (1916/3/5/p.137) was to become embedded in the nation's consciousness. Maps coordinating ancient place names and legends of the past with the contemporary battles of the peninsula, collapsed the boundaries of time and place to glorify the deeds of soldiers at this historic site. An early article on the Gallipoli campaign makes links to its legendary location:

It was across the Dardanelles, then called the Hellespont, that the Persian ruler Xerxes built his famous bridge of boats when he invaded Greece, and was so bravely opposed by Leonidas and his three hundred gallant Spartans, and at the same place, a century and a half later, Alexander the Great took his army across when he invaded Asia, and marched as far as India. To-day, with the warships of the Allies bombarding and destroying the forts along the banks of the Dardanelles, this narrow strait springs again into historical importance. (1915/3/3/p. 2)

Stirring poetry glorifying war and loss on the battlefield, along with the retelling of old myths, coalesced to create a new myth of the heroic soldier (Midford, 2012):

Why do you grieve for us who lie
At our lordly ease by the Dardanelles?
We have no need for tears or sighs,
We who passed in the heat of fight
Into the soft Elysian light... (1916/3/5/p.129)

Defeat in battle was romanticised as a national example of sacrifice and bravery, demonstrating a proud contribution by citizens of the empire (Macleod, 2004):

Sunday the 25th April is the fifth anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli— that feat of arms which for dauntless bravery has never been equalled, and which proved the loyalty of the sons of the far-off dominions to the Mother-land. (1920/3/3/p.82)

Having established a foundation for brave conduct and sacrifice in war, the *School Journal* consolidated examples of courage and stoicism shown by New Zealand and Australian soldiers at Anzac Cove. Photographs of harsh living conditions in dugouts on the inhospitable cliffs would have impressed upon school children the steadfastness and endurance of the soldiers at Gallipoli. These portrayals continued well after the defeat and terrible loss of life were made known (see, for example, 1925/2/3; 1926/2/3; 1930/3/3)

The stories also portrayed the nurses, doctors and wartime ambulance workers risking their lives to convey the wounded to safety, and then working without rest to ease suffering (1914/3/9; 1916/3/5). These stories continue the theme of civilian sacrifices, demonstrated in earlier journals by exemplary people such as Florence Nightingale and doctors on past battlefields.

In turn, links are then made to the children themselves. The children of New Zealand raised over £2000 for wartime motorised ambulances to be sent to Egypt, the destination for the evacuated wounded. The children are thanked by British Prime Minister Asquith for their contributions, which are “a fitting way for children to help the Empire” (1914/3/9 p. 259).

Mingling fact and fiction

Strong public expectations of heroic action at Gallipoli shaped the selective nature of army dispatches and reporting in print media across the Empire (Midford, 2012; Macleod, 2004). Consequently, romantic descriptions of the Anzac campaign found their way into the *School Journal*. Several articles were based on British poet laureate John Masefield’s embellished narratives, retold in the *School Journals* alongside Greek myths set in the same geographical location (1926/2/3; 1930/3/3). An Anzac Day *School Journal* article describes the Gallipoli landing as follows:

No such gathering of fine ships has ever been seen upon this earth, and the beauty and the exultation of the youth upon them made them like sacred things as they moved away The men went like kings in a pageant to the imminent death. (1920/3/3/p.84).

These events of the past and present were identified in maps, effectively collapsing the significant passage of time that separated Classical Greece from the Ottoman Empire in the First World War. A drawing of cross-linked New Zealand and Australian flags crowned with an ancient victory laurel appears at the head of an Anzac poem illustrating the growing awareness of the two countries linked both to the classical world and in contemporary combination (1916/3/5). Equally as poetic, were compositions positioning the dead soldiers as war heroes resting forever in Elysian fields, visited by the ghosts of Homeric soldiers of old (1919/3/5).

It is difficult to now separate fact from fiction to determine the effectiveness of the Anzac soldiers both as a military fighting force and as war heroes, remembering that the campaign itself was an overall failure for the Allies (Pugsley, 2004). This point was seemingly lost to the New Zealand and Australian publics of the day who preferred elevation of the Anzacs to mythic proportions, taking national pride in their menfolk's loyalty to the Empire, resourcefulness, courage, mateship and natural abilities under pressure (Pugsley, 2004; Macleod, 2004; Midford, 2012).

Keeping the Anzac myth alive

From the outset, the *School Journal* set up the glorification of war through the juxtaposition of mythological, historical and contemporary accounts of the call of duty and the honour of sacrifice. It was a smooth transition to including the "Heroes in Gallipoli" (1925/2/3) in this historical Roll of Honour. Year after year, the *School Journal* told stories or showed photographs of the soldiers living a simple life on an inhospitable hillside, enduring privations with stoic resilience, dutifully serving empire and country. These portrayals served to remind children of the Anzacs' heroic feats against all odds.

The first remembrance of the ill-fated landing at Anzac Cove, took place later in April 1915 when the news reached home. Flags were flown at half-mast and families scanned the casualty lists. Yet, the defeat was cast in heroic terms:

From the outset, public perceptions of the landings evoked national pride. The eventual failure of the Gallipoli operation enhanced its sanctity for many; there may have been no military victory, but there was victory of the spirit as New Zealand soldiers showed courage in the face of adversity and sacrifice.⁷

In 1916, a half-day holiday was declared for April 25, and commemorative services were held in New Zealand and in Westminster Abbey in London. Yearly commemorations became a feature. In 1919, however, the focus was instead on Armistice Day and the unveiling of the national cenotaph in Wellington. In the *School Journal*, the words of the officiating padre were reiterated, pointing out that the word ANZAC stood for daring, endurance, brotherhood, courage, sacrifice and emulation. Evergreen wreaths, cut flowers and crosses made by children adorned the cenotaph and Karori cemetery, honouring the memory of soldiers cut off in the flower of their lives (1920/3/3). In 1923, Anzac Day became an official public holiday. In a mix of national pride and mourning, the sacrifices, bravery, courage and stoicism of the Anzac soldiers were revered in collections of verse, memories, photographic images and war news reporting (see, for example, 1926/2/3).

In 1927, the *School Journal* reprinted a poem by Canadian doctor, John McCrae, recalling the poppies of Flanders Fields (1927/3/3). This symbol is then linked to Gallipoli, as poppies also grew on the graves there. In this way, the beginnings of an association between Anzac Day and the remembrance poppies of Flanders is initiated. It continues to this day. In the 1930s, dawn parades to reflect the dawn landings at Gallipoli also became part of the commemorations.

The solemnity of Anzac Day as a "holy day" makes sacred the secular observance of wartime commemoration (Seal, 2007). This ritualized symbolism and sacredisation of the Anzac

commemorations has continued over time (see the article on the curriculum resources prepared for 100th anniversary of the First World War in this Special Issue). The *School Journal* has played its part in the maintenance of Anzac Day as a hallowed event of national significance and mystique through regular Anzac issues.

Conclusion

The New Zealand *School Journal* is an iconic publication. It has been free to schools since 1907 as an adjunct to the formal curriculum. It was published throughout the year with material at three or four class levels. It contained fiction and non-fiction stories, poems, plays, photographs and illustrations reflecting what the Department (later the Ministry) of Education felt reflected New Zealand children's interests and experiences. With few standardised textbooks, New Zealand teachers used the *School Journals* as instructional and recreational reading material as well as core or complementary curriculum resources. A recent news article claimed, "Say the words 'School Journal' to anyone who's been a New Zealand primary school kid, and the reaction is usually immediate. Eyes light up. Thoughts tumble out."⁸ A close examination of the early *School Journal* from 1907-1930, however, reveals that its influence has not always been so benign. Overt and covert messages were delivered to school children in engaging and accessible ways that had them accept selective accounts of history as fact and emotive rhetoric as instructive lessons.

As historical artefacts reflecting the attitudes and aspirations of the day, more than a hundred years of continuous publication of the *School Journal* provides detailed insight into the way in which curriculum can be used as a tool for particular purposes, from social reproduction to patriotic indoctrination. In this study of *School Journal* issues from 1907-1930 several clear themes emerged. First, from their inception, the *School Journal* reiterated a particular construction of the dutiful citizen-child of the British Empire. Second, the *School Journal* normalised, even ennobled, conflict and conquest – and the British Empire's role in those events. Later, with the onset of the First World War, New Zealand's debt to the empire was reinforced and her contribution to the war effort celebrated. As the war progressed, the exploits of New Zealand soldiers, particularly the Anzacs at Gallipoli, were then mythologised to reinforce these messages of duty to king and country. In the reifying of the myth of the rugged Anzac, however, the empire began to become less prominent in the New Zealand psyche as a new identity was forged. By the late 1930s, with Clarence Beeby becoming the Director-General of Education, in charge of the School Publications Branch, more local flavour and content emerged. Beeby is quoted as saying: "We could no longer be content with the educational theories and practices of the old world, however warmly we felt about them..."⁹

This study revealed several literary devices that were used to embed the themes of duty and self-sacrifice, the nobility of war and the exultation of the Anzacs in the *School Journal*. The first was the use of myth and legend. From the outset, the British Empire was linked to ancient civilisations, and its leaders to legendary heroes, through the use of language, selection of images and placement of items within the journal, often alongside stories from myth and legend. A rather extreme legendary analogy was used to build New Zealand's developing identity as a self-governing dominion by equating shipping wool to Great Britain as an argosy carrying the golden fleece. The feats of the Anzacs were similarly eulogised as the fallen soldiers were said to lie in Elysian fields with the heroes of antiquity. Historian Michael King

underlines the “powerful influence” of the *School Journal* on the “developing sense of New Zealand identity”, including its role in promoting “erroneous” beliefs, as shared mythologies became “more powerful than history” (cited in O’Brien, 2007, p.15).

Another device, linked to the use of myth and legend, was blurring the distinctions of time and place. That the Gallipoli campaign took place in a part of the world visited by Xerxes and Alexander the Great, not far from the ancient cities of Troy and Ephesus, meant that maps of modern and ancient campaigns could be overlaid and given more credence than was historically accurate. The conflation of the poppies from Flanders fields with the Gallipoli campaign is another example. Similarly, stories of old were linked to the behaviours expected of children of the time, regardless of differences in location, culture, age, social status, gender or ability. Children were given the message that if Clive of India, a Roman centurion or a fisher lad could act in such a gallant manner, so could they.

This links to a third device, connecting stories with a civic and moral purpose to children’s lives. The biographies of famous figures, from Captain Cook to Florence Nightingale, from Queen Victoria to King George V, all began with the good deeds they had undertaken as a child – helping at home, giving to the poor or being studious. From such well-behaved children, they grew into noble adults who performed great feats of discovery, endurance or sacrifice, in their humble duty to the empire. By emulating their virtues, the children of New Zealand could also achieve greatness. In particular, boys, who were fed a steady diet of male role models from brave bugler boys to legendary kings, could use their physical prowess and adventurous spirit to serve the empire and even sacrifice their lives when called upon. Is it any wonder that after years of these carefully crafted messages, that young men willing signed up for their big adventure when war broke out?

As we reflect upon the First World War, one hundred years later, it is important to separate myth from reality and fact from romance. Crotty (2009) cautions that we enter into “fraught territory” if we continue to portray war “as an exercise in good citizenship or nation building”. Such mythologizing may simply serve to impart half-truths, which were employed for particular purposes at a certain time but should now be challenged. We also need to critique the “Whiggish tradition” of liberal, celebratory histories that are seemingly reported as fact (McCulloch and Richardson, 2000, p. 43). Where these selective representations appear in curriculum texts or support materials, there is even more danger of the control and dissemination of ideological perspectives. As Sheehan notes, “curriculum is a highly political process that works to reproduce social class patterns and keep particular elite groups in control of the official curriculum.” The evidence from the New Zealand *School Journal*, from 1907 to 1930, supports his assertion and this study has enabled researchers to peel back the layers of messages in the *School Journal* to reveal the way in which those in power, wittingly or unwittingly, shaped children’s aspirations. As the 100th anniversary commemorations at Passchendaele were played on New Zealand television screens, a Belgian attendee remarked that he could not understand why people from the far ends of the earth would come to fight in Europe.¹⁰ Had he read the *School Journal*, he would know why – they came to do their duty to the empire – even if that meant the ultimate sacrifice.

Notes

1. When talking about the company of soldiers, that is, the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, the convention is to use all capital letters in the acronym (ANZAC) but when talking of derivatives of this idea, as in Anzac Day or the Anzac myth, only the first letter is capitalized.
2. New Zealand's 'blackest day' at Passchendaele. Retrieved from: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/new-zealands-blackest-day-at-passchendaele>
3. Reeves, W. P. (1895). *The New Zealand reader: Prepared for use in the fifth and sixth standard classes*.
4. Gregory, J. W. (1906). *The Southern Cross geographical readers. Standards V-VI*. Christchurch, NZ: Whitcombe and Tombs.
5. Material from the *School Journal* is cited in the following manner: Year/Part (Level 1, 2 or 3)/Number/Page (if required).
6. Minister of Education. (1912). *Reports of Inspectors of Schools: Marlborough*. AJHR, E-2, Appendix C, p.xxxii.
7. "Anzac Day: A sacred holiday." Retrieved from: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/anzac-day-1920-45>
8. "School Journals not always as appreciated as they are now." Retrieved from: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/89463359/school-journals-not-always-as-appreciated-as-they-are-now>
9. Ibid.
10. Television New Zealand, TV1 evening news, 6pm, 13 October, 2017.

Primary sources (*School Journal*, Year/Part/Number: "Title")

School Journal, 1907/1/1: "Captain Cook."

School Journal, 1907/1/1: "Empire Day."

School Journal, 1907/1/6: "Do your best."

School Journal, 1908/1/4: "The Band of Red, White and Blue"

School Journal, 1908/3/9: "Annie MacQuaid."

School Journal, 1909/1/4: "Queen Victoria's Promise."

School Journal, 1909/3/4: "Britain's Position among the Nations, and the Responsibilities of her Citizens."

School Journal, 1910/1/2: "The Story of Ruatara."

School Journal, 1910/1/4: "Children of the Empire."

School Journal, 1910/2/9: "Florence Nightingale."

School Journal, 1910/2/7: "Heroes of Other Lands."

School Journal, 1910/2/4: "What makes a nation great?"

School Journal, 1910/3/3: "Lord Kitchener's Visit and Message."

School Journal, 1910/3/3: "The Golden Fleece."

School Journal, 1910/3/5: "King George V: The Sailor Prince."

School Journal, 1910/3/10: "Building of the Argo."

School Journal, 1911/1/5: "A Brave Little Lad".

School Journal, 1911/1/7: "The Story of the Brave Standard Bearer".

School Journal, 1911/2/1: "Brave Bugler Dunn."

School Journal, 1911/1/8: "The Little Bugler."

School Journal, 1911/3/5: "How Boys and Girls of New Zealand can help the Empire."

School Journal, 1911/3/5: "Some Brave New Zealand Boys and Girls."

School Journal, 1912/1/10: "Maoriland Fairy Tales"

School Journal, 1912/2/5: "Heroes of War".

School Journal, 1912/3/3: "The Story of Andrew Powers."

School Journal, 1912/3/5: "Empire Day."

School Journal, 1913/2/4: "The New Zealand."

School Journal, 1913/3/4: "HMS New Zealand."

School Journal, 1914/1/2: "Hans the Cripple".

School Journal, 1914/2/5: "How New Zealand became part of the British Empire."

School Journal, 1914/3/1: "What is a Golden Deed?"

School Journal, 1914/3/5: "The Story of Empire Day."

School Journal, 1914/3/9: "The Capture of German Samoa by the New Zealand Expeditionary Force."

School Journal, 1914/3/9: "Sir Alexander Godley's Address to the New Zealand Troops."

School Journal, 1914/3/9: "The Red Cross on the Battlefield."

School Journal, 1915/1/5: "A Little Heroine of the Trenches."

School Journal, 1915/3/1: "The Story of Earl Roberts".

School Journal, 1915/3/3: "The Dardanelles."

School Journal, 1916/3/5: "To the Women they have Left: The Dead at Anzac."

School Journal, 1915/1/5: "A Little Heroine of the Trenches."

School Journal, 1915/3/8: "The New Zealanders at the Dardanelles."

School Journal, 1916/3/5: "At Anzac in a Hospital Ship."

School Journal, 1916/3/5: "Australia and New Zealand United."

School Journal, 1920/3/3: "Anzac Day."

School Journal, 1920/3/5: "Anzac Day Celebrations."

School Journal, 1923/1/4: "Empire Day Stories."

School Journal, 1925/2/3: "Heroes in Gallipoli."

School Journal, 1926/2/3: "A Great and Terrible Day."

School Journal, 1927/3/3: "A Land of Valour."

School Journal, 1930/3/3: "The Landing at Gallipoli."

References

- Bush, J. (2000). *Edwardian ladies and imperial power*. London; New York: Leicester University Press.
- Campbell, A. (1941). *Educating New Zealand*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs. Retrieved from: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-CamEduc-t1-front-d1.html>
- Cartwright, S. (2001). The role of the Governor-General. Speech delivered at New Zealand Centre for Public Law, Victoria University, Wellington. Retrieved 6/14, 2014, from <http://gg.govt.nz/media/speeches.asp?type=constitutional&ID=229>
- Crotty, M. (2009). Teaching ANZAC: Fraught territory, teachable moments and professional responsibility. *Agora*, 44(2), 13-17. Retrieved February 18, 2014 from <<http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/documentSummary;dn=035478158889633;res=IELHSS>>
- Ewing, J. (1970). *The development of the New Zealand Primary school curriculum 1877-1970*. Wellington, New Zealand: NZCER.
- Grosvenor, I. (2005). 'There's no place like home': education and the making of national identity. In G. McCulloch (Ed.), *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in History of Education* (pp. 273–289). London and NY: Routledge.
- Hynes, S. (1999) Personal narratives and commemoration. In J.M. Winter and E. Sivan (Eds.), *War and remembrance in the twentieth century*. Cambridge, U.K. and NY: Cambridge University Press.

- Jones, A., McCulloch, G., Marshall, J., Smith, G.H, & Smith, L.T. (1990). *Myths and Realities: Schooling in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Macleod, J. (2004). *Reconsidering Gallipoli*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- McCulloch, G. (1992). *The school curriculum in New Zealand: History, theory, policy and practice*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- McCulloch, G. & Richardson, W. (2000). *Historical research in educational settings*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Midford, S. (2012). Constructing the 'Australian Iliad': Ancient heroes and Anzac diggers in the Dardanelles. (report). *Melbourne Historical Journal*, (39), 59.
- Mutch, C. (2005). Developing global citizens: The rhetoric and the reality in the *New Zealand Curriculum*. In C. White & R. Openshaw (Eds.), *Democracy at the crossroads*, pp.187-209, Lanham, US: Lexington Books.
- O'Brien, G. (2007). *A nest of singing birds: 100 years of the New Zealand School Journal*. Wellington, N.Z.: Learning Media.
- Patrick, R. (2009). *Teaching the storied past: History in New Zealand primary schools 1900-1940*. (Unpublished Master of Arts, in History). University of Melbourne.
- Pinar, W., Reynolds, W., Slattery, P., & Taubman, P. (1995). *Understanding curriculum. An introduction to the study of historical and contemporary curriculum discourses*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Pugsley, C. (2004). Stories of Anzac. In Macleod, J. (Ed.), *Gallipoli: Making History* (pp 44-58). London and NY: Frank Cass.
- Seal, G. (2007). ANZAC: the sacred in the secular. *JAS: Australia's Public Intellectual Forum*, 91, 135-144. Retrieved February 21, 2014 from <http://ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=26201470&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Sheehan, M. (2011). A question of bias? The Education and Science Select Committee inquiry into the setting of the 2004 New Zealand history examination. *History of Education Review*. Vol. 40: 2, pp. 176-188
- Stephenson, M. (2008). Education, state and society: An historical analysis. In V. Carpenter, J. Jesson, P. Roberts & M. Stephenson (Eds.), *Ngā kaupapa here: Connections and contradictions in education* (pp. 1-13). South Melbourne, Vic.: Cengage Learning.
- Stephenson, M. (2010). Learning about empire and the imperial education conferences in the early twentieth century: Creating cohesion or demonstrating difference? *History of Education Review*, 39(2), 24-35

The “Making of a soldier”: Masculinity and Soldierhood as Portrayed in the *New Zealand School Journal*, 1907-1925.

ROSEMARY BINGHAM

*School of Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education and Social Work
University of Auckland, New Zealand*

ABSTRACT This article discusses how early curriculum resources available to all school children in New Zealand attempted to shape children’s attitudes to the First World War. The study reviewed issues of the *New Zealand School Journal* between the years 1907-1925. It found evidence of overt and covert attempts to influence children's attitudes towards the Great War. In particular, the *School Journals* perpetuated the masculine ideals essential for the making of a soldier and the creation of "war ready men". They reinforced a patriotic ideal and duty to Empire as well as introducing a strong sense of nationhood through the creation of a new Anzac identity.

Introduction

This article explores the way in which the *New Zealand School Journal*, during the years 1907 to 1925, cultivated a masculine identity, both prior to and during the First World War. The *School Journal* was first published in New Zealand in 1907 as a way to provide access to New Zealand content across the curriculum (O’Brien, 2007). It aligned with the topics in the school syllabus, which were heavily influenced by New Zealand’s links to the British Empire. O’Brien notes that the *School Journal* served an important role in fostering imperial “colonial values” (2007, p. 13).

The *School Journal* provides a rich data source to explore how different curricular topics were viewed at any one time and how they developed and changed over time. This article has taken the theme of masculinity and investigated how a masculine identity was constructed through these curriculum support materials. The findings revealed an overt curriculum with a clear purpose: to promote imperialism, nationalism and militarism. A large focus was also on the construction of the masculine ideal, which was heavily linked with the celebration of war. In the years before, during and after the First World War, the *School Journals* clearly conveyed ideals required for “the making of a soldier”

[NZJS/1916/3/?/p.2].⁽¹⁾

School Journals were issued 10 times per year (February to November, to match the school year). They were also prepared for different levels of the school. Part 1 journals were for junior primary (5-6 year-olds) through to Part 4 for senior primary (11-12 year olds).

The research method for this study comprised close reading and thematic analysis of material from 42 individual journal issues across the 18 year time frame of 1907 to 1925. After identifying items (from poems, fiction stories, non-fiction articles, plays and illustrations), each item was coded for initial themes. These were then aggregated into categories, which were collapsed into conceptual themes. The following themes emerged: (a) imperialism, national identity and duty to Empire; (b) heroism; Anzacs and the masculine ideal; and (c) open propaganda associated with turning boys into men. Relevant examples have been selected from the examined items and arranged in chronological order to provide both the historical context of New Zealand at this time, as well as the evolution of a new, masculine identity. The discussion of the themes is supported by material from a review of the relevant literature.

World War I: Empire and Society

Participation in the First World War had a profound effect on New Zealand society, infusing New Zealand's new national identity with a strong patriotic ideal). Patriotism and nationalism were closely linked to the notion of soldierhood (Eldred-Grigg, 2010).

The war occurred in a period of rapid transformation of New Zealand society. In 1907, New Zealand became a self-governing dominion of the British Empire, rather than a colony. It was still closely tied to the workings of the Empire (Loveridge, 2014). As a result, at the time of the war, New Zealand's collective identity was primarily based on the imperialistic values of Great Britain. These values dictated New Zealand's loyalty and patriotism to the Empire, but also allowed for a unified identity within that of the British Empire.

The *School Journal* shows the high status Great Britain had in New Zealand throughout the twentieth century through its coverage of celebrations such as Empire Day. Devotion to the Empire was linked to strengthening social militarism, which heightened the sense of military spirit that was deeply rooted in perceptions of self-glorification and national pride (Loveridge, 2014; Fenton, 2014). These values were reinforced in the *School Journals* of the time.

Entry into the war allowed New Zealand to recognise its colonial heritage and articulate its strong association with Great Britain and their place within the Empire (Bibbings, 2003; Collins, 2012; Fenton, 2014; Flothow, 2007; Loveridge, 2014; Wright, 2010). Citizens were eager to stand by Britain and do their part. (Fenton, 2014). An early cartoon in the *New Zealand Free Lance* newspaper typifies the New Zealand soldier's allegiance to the Empire and sense of patriotic duty. It shows New Zealand's Premier Massey farewelling young New Zealanders off to war (portrayed as British lions in New Zealand soldiers' uniforms) with the caption: "Off to the Old Chap's aid" (*New Zealand Free Lance*, 1914, p.3).

Masculinity and the "making of a soldier"

As well as being instrumental in constructing a national identity, patriotism and nationalism played an important part in the construction of soldierhood, and a strong New Zealand masculine identity. Soldiers were cast as embodying the high principles and typical characteristics of the society they fought for. The resulting image presented a soldier in uniform as an everyday man who was made a hero by fighting for a larger cause (Loveridge, 2014).

New Zealand's sense of nationhood was clearly "forged by war" (Eldred-Grigg, 2010, p. 462). While the sense of nationhood that rose from the battlefields was originally based on the loyalty felt towards the Empire, the creation of the ANZACs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps), the landing in Gallipoli, and the Gallipoli Campaign itself, were turning points in the creation of a shift in national identity and the formation of a new nationhood for New Zealanders (Eldred-Grigg, 2010; Wilson, 2013; Wright, 2010).

The landing of the ANZAC troops in Gallipoli meant soldiers were physically distanced from their homeland, and became identifiable as different from soldiers of other nations (Kundu, 2009). New Zealand soldiers even identified as different to soldiers from other allied countries, and it is argued that this spurred the recognition of a separate, "Kiwi" Anzac identity (Kundu, 2009).

While the landing at Gallipoli represented New Zealand evolving as a separate, independent country, the Anzac campaign also played a prominent role in the creation of a new

masculine ideal (Eldred-Grigg, 2010). Men who fought at Gallipoli embodied typical New Zealand masculine traits such as courage, strength, stoicism while retaining a sense of humour, and egalitarianism (Loveridge, 2014). The legend of Gallipoli effectively portrayed New Zealand soldiers as male heroes, as our “bold boys who embodied these typical masculine traits” (Eldred-Grigg, 2010, p. 140).

Analysis of the *School Journal*, 1907-1925:

National Identity, Duty and the Empire

Children’s literature and curriculum materials published before, during and after the Great War were instrumental in constructing children’s attitudes about war both overtly and subtly (Collins, 2012; Galway, 2012). Children’s literature often communicated “what the war is, what it is like, what it means, and what its consequences are” (Meek, 2001, p. xv). Before, and at the time of the Great War, war propaganda in children’s literature was riddled with patriotic and nationalist sentiments (Collins, 2012; Dunae 1980; Paris, 2004). These glorified Great Britain and the Empire as strong and victorious, ensuring that a sense of superiority in national and British identity was achieved (Collins, 2012; Paris, 2004). The *New Zealand School Journal* content echoed the patriotic sentiments endemic in children’s literature of the time. The *School Journal* was heavily loaded with imperialist ideology which deliberately dictated ideas to students about “international relations, and in particular, duties of subjects in war” (Malone, 1973, p. 12).

Paris (2004) suggests that the purpose of war stories in children’s literature was to promote a sense of “patriotism, manliness and a sense of duty to Crown and Empire among readers” (p. xiii). The content in the *School Journal* had a clear purpose, to create a sense of national identity and superiority. It was used as a means to mould the behaviour of students through lessons about discipline and duty (Collins, 2012; Malone, 1973).

This manipulation of patriotism is evident throughout the *School Journal*. Early articles emphasise the strong ties between New Zealand and Great Britain, and New Zealand’s duty to the Empire, particularly in times of warfare or battle. Themes of patriotism are subtly

interwoven into the messages, articles and stories contained in the *School Journal*, and these work to construct a national identity among readers.

Before the war, patriotic sentiment is particularly emphasised through the recurring message of Empire Day throughout the *School Journal* (Malone, 1973). These accounts are seen as early as 1908 and 1909. In 1908, the “Empire Day Message”^[2] is directly addressed to the students of New Zealand, and urges young pupils to “recognise their indebtedness to the Empire”^[3]. Similarly, in 1909, in “An Empire Day Message,”^[4] the importance of duty is highlighted. The article reminds students that their freedom is owed to their “fathers and predecessors”^[5] and because of this, they must behave in particular ways to do their duty to the Empire. “Faith, courage, discipline and duty”^[6] are held as the most important values that students should practise and are seen as essential in order to strengthen the Empire (Malone, 1973).

The messages call for students’ full cooperation in their duty to the Empire. The values that are emphasised in the pre-war years become essential when the British Empire is in most need, during times of war. The value of duty foreshadows the overt construction of masculinity and soldierhood that become more prominent throughout the war years. Patriotic values are further explored in 1912 in “The New Patriot”^[7] which details the key characteristics of patriotism, such as, good will, dealing with danger, guiding others to their goal, and humanity. The poem is directed at young boys (Paris, 2004) giving a sense of the subtle construction of masculinity as associated with war.

It is interesting to note that one of the key elements of patriotism is fraternity; the poem describes a patriotic individual as someone whose ‘dearest flag is brotherhood’. The concepts of fraternity and brotherhood contribute to the ways in which a masculine identity is linked with allegiance and duty, and can be seen as the start of the evolving idea of New Zealand masculinity.

The patriotic duty emphasised in literature also worked to shape young boys into the masculine ethos that was required to be a good soldier (Paris, 2004). The values of patriotism as linked with masculinity were also portrayed throughout the *School Journals*

through the recurring theme of “Children of the Empire.”^[8] These stories focussed on children’s service, in particular honouring those who had led the nation to freedom, who were mainly men. The first “Children of the Empire” reference appeared in 1910. The poem expresses a clear message of participation in war as equated with masculinity, and focused on honouring male soldiers. “Your fathers fought and died, that you might stand, a noble band, in honour and pride.” The notion of soldierhood and battle is clear in lines such as, “that you might do the thing you will – and strike with the arm of might – For justice and freedom’s sake – for country, King and right.”

In 1912, the patriotic celebration of Empire Day continued, in “The King’s Birthday and Empire Day,”^[9] where the responsibilities of the British Empire are recognised and praised. Masculine ideals were also highlighted to portray the idea of a British hero, as “one that does good to his fellow men” ^[10] and is a man of “high character who is strong and clever.” The messages contained can be seen as a part of an overt curriculum that is working to prepare children for battle to defend their Empire. It provided a specific blueprint for the qualities required to achieve a masculine identity. In particular, it was directed towards boys, as part of the construction of soldier identity (Paris, 2004).

Patriotism and nationalistic attitudes in the *School Journal* became more prominent during the war years (1914-1918). They instilled ideal masculine qualities in children, and reinforced the concept of duty. In 1914, “What is a golden deed?” ^[11] could be seen as a subtle way to establish the qualities essential to be not only a good citizen, but also a good soldier.

A masculine identity was not just related to physical prowess. Obedience played a large part in moulding young men into their soldier identity (Collins, 2012). A ‘golden deed’ required obedience at all costs as “this was the ‘essence of a soldier’s life.” The golden deed was performed for the “sake of religion, country, duty and kindred and will dare all things, risk all things, endure all things.” As well as affirming patriotism, the message set up a basic framework for the necessary qualities of a soldier.

As the war drew to a close in 1918, and Britain and the wider Empire gained victory, the celebration of Empire Day in the *School Journal* was accompanied by a strong sense of triumph, and a much more persuasive instruction of patriotism. In 1918, in "Empire Day,"^[12] the Great Empire was portrayed as having written another "glorious chapter of her history, one made glorious by the stirring deeds of her people, many of whom were your own dear fathers, brothers and sisters." The men who fought in the war were portrayed as heroic, and brave individuals who had been fighting in dangerous situations, in order to "save the world from the powers of evil."^[13]

From the 1920s onwards, an imperialistic attitude remained in the *School Journals*, to remind children how their duty and participation in the war had led the Empire to victory. In 1920, in "Empire Day,"^[14] children's efforts were described as imperative in the Empire's road to victory. A sense of "British heroism" (Flothow, 2007, p. 147) was cultivated in order to convince children that they too had participated in honourable deeds that had that had led to New Zealand conquering her foes.

Militaristic and masculine values were also still clearly emphasised in the 1920s, as seen in 1920 in "The Happy Warrior."^[14] The poem suggests the characteristics of a warrior as "someone every man should wish to be: diligent, moral, dutiful and honourable." It is no coincidence that these values also coincide with those associated with patriotism. These masculine characteristics required for soldierhood were echoed in 1923 "Empire Day Stories,"^[15] in a tribute to a soldier who sacrificed his own life to save another, and who was portrayed as "a fine soldier because he was a fine man."^[16] It is evident that a masculine identity was crucial to soldier's identity.

The *School Journal* perpetuated patriotic ideals and messages that were heavily loaded with a pro-war rhetoric, giving young boys the idea it was their duty to serve their country, and the idea that a soldier's identity could be gained through manifestation of these patriotic characteristics.

Open propaganda: From boys to men

Children's reading materials played an integral role in the manipulation of New Zealand children, particularly boys into active, participants of the war – in particular the “making of a soldier” and the hegemonic masculine ideals associated with this (Collins, 2012; Galway, 2012; Meek, 2001; Paris, 2004).

The notion of childhood changed as the war dawned on the Empire (Galway, 2012). Children were no longer passive and naïve, but they were instead active citizens with a specific purpose – to fulfil their duty to New Zealand and the larger Empire. During the war, reading materials reinforced the concept of sacrifice and duty to the Empire as well as the physical, mental and emotional traits of masculinity which were considered essential for a good soldier and male citizen (Collins, 2012). They were a call to arms for men of fighting age, portraying the soldier as heroic and glorifying the adventure of war and the nobility of sacrifice (Bibbings, 2003; Collins, 2012).

Galway (2012) suggests that during times of need, such as war, children were portrayed as “ready and willing to serve their nation” (Galway, 2012, p. 298, Reynolds, 2009). This is particularly evident in the *School Journal*, in the “Empire Messages” which call out for children to be ready and able to help out, before and during the war years. This patriotic form of open propaganda presents the idea that the events taking place can empower children (Galway, 2012).

The idea that war could empower young children was mainly addressed to young boys (Paris, 2004). In the *School Journal*, the focus of many articles remained fixated on the transition of boyhood to manhood, and eventually, to soldierhood. The *School Journal* presented an image of underage boys as ready and willing to fight as a “potent image of masculinity and heroism” (Galway, 2012, p. 299). Underage boys were often targeted through open propaganda that stressed the idea that boys should, and would, grow up with the purpose of serving their country (Dunae, 1980; Galway, 2012; Paris, 2004). The *School Journal's* focus on this transition allowed for a masculine identity to be associated with

soldierhood. The war content in the journals could be seen as an outright attempt to inspire support for the war and worked to manipulate a sense of duty in young boys (Galway, 2012).

One of the earliest examples of this way a masculine identity was forced on young boys in the years preceding the war can be seen in the 1910 article, "Boy Wanted."^[17] This article attempted to fix the appropriate gender roles and masculine qualities that were associated with manhood. From the very first line, "Wanted – a boy that is manly", there is a strong emphasis on the value of masculinity. The poem provided an outline for the correct transition from boyhood to manhood. The qualities that boys should develop were outlined: "Wanted – a boy that is trusty and true, just, fair, helpful and dependable." If boys were to develop these qualities, their success as both a male citizen and in the workforce would be ensured. Boys who possessed these qualities would grow into dependable men: "These are the boys we depend on, our hope for the future – and when deeds noble and great, or the world's work await, such boys will then prove to be men." "Boy Wanted" can be seen as a part of a curriculum which perpetuated the militaristic message that boys must sacrifice themselves for the duty of their country and to keep their nations strong.

In the years leading up to the war, there was also a strong emphasis on what it meant to be a "good man" and the qualities that were deemed necessary to achieve this. The construction of a masculine identity was prevalent before the war began. In 1912, the same militaristic values of 1910s "Boy Wanted" were repeated in "The Boys who are Wanted."^[18] The lines, "Boys of skill, muscle, brain and power...are wanted every hour" illustrate how the poem worked to construct ideal masculine qualities such as physical strength and intelligence. Mental and emotional qualities of nobility and determination were also shown to be important to masculinity, in lines such as, "Not the idler's cry 'I can't,' but the nobler one 'I'll try.'" The poem's message can be seen as a subtle way to teach boys about the imperative embodiment of masculinity and willingness to fight, which later became core aspects of the construction of a soldier identity.

The practice of young boys in warfare also became normalised (Galway, 2012) throughout the *School Journal*. In pre-war years, the school journal often included stories about young boys who had been at the front line, or who had carried out brave deeds. "Brave Bugler

Dunn”^[19] told the story of a fight that emerged between the Boers and the British Army only a few years earlier. The main character of the story was the young bugler, John Francis Dunn, who was only fifteen years old. Described as “a mere boy with the heart of a man,” this highlighted the overt construction of manhood in young boys.

In this particular fight, the Boers had besieged the town of Ladysmith, and the British soldiers were attempting to break through and advance. The boy, young Bugler Dunn was the front line with the rest of the army. They were hit by a terrible attack, and the young bugler boy was wounded badly in his arm, yet he continued on until he collapsed. The other officers and captain wrote to his father, also a soldier, to tell him how proud they were of the bugler boy and his “gallant conduct.” However, Bugler Dunn’s injuries worsened and he was sent to a hospital in England, where he was visited by Princess Christian, daughter of Queen Victoria, who asked if there was anything he would like the queen to do for him when he recovered. Bugler Dunn requested he be sent back to the front again. Before he was sent back, Queen Victoria, awarded him with a new, silver bugle for his brave deed. Young Bugler Dunn’s story can be seen as a clear promotion of soldierhood for young boys. War was often portrayed as exciting, and enticing for the young boy (Collins, 2012, Bibbings, 2003; Dunae, 1980).

As well as the promotion of war as an adventure, “Brave Bugler Dunn” normalised the idea of boys being part of the front line, as he was only fifteen. The story also consolidated the message that boys should be ready and willing to serve their country, and that this bravery and effort would be rewarded (Flothow, 2007). Bugler Dunn held the key qualities of a good soldier, he was courageous, dutiful and bold. The story also contained one of the most important propaganda messages that the *School Journal* perpetuated, that boys could help save the nation (Reynolds, 2009).

Throughout the war years 1914-1918, the promotion of duty and courage in young boys was further reinforced. In 1915, the poem “Our Heroes” ^[20] instructed young boys to “stand firm by their manhood” and by doing so, “they will overcome the fight.” ^[21] This suggests a clear link between the embodiment of masculinity and the empowerment of boys into active, militant men.

This construction of boyhood to manhood was also permeated through the idea of boys' service to the country. In 1917, in "A boy's resolve,"^[22] boys' duty to the Empire, and essential qualities that were needed for the battlefield, were shown in the line, "For if I love my country, I'll try to be a man – my country may be proud of, and if I try, I can." The poem reinforces that the main purpose for boys as to grow into a man that is worthy of his country's title. This is a clear example of the overt curriculum that encouraged boys to sacrifice their lives as a way to prove their manhood and masculinity (Collins, 2012).

In the years after the war, messages directed only at boys become less frequent, yet boys remained the main targets of war propaganda. In years as late as 1924, the essential components of masculinity were still detailed. In 1924, the poem, "What can a little chap do?"^[23] detailed the way in which young boys could do their country proud. A little boy could "fight like a Knight for the truth and right" and "fight the great fight, do with his might what is God's sight." The message that was continually repeated throughout in this journal issue, to demonstrate that to achieve as men, boys must be ready to fight for their country. Open war propaganda in the journal had a clear objective – to incorporate young boys into zealous, diligent and obedient participants in war. The ideals of a masculine identity were overtly expressed, and in such a way that they are seen as the embodiment of soldierhood. The Journal provided a masculine construction inescapable for children. Furthermore, manhood could only be fully achieved when boys embraced the masculine ideals of soldier identity.

Heroism, ANZACs and the masculine ideal

After the war, reading materials mythologised the soldier reinforcing the concept of heroism, honour and sacrifice for the greater good of the nation and Empire (Flothow, 2007).

As well as the use of open war propaganda, masculine construction in teaching about war can be understood in terms of what Collins (2012) calls the "myth of the war experience" (Collins, 2012, p. 15). War participation in children's literature was often romanticised, and depicted war as thrilling and heroic. This promoted war to young boys and allowed for a masculine identity to be associated with soldierhood (Collins, 2012; Reynolds, 2009). The true horrific nature of the war was masked through the glorifying of the war and the idea

that an ideal masculinity could be achieved through war (Collins, 2012; Flothow, 2007). Participation in the war provided a masculine profile that boys could strive to achieve; to be a soldier meant embodying valued characteristics such as “adventure, action, purpose, duty, courage and sacrifice” (Collins, 2012, p. 15).

The essence of manhood was achieved through the notion of heroism, and the greatest manhood was expressed when men fought and sacrificed themselves for the greater good of their country (Bibbings, 2003). Stories about heroism in children’s literature inspired their support for the war. As Paris (2004, p. xiii) suggests, such stories involved the exploration of the character of the hero and his response to challenges set by the author. They clearly intended to provide role models through which the young male could negotiate his way to manhood.

The construction of heroism in the New Zealand *School Journal* can be seen as a strong part of the war propaganda used to encourage support for the war, and moulded boys into the ideal masculine characteristics required in a soldier. In pre-war years, mythology often played a strong part in the construction of heroism. In 1913, “The Story Alexander the Great” [24] can be seen as an example of mythology used to inspire militaristic values in pupils. The story described Alexander, the young Greek son of Prince Philip of Greece. As a child, Alexander was described as truthful, kind and just, as well as brave and daring – the essential qualities necessary for a good soldier. Alexander loved stories of Greek heroes and deeds, and so he decided that he too would become a hero.

Alexander’s chance to prove himself came when he was left in charge of his country, with enemies attacking him from all sides. Despite his age, the elders of the country were surprised to find that Alexander led his soldiers well, and beat all his foes. After his victory, Alexander became worshipped by all, and was crowned King at just twenty years of age. He went on to win many great battles. The story of Alexander the Great worked to show him as a young boy who embodied the essential qualities and masculine prowess required in a soldier; he was bold, courageous, dutiful, and this led him to victory.

As Paris (2004) suggests, main characters in old myths were often young, ordinary boys, faced with great adversity, who embodied typical male characteristics which led them to victory. This type of story not only normalised the participation of young boys in battles, but also provided a role model for young boys, and a particular masculine framework that boys could aspire to (Bibbings, 2003; Flothow, 2007; Galway, 2012,). “The child soldier becomes an image of patriotism, heroism and agency as youngsters take it upon themselves to participate in their own defence, and in defence of the broader community” (Galway, 2012, p. 300).

The notion of heroism in the *School Journal* was strongly reinforced through the legend of Gallipoli and Anzac Day celebrations. In 1916, ANZAC soldiers were referred to as “the heroes of the Dardanelles” in “The Making of a Solider.”^[25] In the years during the war, the legend of Gallipoli played a strong part in the construction of New Zealand’s masculine identity (Eldred-Grigg, 2010).

From 1920-1925, the remembrance and commemoration of ANZAC day became a prolific part of the *School Journal*, which may have been a result of the introduction of Anzac Day as a public holiday in the 1920 Anzac Day Act (McLintock, 1966). The repetition of Anzac Day celebrations in the New Zealand *School Journal* from 1920-1925 can be seen as a way to portray war as a “necessary and exciting fight” (Flothow, 2007, p.147). This mediated the way the war was presented to children. Flothow (2007) claims that the glorification of soldiers was a tactic used to downplay the horrific nature of the attack, and the many lives that were lost.

The Anzac soldier was a hero who provided a masculine profile that was unique to New Zealand. While the Anzac hero could be seen to represent the evolution of a new, masculine identity, imperialist ideology in the journal ensured that the patriotic duty to the Empire was still rooted firmly in the soldiers’ hearts (Malone, 1973). Soldiers encapsulated a masculine identity that was highly valued at this time, and provided a framework of masculinity that young boys and men in New Zealand could strive to achieve. A good soldier was one who exemplified the patriotic values of bravery, duty and sacrifice which were central to New Zealand’s national identity (Malone, 1973).

In 1920, in “Anzac Day”^[26] the anniversary of the 1915 landing at Gallipoli is celebrated. The story describes how the men arrived at the shores to attack the enemy. The worship of the Anzac soldiers is clear. Men who fought at Gallipoli were described as “some of the finest specimens of manhood that this country has ever produced.”

Anzac soldiers became glorified through their commemoration. Deified as “sacred beings”^[27] who “walked like Kings in old poems,”^[28] soldiers who fought at Gallipoli did so with “dauntless bravery” and patriotic duty to prove their loyalty to the Motherland. The Anzac soldiers were described in such a way that they held up ideal masculine characteristics – they were brave, strong and willing to face the hardships that the Dardanelles presented, and they would sacrifice their lives for the greater good of their country. The sacrifice of soldiers in the Anzac campaign is exemplified in 1924, in “A-N-Z-A-C”^[29] through the line, “Many a brave deed was done, and many a brave life was lost.” Although the fight at Gallipoli led to a heavy defeat for the ANZACs, this did not matter to the men, who were instead victorious in their “Anzac spirit” (Daley, 2010), which was clearly attributed to their masculine ethos. The Gallipoli legend lived on in the *School Journal* through constant vigilance in remembrance for the brave men that fought on the shores in Turkey. In 1925, in “Heroes in Gallipoli,”^[30] this is reiterated:

It is with both pride and sorrow that we honour the memory of such men, they willingly suffered pain and misery, and even death itself, in order to save their country. Their glory will never be dimmed, and for all time – At the going down of the sun, and in the morning, we will remember them. ^[31]

The constant commemoration and representation of heroic exploits of such “gallant beings” positions the *School Journal* with a clear motive in teaching about war. Mythology in the *School Journal* provided boys with examples of male heroes, who held traditional and valued masculine characteristics. In particular, the portrayal of ANZAC soldiers in the *School Journal* had a clear purpose – to encourage boys into a masculine ethos. The depiction of

the soldiers as sacred beings enabled boys to believe that they too could achieve a heroic status through mirroring the qualities of bravery, courage, duty and sacrifice.

Conclusion

Close analysis of the *New Zealand School Journals* from the years 1907-1925 demonstrates their influence on the ways in which contemporary attitudes towards war were expressed, transmitted and reinforced in schools. In particular, the *School Journals* perpetuated the masculine ideals essential for the making of a soldier. The *School Journals* served to reinforce the patriotic ideal and duty to Empire as well as introducing a strong sense of nationhood and creating and fostering a new Anzac identity. This served a practical purpose in as much as it created war-ready men. It consolidated notions of what it meant to be a man, but more importantly what it meant to be a soldier.

Notes

- 1) "The Making of a Soldier" 1916, Part III, Issue ?, p.2
- 2) "Empire Day Message "1908, Part III, Issue ?, p. 99
- [2] Ibid, p. 115
- [3] "An Empire Day Message," 1909, Part III, p.119
- [4] Ibid, p.119
- [5] Ibid, p. 99
- [6] "The New Patriot" 1912, Part III, p.158
- [7] "Children of the Empire" 1910 Part I, p.64
- [8] "The King's Birthday and Empire Day" 1912, Part III, p.129
- [9] "Empire Day" 1912, Part III, p.136
- [10]"What is a golden deed?" 1914, Part III, p.4
- [11] "Empire Day" 1918, Part II, p.65
- [12] Ibid, p.67
- [13] "Empire Day, 1920, Part II, p.35
- [14] "The Happy Warrior" 1920, Part II, p.50
- [15]"Empire Day Stories" 1923, Part I, p.50
- [16] "Empire Day Stories" 1923, Part I, p.56
- [17] "Boy Wanted" 1910, Part II, p.112
- [18] "The Boys Who are Wanted" 1912, Part II, p.116
- [19] "Brave Bugler Dunn" 1911, Part II, p.2
- [20] "Our Heroes" 1915, Part I, p.1
- [21] Ibid, p.2
- [22] "A boy's resolve" 1917 Part I, p.65

- [23] "What can a little chap do?" 1924 Part I, p.68
- [24] "The story of Alexander the Great" 1913, Part I, p.117
- [25] "The Making of a Soldier" 1916, Part III, p.2
- [26] "Anzac Day" 1920, Part III, p.82
- [27] "Anzac Day" 1920, Part III, p.84
- [28] "Anzac Day" 1920, Part III, p.89
- [29] "A-N-Z-A-C" 1924 Part I p.40
- [30] "Heroes in Gallipoli" 1925, Part I, p.36
- [31] "Heroes in Gallipoli" 1925, Part I, p.39

References

- Bibbings, L. (2003) Images of Manliness: The Portrayal of Soldiers and Conscientious Objectors in the Great War, *Social & Legal Studies*, 12(3), 335-358. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/09646639030123003>
- Collins, R. F. (2012) This is Your Propaganda, Kids: Building a War Myth for World War I children, *Journalism History*, 38(1), 13-22.
- Daley, P. (2010) Anzac: Endurance, Truth, Courage and Mythology, *Meanjin*, 69(3), 45-53.
- Dunae, P. A. (1980) Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914, *Victorian Studies*, 21(1), 105-121.
- Eldred-Grigg, S. (2010) *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI*. Auckland Random House.
- Fenton, D. (ed) (2014) *New Zealand and the First World War 1914-1919*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Flothow, D. (2007) Popular Children's Literature and the Memory of the First World War, 1919-1939, *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 31(2), 147-161.
- Galway, E. A. (2012) Competing Representations of Boy Soldiers in WWI Children's Literature, *Peace Review*, 24(3), 298-304. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2012.704257>
- Hucker, G. (2009) The Great Wave of Enthusiasm, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 43(1), 59-75. Retrieved from <http://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/>.
- Inglis, K. (1998) Anzac and the Australian Military Tradition, in J. Lack (Ed) *ANZAC remembered: Selected Writings by K.S Inglis*. Melbourne: University of Melbourne.
- Knowl, F. L. (1912) The New Patriot, *New Zealand School Journal*, VI(3), 158.

- Kundu, A. (2009) *To What Extent was New Zealand 'Born as a Nation' in World War I?*.
<http://www.firstworldwar.com/features/newzealandnationhood.htm>.
- Loveridge, S. (2014) *Calls to Arms: New Zealand Society and Commitment to the Great War*.
Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Malone, E. P. (1973). The *New Zealand School Journal* and the Imperial Ideology, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 7(1), 12-27.
- McLintock, A.H. (1966) Anzac Day, in *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.
<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/anzac-day> [15 December, 2014].
- Meek, M. (2001) *Children's literature and national identity*. Staffordshire: Trentham Books.
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2014) *Empire Day*.
<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/empire-day>.
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2014) *Anzac Day*.
<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/anzac-day/introduction>.
- O'Brien, G. (2007) *A Nest of Singing Birds: 100 years of the New Zealand School Journal*.
Wellington: Learning Media.
- Paris, M. (2004) *Over the top: The Great War and Juvenile Literature in Britain*, Westport:
Praeger Publishers.
- Reynolds, K. (2009) Words About War for Boys: Representations of Soldiers and Conflict in Writing for Children before World War I, *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 34(3), 255-271. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/chq.0.1919>
- Wilson, J. (2013) Nation and Government: Nationhood and Identity, in *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/nation-and-government/page-9>.
- Wright, M. (2010) *Shattered Glory: The New Zealand Experience at Gallipoli and the Western Front*, Auckland: Penguin.

Teaching about war today: An analysis of curriculum resources produced for New Zealand's commemoration of the First World War

CAROL MUTCH & VANESSA CAMERON-LEWIS

School of Critical Studies in Education

Faculty of Education and Social Work

University of Auckland, New Zealand

Abstract

This study investigated New Zealand teaching resources produced for the 100th anniversary of the First World War. The purpose was to explore how the war was viewed today by examining what was being presented to children and young people. We analysed hard copy and on-line resources that were specifically prepared for the anniversary or that were suggested for use in the Ministry of Education's lesson plans and inquiry guides. Our study revealed that the myth of the Anzac landing at Gallipoli as marking the start of Australia and New Zealand's separation from Britain was alive and well. So, too, was the legend of the Anzac soldier as brave, stoic, resourceful and heroic. What was of interest, however, was that over the course of the centennial commemorations the tone of the rhetoric moved from one of adulation to a more critical stance as a wider variety of perspectives on the war and its consequences began to appear to challenge the orthodox story of New Zealand's role in the war. This article concludes by discussing what might be behind this upsurge in interest in the First World War before making recommendations on teaching about the war in ways that both acknowledge significant events and hold unchallenged assumptions up to scrutiny.

Introduction: Changing depictions of the First World War

In 1970s and 1980s New Zealand, Anzac¹ Day parades had become so unpopular some thought that the ritual would become obsolete. Then things turned. A resurgence of interest in the First World War over the last twenty-five years has peaked in the years running up to and during the war's centenary. There has been a rise in attendance at Anzac Day dawn parades, the development of new resources on the Anzacs, even a minute's silence before rugby games to mark the deaths in the Gallipoli campaign². This article explores this changing phenomenon.

Pennell (2012) notes that the war was reported upon and represented in a variety of ways from the moment it broke out. The Anzac character – cheerful, resilient, brave, hardworking and enthusiastic

– was first presented in newspaper reports and newsreels in 1915 to reassure audiences back home. In an article from *The Press*³ on April 1, 1915, New Zealanders were assured of their moral superiority. The article was headlined, “An atmosphere of quiet patience” and stated that Turkish prisoners of war in Cairo were, “being fed and clothed much better than before their capture.” Such propaganda no doubt seeded the idea of the distinctiveness of New Zealanders. On April 2nd riots broke out in the camps yet this went unreported.

Charles Bean⁴, the official Australian war reporter, is often credited with promoting the notion that Australian soldiers, with their pioneering backgrounds, were particularly suited to war, and embedding the idea that the war established Australia as a nation (Carlyon, 2001; Hart, 2011). The same foundation myth emerged in New Zealand (Carlyon, 2001; Pugsley, 1984). In the Foreword to Pugsley’s book (1984, p.7), Lt-General Sir Leonard Thornton writes:

For my generation, brought up in constrained reverence of ANZAC and of the Anzacs, the insistence of history fell on reluctant ears. We subscribed to the legend of victory in defeat, of a brilliant feat of arms against overwhelming and fanatical enemies. ... Yet when all is said, something of lasting significance for us emerged from the Dardanelles debacle. The experience came to be seen as giving tentative expression to a new national consciousness, setting us apart as New Zealanders, not merely British, and more than the affiliates of Australia.

More recently, the on-line *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, while noting the varying impacts and perceptions of the war, including the high proportion of deaths per capita, the boost to the economy, and New Zealand’s increased dominance in the Pacific, still suggests that, “perhaps the most lasting impact of the war was on New Zealand’s sense of itself.”⁵

The trope of the plucky Anzac defending the Empire was present in the media until the 1960s, by which time the British Empire was no longer to the fore in New Zealand consciousness. By the 1970s, at a time of strong anti-war sentiment, a more negative version of the First World War gained prominence (Arrow, 2015; MacCallum-Stewart, 2007; Pennell, 2012). In 1981, the Anzac character re-emerged in an evolved form in Peter Weir’s film *Gallipoli*.⁶ Still a larrikin but vulnerable, the Anzac boy was caught up in the brutality of a war mismanaged by the British. In 2014, an Australian Broadcasting Corporation drama series, *Anzac Girls*,⁷ included women as Anzacs, sharing the virtues of camaraderie, humour and endurance.

Carlyon (2001, p.533) suggests that, “Gallipoli has become Australia’s Homeric tale. There is more interest in the campaign than there was half a century ago.” In the 1950s, very few people visited

the war cemeteries at Gallipoli and even by 1984 only 300 people attended the Anzac Day service at Ari Burnu (Carlyon, 2001). In 2000, 15,000 people attended the service relocated to North Beach and, in 2015, a ballot was conducted to keep numbers manageable.

This renewed patriotism led, in part, to our decision to undertake the project, “Teaching about war, yesterday and today” (see other articles in this special issue for further detail on the wider project). This particular article reports on an investigation into the teaching resources that were produced for or being used in the teaching of the 100th anniversary of the First World War in New Zealand schools. We next outline the project methodology and share the key findings before discussing some important themes and issues that have arisen from this investigation.

Research methods

A comprehensive search was undertaken for electronic and hard copy resources through a Google search and the databases and catalogues available at the University of Auckland library. Search terms, such as Anzac, Gallipoli, World War 1, soldiers and commemoration were used. The resources needed to have a New Zealand focus and either be prepared for the anniversary or be recommended for use in teaching about the anniversary. We found over 30 illustrated books, mostly non-fiction, for younger readers, as well as the ubiquitous *New Zealand School Journals*,⁸ a few multi-media resources, such as the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services’ Association (RSA)’s *Fields of Remembrance* packs⁹ and ten relevant websites. As teachers or students of history and social studies we were already familiar with the Ministry of Education websites, *Te Kete Ipurangi* [trans: the resource basket]¹⁰ and *New Zealand Curriculum Online*,¹¹ and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*¹² and *New Zealand History*¹³ sites. As expected, these sites provided rich data on the topic. The search also revealed other websites, such as those belonging to the Auckland War Memorial Museum,¹⁴ Archives New Zealand,¹⁵ the National Library of New Zealand¹⁶ and collaborative endeavours, such as *WW100*,¹⁷ *Walking with an Anzac*¹⁸ and *Ngā Tapuwāe* [trans: Footsteps],¹⁹ all jointly commissioned by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, the New Zealand Defence Force, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Department of Internal Affairs, and the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. At the same time, Te Papa Tongarewa [the National Museum of New Zealand] in Wellington held a comprehensive free exhibit on Gallipoli, including larger-than-life models of people and scenes from the campaign.²⁰

While there is now a wealth of resources about New Zealand's role in the First World War, these resources are constantly evolving. It is not possible, therefore, for this analysis to be comprehensive but it does give a snapshot of what we found between 2014 and 2017. It is important to note, however, that because the on-line world is fluid, we found that websites were regularly updated or published new material, often without indicating the date of the changes, and in some cases the links became inactive.

Findings from the analysis

Resources for younger children

Picture books for younger children were dominated by the Anzac legend (*Anzac Ted; Best mates*). Grandad as soldier was a common theme (*My Grandfather's War; Grandad's medals*) and the continuation of the narrative that New Zealand soldiers (both Pākehā [of European extraction] and Māori) were as good as, if not better suited to warfare than the British (*My Grandfather's War; Te Pakanga Tuatahi o te Ao* [trans: The First World War]). Many of the stories were written in a non-fiction style which tended to portray the myths of the Anzac soldier as "true". While men might be injured in these stories, they usually survived because of their courage, humility, friendship or endurance. This was the case even when the person who inspired the story *The Soldier and the Bantam* did, in fact, die in the war. Many stories focused on unlikely pairings of men and the animals they had rescued – chickens, tortoises, puppies, horses and donkeys – that helped them see out the war (*The Donkey Man; The Anzac Puppy; The Tale of the Anzac Tortoise*).

The overriding impression for children from these stories was that the New Zealand soldiers were heroes and the war was worth it, as it made New Zealand into the exceptional nation it is today. Children were encouraged to follow the example of Anzac soldiers, affirm their choices and emulate their virtues. This was often portrayed through a child discovering what part their family played in past wars and coming to accept that to go to war, and possibly die, was an honoured tradition (*My Grandfather's War, Te Pakanga Tuatahi o te Ao*). The virtues of the Anzacs were many. The war allowed the telling of parables which covered many broader themes of life: that there are sorrows as well as joys – *The Eels of Anzac Bridge*; it is good to help others – *The Donkey Man*; don't judge people at face value – *Anzac Ted*. These are sound moral lessons but by framing the war in safe, pedagogical narratives it tended to sanitise the real horror and chaos of conflict.

The extreme youth of children targeted to become involved in centennial commemorations was notable. The RSA's *Fields of Remembrance* pack, distributed to every school and early childhood centre in the country, encouraged young children to remember Anzac soldiers as heroes, as "all that is decent, courageous and just." On the RSA's supporting website, Anzac Day becomes a "holy day", with mourners taking a "pilgrimage" to Gallipoli. The retelling of the Anzac legend evokes biblical moments of trial and New Zealand is not found wanting. Children are exhorted to "learn and remember".²¹

Resources for older children

Stories for older primary and secondary school students offered more perspectives and the curriculum approach to teaching demanded more critical inquiry. There was an underlying dignity conferred to the war in the materials, although there were also some aspects of war suitable for senior students that were not as well covered.

Some of the themes in the resources for younger children were still apparent in books, such as the bravery of our soldiers (*Le Quesnoy: The Story of the town New Zealand Saved*), the honourable deeds of the Anzacs, (*Meet the Anzacs; Best and Bravest*), the making of New Zealand (*Anzac Day. The New Zealand Story: What it is and Why it Matters; Anzacs at War*), war as family tradition (*Lest We Forget/ Kei Wareware Tātou*) and the place of animals (*Brave Bess and the Anzac Horses*). At the same time, older children were exposed to resources that placed war in the context of national and international politics (*Memorial*), discussed death and violence (*Jim's Letters; One Million Lost: The Battle of the Somme; The Anzacs at Gallipoli: A Story for Anzac Day*), highlighted loss and destruction (*Wearing the Poppy; Jim's Letters*) or presented alternative perspectives, such as, *Peace Warriors*, published by the Quakers. The RSA's remembrance pack was also available to older children with its focus on honouring the dead and an orthodox telling of the Anzac legend.

The *School Journals* were available electronically and supported by lesson plans and teaching points for teachers. There was a particular focus in the June 2014 issues of the journal on the First World War through fiction, poetry and non-fiction accounts. Non-fiction accounts were kept very factual, outlining timelines (*New Zealand at War*) and providing historical accounts (*King and Country; Te Hokowhitu-a-Tū: The Pioneer Māori Battalion*). Experiences discussed included those of children at the time (*The Children's War*) and nurses (*Grey Angels*) as well as soldiers (*Underground Soldiers*) and those ubiquitous animals (*War mascots: Animals at War*). While some stories/poems gave a sense of war as excitement and adventure (*Harry's War*), were portrayed in comic-style (*Harry's*

War; In the End), focused on commemoration (*The Anzac Button*) or emotion (*Chunuk Bair*); others tried to portray the a more nuanced approach (*Dawn Service*). Teachers could also make use of articles that appeared prior to the centennial, such as accounts of conscientious objectors (*Silas the Stretcher Bearer; His Own War: The Story of Archibald Baxter*).

The most numerous and comprehensive resources were available on various websites. The Ministry of Culture and Heritage's *New Zealand History* site offered a range of perspectives and gave the message overall that war is complex but the Anzac legend still appeared to dominate the commemorative narrative. The same Ministry's *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand* site had a comprehensive section on the First World War, including material on conscientious objectors. The National Library of New Zealand provided links to numerous websites, including Australian sites designed for their commemorations. The National Library site included a range of views, including anti-war perspectives.

To bring First World War history alive, the *Ngā Tapuwae: New Zealand First World War Trails* website (a collaboration between the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, the New Zealand Defence Force, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Department of Internal Affairs, and the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet) offered interactive virtual historical tours of the Gallipoli and Western Front battle sites. The same collaboration provided a website called *Walking with an Anzac*. The purpose was for schools, families and communities to find out more about the war, soldiers from their area, how their local communities were impacted by the war, and what local families did at the time. Initially, this site had a strongly patriotic feel but, by 2016, it was updated to include more open questions and diverse perspectives on the war. The Auckland War Memorial Museum site offered interactive access to the names, photographs and stories of the soldiers along with genealogical resources.

The Ministry of Education provided both curriculum resources (on its *Curriculum Online* site) and inquiry guides (on its *Te Kete Ipurangi* site). In 2015, the Ministry produced a comprehensive series of inquiry guides for all levels of the school to fulfil the requirements of the *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007). In the early years of primary school, the main horrors of war could be bypassed by focusing on children or animals in the war as inquiry topics. There was the suggestion that young children could consider the causes of the war as it related to playground conflicts. By the end of primary school, children were encouraged to begin to think historically and critically about the reality of life in the trenches. The curriculum plans and learning sequences for secondary

students were designed to support inquiry learning approaches with a more critical lens on the war covering propaganda, competence, the connection between the First World War and modern conflicts, and the Turkish point of view. The exception was the section on Anzac commemorations, which continued to take a more traditional view, but overall, senior students were encouraged to think more deeply about how and why the war began and what the consequences were.

Key findings

One of our key findings was that over this period of time the tone in which the resources were presented or discussed changed. At the beginning of the project we noted a celebratory tone in the resources, individually and collectively, that affirmed the war as an unavoidable part of life, as a rite of passage for the soldiers and of the significance of the First World War for New Zealand as an independent nation. This effect diminished a little, especially after the special issues of the *School Journals* were published and the Ministry of Education published its inquiry guides. The guidelines invited a more balanced and critical approach to the field of inquiry.

The second key finding was that, as the commemorations evolved, more perspectives on the war were included. Resources that by their nature were comprehensive and had the widest audiences, like the *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand* or the National Library of New Zealand sites, had the widest range of resources, but initially differing points of view were missing. When we first looked on the *Te Ara* website, for example, there was no link between the story of the First World War and disputes over Māori conscription. This gradually changed and points of view that were marginal at best in 2014, for example, those of women or conscientious objectors, were included in resources by 2017. As noted earlier, the Quakers Association published *Peace Warriors* in 2015 to put forward their views on conscientious objection. Television New Zealand and National Radio produced programmes on conscientious objectors and the realities of shell shock and twitching. Websites such as *New Zealand History* also added articles to their range of resources covering more varied perspectives.

A third finding related to how social studies and history are taught in New Zealand and the role of resources in that pedagogical approach. The curriculum encourages an inquiry approach to teaching social studies and history which means that students seek out information to answer broad investigative questions on a topic rather than simply learning and repeating an official narrative. At the secondary school level, more contentious issues were recommended. Many discussion questions were provided to provoke deep thinking and build key knowledge and competencies in historical

thinking, such as understandings of causation and significance. One problem, however, is that deep knowledge and interpretation of evidence are key to understanding causation and significance. In an inquiry, students research the information for themselves and this will most likely come from the resources provided to them or websites that are appealing, easy to find and use. The largest, most slick and easy to access online resources were those funded by the government – a source likely to be trusted by many students – but they tended to present the orthodox Anzac view that the Gallipoli campaign established New Zealand as a nation. Even as late as June 2017, a Google search for ‘New Zealand First World War’ brought up ten entries, half of which presented the Anzac “foundation-of-a-nation” myth on their first page.

Our fourth finding was that there are still notable absences. The first absence is of crimes committed against civilians in war, including rape, murder, robbery and arson. There is more focus on the suffering of soldiers than those who suffer at the hands of them. Historian, Tony Simpson, notes that we do not like to be reminded of the dark side of war, but doing so does not take away from the heroism of those who fought. He discusses the Surafend village massacre which took place just after the close of the war, in what was then Palestine: “Soldiers from a New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade camped near the village slaughtered more than 40 Arabs and Bedouins in retaliation for the theft of a soldier's bag and the shooting of that soldier by the thief.”²²

The second absence is of the privations of civilians, including poverty, hunger, displacement and the effects on their physical and mental health. One example was the difficulties faced by women raising their children without a husband. The third absence is the contribution of, or impact on, immigrant groups during the war. *Te Ara* does mention, for example, the harassment of people of German extraction but the New Zealand Chinese Association asserts that even though up to 150 Chinese New Zealanders fought in the war,²³ the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act was instituted to keep out further Chinese immigrants by demanding that 98% of immigration be from Great Britain.

These absences are not surprising but they are problematic. To critique war has to involve considering all available facts and these criminal and racist acts were as inevitably part of war as they are the antithesis of the portrayal of New Zealand's role in the war as “all that is decent, honourable and just” as expressed by the RSA. Simpson claims, “... until we can come to terms with the fact that these atrocities are part of war and our part in it, we won't have grown up as a society.”²⁴

Discussion

As we examined the resources, we found ourselves asking broader questions about the renewed interest in the war, the various rewritings of history and how our understanding of the war aligns with new historical research. It is these broader issues that we turn to in this discussion section. Arrow (2011; 2015) offers useful insights into the Anzac revival. She includes the influence of film and television, the growth in genealogy, new understandings of war and war trauma and the new nationalism of the late twentieth century. We use her ideas as a framework for our discussion then conclude this section by synthesising the advice offered to teachers of social studies and history when approaching contentious topics, such as the First World War.

The First World War centenary through film, television, theatre and publishing

It is not surprising that the centenary led to increased production of books, films, documentaries, television series and plays about the war. In the years leading up to and over the course of the centenary, there were reprints of earlier books on New Zealand's (and Australia's) involvement in the First World War, such as *Gallipoli* by Les Carlyon, or new publications, such as *Gallipoli* by Peter Fitzsimmons, new productions of Maurice Shadbolt's play *Once on Chunuk Bair*²⁵ and new television series, such as *Anzac Girls*. Publishers and producers like anniversary hooks because it helps with publicity. They also like good stories and good stories are based on conflict. War is all about conflict. Good storytelling also demands pace, escalating tensions, engaging lead characters and a sense of denouement. To create interest and tension, writers sometimes edit the facts to serve the story, rather than objectively present what happened. The British, for example, are portrayed unsympathetically in Anzac movies from *Gallipoli* to *Anzac Girls*. This is not necessarily a fair representation. Archibald Baxter, a conscientious objector sent to the front, in his post-war autobiography, *We will not cease*, noted that some British soldiers pretended he was British to keep him away from what they perceived as the overzealous brutality of the New Zealanders. Accounts of Baxter's life also appeared in print and on screen as part of the commemorations (see, for example, *Field Punishment No. 1*, by Grant & Kerr).

Despite the efforts to impose moral lessons on war stories, it is the horror and heroism of war that capture viewers' attention. This may lead to unintentionally enhancing stories or even repeating historical inaccuracies about real events. This tendency became apparent in some of the resources recommended for students, such as the films mentioned earlier. Some stories in the *School Journals*, too, used the exciting and adventurous appeal of war as a means to motivate learning, but they may

also have fallen prey to encouraging renewed nationalism and an enthusiasm for military engagement. Arrow (2015) reminds teachers to be critical in their use of resources such as film and television drama when portraying historical events. Yet being critical can be problematic when the available resources reinforce stereotypes similar to the one expressed here: “There is such a thing as the Anzac spirit or tradition, although no-one can define it neatly. It is compounded of many ideas: refusing to give up no matter how hopeless the cause, dry humour and irreverence, mateship, fatalism, stoicism and more again” (Carlyon, 2001, p.534).

Making personal historical connections through genealogy

Arrow (2011; 2015) suggests that the rise in genealogy and popularity of television programmes such as *Who Do You Think You Are?* and *In their footsteps* may have influenced the popularity of war history. She notes, “military history appeals because it fosters historical connections between the personal and the national” (p.5). Formwalt (2002) recommends that effective history teachers should choose topics that have relevance today and that connect with local history. Some of the resources we examined used the notion of *whakapapa* (family lineage or genealogy) to engage children’s interest in the events of the war (e.g., *My Grandfather’s War*; *Te Pakanga Tuatahi o te Ao*; *Lest We Forget*). The Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s *Walking with an Anzac* and the RSA’s *Fields of Remembrance* projects both fit the recommendation to make connections with local history. In many towns and cities in 2015, fields of crosses to mark local soldiers who had died provided a stark reminder of how the war had impacted local communities. The Auckland War Memorial Museum also encouraged seeking out personal links with Anzac soldiers. One problem can be that while good family stories are treasured, shameful, even tedious, incidents are kept secret. The attempt to honour soldiers without honouring war is difficult and problematic in that most soldiers in the First World War – and therefore at Gallipoli – were volunteers and so to some extent complicit in their actions. There is perhaps an understandable desire for students and their teachers to make sense of past actions from a modern perspective – and whether an event is significant does to some degree depend on how events of the past resonate in the present. MacCallum-Stewart (2007) raises a note of caution, however, that,

Recent children’s literature about the First World War expresses a confusion concerning notions of ‘respect’ and the ‘pity of war.’ Both these ideological positions can occlude historical, cultural, or social details. By suggesting that war can only be represented in certain ways, and consequently bolstering this idea through critical agreement, children’s literature, which engages with the First World War privileges more recent political and ideological beliefs rather than the actual events. ... It also encourages the notion that certain ways of thinking about the war are valorized over others” (p.178).

New perceptions of war and war trauma

While we have critiqued some of the resources as presenting soldiers as engaging in an exciting adventure, more recent historical interpretations often frame soldiers as victims rather than victors, especially in relation to the Gallipoli campaign: "Our society has been moulded by that Gallipoli experience. We are the sum of they did, what they found and what they lost. It was the loss of innocence" (Pugsley, 1991, p. 360). Presenting soldiers as passive victims relates to new understandings of war trauma. We now know that much of the information on which soldiers based their desire to sign up was incomplete, false, overly hopeful and out of date. Yet the essence of war – conquering the enemy through violence – has never changed. New understandings of trauma, which were first presented to excuse a soldier's physical and mental condition, such as extreme violence or passivity, particularly post-World War 1, now appear as a repeated trope of soldiers as victims of a hellish and futile war. Known as the "war is hell" trope, it appears in various modern portrayals of war stories on screen, which:

... often show the *cumulative* long-term effect of exposure to pain, deprivation, violence, and military culture: the horror goes on and on, dehumanizing everybody a little more each night. Heroes in these stories will typically struggle to prevent the war or end it as bloodlessly and quickly as possible. If not, then merely *surviving* physically, and with most of their humanity and sanity intact.²⁶

What is interesting is that the 'war is hell' trope has come to be applied in modern times to all soldiers to exonerate them from their violence. It is easier to sustain the idea of the hero or the enemy if they are never encountered in the flesh.

While early presentations were overly jingoistic, MacCallum-Stewart (2007) argues that modern fiction may be more didactic than what preceded it. Modern children's World War I literature falls into the presentism trap: "... to suggest that any participant may have 'enjoyed' war, even through the freedoms of female emancipation or familial independence, is very much *non bon*" (p.181). She continues, "Contemporary children's literature suffers from a desire to say the right thing. It is no longer acceptable to present the war as a glorious conflict, as earlier texts did." (p.182). War literature for young people is often used as a "parable" in which a young (often sensitive) man becomes a better person through his suffering. MacCallum-Stewart calls this the "redemptive quest" motif. Implicitly, today's soldier should be a humanist, doing his duty, willing to make personal sacrifices to save others as he fights for peace and order.

The rise of nationalism

The rise in nationalist rhetoric is obvious to any regular followers of news and current affairs. What is of interest here, is how the commemorations of the First World War were appropriated to this cause. In the UK, those who dared critique the resurgence of patriotism surrounding the commemorations have come under fire from politicians, such as Michael Gove. Edwards (2015) states, in relation to Gove's and others' dismissal of Wilfred Owen's poetry:

One of their frequently made arguments is that British soldiers who fought in World War One believed in the cause they were fighting for and that it is somehow patronising and disrespectful for us, one hundred years on, to question that cause.²⁷

Israeli scholar, Avi Shlaim (cited in Richardson, 2014, p.3), also rebuts Gove's patriotic rhetoric, describing his view as "narrow, nationalistic and blinkered." Shlaim continues,

The stories that nations tell about themselves, like epic poems, are filled with heroes and villains and stirring events ... Nationalist versions of history, whether British or German, French or Russian, Serbian or Austro-Hungarian, have one thing in common: they tend to be simplistic, selective, self-righteous and self-serving. Nationalist movements always re-write history. (Cited in Richardson, 2014, p.3)

In Australia, Bob Hawke, the first Australian politician to visit Gallipoli (for the 75th anniversary of the landings in 1990), is credited with revitalising interest in Anzac Day which had languished since the anti-war and feminist protests of the 1970s and 1980s (Khan, 2017). Australia went on to spend more money on the 100th anniversary than any other country involved in the First World War. The surge in national pride created some interesting controversies, including a supermarket chain using photos of soldiers in their "Fresh in our memories" marketing campaign. The revival of interest did, however, serve to recognise the role that women, immigrants and indigenous Australians had played in the war, which had been largely overlooked (Khan, 2017).

Patriotic war rhetoric found its way into New Zealand, as well. In 2015, Hekia Parata, New Zealand's Minister of Education, in relation to debates around New Zealand's engagement in current conflicts, stated:

And we should not turn away as a nation when that responsibility looks us in the face and says: "Will you stand alongside the allies whom, in times of both war and trade, we look to for those relationships?" So, no, this Government will not turn away from those responsibilities, and it is important that not only we confront them in a timely fashion but we demonstrate to young New Zealanders that that is part of who we are. We are descended from people who played their part, who took the risks, and who were prepared to do what was necessary.²⁸

What does the resurgence of the Anzac legend in New Zealand indicate about our society today? Does it serve to draw attention away from more problematic historical narratives surrounding colonisation or Māori land confiscation or current crises around poverty and housing? As the divide between rich and poor becomes wider, perhaps the Anzac legend distracts from those issues by speaking to the idea that New Zealanders are unique, New Zealand is an exceptional place and we are lucky to live here. Scholars note that myths are often used by nationalist movements to unify a people against a common enemy (see, for example, Chomsky & Herman, 1988). The identity of the common enemy at this time in New Zealand is perhaps less important than the cultivation of loyalty towards the *status quo*.

Teaching about war

Teaching about war is a complex activity. What our investigation revealed is that it is easy for emotionally-charged events, in this case, the 100th anniversary of the First World War to be captured for a range of causes, from the RSA's "learn and remember" to the Quakers' "peace warriors". When a range of relevant, colourful, easily accessible and engaging resources are produced to support curriculum and assessment requirements, it is not surprising that teachers want to make use of them. What this section asks teachers to do is to take a moment to consider the origins and purposes of the materials that have become available. Who funded the resource? What are the aims and purposes of the agency or organisation? How are their values and intentions reflected in the resource? What assumptions underpin the resource? What overt and covert messages are contained within the resource? Perreau (2015, drawing on Tomasevski, 2001) has devised a set of criteria for examining resources, in her case for the teaching of social justice, which could be adapted for evaluating resources on other topics. The criteria are: availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability. Under acceptability, she asks questions about the way diversity is portrayed, what range of perspectives is presented, how is information positioned and how different identities are acknowledged.

Similarly, in his article, "Teachers, your countries need you," Richardson (2014, again citing Shlaim) asks that teachers subject all positions and claims "to rigorous scrutiny in light of all the evidence available" (p.3). He reminds teachers that "the subversive role of history is thus of supreme importance" (p.3). While the *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) sets out a robust framework to support historical, critical and conceptual thinking, teachers have autonomy over when, what and how they teach students about the First World War. For young children access to all the available evidence related to war – imperial greed, industrialised killing, disease and shell shock

– is clearly inappropriate but teachers also need to avoid superficial renderings of complex historical events. Resources provide particular perspectives and these perspectives need to be deconstructed for their underpinning assumptions and biases. Edwards (2014) claims:

Certainly it would be a poor history teacher who would regard the *sole* purpose of teaching World War One to be to impress upon young people the horrors of war. But equally it would be a poor history teacher who failed to engage pupils with the reality of the living conditions in the trenches of the Western Front; with the injuries caused by mechanised warfare and with the psychological and physical effects on soldiers. If the word ‘horror’ has any meaning, it is not a word to shrink from in relating this.²⁹

Harcourt, Fountain and Sheehan (2011) caution that constructed memory built by secondary sources and long-term familiarity with stories connected to an event can give an *impression* of knowledge.

They warn of “memory history” that:

... is not linked with historical thinking but rather is typically characterised by a particular version of the past that reflects presentist concerns. For example, the view that a New Zealand sense of nationhood was shaped by the experiences at Gallipoli in 1915 has more to do with the ANZAC mythology than it does with the reality of what occurred. (p.28)

Building on the work of Counsell (2004, cited in Harcourt et al., 2011), they suggest one way to see through a constructed narrative is to consider not only why something is significant but to consider what the criteria for significance should be. It is also important to separate the traces of the event (such as war memorials) from the event itself (in this case, the First World War) so that the two are not conflated. This could also apply to many of the resources that were examined in this study, from stories, to films and official histories – what constructed narratives did they promote and whose attitudes and values were they reflecting?

When providing alternative interpretations of war history, teachers can risk being viewed as unpatriotic or causing offence to families with connections to historical and current conflicts (Finley, 2011). Finley suggests some less confronting ways to discuss war by sidestepping the rhetoric and considering conflict from less didactic points of view. Activities could include reframing metaphors, building vocabulary, and encouraging dialogue over polarising debate. The Ministry of Education through their various websites and teaching guides encouraged engaging children and young people in just such a range of activities – individual inquiries, oral history, photo interpretation, vocabulary extension and literary criticism. The Ministry also raised a note of caution in that war is not just something that happened in history. Teachers should be aware that children in their classes, such as

refugees, might have very recent experiences of the horror and trauma of war and it was therefore important to consider how to approach such topics sensitively.

Finally, Harcourt (2015) argues for us to critically consider not just what is taught in history classes but what is *not* taught. He discusses why, in New Zealand secondary schools, for example, teachers and students tend to avoid New Zealand history topics, and Māori history, in particular. He notes that “historical power relations leave traces in the present, shaping the way people think and relate to each other today” (p.39). Avoiding difficult issues does not make them go away but perpetuates the problem. He suggests, that a culturally responsive history approach would: (a) recognise the identities and interpretive frameworks of students and teachers; (b) actively confront controversial history; (c) connect the past to students’ lived realities; (d) recognise and evaluate historical agency; and (e) be responsive to place. He argues for a pedagogy that asks questions of students’ and teachers’ own positions and assumptions even if this is not an easy task to undertake. This equally applies to teaching about New Zealand’s role in the First World War.

Conclusion

This study was part of a wider project to investigate the teaching of war in New Zealand schools in relation to the anniversary of the First World War. While other aspects of the wider project investigated historical accounts or contemporary classroom practices, this study’s aim was to examine more closely the teaching resources that were specifically produced or recommended for teaching this topic today. The study examined a range of resources from children’s picture books to interactive websites. Two important observations and four key findings emerged. The first observation was that the myth of the Gallipoli landings laying the foundation stone of “who we are as New Zealanders” is still being perpetuated. The second observation was that the Anzacs in the First World War, despite the availability of alternative perspectives, are uniformly portrayed as legendary characters – brave, stoic, resourceful and heroic.

The first key finding from the analysis of the resources was that the tone moved from celebratory and patriotic to more critical and circumspect as the commemorations evolved. The second finding, linked closely to the first, was that as time passed, more diverse perspectives were made available, many of which challenged the orthodox history. The third finding highlighted the way that an inquiry approach, in which students seek answers to investigative questions, is dependent on easy access to range of credible, inclusive and balanced resources, yet the ones they were most likely to access did

not always meet these criteria. The fourth finding raised concern over the silences in the resources. By portraying soldiers as heroes, for example, the acts they committed and the harm they left in their wake is glossed over. We must take care, of course, not to judge historical events by contemporary ethics but at the same time, we need to provide a wider range of evidence to paint a more accurate picture of the realities of war.

The First World War was a significant event and its importance has not lessened over time. The war and New Zealand's role in it should be taught as part of our social studies and history curricula. Studying the First World War, for example, provides an insight into how propaganda was used to shape public opinion and gain support for actions which in retrospect could be seen as unwise or unethical. However, if the Anzac myth continues to be promoted as the foundation of New Zealand's identity, it can overshadow other conflicts and events, both positive and negative, whose legacy also contributed to shaping our nation, from colonisation and land confiscation to universal suffrage and the welfare state.

In conclusion, what our study revealed and what we hope teachers will take from it, is that the resources made available to teach contested topics, such as war, represent particular perspectives and use persuasive techniques to foster various points of view. It behoves teachers to use the same skills of critical inquiry that they are aiming to instil in their students when they select resources. By doing this, teachers can complicate traditional narratives and provide more realistic, inclusive and nuanced representations of significant events in our history.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank to The University of Auckland's School of Critical Studies in Education for funding Vanessa's summer internship and to Maria Perreau and Alexandra Bonham, who assisted in various ways with this project.

Notes

1. ANZAC (in capital letters) is the formal abbreviation for the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, which was hastily assembled in World War 1 and sent to fight the Turks on the Gallipoli peninsula in 1915. Anzac (in small letters) is used as an adjective to represent related concepts, such as Anzac Day, a national holiday in New Zealand and Australia which marks the landing of the Anzac soldiers on April 25, 1915 at Ari Burnu, on the beach now known as Anzac Cove.
2. The Gallipoli campaign lasted from April-December 1915 and was a victory for the Ottoman Turks. More than 130,000 died – 87,000 Ottoman soldiers and 44,000 Allies, including more than 8700 Australians and 2779 New Zealanders. The stories of the gallant Anzac stands at Lone Pine and Chunuk Bair are part of the folklore of both countries.
3. *The Press* is the Christchurch daily newspaper. This article was retrieved from:

- <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/press/1915/4/1>
4. Charles Bean (1879-1968), Australian war correspondent, historian and photographer, landed with the Anzac troops on April 25, 1915 and stayed at Gallipoli until December that year, despite being injured. He wrote several books on Gallipoli and other WWI campaigns. His statements, such as “the big thing in the war for Australia was the discovery of the character of Australian men” (in his 1918 book, *In your hands, Australians*) set the Anzac myth in place.
 5. Retrieved from: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/first-world-war/page-8>
 6. Peter Weir’s award winning 1981 film, *Gallipoli*, attempted to portray a realistic picture of the futile Gallipoli campaign. It has been criticised for altering the facts for dramatic effect but is still used in teaching about Gallipoli (see, for example: https://englishonline.tki.org.nz/content/.../file/Visual_Text_Study%20Gallipoli.doc)
 7. *Anzac Girls* was a six-part Australian television mini-series first aired in 2014. It aimed to show the roles played by nurses in the Gallipoli campaign. It is based on real women’s stories, first appearing in a book, *The other Anzacs*, by Peter Rees, who wished to address women’s invisibility in the war.
 8. The *New Zealand School Journals* are curriculum support materials provided free to all New Zealand schools since 1907. They contain fiction and non-fiction stories, poems, plays, photographs and illustrations. For scholars and historians, they provide useful insights into the perceptions of the times (see other articles in this issue for more detailed examples).
 9. Packs of crosses and poppies were distributed to all New Zealand schools and early childhood centres. See, <https://www.fieldsofremembrance.org.nz/>
 10. *Te Kete Ipurangi* (TKI) [basket of resources] is the Ministry of Education’s online teaching resource depository: <https://www.tki.org.nz/>
 11. *The New Zealand Curriculum Online* is a section of TKI more specifically related to the curriculum, including secondary school assessment guides: <http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/>
 12. *Te Ara The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* is a comprehensive online encyclopedia in both English and te reo Māori [the Māori language] with entries written by experts and scholars: <https://teara.govt.nz/en>
 13. See, the Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s *New Zealand History* site: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/>
 14. See: <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/>
 15. *Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga*: <http://archives.govt.nz/>
 16. The National Library of New Zealand site: <https://natlib.govt.nz/>
 17. *WW100*: <http://ww100.govt.nz/>
 18. *Walking with an Anzac, 100,000 stories*: walkingwithananzac.tumblr.com/
 19. *Ngā Tapuwāe New Zealand First World War Trails*: <https://www.ngatapuwaee.govt.nz/>
 20. See: <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/visit/whats-on/exhibitions/gallipoli-scale-our-war>
 21. See: <http://rsa.org.nz/Remembrance>
 22. Tony Simpson, cited in Matt Stewart, (2015): <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/last-post-first-light/68289656/Daughter-of-WWII-POW-decries-Anzac-mythology>
 23. New Zealand China Friendship Society. (2014). *A Chinese Anzac in WWI*. <http://nzchinasociety.org.nz/17633/a-chinese-kiwi-soldier-in-wwi/>
 24. Simpson, cited in Stewart (2015).
 25. See: <https://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/43948/once-on-chunuk-bair-1982>
 26. See: <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/WarIsHell>
 27. Katherine Edwards (2014), retrieved from: <http://noglory.org/index.php/articles/179-reclaiming-first-world-war-poets-from-michael-gove-and-the-historians-who-want-to-debunk-them>
 28. See: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11408000
 29. See, Edwards (2014).

Children's books

- An Anzac tale.* Written by Ruth Starke; illustrated by Greg Holfeld. Published by Working Title Press, Kingswood, Australia, 2013.
- Anzac Day: The New Zealand Story: What it is and why it matters.* Written by Philippa Werry. Published by New Holland, Auckland, New Zealand, 2013.
- Anzac Ted.* Written & illustrated by Belinda Landsberry. Publisher: EK, Auckland, New Zealand, 2014.
- Best and Bravest: Kiwis awarded the Victoria Cross.* Written by Glyn Harper & Colin Richardson. Published by HarperCollins, Auckland, New Zealand, 2016.
- Best Mates: Three Lads who went to War Together.* Written by Philippa Werry; illustrated by Bob Kerr. Published by New Holland, Auckland, New Zealand, 2014.
- Brave Bess and the Anzac Horses.* Written by Susan Brocker. Published by HarperCollins, Auckland, New Zealand, 2010.
- Forward March.* Written by Christobel Mattingley; illustrated by David Kennett. Published by Omnibus Books, Parkside, Australia, 2016.
- Gallipoli.* Written by Kerry Greenwood & Annie White. Published by Scholastic, Lindfield, Australia, 2014.
- Grandad's medals.* Written by Tracy Duncan; illustrated by Bruce Potter. Published by Reed, Auckland, New Zealand, 2005.
- Jim's letters.* Written by Glyn Harper; illustrated by Jenny Cooper. Published by Puffin Books, Auckland, New Zealand, 2014.
- Kei Wareware Tātou.* Written by Feana Tu'akoi, illustrated by Elspeth Alix Batt, Māori translation by Katerina Te Heikōkō Mataira. Published by Scholastic, Auckland, New Zealand, 2012. [Also published as *Lest We Forget*, in English.]
- Le Quesnoy: The Town that New Zealand Saved.* Written by Glyn Harper; illustrated by Jenny Cooper. Published by Puffin Books, Auckland, New Zealand, 2012.
- Lest we Forget.* Written by Feana Tu'akoi, illustrated by Alix Elspeth Batt. Publisher: Auckland, New Zealand, Scholastic, 2011. [Also published in Māori as: *Kei Wareware Tātou.*]
- Little Poppy.* Written & illustrated by Joseph Fa'afiu. Publisher: Auckland, New Zealand, Farfew Books, 2014.
- Meet... the ANZACs.* Written by Claire Saxby; illustrated by Max Berry. Published by Random House Australia, North Sydney, Australia, 2014.
- Memorial.* Written by Gary Crew; illustrated by Shaun Tan. Published by Simply Read Books, Canada, 1999.
- My Grandfather's War.* Written by Glyn Harper; illustrated by Bruce Potter. Published by Reed, Auckland, New Zealand, 2007.
- One Million Lost: The Battle of the Somme.* Written by Barbara Davis. Published by Capstone Press, Minnesota, USA, 2009.
- Peace Warriors.* Written by Raymond Huber. Published by Rosa Mira Books, Dunedin, New Zealand, 2015.
- Roly, the ANZAC donkey,* written by Glyn Harper, illustrated by Jenny Cooper. Published by Puffin Books, Auckland, New Zealand, 2015. [Revised edition of *The Donkey Man*, originally published by Reed, 2004.]
- Te Pakanga Tuatahi o te Ao.* Produced by Hana Ltd, Wellington, New Zealand, 2015.
- The Anzac Puppy.* Written by Peter Millett, illustrated by Trish Bowles. Published by Scholastic, Auckland, New Zealand, 2014.
- The Bantam and the Soldier.* Written by Jennifer Beck; illustrated by Robyn Belton. Published by Scholastic, Auckland, New Zealand, 2014.
- The Donkey Man.* Written by Glyn Harper, illustrated by Bruce Potter. Published by Reed, Auckland, New Zealand, 2004.
- The Anzacs at Gallipoli: A story for Anzac Day.* Written by Christopher Pugsley & John Lockyer. Published by Reed, Auckland, New Zealand, 1999.

The Eels of Anzac Bridge. Written by Ali Foster, illustrated by Viv Walker. Published by Fraser Books, Masterton, New Zealand, 2014.

The last Anzac. Written by Gordon Winch; illustrated by Harriet Bailey. Published by New Frontier Publishing, Frenchs Forest, Australia, 2015.

The Red Poppy. Written by David Hill; illustrated by Fifi Colston with music by Rob Kennedy. Published by Scholastic, Auckland, New Zealand, 2014.

The Tale of the Anzac Tortoise. Written by Shona Riddell; Illustrated by Matt Gauldie. Published by Tortoise Shell Press, Wellington, New Zealand, 2015.

Wearing the Poppy. Written by AJ Toledo. Published by HarperCollins, Auckland, New Zealand, 2009.

School Journal articles

[Key: SJ= School Journal; L= Curriculum Level; Level 2 (aged 7-8); Level 3 (Aged 9-10); Level 4 (aged 11-12)]

Chunuk Bair [poem]. Written by Robert Sullivan. SJ L3 June 2014.

Dawn Service [poem]. Written by Ashleigh Young. SJ L4 June 2014.

Grey Angels [non-fiction]. Written by Anna Rogers. SJ L3 June 2014.

First World War Mascots: Animals at War [non-fiction]. Written by Philippa Werry. SJ L2 June 2014.

Harry's War [fiction based on true events]. Written by Mark Derby; illustrated by Andrew Burden. SJ L3 June 2014.

His Own War: The Story of Archibald Baxter [non-fiction]. Written by David Grant. SJ L4 March 2012.

In the End [fiction based on true events]. Written by Mal Peet; illustrated by Andrew Burdan. SJ [Story Library] L3 2014.

King and Country [non-fiction]. Written by André Ngāpō. SJ L4 June 2014.

Lest We Forget [non-fiction]. Written by Jane Tolerton. SJ L4 June 2014.

New Zealand at War [non-fiction]. SJ L3 June 2014.

Silas the Stretcher-bearer [non-fiction]. Written by Rachel Stedman. SJ L3 February 2012.

Te Hokowhita-a-Tū: The Pioneer Māori Battalion [non-fiction]. Written by Monty Soutar. SJ L3 June 2014.

The Anzac Button [fiction]. Written by Judy Raymond. SJ L4 June 2014.

The Children's War [non-fiction]. Written by Jock Phillips. SJ L4 June 2014.

Underground Soldiers [non-fiction]. Written by Mark Derby. SJ L4 June 2014.

References

Arrow, M. (2013). I just feel it's important to know exactly what he went through: *In their footsteps* and the role of emotions in Australian television history. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 33(4), 594-611. DOI: [10.1080/01439685.2013.847651](https://doi.org/10.1080/01439685.2013.847651)

Arrow, M. (2015). Girls, patriots and pacifists: Recent Australian screen histories of WWI. *Teaching History* 49(1), 4-10.

Baxter, A. (1968). *We will not cease* (2nd ed.). Christchurch: Caxton Press

Carlyon, L. (2001). *Gallipoli*. Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia.

Chomsky, N., & Herman, E. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon.

Edwards, K. (2014). Reclaiming First World War poets from Michael Gove and the historians who want to debunk them. Retrieved from: <http://noglory.org/index.php/articles>

Finley, T. (2010). Teaching war. *Edutopia*. Retrieved from <http://www.edutopia.org/blog/teaching-war-todd-finley>

Fitzsimmons, P. (2017). *Gallipoli*. Ridgehaven, SA: William Heinemann Australia.

Formwalt, L. (2002). Seven rules for effective history teaching or bringing life to the history class. *Organization of American Historians: Magazine of History*, 7. Retrieved from: <http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/ww1/formwalt.html>.

Grant, D & Kerr, B. (2008). *Field Punishment No. 1: Archibald Baxter, Mark Briggs and New Zealand's anti-militarist tradition*. Wellington: Steele Roberts.

- Harcourt, M. (2015). Towards a culturally responsive and place-conscious theory of history teaching. *Set: Research Information for Teachers*, 2, 36-44.
- Harcourt, M., Fountain, G., & Sheehan, M. (2011). Historical significance and sites of memory. *Set: Research Information for Teachers*, 2, 26-31.
- Hart, P. (2011). *Gallipoli*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, J. (2017). The evolution of Anzac Day from 1915 until today. Retrieved from: <http://www.australiangeographic.com.au/blogs/on-this-day/2017/04/evolution-of-anzac-day>
- MacCallum-Stewart, E. (2007). "If they ask us why we died": Children's literature and the First World War, 1970-2005. *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 31(2), 176-188.
- Ministry of Education. (2007). *The New Zealand curriculum*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Pennell, C. (2012). Popular history and myth making. The role and responsibility of First World War historians in the centenary commemorations. *Historically Speaking*, 13(5) 11-14.
- Perreau, M. (2015). Examining resources *for* and *about* social justice in senior social studies. *Curriculum Matters*, 11, 10-30.
- Pugsley, C. (1984). *Gallipoli: The New Zealand story*. Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Richardson, R. (2014). Teachers, your countries need you – history, nation and world war, 2014-2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.insted.co.uk/teachers-needed.pdf>.

“The Masters of War”: Finding ways to talk about the First World War today

PETER O’CONNOR

*School of Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education and Social Work
University of Auckland, New Zealand*

ABSTRACT This article challenges conventional descriptions and explanations of war and teaching about war. It draws on raw data from three qualitative arts-based projects to illustrate the complexity of cognitive and affective understandings of the place of war, past, present and future, through the jarring dissonance of ‘mash up’ – a strategy that deliberately juxtaposes text from varying sources on top of, around, and side-by-side with other text. It is best read aloud – more than once.

Introduction

*In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.¹*

Over the past three years I have been involved in three different research projects, each of them focusing on the idea of how and what to teach about war. Part of the reason for my interest in this has been because of the century commemorations of the First World War. It is also connected to my own interest as a young pacifist who went on to become president of the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies. As I’ve got older and the flames of my passionate pacifist youth have mellowed I’ve wondered how to teach in a way that honours the sacrifice of those who died in war and yet provide a space to respectfully question that sacrifice. I remember the Anzac ceremonies of my childhood when soldiers of the Great War marched and I remember newspaper and radio accounts of Gallipoli as told by aging diggers. These men are long gone and the ranks of World War Two veterans are diminishing fast. As a teenager, I was disgusted by the militarism and the celebration of the glory of war, as I saw it, in the annual April 25th grog fest. It was a time of protest against the Vietnam

War and any form of militarism was frowned upon by many in my generation who saw this conflict as futile and immoral. Now, as I get up pre-dawn and make my way down to the cenotaph to honour my grandfather who fought at Al Alamein and Monte Casino, my feelings are mixed. Now, as I struggle to teach about war, I attempt somehow to come to terms with what it is to be a New Zealander and live in, and with, multiple inconvenient histories. What was so simple when I taught peace studies in the early 1980s now seems so much more complex and difficult.

Three Interlinked Projects

Early in 2015, during the lead up to the commemoration of the landing at Gallipoli, I researched alongside a group of 16 young people, to pass on the stories of seniors in a retirement village who had been teenagers in the Second World War and who had parents or family members in the Great or First World War. Seniors and young people performed a play they devised together. It wasn't just about the war, but about Anzac, Kiwis and Aussies together, mates and what that has meant since.

They sang, they danced, they laughed, they wept. The play opens with the seniors and the young people on stage talking around a table as they make poppies for the commemoration services ahead. Men and women in the audience wear poppies and we sell them at the door.

I am also working with the University of Sydney, the University of Cambridge and the University of British Columbia on another war project entitled *Embodying historical consciousness: History and drama in schools*.

In it we are working with pre-service teachers looking at how we might teach about the World War 1. In each country, we are using the poem 'In Flanders Fields' as our springboard. We chose the poem for multiple reasons. In each country we are researching in, poppies are central to Memorial Day commemorations. The poem was written in 1915 by a Canadian, John McCrae, a medical doctor who served in the Western Front, treated Kiwi and Aussie soldiers. In our first workshop, a young man asks: *Why do you use this poem that celebrates the English: that celebrates the terror they have made on the world?*

For a number of years, I have worked in my wife's class with 7- and 8-year-olds leading up to Anzac Day. In one of the poorer schools in New Zealand we have played with the poem 'In Flanders Fields' and used it as a way to think, to talk and to imagine. We stood by the entrance to the school. The memorial gates have been there for nearly a hundred years. Generations of children have passed through them every morning.

I didn't know the gates had names on them. How come?

Research as 'mash up'

In research terms, one might consider this paper to be the results or findings of a cumulative case study of these separate but linked projects. It isn't. Instead I am attempting to realise a felt sense of what it is like to teach about war, in different but similar contexts, rather than present any research findings in a traditional sense. Different from a bricolage effect of stitching together the various aspects of the work to make sense or meaning of them through an ordered approach, I've chosen to use the notion of mash up. In musical terms a mash up is where, for example, a sound track is made that comprises the vocals of one recording placed over the instrumental backing of another. It is difficult for the listener to discern necessarily in the final product exactly where each part of the final tune has derived from. Order and sense isn't reached through research as mash up, but instead the intended outcome is a felt resonance through the interplay between each of the constituent parts. The resultant piece of research seeks interconnection and simultaneously deliberate dissonance to highlight and counter pose each part of the research. A mash up recording attempts in its apparent seamless switch a jarring of the senses. I deliberately then confuse and mix up (mash) different parts of the data without ascribing them to any particular case. The underlying rhythm is found in the poem 'On Flanders Field' which is returned to in various sections of this piece as a counter point to the rhythms of the various cases. The mash up distorts the dated sentimentality of 'Flanders Fields' and its patriotic call to arms with the concerns of twenty-first century New Zealand. It is as if a classical piece of music sits now behind a rap, lost but still resonating a truth behind the new lyrics.

Mash up becomes an analytic tool as well. In seeking for the ways in which the data might be deliberately layered, or where serendipity allows them to collide in ways that haven't consciously been arrived at, in the seeking nor for patterns or themes, but instead for where the layers of the work might startle into a different awareness, the mash up becomes a form of bringing together the cases into a sum greater than the individual parts.

Each of the research projects ask questions about national identity and how that is shaped through war. They separately, and mashed up, show the place of story, the manner in which drama and the arts might tell, retell and shape those stories so we might better answer the questions of who we are, who we have been and who we are because of who we have been.

A mash up

So at the end of the war day do the soldiers go home?

Do you think their mums made them their lunches?

Do you remember the war?

What might you need to know to teach about war

Courage

Courage?

To get it wrong

To get it wrong?

You can't just teach things that you want to teach

These things are tricky, aren't they?

You don't want to glorify war

All that marching about and dying

I've been teaching for twenty years

Don't worry once that door is shut its all yours

I'd like them to know about poppies and why we use them

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place

Tell us stories you have in your family about war

The noise bubbles around the room, everyone has a story, every person and every family
touched in some way

War: The universal constant

Stories of love

It's how my granddad met my grandma

It's stories of telegrams, of boats fleeing,

Of refugee camps,

Of drone strikes

Of old photographs in big chests

Of ration books,

Of black out curtains

Of detention camps

Of changing your German name

Of big brothers,

Of Iraq

Of my sister killed in Afghanistan,

Of I don't remember. My mum does. That's why we live in New Zealand.

He was in the home guard, a rifle and 1 bullet

The siren testing for all clear

My gran's family housed evacuees

My granddad was in the Vietnam war. He used to talk about how many he killed. He was a
chef. He was talking about chickens.

My grandad said it was easier being shot at by Germans than living at home with his
mother-in-law.

S.H. Brown, Sydney Herbert. In the war they called him Shit house Brown, Monte Casino, El
Alamein. Got busted to private twice.

I remember him getting drunk at my sister's wedding. Sitting in the bedroom telling stories and I didn't listen. I didn't sit with him and hear the stories released under a barrage of booze. And now of course it's too late.

And what might we tell them about Māori in the First war?

Pokare kare ana

*Pokarekare ana?*²

Corn ball song. What Pākehā³ sing when they get drunk overseas to claim something about being from here.

No, it was, it is more than that

They sang it, *Farewell, farewell, farewell*, sung by Māori as the boats left. The first boats in the first war.

They are agitated

the waters of Waiapu,

But when you cross over, girl

they will be calm.

So, I can tell you a story?

Us Māori we went to war alright. It was our chance to prove we were New Zealanders. And we died, lots of us died.

Stan stood at the start of the play. Feet solid but his hands trembling at his side. The medals on his chest included the insignia of the 28th New Zealand Expeditionary force, the famed Māori Battalion.

He spoke the words of the Ode:

E kore ratou e kaumātuatia

Penei i a tatou kua mahue nei

E kore hoki ratou e ngoikore

Ahakoā pehea i nga ahuatanga o te wa.

I te hekenga atu o te ra

*Tae noa ki te aranga mai i te ata
Ka maumahara tonu tatou ki a ratou.*

Ka maumahara tonu tatou ki a ratou

*They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning,
We will remember them⁴*

Maori Battalion

March to victory.⁵

And we will fight right to the end

For God for king and for country

Aue ake ake kia kaha e⁵

The memorial in Waiuku

It lists all those in the area who died

All those who died

But there are 16 names missing

They're all Māori names

If you make the play tell them that, tell them that

I sat with Stan,

And as the words of the song to the Māori battalion died down

A young Pākehā girl stepped in to the light

16 names missing

They're all Māori names

I saw the tears on Stan's face

Aue, Aue, moe mai, moe mai ⁶

Sleep now sleep now

We are the Dead. Short days ago

We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,

Loved and were loved, and now we lie

In Flanders fields.

Loved and were loved,

The room stills as I show them the picture of the train pulling out of the station. Can you imagine a memorial and under it these words are written

Loved and were loved

In small groups make a series of images

You can tap in to the feelings/ thoughts of people in the image and hear what they think and feel?

I'm lost without you?

I'm doing this for you?

They say there's a point?

Are you the point?

What does Anzac mean to you?

My mum makes those biscuits

It's a day off

It's a remembrance, of all those lives lost

The facts, just the facts, that's enough.

Teach them facts only. Alternative facts? In a post fact world, what facts might I chose.

Fact: By the time the campaign ended, more than 130,000 men had died: at least 87,000 Ottoman soldiers and 44,000 Allied soldiers, including more than 8700 Australians. Among the dead were 2779 New Zealanders, about a fifth of all those who had landed on the peninsula.

Fact: In the wider story of the First World War, the Gallipoli campaign made no large mark. The number of dead, although horrific, pales in comparison with the death toll in France and Belgium during the war. However, for New Zealand, along with Australia and Turkey, the Gallipoli campaign is often claimed to have played an important part in fostering a sense of national identity.

Fact: My father hated Churchill. It wasn't just Gallipoli to hate him for, there was Ireland as well

Fact: Stuffed it up, sent us colonials in as cannon fodder. Fact?

Fact: He said, "Quarter was neither asked or given; parties of Australians cut off were killed to the last man; no prisoners wounded or unwounded were taken by the Turk."

Fact: To Churchill, being cannon-fodder for the British Empire was a glorious sacrifice—it fuelled his faith that the British couldn't be beaten. Fact?

By mid-September, when the entire British war cabinet was finally convinced the only option was withdrawal, Churchill protested that the size of the sacrifice in human lives so far could only be justified by victory: "It would be very hard to explain, particularly in the case of Australia, a sacrifice which had been incurred with no result."

Fact: Churchill later claimed history would vindicate him, “particularly as I intend to write the history myself”. Ah, alternate facts aren’t necessarily new.

A new ANZAC mission 100 years later is announced, this time the destination is no longer Turkey but Iraq. It will be Australian and New Zealand troops fighting terror.

The Honourable Hekia Parata in the Houses of Parliament February 11 2015:

As the Minister of Education, I consider that critical for young New Zealanders, because we have a curriculum that says to them that these are the values of who we are. We play our part. We want them to be travellers. We want them to be explorers. We want them to be mindful of risk. We want them to be relationship developers. We want them to be communicators. And we should not turn away as a nation when that responsibility looks us in the face and says: “Will you stand alongside the allies whom, in times of both war and trade, we look to for those relationships?” So, no, this Government will not turn away from those responsibilities, and it is important that not only we confront them in a timely fashion but we demonstrate to young New Zealanders that that is part of who we are. We are descended from people who played their part, who took the risks, and who were prepared to do what was necessary. And so, as the Minister of Education, I believe that our schools are playing their part and are making those contributions.⁷

So, if I’m teaching about war, are these the values I’m teaching? The values of playing our part, of being prepared to do what is necessary. Killing in a war is about building relationships? Going to Iraq is about travel? Dying in Gallipoli was about being prepared to take risks? Be a risk taker, is that what I want to teach children to do?

Isn’t it best then to leave it alone, leave it alone.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:

To you from failing hands we throw

The torch;

Monday 4 December 1916

My dear little Marjorie,

I have only just received your little letter which Mamma sent with hers on Nov 19th. Do you remember that you asked me to be home for Xmas? I only wish I could but there are many more soldiers in our Battery who are more entitled to the Xmas leave than I am, so am afraid you will have to do without Daddy this Xmas. Santa Claus will come as usual.

I think your writing and dictation just splendid, and your drawings are getting funnier than ever. I have pinned your crayoned tulips on the wall of my dug-out bedroom beside your photograph.

Daddy is as comfortable as possible. I expect even you would get tired enough to go soundly asleep in this dug-out. It would be a change from your pink bedroom. Write again soon, dear, + send another crayoning to help cover the sand bags.

Heaps of love & kisses, which you must share with Mamma and Betty.

From your ever loving Daddy⁸

I wonder what Marjorie wrote back

How old do you think Marjorie is?

Oh, about your age.

Do you think you might write back to him?

So do I tell them this then as well?

(A photograph of Gunner Wilfrid Cove's daughters and a letter from Marjorie were found in his breast pocket when he was killed in 1917)

Is that too close?

Or is that the point of teaching this?

How do I assess the writing?

Leave it alone, leave it alone, let them write, just let them write.

Coming home,

Teach them what it meant to come home.

I remember my dad; he was a soldier in the first war. He came home f***ed up, like seriously f***ed up.

Can you create a movement piece that matches this music and its words?

*And the band played Waltzing Matilda, as the ship pulled away from the quay
And amidst all the cheers, the flag-waving and tears, we sailed off for Gallipoli
And how well I remember that terrible day, how our blood stained the sand and the water
And of how in that hell that they called Suvla Bay, we were butchered like lambs at the
slaughter.*

*Johnny Turk he was waiting, he'd primed himself well. He shower'd us with bullets,
And he rained us with shell. And in five minutes flat, he'd blown us all to hell
Nearly blew us right back to Australia.*

*But the band played Waltzing Matilda, when we stopped to bury our slain.
We buried ours, and the Turks buried theirs, then we started all over again.⁹*

The young people lined up in rows and they fell down, once twice and again they lie on top of each other, then they tidy the dead away, they carry the wounded down the gangplank, Australian words, Australian boys dead, remembered 100 years later by Kiwi kids

They turned their faces away, the auditorium felt totally stilled as they moved.

In the front of the audience sat the men and women, some whose fathers and uncles had come home from the First War, some who had come home themselves from other wars.

We imagined together, we imagined the hurt, the pain, the cost.

From the letter you wrote to one who was loved and loved

Underline the words that if they were the only words that he might hear, he would hear these from you left at home.

Memorise them

At Anzac Day services the family place their poppies at the memorial,

These two chairs represent that memorial,

Stand as you think your character feels at the first Anzac day.

Say the words he might hear

You promised you'd come back

I miss you, I love you,

Adventure, adventure,

I begged you not to leave us

Don't lie and say you did this for us.

I am so proud.

What have we learnt about Gallipoli?

It was a really sad place

People died and maybe we don't really know why

The Australians went to war too

Were they on our side?

Poppies come from there

It was about New Zealand and war

People died and got hurt and that's why we remember it

The soldiers didn't get to go home at night

In Flanders fields the poppies blow

Between the crosses, row on row,

That mark our place; and in the sky

The larks, still bravely singing, fly

Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago

We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,

Loved and were loved, and now we lie

In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:

To you from failing hands we throw

The torch; be yours to hold it high.

If ye break faith with us who die

We shall not sleep, though poppies grow

In Flanders fields.

Notes

1. "In Flanders Fields": a poem written by Canadian Lieutenant-Colonel John McCrae in May 1915 after the Battle of Ypres. The poem was published in *Punch* later that year.
2. Pō karekare ana is a popular Maori waiata (song) believed to have been composed around the time World War I began in 1914. It was popular with Māori soldiers who were heading to war and is now almost considered a New Zealand "anthem". The first verse and chorus are reproduced below:

Māori	English
Pōkarekare ana, ngā wai o Waiapu Whiti atu koe hine, marino ana e.	The waves are breaking, against the shores of Waiapu, My heart is aching, for your return my love.
E hine e, hoki mai ra Ka mate ahau i te aroha e.	Oh my beloved girl, come back to me I could die of love for you.

3. Pākehā: word used to denote non-Māori, usually of European ancestry.
4. The ode "For the Fallen", was written by Laurence Binyon in 1914 following the opening phase of the war on the Western Front. The "Ode of Remembrance" is the fourth stanza of the poem:

They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning,
We will remember them.

5. Māori Battalion refers to the 28th (Māori) Battalion, of the New Zealand Army that served during the Second World War building on the reputation of the Māori Pioneer Battalion that served during the First World War. "Māori Battalion march to victory" is a popular song whose words were written by Anania Amohau, for the Te Arawa tribe in 1940.

Māori Battalion march to victory
Māori Battalion staunch and true
Māori Battalion march to glory
Take the honour of the people with you
We will march, march, march to the enemy
And we'll fight right to the end.
For God! For King! And for Country!
Aue! Ake, ake, kia kaha e! [Trans: Oh, always be strong].

6. Translation: Sleep safely.
7. In 2015, Hekia Parata, Minister of Education made this speech to support sending New Zealand troops to Iraq to fight Isis. Retrieved from:
http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11408000
8. From: "In Flanders Fields."
9. Letter from Gunner Wilfrid Cove to his daughter Marjorie. Retrieved from
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/history/world-war-one/10561261/First-World-War-love-letters-from-the-trenches.html>
10. "And the Band Played Waltzing Matilda" is a song written by Australian singer-songwriter Eric Bogle in 1971 about a young Australian soldier injured at Gallipoli in the First World War. The words to the famous Australian song, "Waltzing Matilda" were written by Banjo Paterson.