The Barracks on the Hill : A History of the Army's Presence at Mount Cook, Wellington 1843 - 1979

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Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

When I was first approached to undertake the history of the Army's occupation of Mount Cook, I was somewhat bewildered. I thought to myself, what on earth had the military been doing in that place? To me, Mount Cook was that protuberant hunk of granite poking out of the Southern Alps. Much to my astonishment, I was quickly informed. that there was another Mount Cook. This one was located in central Wellington.

At the southern end of the inner city suburb of Te Aro there rises a knoll overlooking one of the few

flat areas of Wellington City. On the summit of this hill there now stands the National Museum and Art Gallery complex. As Map 1:1 shows the site is in an area roughly bounded by Taranaki, Buckle and Tasman Streets which covers approximately 6.4 ha (16 acres) (See Map 1:1). This to the uninitiated is Wellington's Mount Cook.

Once I had discovered the true location of the site, I began to consider its history. Looking at the decrepit buildings which the Army had occupied there I at first thought that it would have a history as stark as the architecture which graced its site. After all, being in the centre of a large city, what possible influence could this collection of derelict buildings have had on the Army's history? This initial preconception, like my first one on its location, was shattered. As I began to peruse the records and history books, I began to discover how influential Mount Cook had really been.

Mount Cook was, and to some extent still is, the oldest continually occupied military base within New Zealand. In an unbroken chain of occupance its history stretches from the 1840s to the present day. The site has provided a home for the Imperial Regiments, the local Militia and Volunteers, the Armed Constabulary, the Permanent Militia, Defence Headquarters, Headquarters Central Military District, and finally Headquarters Home Command. To this very day there is still a form - of military occupance at Mount Cook with it presently being utilised as the home for *HMNZS Olphert*, the Naval Volunteer Reserve, and the Defence Services Transport Pool.

The presence of these two establishments are but a mere shadow of Mount Cook's former prominence within New Zealand’s defence hierarchy. Its importance as a military post has

greatly diminished and is more characterised by the deserted and dilapidated buildings on the northern side of Buckle Street which are solemnly awaiting demolition. During its heyday Mount Cook was one of the most important defence posts within New Zealand.

For many years the directives governing New Zealand's defence were issued from here. At 1530 hours Friday 23rd March 1979 a small parade of military and civilian personnel marked the passing of this era for these barracks on the hill. As a result of a major _reorganisation of the Army the functions that had formerly been performed by the Auckland based HQ Field Force Command and the Wellington based HQ Home Command were amalgamated under a new headquarters called HQ New Zealand Land Forces which was accommodated in a new building in the Auckland suburb of Takapuna. For Mount Cook this change meant the removal of its last vestige of military command. No longer would it have any influence over the direction of the Army which it had held in one form or another over the past 130 years.

With such a long and influential history, the study of Mount Cook provides numerous windows from which to observe certain aspects of New Zealand's history. Being such an old and important site within the nation's military history it provides a unique opportunity to examine the development of New Zealand's Army. In many respects the development of the Army and Mount Cook are closely entwined because changes to the Army ultimately affected Mount Cook, and changes at Mount Cook did vice-versa.

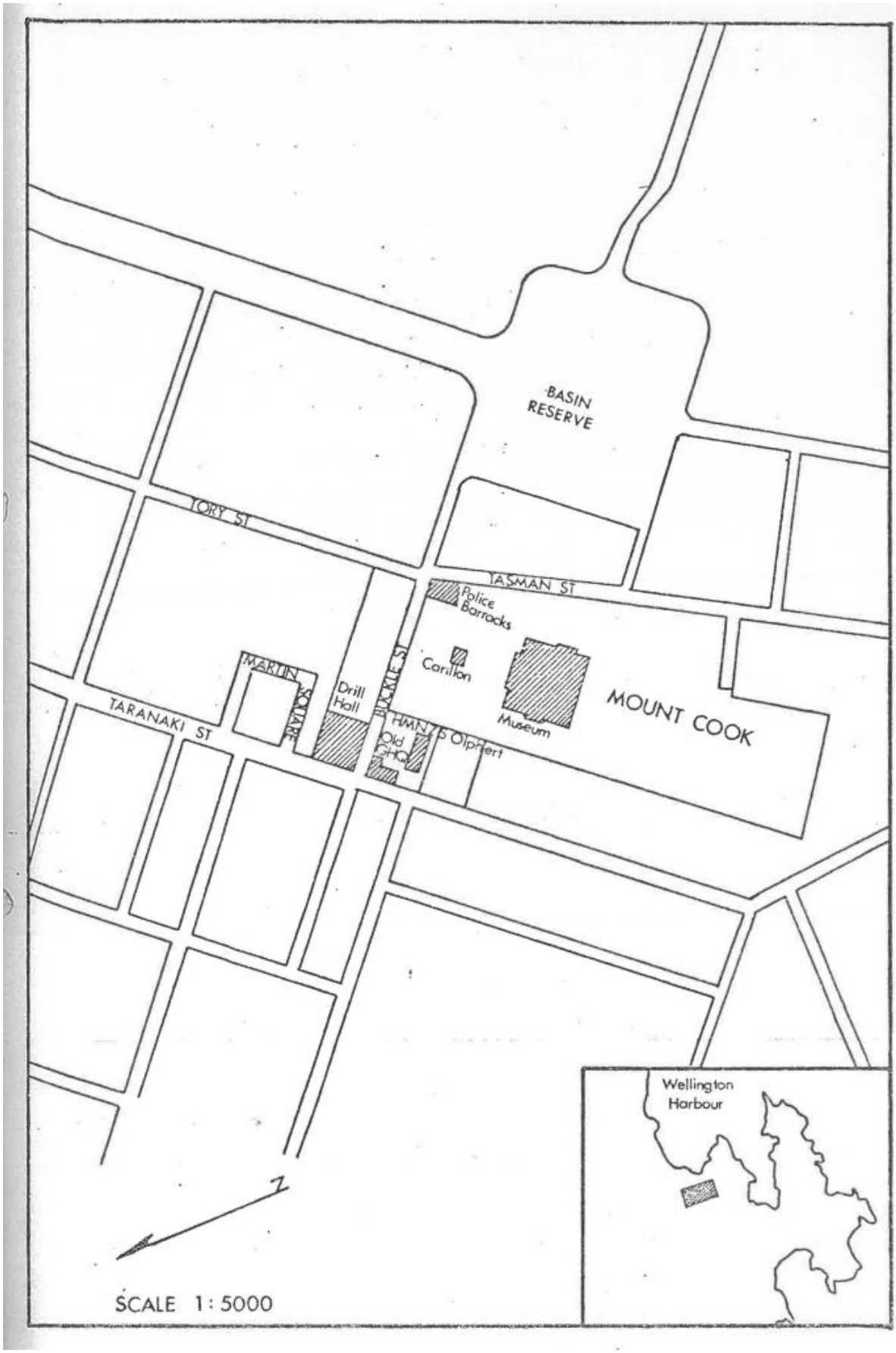
Secondly, its location in the centre of Wellington has meant that it has grown with the city. The barracks at Mount Cook have in their own way played a part in the history of Wellington itself. This role in the city's history has had its good points and its bad. In turn, the City too has influenced the development of Mount Cook and thus had an impact upon the Army's occupance of the site. Through various civic schemes the Army's utilisation of the site has been shifted and altered significantly over the years.

Thirdly, the military's occupance of Mount Cook provides an opportunity to examine the history of inter-departmental relationships within the Public Service. Being a part of the Public Service meant that the Army soon learned that Mount Cook was not their exclusive domain.

The Government was quick to use the adage "what's yours is mine" and the military soon found that their spacious estate was rapidly being devoured by other space hungry

departments. At times this sharing of the site with other Government Departments developed into a special relationship between the military and their neighbours. On other occasions there was intense bitterness and rivalry involved which would at regular intervals erupt into 'paper wars' as each were vying with the other in order to oust one another from the site.

An examination of these three themes, it is hoped, will provide the reader with an understanding of the history of the Army's presence at Mount Cook and illustrate what a colourful and influential past this site has had. So, if you wish to find out what this "Mount Cook" was like please read on.


BASIN RESERVE
TORY ST
TASMAN ST
Police Barracks
Carillon
Museum
MOUNT COOK
MARTIN SQUARE
Drill Hall
BUCKLE ST
TARANAKI ST
HMNZS Olphert
Old Police HQ
Wellington Harbour
SCALE 1:5000

CHAPTER 2: THE IMPERIAL REGIMENTS 1840 - 1870

It was Her Majesty's Imperial Regiments which first began the long tradition of the military presence at Mount Cook. Ironically, the reason for their initial arrival in Wellington was not for the protection of the settlers, rather, it was to intimidate them. With the only form of official British authority being based in the Bay of Islands at the time of the founding of Wellington, the New Zealand Company's settlement was left very much to its own devices. William Hobson, the Lieutenant-Governor, had had very little contact with Wellington but was alarmed by news he received on the evening of 21 May 1840 when the barque *Integrity* arrived at Russell.

Captain Pearson complained to Hobson that he had been summoned.by a Council at Port Nicholson (Wellington) to appear before it to answer a claim laid by the vessel's charterer. Refusing to recognise the validity of the Court, he had been committed for trial and imprisoned on the New Zealand Company Ship *Tory* but had succeeded in escaping to his own ship and clearing the port to carry his grievance to the Lieutenant-Governor.

Hobson felt that this constituted an illegal authority which did not have the approval of the Crown and was ' a direct threat to the-powers which had been vested in him by the British Government. He accordingly decided to suppress this Council, although at that time, he had no jurisdiction over the settlers at Wellington since British Authority had not been extended to embrace that territory. He declared in a despatch that he "yielded to the emergency of the case arising out of events at Port Nicholson and without waiting proclaimed on May 21, 1840, the Sovereignty of Her Majesty over the Northern Island".[1] He chartered the *Integrity* to convey Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, the Colonial Secretary for the Colony, and a detachment of thirty men from the 80th Regiment under Lieutenant A.D. Best to Port Nicholson to subdue what Hobson termed as amounting to 'High Treason'.

The Integrity arrived at Port Nicholson on 2 June 1840, but due to inclement weather was unable to land Shortland util the 4th. Upon landing, Shortland wasted no time in reading a proclamation which stated that:

> Whereas certain persons residing at Port Nicholson have confirmed themselves into an illegal association under the title of a Council; and in contempt of Her

[1] Arthur H. Carman, *The birth of a city* ([The author, 7 Kowhai St. Tawa], 1970), Non-fiction, 240.

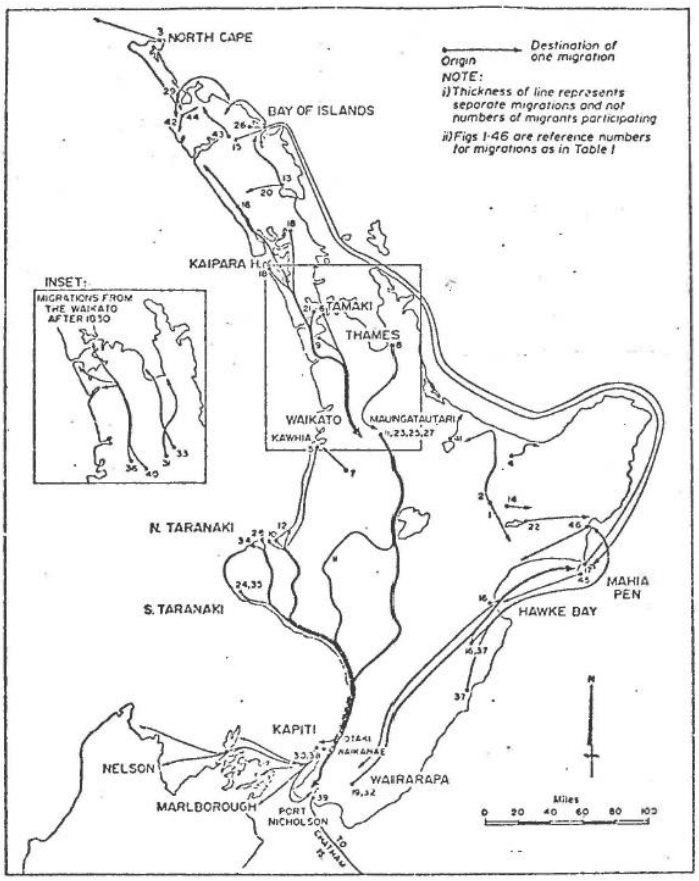
> Majesty's authority have assumed and attempted to usurp powers resting in me by Her Majesty's Letters Patent for the Government of the Colony to the manifest injury and detriment of all Her Majesty's liege subjects in New Zealand.
>
> Now, therefore, I, William Hobson Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand, command all persons connected with such illegal association immediately to withdraw therefrom, and I call upon all persons resident at Port Nicholson or elsewhere within the limits of this Government, upon the allegiance that they owe to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, to submit to the proper authorities in New Zealand legally appointed, and to aid and assist them in the discharge of their respective duties.
>
> Given under my hand at Government House, Russell, Bay of Islands this twenty-third day of May in the year of Our Lord, eighteen hundred and forty.
>
> William Hobson (Lieutenant-Governor)
> By Command of His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor
> Willoughby Shortland (Colonial Secretary).

In order to back up this proclamation and to convince the settlers that any further assumption of authority on their part would bring speedy retribution, Shortland ordered the detachment of troops ashore, ·had them encamp on Thorndon Flat, and asked the Captain of Her Majesty's warship *Herald* to sail into the harbour and to show her guns. Hence, it was this ignominious event which was to mark the beginning of the military's association with Wellington City.

Although initially playing this intimidatory role in establishing Hobson's authority over that of the New Zealand Company within the region, the Imperial Troops found that they were continually being pressured into becoming an instrument for the furtherance of the New-Zealand Company's dubious land claims.

The New Zealand Company had arrived in the Colony in 1839 working on the assumption that they would gain easy access to Māori Lands for settlement. But they were soon to find otherwise. Colonel Wakefield and his associates suffered to a considerable extent from a want of knowledge of Māori law and custom with respect to the land. They did not realise that Māori tenure of the land consisted of a complex web of rights and customs built up over the centuries. For the Cook Strait area these customs and rights had been further complicated by the disruption and dislocation resulting from the 'Musket Wars' of the early 1820's.

During these years the tribal balance of power within Maoridom was significantly altered by the introduction of muskets to certain tribes. This weapon gave one group a certain edge over all others. Consequently, a great deal of destruction was wrought upon the Māori population and entire tribes were forced to migrate in order to survive (see Map 2:1).



No.	Date	Origin / Destination	Destination
32	1830	Wairarapa .. .. Ngati Kahungunu	Mahia Peninsula
33	1831	Upper Waikato .. .. Ngati Paoa	Western Thames Coast mainly
34	1832	North Taranaki .. .. Atiawa	Waikanae. Some to Port Nicholson
35	1833/34	Mt. Egmont Coast .. .. Atiawa, Ngati Ruanui, Taranaki	Waikanae
36	1835	Upper Waikato (Te Horo) .. .. .. Ngati Whatua	Tamaki Isthmus
37	1835	Hawkes Bay .. .. Ngati Kahungunu	Poverty Bay
38	1835	Waikanae .. .. Atiawa, Ngati Tama	Port Nicholson. Nelson - Marlborough
39	1835	Port Nicholson .. .. Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Tama, Taranaki	Chatham Islands
40	1836	Waipa-Upper Waikato .. .. .. Waikato (Manukau)	Tamaki Isthmus
41	1838/39	Rotorua .. .. Arawa	Maketu, Bay of Plenty
42	1838	Kaitaia Herekino .. .. Rarawa	Hokianga
43	1838/39	Bay of Islands .. .. Ngapuhi	Oruru
44	1839	Ahipara .. .. Rarawa	Oruru
45	1840	Mahia Peninsula .. .. Ngati Kahungunu	Wairarapa, Hawkes Bay
46	1840	Poverty Bay .. .. Ngati Kahungunu	Hawkes Bay

Source: Urlich, 1969, 85

MAP 2.1

As can be seen the Cook Strait area bore the brunt of this movement as several tribes such as the Ngāti Toa, the Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa with their associated subtribes from north of Wanganui, migrated southwards. This meant that a further layer of land claims were super-imposed upon those already existing in the area.

It was into this area that the New Zealand Company moved with a complete naivete of the local situation and with their inability to make the Māori understand the precise tenor of their questions and documents. Wakefield and his associates paid little attention to the validity of a Māori vendor's title; so long as a chief or a gathering of chiefs willing to sell such-and-such area of land was found, Wakefield was satisfied. Through such methods the New Zealand Company laid claim to some 20 million acres on either side of Cook Strait.

These grandiose assertions were soon jolted back to reality when it was found that many other Māori had claims to these pieces of land and that they were not so eager to part with it.[2] This led to the repudiation of bargains and the stalling of the advancement of the settlers onto their 'promised lands'. As more and more settlers arrived and found the Company's preparations and performances well below its promises their exasperation increased. They became furious with the Company for its misrepresentations and embittered towards the Māori who appeared increasingly as the main obstacle to their acquisition of the land. There would inevitably be a limit to their acceptance of the impossible. So, Wakefield gave in to the more immediate of these pressures, 'bought up' and occupied parts of Port Nicholson and tried to survey an area near Porirua. The reaction of the Ngāti Toa, who occupied this area and were opposed to the selling of land to the settlers, was abrupt, and the would-be settlers, their homes destroyed, fled back to Part Nicholson. The Company's supplementary settlement at Wanganui faced much the same difficulties.

It was in the Wanganui area that the New Zealand Company first tried to embroil the Imperial troops in its land claims during December 1840. Because it wished to prevent complications in the distribution of land which it claimed at Wanganui, the interests of the Company inspired Wellington’s Police Magistrate Michael Murphy, to press the Government

[2] Ian McLean Wards, *The shadow of the land : a study of British policy and racial conflict in New Zealand 1832-1852* (Historical Publications Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1968), Chapter 7.

at Russell to interfere in a tribal war in that area. Murphy attempted to send, on his own authority, the detachment of the 80th Regiment under Lieutenant Best which had been stationed in Wellington. To. Murphy's great indignation Best refused to move without instructions from his superior, Major Sunbury, who was back at Russell.[3]

Despite this point-blank refusal to become involved in resolving the New Zealand Company's land problems it was becoming increasingly difficult for the British troops not to do so. Many settlers were moving onto the land before the title problem had been resolved and invoking the ire of the Māori's. As British Subjects these people were demanding to be protected from the hostile Māori's. The New Zealand Company endorsed this process because it hoped that the sheer weight of settlers would redress the deficiencies of ownership. These activities and the Māori reaction came to a head in June 1843 when twenty-two settlers were killed at the Wairau in Marlborough.

This incident forced the Government's hand as regards the deployment of troops in Wellington. In the town itself, news of the massacre sent the population into a most excited and fearful state. Preparations were made for the defence of the town and daily it was felt that Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeta, the perpetrators of the massacre would swoop down from their strongholds at Kapiti and Waikanae. Some people left for Sydney, others prepared to leave, and such was the prevailing alarm that both Mr MacDonogh, the then Police Magistrate, and Mr Spain, the Land Commissioner, wrote to Auckland to ask for the immediate dispatch of troops; the first believing that however small this party was it would steady the local inhabitants; Spain, less soberly, maintaining that without troops the panic[4]

In the absence of sufficient regulars, the townspeople initially looked to their own defence and established their own militia. From 23 June they met on The Terrace every morning at eight for drill. The Acting-Governor, Willoughby Shortland, was alarmed at the raising of this local force, perhaps remembering his duty performed for Hobson three years prior in suppressing the presumptuous activities of these first Wellingtonians. He decided to send more Imperial troops. Shortland appointed Major Mathew Richmond, who was a captain in the 96th Regiment, as Police Magistrate and Chief Government Agent for all the southern

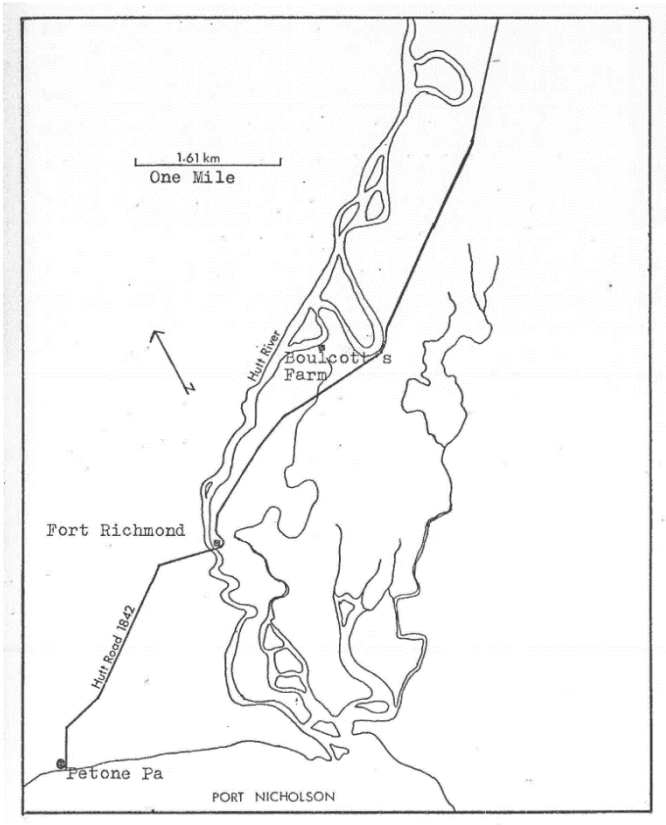
[3] Wards, *The shadow of the land : a study of British policy and racial conflict in New Zealand 1832-1852*, 57.
[4] W Spain, "Private and confidential letter regarding the Wairau affray and the settlement of the New Zealand Company's claims.," *Archives New Zealand No R22397271* (1 May 1843).

districts. He was sent on *HMS Victoria* with a detachment of the 96th Regiment consisting of two officers and fifty-three other ranks, to Wellington.

Upon reaching there on 24 July 1843, Richmond's first act, after disembarking the troops, was to disband the local militia, both the act and the haste being indicted by the Wellington Spectator as indecent in the highest degree and contrary both to that English Law allowing two justices of the country to authorise musters and drilling, and to the known wishes of Lords Normanby and John Russell that a militia should be formed.[5] Accommodation for the men of the 96th was provided in a building located at the foot of Mount Cook, thus beginning the military's long association with the site.

By 1845 the land problem again reached boiling point when the Māori's of the Ngāti Toa tribe had returned to the disputed lands of the Hutt Valley in strength. They filtered on to Pakeha farms and ir1sisted that any Pakeha farming in the area was there purely on their sufferance alone. At the end of March wit!1 no compromise in sight, or contemplated, with both Europeans and Māori's awaiting what appeared to be the inevitable recourse to arms, word was received in the south of the sack of Kororareka. In reaction to this event and the dangerous precedent that it had set, Major Richmond decided to erect forts and places of refuge for women and children in both Wellington and the Hutt. The site for the first of these Richmond had already selected in the Hutt, on the east bank of the Hutt River at the end of a timber bridge erected earlier by the Company (see Map 2:2). Here a fort bearing his name was constructed in a style reminiscent of those on the western frontier in America. In Wellington itself, Richmond thought that it was necessary to erect two forts, for the township was straggled out along the beach between the Immigration offices at Thorndon and the Custom building at Te Aro. The two forts were to be earth redoubts located at either extremity of the settlement.

[5] "Establishing a Militia," *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, Volume IV, Issue 266* (Auckland), 26 July 1843, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZGWS18430726.2.5.



Map 2.2

With such a tense situation in the area combined with the fear that the rebellion in the North might encourage likewise activities, it was decided that the Imperial troops already stationed there should be reinforced. On 7 April 1845, a detachment of the 58th Regiment, consisting of three officers, two sergeants and fifty-two other ranks, arrived in the hired vessel *Velocity* from Auckland. Captain Eyton, commander of the detachment of the 96th Regiment, remained the senior officer. The detachment of the 58th Regiment, at Richmond's insistence and against Eyton's wishes, for he wanted the troops concentrated at Te Aro (Mount Cook) with the men of the 96th, was quartered in a large brick house at Thorndon, on the seaside of the junction of Murphy and Molesworth Streets. As this was the exposed extremity of the town, Richmond now had reason to believe that the settlement was reasonably secured against attack.[6]

The *Wellington Independent* noted that there was another reason why the men could not be accommodated at Mount Cook and raised an important issue as regards their accommodation when it observed that:

[6] Wards, *The shadow of the land : a study of British policy and racial conflict in New Zealand 1832-1852*, 57.

> There not being sufficient room in the building at present occupied by the 96th Mr Couper's brick house, at the foot of Wade's Town Hill, has been taken as barracks, and the 58th took possession of their quarters ·on the day that they had landed. If report speaks true, we are to have 150 more troops stationed at Wellington, and we-think some preparations should be made for their reception, for we do not like the plan of scattering the military, here, there, and everywhere, in small divisions.[7]

On 19 April another detachment of the 58th Regiment arrived at Wellington in the brig *Bee* direct from Sydney. Under the command of Captain A.H. Russell, this detachment consisted of one Lieutenant, an acting assistant-surgeon, two sergeants and fifty other ranks. Russell proved to be the senior officer and assumed command of all troops in the Southern Districts.

On the following day Major Richmond took Captain Russell to inspect the Hutt Valley, and together they reached the conclusion that an attack on the completed but as yet unoccupied Fort Richmond was intended the very next morning. They returned to Wellington, ordered the *Bee*, from which the detachment of the 58th had not yet been disembarked, to sail at once up the harbour, and by 3 am on 21 April Fort Richmond was occupied. Russell returned to town leaving Lieutenant Bush in charge. By now, the military situation in Wellington was that three detachments of regulars, each approximately fifty strong, were posted at well separated points, the 96th at Mount Cook Te Aro, the 58th at Thorndon and another of the 58th at Fort Richmond.

As soon as it was possible to withdraw troops from the troubles in the Bay of Islands preparations were made for a transfer of the military forces to Wellington, and on 3 February 1846, a body of nearly six hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme embarked at Auckland for the south.

They were transported by a fleet which consisted of the British frigates, *Castor* and *Calliope*, the war steamer *Driver*, the Government brig *Victoria* and the barque *Slains Castle*. Inclusive of the detachment of the 99th Regiment, lately arrived from Sydney, the ·rest of the force consisted of: 58th Regiment - one field officer, two captains, four subalterns, and two hundred and two other ranks; 99th Regiment - one field officer, two captains, six subalterns,

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[7] "The detachment of the 58th," *Wellington Independent* (Wellington), 12 April 1845, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18450412.2.8.

250 other ranks; 96th Regiment - one captain, four subalterns, and seventy-three other ranks; also, a detachment of Royal Artillery.[8]

More officers of the 58th were to arrive from Sydney on 22 July 1846, together with the advance party of the 65th Regiment. This consisted of Captain O'Connell, Captain Newenham, Lieutenant McCoy, Lieutenant Turner and Assistant White all of the 65th; Ensign Barker (58th), eight sergeants, seven corporals and 162 rank and file of the 58th and 65th Regiments. Hence, by this latter date, the Government was able to mount an impressive show of strength in the Wellington district.[9]

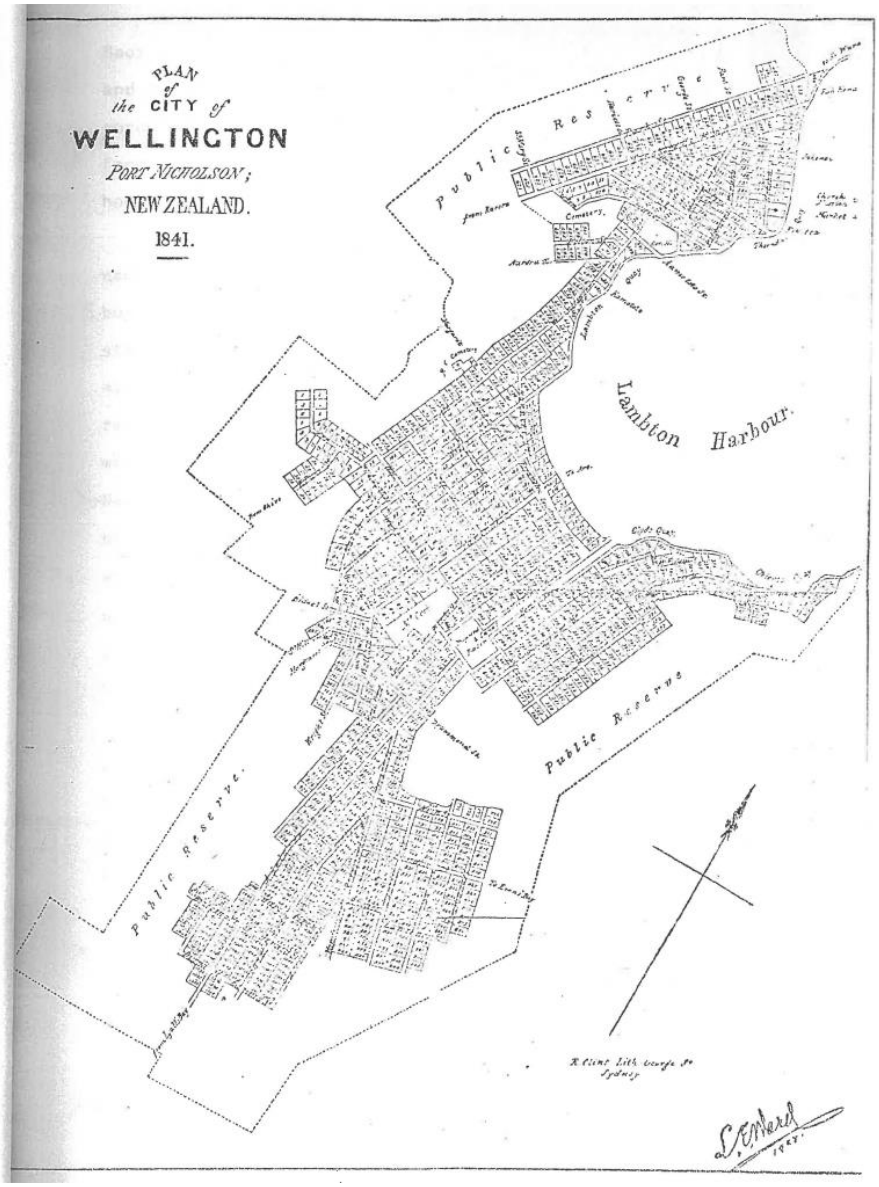
With such an influx of troops into Wellington it was becoming very difficult to accommodate them satisfactorily. The authorities realised that a large amount would have to be expended in providing barracks for these men. Two sites were seen as being the most convenient for housing them. These were Mount Cook, at the southern end of the town, and Thorndon Flat at the northern end. The Mount Cook site was the larger of the two since it had been designated the location of a military reserve in the original plans for the settlement (see Map 2:3)

Here, an area of 13 acres (5.2 ha) had been set aside. Unfortunately, most of the reserve was taken up by a steep hill with only a small proportion of it being flat land. Hence it was on this flat area in the northwest corner of the reserve that construction was initially confined to. Before construction commenced, though, the pressure on military accommodation within Wellington was relieved by the outbreak of hostilities in the Hutt Valley. The authorities' attention was shifted from building barracks to supplying the men in the field. The troops themselves would have little need of accommodation in Wellington since they were now detailed to frontier duties north of the settlement. Only a small number of Imperial troops were left behind to perform garrison duties, so the already existing barrack accommodation was able to meet this demand easily.

By February 1846, the new Governor, George Grey, had ordered the Imperial troops to occupy the Hutt Valley in order to persuade the Māori's to move out of the valley so that it could be settled. The Māori's at first refused to withdraw from the area they occupied

[8] J. Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars, A History Of The Maori Campaigns And The Pioneering Period (Volume I) (1845-1864)* (1922), 97-98.
[9] R.I.M Burnett, *The Paremata Barracks* (Wellington: New Zealand. Government Printing Office, 1963), 12.

around Boulcott's Farm until they had received compensation for their land and crops. On the Reverend Richard Taylor's persuasions, they finally agreed to retire. Unfortunately, on 27 February some of the troops marched to the principal village which had been occupied by the Māori's and destroyed it. On top of this some of the settlers indulged in looting and took most of the crops belonging to the Māori's. In· retaliation for the destruction of their village and cultivations many Māori's reacted by slipping back past the cordon of soldiers, bringing on the latter severe criticism from the public and plundered many of the Pakeha homesteads.



Map 2.3

On 3 March 1846, the first shots of the Wellington campaign were fired when a party of Māori's under cover of the bush fired on Captain Eyton's company of the 96th who were stationed some distance in advance of Boulcott's Farm, two miles above Fort Richmond. Governor Grey wasted no time in reacting to this incident, and on the same day, proclaimed martial law in the district excluding Wellington township itself. The Imperial troops were now fully committed to the Suppression of the 'rebellious' Māori's in the Wellington district. Grey at once ordered the warship *Driver* to steam to Petone with troops. The soldiers embarked were Captain Russell's company of the 58th, twenty men of the 99th, and thirty of the 96th.

On 2 April a Lower Hutt settler named Andrew Gillespie and his young son Andrew were attacked and killed. A number of Māori's from the Porirua district were implicated in this action. Te Rauparaha let it be known that if Grey sent a small party to Porirua, he could probably catch some of the perpetrators. So early ·in April he sent a small party of eight Europeans to take these miscreants; Te Rangihaeta, the Chief at Porirua, refused to give anyone up and discreetly withdrew to the bush.

When this party returned to Wellington empty handed Grey reacted by ordering a body of 250 men of the 58th and 99th Regiments under Major Last to sail on the warships *Driver, Calliope* and the barque *Slains Castle* to Porirua Harbour on 9 April. They were instructed to upon landing, select a suitable site for the construction of a barracks which would effectively close this back-door into Wellington for the rebel Māori's.[10] At the same time in order to ensure that this new military post would permanently remain in British hands Grey ordered the military to commence the construction of a road from Wellington to Porirua since communications by sea was rather tenuous via the fickle Cook Strait route. For on one occasion it took a supply ship six weeks to reach Porirua from wellington due to bad weather.[11]

Meanwhile, the troops stationed in the Hutt Valley were busily establishing themselves in defensive positions, much to the disgust of the local settlers. The Government was none too

[10] R.I.M Burnett, *The Paremata Barracks*.
[11] W.T. Power, *Sketches in New Zealand: With Pen and Pencil* (Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849), 106-07.

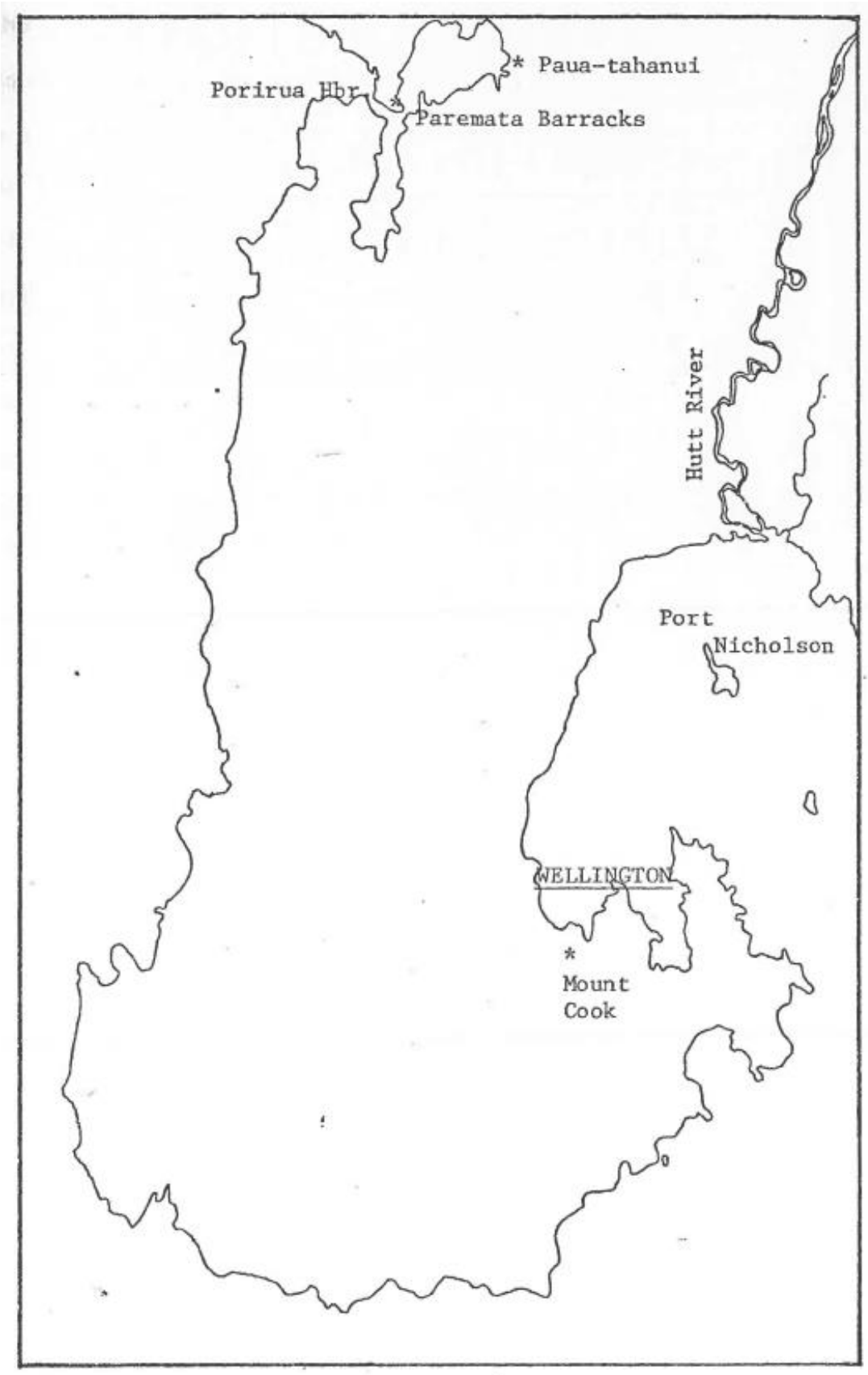
keen to overcommit itself with harrying actions against the Māori's. Rather, it was content to play a waiting game.

The most advanced post of the Regular troops was on Boulcott's Farm, where fifty men of the 58th Regiment were stationed under Lieutenant G. H.· Page. It was to be at this post that the Māori's under Te Rangihaeta's orders were to make their first attack. On 16 May 1846 approximately 200 warriors fell upon this post killing six men in one of the perimeter pickets. Fortunately, Lieutenant Page was able to rally the rest of his men in the stockade and to repel the attack.

After this action the Government decided to accept ·the offer of aid from the 'friendly' Chief, Te Puni and his Ngāti Awa men in fighting against Te Rangihaeta. It was to be these men, with their jackets emblazoned with the letters 'VR' so that they could be distinguished from the 'hostile' Māori's during battle, along with the local militia who would spearhead future attacks against the rebels in the Hutt. The Regulars, who were seen as unsuitable for fighting a 'Bush War' were forced to revert to garrison duties in· the valley's various stockades.

It was in the Porirua area where most activity now became concentrated. Upon Grey's return from Auckland on 1 July he immediately decided to concentrate his energy on removing the threat from Te Rangihaeta whose main forces were located around the north-east arm of Porirua Harbour. With his arrest of Te Rauparaha on 23 July 1846, he was able to remove one of Te Rangihaeta's principal sympathisers and supporters. All that was left was Te Rangihaeta's fortified pa at Pāuatahanui on the far eastern side of the Harbour (see Map 2:4).

In order to besiege this pa Grey ordered a body of Militia, police and Ngāti Awa friendlies to march across the hills from the Hutt in order to carry the place by surprise. Only one regular officer, Ensign Middleton, of the 58th Regiment, accompanied the expedition. Unfortunately, the element of surprise was lost, and upon arrival the pa was found to be deserted, for Rangihaeta, upon learning of the force's approach, moved up the ranges above the Horokiwi River just to the east of Paekakariki.


* Paua-tahanui
Porirua Hbr
Paremata Barracks
Hutt River
Port
Nicholson
WELLINGTON
*
Mount
Cook

Map 2.4

In order to remove him from this stronghold a force of 400 men was raised which consisted of 250 men from the 58th, 65th and 99th Regiments and a dozen from the Royal Artillery, the Hutt Militia and the Wellington Armed Police, and 150 Ngāti Awa friendlies. On Monday, 3 August the force began a march up the thickly wooded valley of the Horokiwi, with the friendly Māori's constituting the spearhead.

An impetuous approach to Rangihaeta's stronghold cost the lives of Ensign Blackburn and two soldiers of the 99th. A thorough reconnaissance by Major Last mindful of the bloody lesson learned in the war with Hone Heke, decided that the pa was too forbidding for any frontal assault and he contented himself with lobbing bombs from his three light mortars, which belonged to the Royal Artillery, into its perimeter. This waiting tactic paid off. Four days later Te Rangihaeta and his

followers again took to the forest. Major last was contented to allow the Ngāti Awa friendlies to continue the pursuit whilst he marched the Regular troops who were seen as less suited for ambush campaign back to Pāuatahanui on 10 August.

Te Rangihaeta finally withdrew far into the deep flax swamps of the Horokiwi, to a last retreat called Paeroa where after his pursuit was discontinued, he was allowed to subsist with a hundred diehard followers until his death from measles in 1856.[12]

The end of the pursuit of Te Rangihaeta effectively brought to a close the hostilities in the Wellington district, and attention began to be focussed up on problems in the Wanganui district. By 1847, the Regular troops began to return to Wellington and plans were made for their future deployment.

The 96th and 58th Regiments were removed to Auckland until shipping became available for their transport to Tasmania and New South Wales respectively. The *New Zealander* reported on

5 December 1846 that:

> On Wednesday evening the detachment of the 96th, and on Thursday morning early, the 58th Regiment embarked on board the *Java* to take their final departure from the colony. The troops marched down from the barracks to the beach in the greatest order, the well-known band of the 58th and the band of

[12] T. Gibson, *The Maori Wars: The British Army in New Zealand, 1840-1872* (L. Cooper, 1974), 68.

> the newly arrived 65th playing alternately. ·We have witnessed embarkations and departures of troops at the garrison towns in England, but we never witnessed a body of men depart in more excellent order than did our friends of the 58th and 59th.[13]

But, this departure of the 58th Regiment from the colony's shores was short lived. The *Wellington Independent* was able to report on 28 April 1847 that two regiments consisting of the 58th and 65th were to be deployed in New Zealand with one having its headquarters in Auckland and the

other in Wellington.

It was the 65th Regiment which was to be based in Wellington. Already, its advance guard which originally had been sent from England to do a tour of duty as a convict guard, had been immediately shipped across the Tasman from Sydney at the request of Grey to reinforce the elements of the 58th, 96th and 99th Regiments already fighting in New Zealand. Consequently, the men of the 65th Regiment found themselves scattered over various districts of the colony. Some were detailed to occupying the post at Wahapū in the Bay of Islands, others were garrisoned in Auckland, whilst the rest were detailed to Wellington where they helped in the fighting at Porirua and Horokiwi.

By 1 July 1847 the remainder of the regiment had arrived in Auckland after only a brief stop at Sydney. From here they were ordered to proceed to Wellington, being relieved at Auckland by the return of the 58th Regiment from Sydney. The Headquarters of the 65th Regiment finally arrived in Wellington on the 28th of that month, and it was here that the Regiment was to remain for the next thirteen years. Upon arriving in the town, the 65th relieved the detachment of the 99th Regiment which was then removed to Sydney.

With Wellington now a Regimental HQ, and the town having insufficient barracks accommodation and also with the distraction of war now removed, the authorities were faced with the problem of housing over 500 men from the 65th Regiment. Once it was confirmed that Wellington would have

to accommodate the 65th it was decided to undertake an expansion of the barracks at Mount Cook. On 8 February 1847 the Commissariat Office issued a notice for the application

[13] "Departure of the Military," *New Zealander, Volume 2, Issue 79* (Wellington), 5 December 1846, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZ18461205.2.6.

of tenders for the erection of temporary wooden barracks and outbuildings and for the supply of materials necessary for their construction. The Wellington Independent was able to report that:

> The contract for erecting the temporary barracks on Mount Cook, has been taken by Mr Mills. Sixty thousand feet of timber will be required, and a "large amount of labour needed before the building can be erected. Wages are good, and in consequence of the numerous works in progress, and the opening of the country by means of roads, labour is becoming scarce.[14]

In May it was decided that even this expansion would be insufficient to meet the entailed demand, so a further tender was called for inviting the erection of an additional five barracks with outhouses, making eight in all under construction at the foot of Mount Cook. Each building was to house thirty-three men. But this expansion entailed a problem, because all the available flat land at Mount Cook was now fully utilised. This meant that the expansion had to spill over onto the adjacent properties. As a local newspaper observed:

> So insufficient were the reserves made for public purposes in Wellington, that in order to find room for the new Barracks, the necessity for which was sufficiently obvious, one of the acres reserved for the natives near Mount Cook and six acres reserved on Thorndon Flat, have been necessarily appropriated as sites. This is another proof of the impracticability of the New Zealand Company's plan, and the inconsistency displayed in affecting to adhere to the original contract. The evils must be borne, but they might have been prevented.[15]

This action marked the beginning of the complex mosaic of land titles which was finally to constitute the Mount Cook Reserve. The title for this piece of native reserve was not resolved until 1908 when a special section was devoted to it in the Māori Land Laws Amendment Act. Here, section 39 stated that:

> Whereas Town Acres Numbers 89 and 90, City of Wellington each containing one acre more or less, were set apart as Native Reserves by the New Zealand Company being comprised in the said company's 'reserved tenths'. And whereas the barracks of the Armed Constabulary were erected thereon, and the Crown by conveyance dated the 24th day of March 1874 purchased the said lands from the Native owners of Te Aro for the sum of £500 and whereas the said lands were erroneously included in the schedule of lands vested in the Public Trustee by the Native Reserve Act Amendment Act, 1896, for the benefit of the Natives described therein: Whereas. . .Defence buildings have been erected on the said

[14] "The contract, for erecting the temporary Barrack," *Wellington Independent, Volume II, Issue 141* (Wellington), 17 February 1847, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18470217.2.7.
[15] "The contract, for erecting the temporary Barrack."

> Town Ace 90. . . it is desired to rectify this mistake that was made by vesting the said lands in the Public Trustee.[16]

With flat land at a premium within the reserve and with so many new barracks needed, the area taken over by the military not only included Lot 90 (the Native Reserve_) but also spilled over to the opposite side of Buckle Street onto Lots 226 and 233, (see Map 2:5), By 14 July the first of the new barracks at the foot of Mount Cook were completed. The *Wellington Independent* reported:

> The mechanics and artisans employed in the erection of the New Barracks lately completed at Mount Cook were on Monday evening regaled with a substantial supper by the Contractor Mr Mills. The evenings were very pleasantly spent. We have much pleasure in noticing the event, because the buildings have given great satisfaction, and reflect credit upon all engaged in their construction.[17]

When the last of the men of the 65th arrived in Wellington, they were able to march straight from the ship to their temporary barracks at the foot of Mount Cook. For indeed, these buildings were only intended as a short term home for the 'Royal Tigers', as the 65th was sometimes known due to its distinguished servicer in India.

As Map 2:5 shows, a more ambitious plan was in the air for the housing of the regiment. With the temporary barracks taking up the only flat land at Mount Cook, the summit of the hill which had a commanding view of the town and harbour, remained vacant. The only building to be erected on this part of the reserve had been the powder magazine which was built in late 1846. It was here that the Commissariat decided to build permanent barracks for the Royal Tigers. In August 1848 they called for tenders for the construction of. Military Barracks on Mount Cook made of 'stone' and 'brick' for the accommodation of 350 men, with requisite outbuildings.[18]

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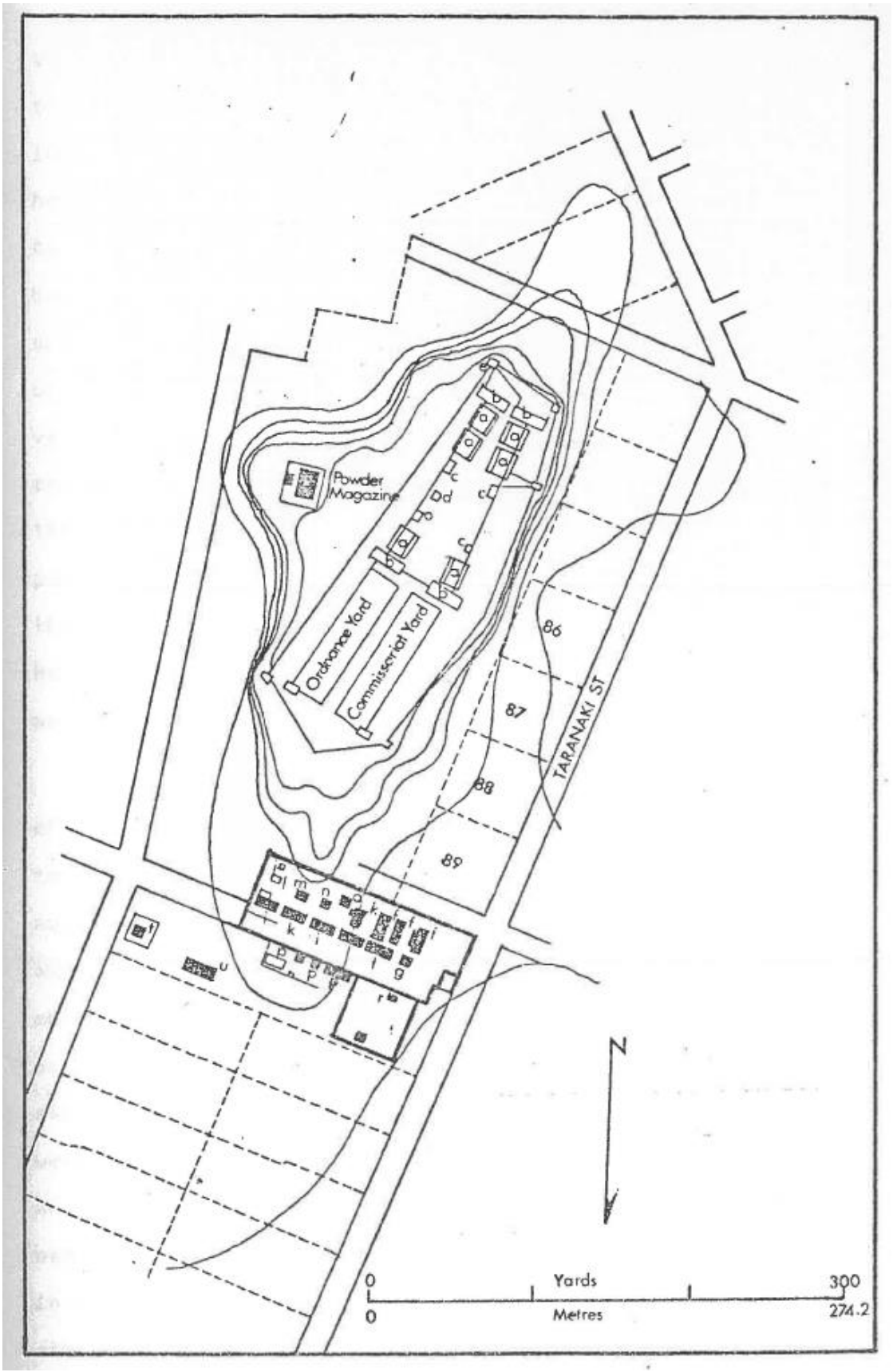
[16] "New Zealand Statutes," (Wellington) 1896.
[17] "New Barrack," *Wellington Independent, Volume II, Issue 141* (Wellington), 14 July 1847, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18470714.2.8.
[18] "New Barrack."


Powder Magazine
Ordnance Yard
Commissariat Yard
86
87
88
89
TARANAKI ST
N
0 Yards 300
0 Metres 274.2

Map 2.5

Parties of men were set to work levelling the top of Mount Cook in preparation for the new barracks. · This was to be the first of several such operations which would eventually reduce the hill's height by some 25 metres. The expectations of the Commissariat may have been beyond the ability of Wellington's tradesmen, for no-one seemed willing or able to undertake the construction of these barracks using stone and brick. Consequently, in November 1848 the contracts were changed to specify that the barracks be constructed of wood. Another possible reason why the contracts were changed to wood was perhaps due to the effects of the earthquake which struck in October. After seeing the damage wrought upon brick and stone buildings, the Commissariat may have thought it far more feasible to use wood which is a more resilient material to earthquakes. Whatever the reasons for the change in specifications, once they were made, the tenders seem to have been far more forthcoming. Unfortunately, at the end of November it was reported that 'such contemplated works are for the present postponed.[19]

By 14 April 1849, for whatever reasons the work had been suspended, they were overcome, as the Commissariat was again calling for tenders to complete the scheme on top of Mount Cook. Hence by 1850 the military occupance on Mount Cook consisted of two large complexes accommodating the majority of the 65th Regiment and its Headquarters. Between 1847 and 1850, various other extensions and alterations were made to these two areas, consisting of a Military Hospital, a military gaol and guardhouse. With the Lower Mount Cook buildings sprawling across both sides of Buckle Street, this street was closed to the public with gates at either end of it and the site was surrounded by a large wooden fence.

With Wellington now constituting a Regimental Headquarters the town was filled with a large number of soldiers who needed to be supplied with the necessary military equipment to fulfil their military function. In order to do this an area in the Upper Mount Cook Barracks was set aside for Her Majesty's Ordnance Department. On 9th July 1850 this entire portion of the Mount Cook complex was granted to them. The Board of Ordnance was initially directed from Sydney but was abolished in 1855 following a serious misuse of funds and was followed by the formation of a Military Stores Department. This Stores Department

[19] "New Barrack."

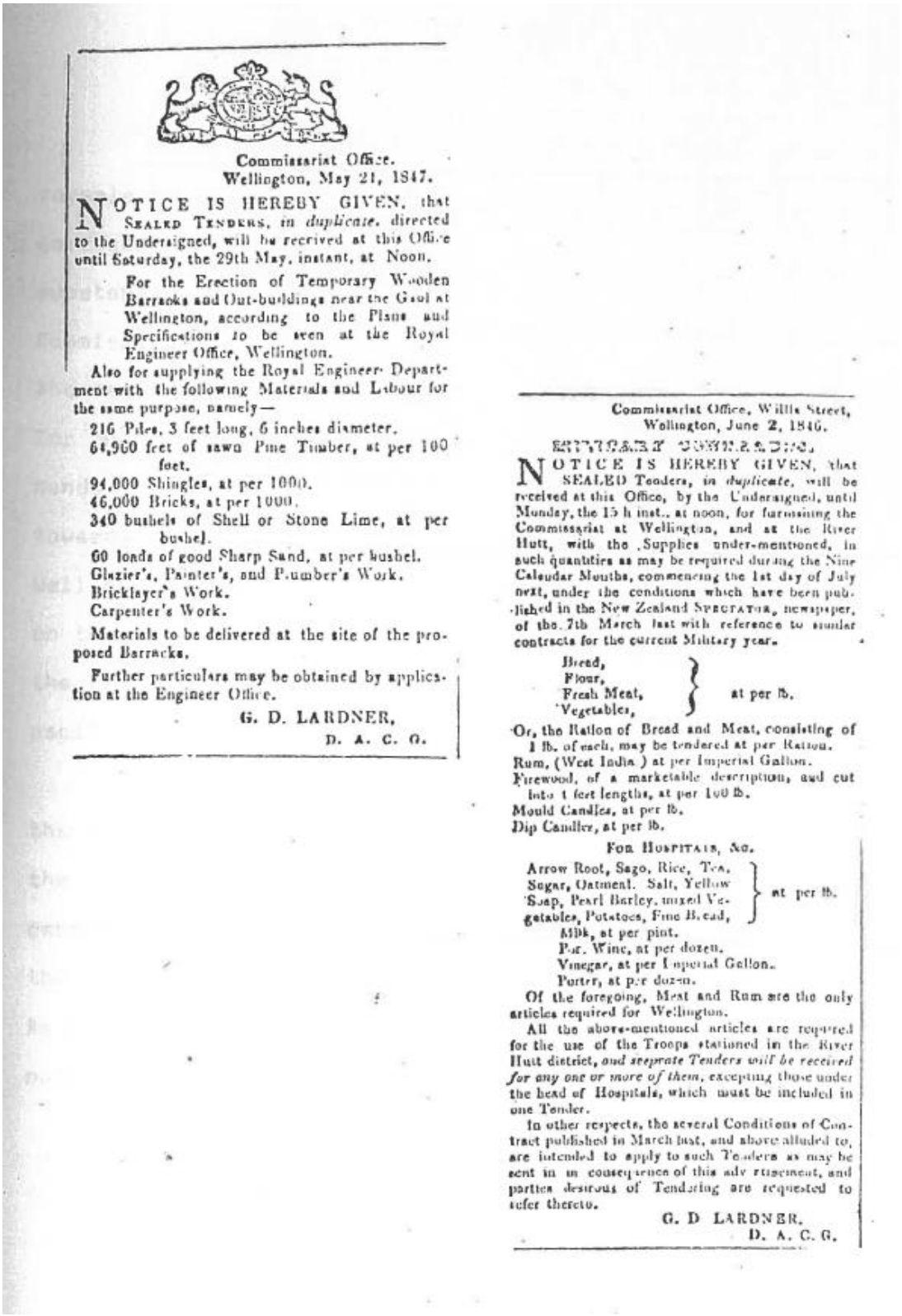
superseded the Ordnance Stores on Mount Cook in 1856. But this deed only gave the Imperial Government control of part of the land upon which the troops were located. In the Lower Mount Cook complex many of the buildings were on land outside the reserve. In 1858, this problem was partially resolved when lots 226 and 233 were granted to the Secretary of State for War. Now, the Mount Cook Military Reserve was made up on a complex mosaic of titles consisting of separate title holdings belonging to the Natives of Te Aro, Her Majesty's Ordnance, and the Secretary of State for War. It was not to be until 1908 before all this land would finally fall under one title.

This then constituted the first Mount Cook Barracks. But a barracks is more than just a collection of buildings, rather, it represents a collection of men. Any history must include their story, more particularly their association with the community in whose midst· they were accommodated. The construction of the barracks at Mount Cook meant that Wellington had effectively become a garrison town. Hence the occupants of Mount Cook and the surrounding colonists tended to have numerous contacts with each other, sometimes for the better, at others for the worse.

Numerous regiments passed through the town in its early years, but it was the 65th Regiment with its arrival in 1848 which was to begin a long and special relationship with the community which even today is remembered within the City's history with a high degree of reverence. The 65th Regiment were rather fortunate in that they did not arrive in Wellington until almost the end of the hostilities in the district. This meant that they, unlike the other regiments present, missed out on many of the scathing attacks upon the Imperial Regiments for their inability to contain the rebel Māori. By the time this Regiment arrived, the community was embarking upon a prosperous period, and the 65th was able to contribute towards this, thus helping it to get on a right footing as regarded relations with Wellington. The most direct way the 65th Regiment contributed towards the community was through the building program As the *Wellington Independent* observed on 7 August 1847:

> We are happy to have it in our power to state that the Barracks and other Government buildings now in progress, will not only give employment to every operative at present in Wellington, but that a great number of additional hands

will be required to complete even those works which are at present urgently needed.[20]



Commissariat Office.
Wellington, May 21, 1847.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that SEALED TENDERS, *in duplicate*, directed to the Undersigned, will be received at this Office until Saturday, the 29th May, instant, at Noon.

For the Erection of Temporary Wooden Barracks and Out-buildings near the Gaol at Wellington, according to the Plans and Specifications to be seen at the Royal Engineer Office, Wellington.

Also for supplying the Royal Engineer Department with the following Materials and Labour for the same purpose, namely—

216 Piles, 3 feet long, 6 inches diameter.
64,960 feet of sawn Pine Timber, at per 100 feet.
94,000 Shingles, at per 1000.
46,000 Bricks, at per 1000.
340 bushels of Shell or Stone Lime, at per bushel.
60 loads of good Sharp Sand, at per bushel.
Glazier's, Painter's, and Plumber's Work.
Bricklayer's Work.
Carpenter's Work.

Materials to be delivered at the site of the proposed Barracks.

Further particulars may be obtained by application at the Engineer Office.

G. D. LARDNER,
D. A. C. G.

Commissariat Office, Willis Street,
Wellington, June 2, 1846.

EXTRA CONTRACT.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that SEALED Tenders, *in duplicate*, will be received at this Office, by the Undersigned, until Monday, the 15th inst., at noon, for furnishing the Commissariat at Wellington, and at the River Hutt, with the Supplies under-mentioned, in such quantities as may be required during the Nine Calendar Months, commencing the 1st day of July next, under the conditions which have been published in the New Zealand SPECTATOR, newspaper, of the 7th March last with reference to similar contracts for the current Military year.

Bread,
Flour,
Fresh Meat,
Vegetables,
} at per lb.

Or, the Ration of Bread and Meat, consisting of 1 lb. of each, may be tendered at per Ration.
Rum, (West India) at per Imperial Gallon.
Firewood, of a marketable description, and cut into 4 feet lengths, at per 100 lb.
Mould Candles, at per lb.
Dip Candles, at per lb.

FOR HOSPITALS, &c.

Arrow Root, Sago, Rice, Tea, Sugar, Oatmeal, Salt, Yellow Soap, Pearl Barley, mixed Vegetables, Potatoes, Fine Bread,
} at per lb.

Milk, at per pint.
Port Wine, at per dozen.
Vinegar, at per Imperial Gallon.
Porter, at per dozen.

Of the foregoing, Meat and Rum are the only articles required for Wellington.

All the above-mentioned articles are required for the use of the Troops stationed in the River Hutt district, *and seeprate Tenders will be received for any one or more of them*, excepting those under the head of Hospitals, which must be included in one Tender.

In other respects, the several Conditions of Contract published in March last, and above alluded to, are intended to apply to such Tenders as may be sent in in consequence of this advertisement, and parties desirous of Tendering are requested to refer thereto.

G. D LARDNER,
D. A. C. G.

[20] "New Barrack."

On top of this, a survey of the papers of the time reveals that having a large number of soldiers garrisoned in the town meant the local entrepreneurs could benefit substantially by supplying various goods required by the Commissariat to maintain them (see newspaper cuttings above). The men of the regiments themselves benefited the local economy greatly, for much of their income, one way or another, ended up in the hands of the local shopkeepers. Also, the men contributed towards the expansion of the community by helping to open up Wellington's hinterland. It was they who were first employed on the construction of the roads out of the community since the roads were initially of strategic importance in the pacification of the area.

It is in the social aspects of this contact between the Imperial troops and the colonists that both the good and the bad were experienced. Social contact with the colonists generally occurred at two defined levels. These were through the officers at one level, and the rank and file at the other. As L.H. Barber in his *Queen Victoria's New Zealand Soldiers* noted:

> Queen Victoria's soldiers in New Zealand in their scarlet tunics, white straps and elegant headdress, were not wooden soldiers, although some of their officers knew and cared so little about them that as far as they were concerned, they might as well have been. They were commanded by officers separated from them by gulfs of class, and literacy and by a strong rank barrier. Until 1870 officers were able to purchase their commissions with a lieutenancy costing an average of £450 ($900) and a majority worth £6,000 ($12,000).
>
> Private soldiers saw very little of their officers. At their regimental depots in Britain they watched furtively as their officers arrived for parade in horse drawn cabs, and saw them depart in the same immediately after the colonel had dismissed them, before the men were drilled. While many of the officers who served in New Zealand had gained promotion in the colonies or in India they remained a caste clearly separated from their men.[21]

The officers therefore tended to mix with the upper stratum of colonial society whilst the rank and file associated with the lower classes. · These two levels of contact were completely isolated from each other. At the top level, contact revolved around the social events of the so-called genteel elements of Wellington society. Mrs Henry Coote, whose husband was Brigade-Major for the 65th Regiment in 1853, recalled in her diary that:

> This year [1853] was passed in Wellington in great enjoyment of beautiful scenery and climate and in excellent society, as sociable and friendly as possible and at times our gaiety amounted to dissipation almost, for I see we had three

[21] Laurie Barber, typed manuscript for Queen Victoria's New Zealand Soldiers 1981, Chapter 1, Page 3.

> Dinner Parties in one week, beside constant additions to our daily meals, and picnics and outings of various kinds, with the MacCleverlys, Cliffords, St Hills, Featherstones, Bells and Golds and various others, most of them intimate friends.[22]

The officers often contributed towards the Wellington social scene themselves. For example, in November 1850 it was reported that:

> A Ball was given on Friday last at the late Mess House, Te Aro [Mount Cook], by Lieut-Col Gold and the Officers of the 65th Regt. A fair and gay assemblage filled the tastefully decorated rooms. The lively strains of the excellent Military Band were responded to with spirits unflagging and feet untired, and it was not until the red light of morning was breaking over the hills that the company separated. The Ball was succeeded by a Dejeuner the following day, during which several glees were sung by the Sergeant-Major and some men of the Regiment, which greatly increased the pleasure of the entertainment.[23]

Unfortunately, there is very little first-hand information as regards the experiences of the other ranks. Coming from the lower stratum of English society these men were in many instances illiterate or at most quasi-literate and thus were unlikely to keep diaries to record their experiences. What information has survived, tends to be negative in nature, since one of the more frequent contacts the ordinary soldier had with Wellington society was through the local magistrate. This large influx of men ·into Wellington brought with it a crime wave. The number of offences as regards drunkenness, theft and brawling increased dramatically, and reports of more serious crimes such as rape also saw an increase.[24] Over half the crimes in these categories involved men from the Imperial Regiments. In all fairness though, it must be stated that it was rare for anyone of the 65th Regiment to be involved in such crimes, excluding the odd bout of drunkenness. This perhaps reflects the conditions within the 65th Regiment itself, which in 1853 was able to report that 'corporal punishment' (flogging) had not now taken place in the Regiment for three years and that the service companies had lost no men through desertion for this period.[25]

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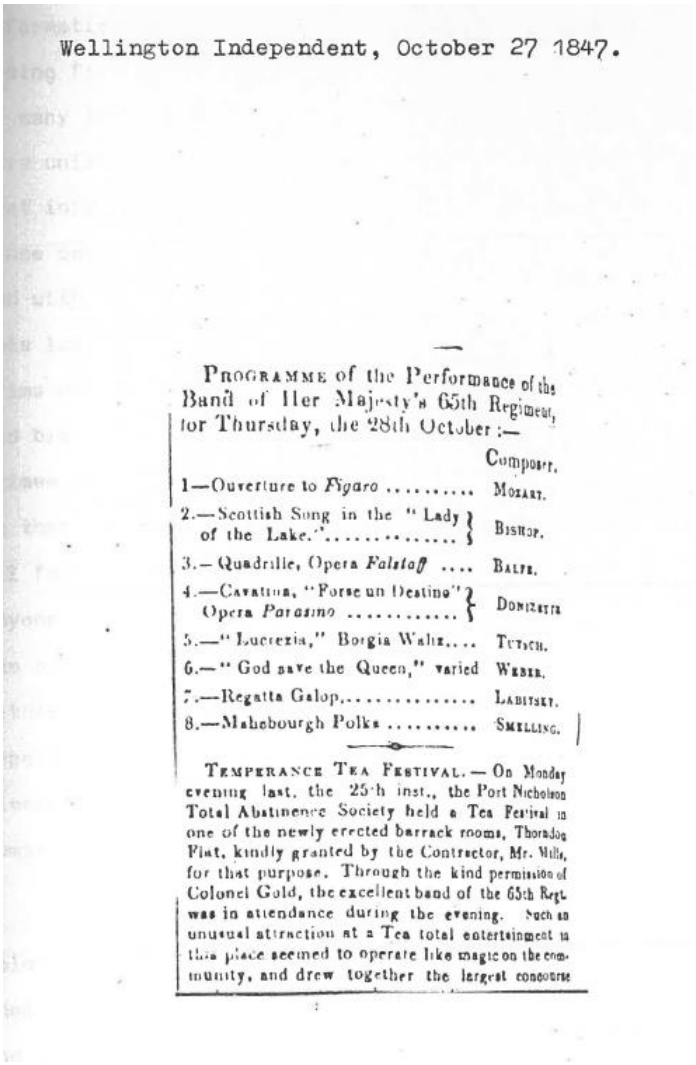
[22] Rhoda Carleton Coote, "Extracts from diary of Mrs Coote," *ATL-MS-Papers-1248-2A* (1 May 1853-1867).
[23] "A Ball," *Wellington Independent, Volume VII, Issue 535* (Wellington), 27 November 1850, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18501127.2.4.
[24] " ", *Wellington Independent,* (Wellington), 3 September 1846.
[25] E.C Broughton, *Memoirs of the 65th Regiment 1st Battalion. the New York & Lancaster Regt 1756 To 1913* (London: W. Clowes & Sons Limited, 1914), 203.



Wellington Independent, October 27 1847.

PROGRAMME of the Performance of the Band of Her Majesty's 65th Regiment, for Thursday, the 28th October :—

	Composer.
1—Ouverture to *Figaro*	MOZART.
2.—Scottish Song in the "Lady of the Lake."	BISHOP.
3.—Quadrille, Opera *Falstaff*	BALFE.
4.—Cavatina, "Forse un Destino" Opera *Parasino*	DONIZETTI
5.—"Lucrezia," Borgia Waltz....	TUTSCH.
6.—"God save the Queen," varied	WEBER.
7.—Regatta Galop.....	LABITSKY.
8.—Mahobourgh Polka	SMELLING.

TEMPERANCE TEA FESTIVAL.—On Monday evening last, the 25th inst., the Port Nicholson Total Abstinence Society held a Tea Festival in one of the newly erected barrack rooms, Thorndon Flat, kindly granted by the Contractor, Mr. Mills, for that purpose. Through the kind permission of Colonel Gold, the excellent band of the 65th Regt. was in attendance during the evening. Such an unusual attraction at a Tea total entertainment in this place seemed to operate like magic on the community, and drew together the largest concourse

On the positive side of their social contacts with the colonists, the men of the 65th made a major contribution through their regimental band. It was used on all prominent occasions and provided a main form of entertainment for the citizens. The band used to alternate between Thorndon and Te Aro Flats in presenting a concert once a week. (See opposite). One of the members of the Regimental Band met a gruesome end in the summer of 1852. The local paper reported that:

> A melancholy accident occurred in our harbour on Thursday afternoon, which spread a general gloom over the town. -John Balmer, a well-built young man, about 20 years of age, belonging to the Band of the 65th Regt., by whom he was greatly respected, was bathing at the head of the Bay, after the musical performance had concluded on Te Aro, when an enormous shark, supposed by Capt.[26] Allen of the Chieftain to be at least 15 feet long, attacked him biting him on the thick part of the thigh and the calf of the leg; the poor fellow screamed out, and a boat, which was about twenty yards from him at the time, went to his

[26] Lambton Harbour

> assistance, which as soon as he saw, he made a desperate leap into it, but in - consequence of the femoral vessels being so dreadfully lacerated, he only survived a few minutes after reaching the boat.[27]

This incident gave John Balmer the dubious honour of being one of the first recorded instances of a shark attack within New Zealand.

Leaving aside this sad tale, the men of the 65th would on various occasions field a cricket team for a periodic match between them and a citizens XI or one of the newly formed cricket clubs. But again, this activity mostly involved the officers with only men from the other ranks who exhibited extraordinary talent in the sport being utilised. On special occasions social events would be arranged in which the ordinary soldiers from Mount Cook would provide entertainment for the citizens. for example, it was reported that:

> Saturday last, being New Years Day the men of the 65th Regt. under the kind permission of Col Gold entertained themselves and a large concourse of spectators with a variety of sports, on Thorndon flat. The day was remarkably fine, and we have seldom seen a greater number of inhabitants collected together. The sports commenced with a foot(hurdle) races, and one or two of the privates proved themselves good runners. Then followed wrestling, jumping in sacks, jingling match es, etc... The sports terminated at 5 o'clock. Col Gold and the officers of the 65th Regt., by thus encouraging the men, and affording amusement to the settlers, deserves the warmest of thanks of all in the place.[28]

The men from Mount Cook had more serious contacts with the city whenever a disaster struck. When there was a fire, it was the men and officers of the 65th who would be on the scene to extinguish it. From the earliest time of their arrival in Wellington the military had always constituted the fire brigade for the town. On April 27 1856 a particularly severe blaze erupted in a group of shops in Farish Street. The men from the barracks were quick on the scene and their actions were recognised in Brigade Orders which stated:

> Wellington 30 April 1856
>
> The Colonel Commanding Southern District does not omit to notice the exemplary conduct and unceasing exertions of the troops at the destructive fire on Sunday morning, their ready appearance at the scene, and cheerful perseverance in overcoming the destructive element, are the universal theme · of commendation, and reflect the highest credit on all ranks. They aided, in a

[27] M.H. Alington, *Unquiet Earth: A History of the Bolton Street Cemetery* (Wellington City Council, 1978), 203.
[28] "New Years Day Sports ", *Wellington Independent, Volume III, Issue 233* (Wellington), 5 January 1848, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18480105.2.9.

> most commendable manner, in the preservation of much most valuable property.
>
> By command
>
> {Signed) H.J. Cook B.M.[29]

The citizens of Wellington were quick to recognise this invaluable duty performed by the 65th Regiment and presented to the officers a silver charger and to the men a silver salver each inscribed with a message of thanks. In 1881 the 65th and 84th Regiments were amalgamated into the York and Lancaster Regiment. In later years when it became part of the Queens Lancashire Regiment, the silver salvers, then insured for £100, were handed to the Wellington Regiment and re-presented to the city.

In 1848 and 1855 Wellington suffered from two major earthquakes and again it was the men from Mount Cook who rendered aid to the afflicted citizens. They played a major part in helping to clear-up the debris of the disaster. At the time of the main force of the 1848 quake the colonial hospital was severely damaged, so the patients were removed to Government House. The patients at the military hospital were removed to the wooden barracks at Mount Cook, and the prisoners were taken from the gaol and placed in the custody of the soldiery.

On Mount Cook itself, due to most of the buildings there being wooden, damage was minor, with only two buildings suffering from the calamity. They were a two-storeyed brick barrack, and the powder magazine which both had cracked walls. It was the 65th Regiment which suffered the sole fatalities of this earthquake. Barrack-Master Sergeant Lovell and his two children, one a girl about 4 years, and the other a boy eight, who at the time of the quake were passing down Farish Street, were buried beneath the falling bricks and rubbish which fell from the wall surrounding Mr Fitzherbert's stores. They were immediately dug out, but the little girl was already dead and the boy so injured that he died soon afterwards. The sergeant's injuries were so severe that he did no better and died several days later and was buried with full military honours.

In January 1855 the town was again struck by another severe earthquake. Mr Coote described this earthquake as follows:

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[29] Broughton, *Memoirs of the 65th Regiment 1st Battalion. the New York & Lancaster Regt 1756 To 1913*, 46.

> January 1855, we experienced a severe earthquake, which was a great shock to our appreciation of New Zealand and truly alarming.
>
> On January 23rd after a very windy and boisterous day, about 9 o'clock 1n the evening we were startled by a. rumbling noise, followed instantly by a tremendous shaking of everything about us. Floor upheaving, tables and chairs rocking and everything breakable crashing. The first shock lasted several minutes they say, and threw down every chimney in Wellington as well as many buildings and did a great deal of damage ·in the town We were in a low wooden house close under the hill, so it only threw down our chimney and broke ·our lamps and most of our glass, but so severe were the shocks that we left the house and stayed outside a great part of the night, though it was raining slightly. The animals were greatly frightened, horses galloped about and the fowls began cackling, and our poor servant Eliza came in to us and we all stayed out for several hours. A party of soldiers came- over from the barracks to see if we wanted help and Colonel MacCleverty kindly came to ask after us. The shocks continued more or less violent, but none like the first, till between 3 and 4 o'clock, and then became less frequent, and morning broke to gladden our hearts but to reveal a miserable picture. The first thing we noticed was the extreme lowness of the tide; the sand extended far beyond its usual limits, and then all at once it was covered again by the sea, this advancing and receding of the tide took place three times in twenty minutes, and eventually left the harbour raised about three feet. The Beach where all the shops are situated was a miserable picture, few houses uninjured whilst many were perfect wrecks, and the contents of many of the shops were floating about on the water or thrown up on the shore. But only one life was lost and that was Baron Dalzdorf of the hotel, and he was in a very delicate state and the shock may have affected his heart, not but which the wall of the room he was in fell. The Clifford's house was left with only one room safe, and they went to the MacCleverty's -the Featherston's was also very shaky and Mrs Featherston and the baby came to us, but the Dr would not move. Government House and the Bank, only just finished were much damaged, and all through the town scarcely any escaped. from the country strange stories came of the ground opening and engulfing cows etc., but I believe imagination was very active in originating most of the mischief reported, but it was quite terrible enough, and for days the earth continued to vibrate every now and then and we did not dare undress and go to bed for three nights. Then by degrees the shocks became very light and less frequent and we resumed our usual mode of life.[30]

Again, the soldiers from Mount Cook played an invaluable role in aiding Wellington's citizens to return to normality. The town recognised this help in a Council meeting when Mr J.C. Raymond proposed that:

> The Chairman be requested to write to Colonel MacCleverty, the Senior Military Officer of this Province, asking him to receive for himself and to communicate to

[30] Coote, "Extracts from diary of Mrs Coote," 11-12.

> Colonel Gold, the Officers and Men of the 65th Regiment, and the Officers of the Engineer and Ordnance Department stationed in Wellington, the thanks of this meeting for the sympathy shown and the great assistance rendered in the town since. the earthquake of the 23rd January 1855.[31]

Despite this vote of gratitude, Mrs Coote observed that there was some friction between the Military Authorities and the Provincial Government. A quarrel arose between them over same tents required for the people rendered homeless by the earthquake which led to "a most uncalled for attack by the Provincial Government on Colonel MacCleverty". She observed that in time the cause of this argument was all but forgotten as the community recovered.

Apart from this slight altercation the 65th Regiment was held in high esteem by the Wellington community Over the years they had done much to cement relations between the men on Mount Cook and the colonists. By 1858 there were signs that this long association was drawing to a close. The 58th Regiment had been withdrawn from Auckland in 1857 on the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. It was thus decided that the 65th Regiment would be augmented for the purpose of forming the entire garrison of New Zealand and that its headquarters would move from Wellington to Auckland. This move was seen as advisable because Auckland was now closer to the potential trouble spots between the Māori's and Settlers.

By 1 January 1859 the 65th had its headquarters in Auckland with only small detachments in Wellington, Wanganui, Taranaki and Napier.

In 1860 trouble again erupted between the settlers in Taranaki and Māori's who were reluctant to sell their land. The 65th Regiment now found itself in the forefront of this conflict and when hostilities broke out Colonel Charles Gold moved his headquarters to New Plymouth and called in the detachments from Wellington and Napier. With the escalation of hostilities in Taranaki Province further troops were needed to augment the Royal Tigers.

By August 1860 Imperial troops numbered 2,300 and in November the 14th Regiment arrived from Ireland. In January 1861 the 57th followed and in May the 70th arrived from India. In 1861 Lieutenant General Sir Duncan Cameron took command of the combined

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[31] "3rd Resolution," *Wellington Independent, Volume X, Issue 974* (Wellington), 10 February 1855, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18550210.2.9.

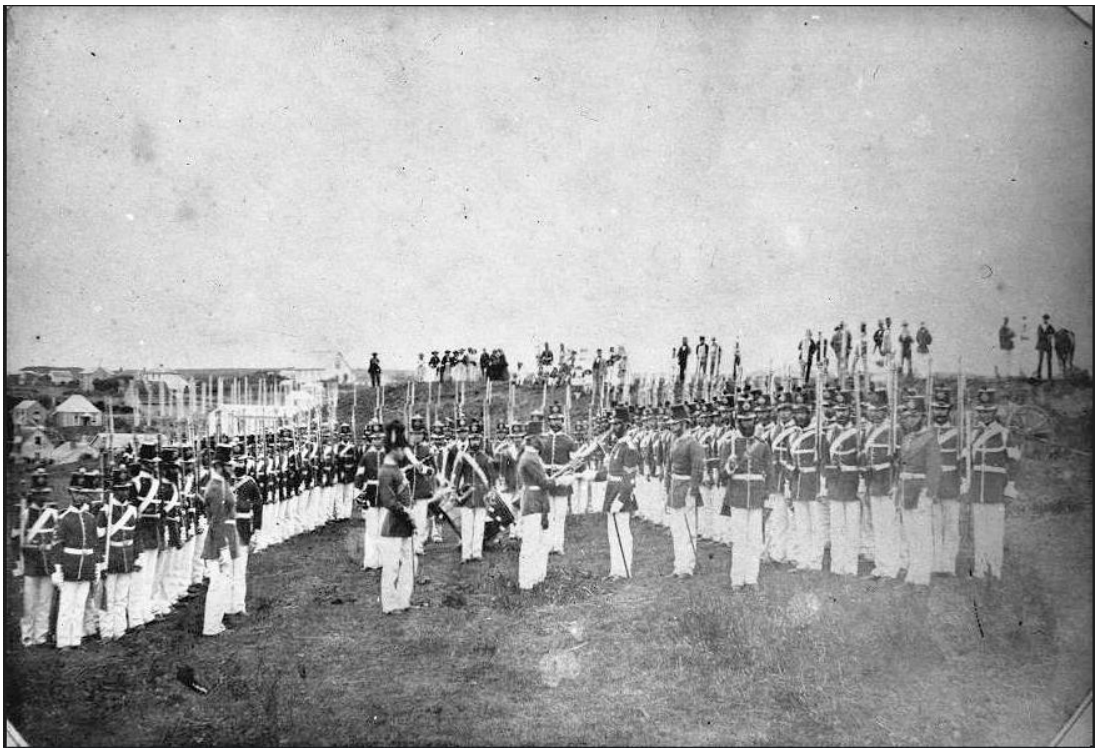
force now totalling over 5,000 men. Further Regiments, the 18th from England and the 50th, 43rd and 68th from India arrived in 1864.

The fighting in Taranaki drew the Māori's there the support of those in the Waikato, which was the 'heartland' of the Māori 'Kingite' movement which was opposed to European alienation of Māori lands. This meant that fighting now spread to include the Waikato region which was invaded by the troops in July 1863. The 65th Regiment played an important role in this war by being involved in most of the campaigns. It was during this time that the 65th received the name 'Hickety-pips' from

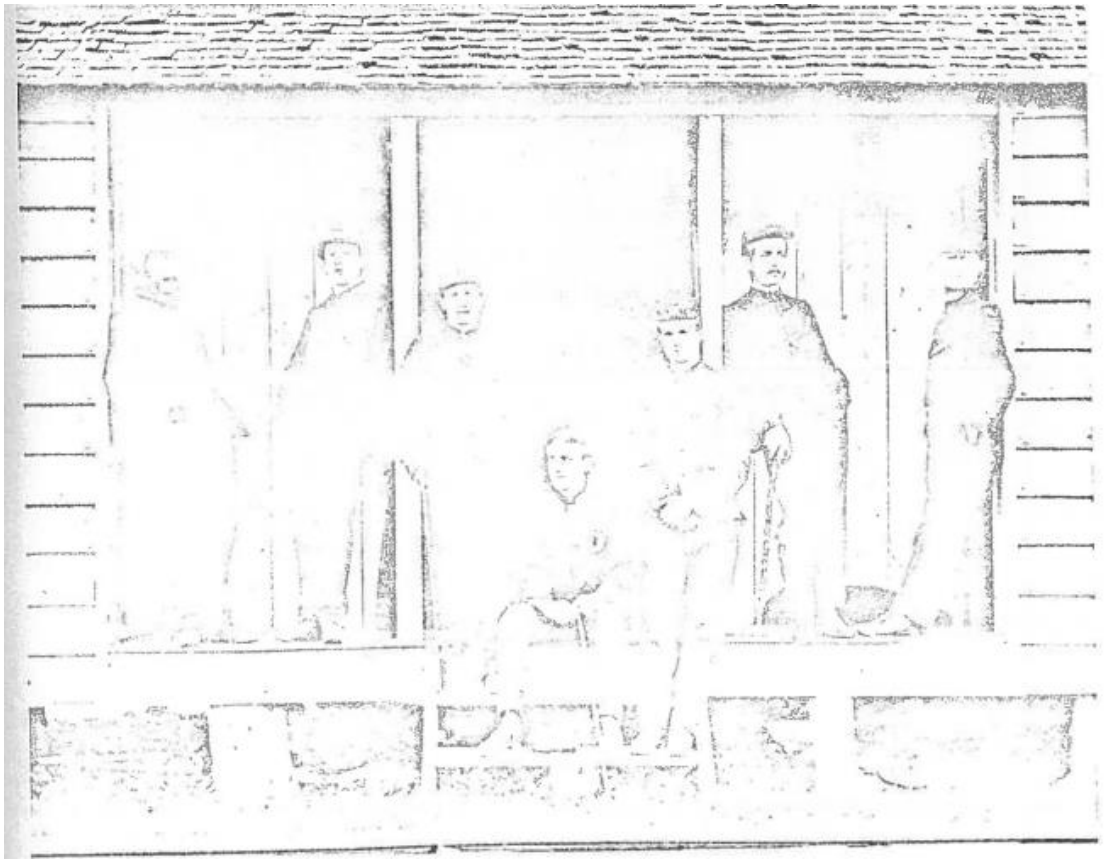
their Māori adversaries. The Māori's could not pronounce 'sixty-fifth' and instead called it hikitippi'. The Māori's seemed to develop a respect for the men of the 65th and there is an instance recorded during the action in Taranaki when the 65th led an advance. A Māori voice was heard to cry out "Lie down hikete piwhete we're going to fire" Whereupon the 40th following up, caught the volley which came whistling in from the Māori's.

Two of the 65th's men were awarded the Victoria Cross during this war. · In a comparatively minor engagement at Cameron Town, halfway between Tuakau and the Waikato Heads, a detachment led by Captain Richard Swift and Lieutenant Villers Butler was ambushed. 1). Swift was mortally wounded, and Butler took a musket ball in the stomach. Colour Sergeant Edward McKenna was left in command. After a desperate twenty-four hour struggle, McKenna managed to get the men out of the bush with only light casual ties. The Colour Sergeant' and Lance Corporal John Ryan were both awarded the Victoria Cross. McKenna also received a field commission to Ensign and six other men received Distinguished Conduct Medals. (See photograph 2:1). Sadly, Ryan did not live to receive his Victoria Cross as he was drowned in the Waikato in late December 1863.

With the 65th Regiment engaged in fighting in Taranaki and the Waikato districts, Mount Cook was now occupied by new soldiers. This time they came from the 14th Regiment. This regiment seems to have been on bad terms with the citizens of Wellington and did much to dismantle the good liaison which the 65th had built up between the soldiers on Mount Cook and the local citizens. The notorious acts of various of its members brought the occupants on Mount Cook into ill-repute. On July 7th 1863, their reputation reached an all-time low when there was a riot by the men of the 14th. (See photograph 2: 2).



Photograph 2.1: Detachment of the 65th Regiment on parade on Mount Eliot, New Plymouth. Urquhart album. Ref: PA1-q-250-04. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22614110



Photograph 2.2

The Wellington Independent provided a full account of this episode under the headline "Disgraceful Outrage by Soldiers".

> For a considerable time past our police reports and local columns have borne witness to the fact that the larger proportion of the petty crime in Wellington have been perpetrated by the military. The drunkards list, the common assault's charges, and the cases of housebreaking in the majority of instances, we are grieved to say, in those dismal records; are charged against the "black sheep" of the 14th Regiment, at present stationed here. Perhaps the comparatively trifling punishment, accorded to the-offenders in question, may have tempted them to the commission of further and more serious breaches of the law and caused the quiet lieges of the city, last night, to be the witnesses of a series of outrages, of which happily past experiences furnishes no precedent. We shall briefly describe what actually occurred.
>
> It appears that on Saturday night last, a squabble and consequent fight, occurred between some soldiers, and civilians, at the Ship Hotel, Manners Street, in which one of the soldiers got struck with a paling on the side of the head, the blow severely lacerating and cutting off a piece of his ear. Corporal Wilson who was the injured man, has since suffered very severely, and it is supposed that the injury done to their comrade, has resulted in a determination on the part of the soldiers to be revenged accordingly towards dusk last night a gathering took place in Manners Street, near the Coach and Horses Hotel. It is necessary to digress for a moment here to state that some inklings of an intended riot were known, by the hotel keepers in the neighbourhood, and a communication was made to Police sergeant Archison to that effect during the early part of the day. He {as we are informed by himself) accordingly waited on Major Dwyer, and acquainted him with the threatened danger, to which the Major- replied that he would take measures to prevent it.
>
> As we said before the military gathering in Manners Street gradually increased, until upwards of fifty men were collected together. The party rendered courageous by numbers, commenced operations by attacking the Coach and Horses Hotel, against which they poured a volley of stones, with which they have previously provided themselves. Crash went the granite ammunition, and as round after round was poured forth the windows to the number of forty two squares of glass were soon smashed. A rush was then made at the door, but fortunately they did not get further than the counter and after some violent conduct at the Ship Hotel they reformed and made their way down the beach continued the work of wanton destruction. The. windows of several offices were broken, the newspaper offices being of special objects of their revenge, and on proceeding further down the various hotels, coffee houses ·and shops were also favoured in similar fashion. On reaching Barrettes Hotel, they broke one window and then went 'right about face' on their way backwards. By this time the shopkeepers on the line of route had closed their premises and quiet citizens, including many ladies, might have been seen hurrying homeward with the twofold object of getting out of harms way and ascertaining the safety of their families at home. Up Willis Street again went the rioters, and turning up

Manners Street, passed the scene of their previous malicious work, and reached Mr McKinnon's Hotel, the New Zealander. This was the scene of the final attack, and again stones were thrown in repeated volleys until the windows of the hotel and the billiard room were nearly all broken. At this stage they thought of proceeding to the Nag's Head but on their way there they were seen by an officer who ordered them off to the barracks. We have not been able to ascertain how many returned at that time to barracks, but we are led to believe that some must gave dispersed, as several were afterwards apprehended.

It will naturally be asked what were the military authorities doing at this time while the destruction of property was being accomplished. As soon as information was received at the barracks pickets were sent out to apprehend the rioters and a few minutes after the soldiers had passed a party under the command of was formed opposite the New Zealander Hotel. After a time these were despatched in smaller bodies and patrolled the streets, but quiet had been restored and only a few of the stragglers were picked up. Fortunately orders had been left at the barracks to take down the names of· those who came in and thus it is hoped a portion of the offenders may be identified as having taken part in this disgraceful affair. Our reporter called at the various houses attacked, and supplies the following ·account of the damage effected viz:

Coach and Horse Hotel - 42 squares of glass broken
Ship Hotel - 12 squares of glass broken
'Advertiser' Office - 6 squares smashed
‘Independent' Office - A large centre window broken and several other squares of glass
Anderson's Shop - 1 square broken
Collin's Shop - Several squares of glass broken
Miller's Commercial Hotel - 2 windows broken. The rioters went to the back, rushed the kitchen and threw in some bricks
laurence's Coffee Shop - 9 large squares broken and a quantity of glass broken inside by the stones
Barrett's Hotel - 1 square broken
New Zealander Hotel- 32 squares broken and a large kerosine lamp in the bar broken: windows of the billiard roam were also_ smashed. The barkeeper was pretty severely bruised and the face with one of the stones.

The above list includes pretty nearly all the damage as yet ascertained to have been done; but we should not be surprised to hear of mare in private property. We do not wish. to present comment at length on the conduct of the military authorities, because, we are not as yet acquainted with all the circumstances; but we shall anxiously look for an explanation why proper precautionary measures were not taken which would have averted the occurrence of an affair the worst that has ever taken place in Wellington.

For the men engaged in it we have no sympathy. Already the scamps -· and their name is legion – of · the 14th, ·have given that Regiment an unenviable notoriety, and inflicted gross injustice on the good soldiers and steady men

> whom we know are in its ranks. An opportunity is now afforded to make a striking and salutary example of the guilty parties, and we, as representing the public will not be satisfied till they have received their desserts. We do not advocate corporal punishment, but if ever there was a case for the 'cat' the 'halberds' and the 'Provost Marshall' it is the present one.[32]

As a result of this, the men of the 14th Regiment were confined to the Mount Cook Barracks after 5pm and armed pickets patrolled the town at night to enforce this curfew. Of the fifty men implicated in this riot, nine were finally arrested. They were each given sentences ranging from two to six months with hard labour. After the incident, the activities of the 14th Regiment quietened down significantly and there developed an uneasy peace between the occupants of Mount Cook and the citizens of Wellington for the rest of their stay in the town.

On January 31, Major Dwyer commander of 2/14th Regiment received a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Gamble requesting that the 2/14th be embarked on the steamer for conveyance to Wanganui. The letter further instructed Dwyer to get in touch with the Superintendent of the Province in order that he, if he should think it necessary take steps for calling out the local Volunteers and Militia.[33]

With the departure of the 'scurrilous' 14th Regiment in 1865, Wellington for the first time in 25 years had no Imperial Troops stationed in it. The local Militia and Volunteers provided sentries for the Powder Magazine, the Commissariat Stores and the Upper and Lower Mount Cook Barracks. This situation was almost a shortened one, when in December of 1865, the Governor wanted Major General Chute to move his Army Headquarters from Auckland to Wellington and locate himself at Mount Cook. Chute refused absolutely, by stating that such a move would be too costly and isolate the Army Headquarters from the main areas of army operations.[34]

The Imperial Troops found that their role within the internal defence of the colony was continually expanding, and this was the cause of much consternation back in London. Pressure was placed upon the settler government within New Zealand to accept total

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[32] "Disgraceful Outrage by Soldiers," *Wellington Independent, Volume XVIII, Issue 1891* (Wellington), 7 July 1863, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18630707.2.11.
[33] Major Dwyer, "Suggestions for calling out Militia in the absence of the Imperial Troops," *Archives New Zealand No R24087665* (2 February 1865): No 70.
[34] General Chute, "Letters from General Chute - 28 September - 5 December 1865," *Archives New Zealand No R19162121* (1865).

responsibility for its own internal defence. With the successful conclusion of the invasion of the Waikato and the subjugation of the Māori's in the Taranaki and Waikato/Bay of Plenty districts by 1864, the Imperial Government began a programme of withdrawal of the troops.

In October 1865 the 65th Regiment embarked at Auckland in the first of two drafts, for its journey back to England. More than 300 men of the Regiment had taken their discharge in the weeks before embarkation, remaining in the colony as settlers. Many of these men chose to settle in the Wellington district which had been a home to them for so many years (see Appendix 1). An example of one of these men was John Valentine, who as a member of the Royal Tigers stayed on after his discharge and rose to become one of the prominent businessmen of Wellington, until his death in 1909. His gravestone may be seen in the Bolton Street Cemetery.

With the withdrawal of the Imperial Troops, their former Barracks accommodation was no longer needed. On 24 March 1869 the Mount Cook Barracks were placed at the disposal of the Colonial Government. By 13 September of that year their transfer to the Colonial Government had been completed with a nominal rent of one shilling per year being paid. With the last of the Imperial Troops gone by 1870, Mount Cook stood as an empty monument to their presence in Wellington and as a reminder of the role the Imperial Troops had played in the early development of the town itself.

With the Colonial Government now fully responsible for its own internal defence the barracks at Mount Cook remained empty for only a short time. The Lower Mount Cook Barracks were quickly utilised by the local Militia and Volunteer Units whilst the Upper Mount Cook Barracks were used

by the Colonial Government to house the immigrants temporarily who had been brought in under the Premier Vogel's expanded immigration scheme of the 1870's.

CHAPTER 3: MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS 1845-1900

The soldiers on Mount Cook were far from an isolated entity on the outskirts of the town, for the majority of Wellington's male residents were soldiers of one form or another. Wellington was a frontier settlement in a precarious situation as regards its security; a situation which the Wairau Massacre had highlighted. In reaction to this incident, the early Wellingtonians quickly organised themselves into a local Militia. Every male occupant between the ages of 16 and 60 were made eligible for military service in the protection of the settlement. The settlers even contemplated a retaliatory raid against the perpetrators of the Wairau Massacre.[35] Fortunately this planned activity was quashed by the arrival of Major Richmond and his detachment of the 96th Regiment.

Although this first militia was disbanded by the authorities, the Government did recognise that the settlers in the colony should be organised into some form of militia to provide protection for themselves because the regular troops were too sparse in number to provide any protection to all the scattered settlements if native attacks erupted on any widespread scale. Also, there was a feeling that the settlers' military activities should be placed under some form of legislative control in order to prevent their getting out of hand in any future confrontation. The sack of Kororareka provided the impetus for enacting the legislation towards this end. Hence, in March 1845, the Militia Ordinance was passed.

The Ordinance specified that service in the Militia was to be compulsory for all European male settlers aged between 18 and 60, saving specified exemptions such as clergymen. The period of training to be undertaken each year was laid down as 28 days. Officers and a small staff, if necessary, were to be appointed by the Governor, who was in fact empowered to make regulations on any matter "as may be required for promoting the efficiency of such Militia as a military force" An oath of allegiance and faithful service was to be extracted from every Militiaman when he appeared for training. A disciplinary system was erected which distinguished between active service conditions and otherwise. Militia on active service were subject to the full rigours of British Military Discipline and the Articles of War; and while training the same, saving that of life or limb were not to be touched, A central

[35] M. Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*" (Master of Arts Victoria University, 1977), 23.

feature of the system was that the scale of operations to be conducted by the Militia was purely local in nature. No Militiaman was to be forced to march more than 25 miles from his local district police post.[36]

In Wellington, this Ordinance greatly increased the amount of contact between the Regular Troops and the settlers. These new 'Citizen-Soldiers' were drilled with the local detachments of the Imperial Troops at either Te Aro, on the site now occupied by the Basin Reserve, or at Thorndon Flat by Fitzherbert Street. At various times some of the NCOs of the Imperial Troops were actually attached to the local Militia in order to train them. In May 1845 the *Wellington Independent* reported that:

> Captain Russell of the 58th Regiment has quartered one of his corporals at the residence of Mr Justice Chapman for the purpose of drilling and training the settlers of the Karori District, to the use of arms. This is as it ought to be, for every man in the settlement should be prepared for the worse.[37]

The Wellington District was one of the few areas where the local Militia actually saw active service. During the fighting of 1845-46 in the Hutt and Porirua districts it was they, along with the local friendly Māori's, who formed the spearhead in the suppression of the rebels. As previously mentioned, they had been seen as better suited to the conditions of bush fighting as opposed to the regular troops who had been tutored for war on the grandiose scale reminiscent of Waterloo as opposed to the small scale operations needed here.

Despite the successful role they fulfilled in skirmishes in the Wellington district, the Militia never approached the ideal envisaged in the ordinance of 1845. This was because the nature of the militia itself tended to work towards its own detriment. In the first place, the Militia was conceived as and always remained, a more or less wholly passive defence force. It was never intended to fight outside a localised area. Nor was the militia suitable force to use for more extended operations. Composed of men who were civilians compulsorily called away from their normal occupations, and unlikely to possess more than a minimum of training or military knowledge, they were unlikely to engage the enemy with much hope of success except perhaps in defence of home and families, as had occurred in the Hutt Valley.

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[36] "Militia Act 1845," 1845, accessed 23 October 2021, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/ma18458v1845n1207/.
[37] "Karori," *Wellington Independent, Volume I, Issue 11* (Wellington), 7 May 1845, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18450507.2.3.

To call up the Militia for any longer than a few days would cause hardship to the men. Hence, the raising of the Militia tended to entail the unpopularity of the settlers involved because it usually brought all economic activity to a halt if the force was called out on any scale. The distaste for the militia began to appear in the local press with its 'officers' bearing the brunt of the criticism, and Wellington was no exception. In June 1845 a letter to the editor of one of the local papers asked:

> Sir,—Several persons would like to know how long this Militia Humbug is to last? they think that the late split in the Cavalry Corps is only a sign of its general break-up as it is very well known that others besides the Cavalry are dissatisfied with their officers Indeed some of these gentlemen, perhaps very respectable tradesmen in their way seem so puffed up with their transmogrification into officers, that they can talk of nothing but Court Martials, &c. ; and one is horrified on going into a shop to be served by the master with his sword at his side. If you want to see something uncommonly ridiculous Mr. Editor, do step up to the Emigration Houses one morning, and see guard mounted !!!
>
> I really think, Mr. Editor, that we have had enough of it, as all this is a great hindrance to trade. Some of the officers know a great deal less than the men, and one gallant CAPTAIN who ought to know better, does not know his right hand from his left, and was reprimanded in consequence. If we are to become soldiers, pray let instruction begin with the officers, and for heavens sake let them not appear on the ground until they have had private lessons, and are able to take command of their companies out of the hands of the sergeants.
>
> Another of the "B.B's"[38]

Therefore, this unpopularity made it rare for the Militia to be called out for too long. Indeed, in Wellington after the direct threat to the area had been removed in 1847, they were only ever called out on training exercises, and even then, it was an irregular occurrence. The authorities found it easier to rely upon the Imperial Troops and the groups of Volunteers who were more compliant and were not restricted in their use. The Militia were gradually permitted to degenerate into a "paper army" which could be mobilised as an ultimate back-up if ever the Regulars and the Volunteers failed. M. Stevens noted that perhaps one reason why the Militia Ordinance was always maintained was that it helped to serve as an incentive for enlistment into what was the mainstay of New Zealand's defence forces after the Imperial Regiments withdrawal, that is, the Volunteers. Whilst there still existed thew compulsion clauses of the militia acts, men would opt for the Volunteer branch of military

[38] "The Volunteer Movement," *Wellington Independent, Volume XVIII, Issue 1896* (Wellington), 18 July 1863, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18630718.2.13.

service which at least gave them some degree of freedom and certain other privileges which were not provided for the militia.[39]

It was to be the Volunteers who would bring the citizens of Wellington into their closest contact with the complex at Mount Cook. Initially it was they who took over the Mount Cook Barracks, but they acted more as caretakers as opposed to occupants. Being 'citizen-soldiers', they had no need of the barrack accommodation there, but as the Volunteer movement developed Mount Cook gradually became a 'focal point for their activities.

The Volunteers had been around in various forms since 1845, but at first, they were only recognised as some form of first-class militia. It was not until the 1858 Militia Act before they were given legal recognition. The 1858 Act, although primarily a restatement of the earlier Militia Ordinance which still placed the Militia as central to the colonial force contribution towards New Zealand's defence, recognised the existence of the Volunteers, who were permitted as individuals and be governed by separate regulations.[40]

The arising conflict in the Taranaki and Waikato from the late 1850s, gave an impetus towards the further growth of the Volunteer movements. Volunteers played a prominent part in the conflict almost from the beginning, operating on their own to a considerable extent, especially in Taranaki where the first action in which they played a major role occurred at Waireka in March 1860. In the Auckland district when the Waikato Campaign began in 1863 there were 800 Volunteers enrolled in local corps and in December 1864 23 Corps were enrolled in the North Island, eight in the South Island.[41] With the withdrawal of the British Troops from after 1866 the weight of carrying on the war ell largely upon the Volunteer Corps, supplemented by the Permanent Forces and Friendly Māori's.

With this shift towards a more 'self-reliant' policy as regards the Colony's defence, the Government found it necessary to recognise the Volunteer Movement as a separate and valuable part of its Defence forces. This they did with the 1865 Volunteer Act.

The 1865 Volunteer Act repealed all previous regulations and disbanded all Volunteer Corps previously enrolled, thus making it necessary for all corps to re-enrol under the new

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[39] Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*," 31.
[40] "Militia Act 1858," 1858, accessed 23 October 2021, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/ma185821a22v1858n8223/.
[41] Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*," 42.

regulations. The intention of this action was to re-establish the Volunteers as a completely new force by breaking with the temporary and ad hoc arrangements of the past and to substitute a new force on a standard basis throughout the Colony thus supposedly making it more easily subject to government control. The Governor-in-Council was given wide powers to make regulations covering training, discipline, organisation, and "for more effectually carrying out this Act".[42]

Volunteers could be called out for service, although could not be compelled to serve more than twenty miles corps headquarters. It is useful to bear this provision in mind when considering the degree to which the Act be considered an innovation in government attitudes to the Volunteers. Although they were intended as a separate and more readily available force than the Militia, at the same this provision indicates that the Volunteers were seen largely as local rather than colonial forces, though in emergency liable to serve outside their own areas. On actual service volunteers were liable to full military discipline, at other times liability extended only to obeying lawful orders and taking care of government issue property. The Act allowed for the establishment of a chain of command for the Volunteers, a necessity if the Force was to be nationally administer by the colonial government. The Governor was Commander in Chief, the Force was to be administered and supervised by a permanent Staff, envisaged as including a number of District Adjutants, and was to be periodically inspected.

Volunteer corps were to be paid at a specified rate of £3($6) for cavalry, £2.10.0($5) for other Volunteers, per efficient man, in fact a capitation system. What constituted ‘efficiency' would be laid down in Regulations. Corps would be enrolled after a successful application by a persons wishing to form one. Members could quit their Corps on giving three months' notice, returning issued property and paying any debts incurred. Corps were permitted to make rules governing their civil affairs, corps property, Finance and membership admissions. Furthermore, they could ‘recommend’, which effectively meant 'elect', their own officers. Less important privileges accorded under the Act were exemption from jury service while on actual service and likewise from all tolls and duties. The

[42] "Volunteer Force Act ", (1865), http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/vfa186529v1865n53306/.

Government secured its own investment by forbidding the seizure of issued property for debt.

This Act was to form the basic rubric which was to govern the Volunteer movement for the next 44 years until they were swept away by the 1909 Defence Act and replaced by the Territorial Force. The Act was amended in 1870, 1881, 1886 and 1900, but in none of these were the essential features as laid down in 1865 significantly altered.

The 1870 Act more closely defined the term 'efficient' for the purposes of receiving capitation. The 1881 and 1886 Acts were largely consolidation measures, in the latter case of the law concerning all the New Zealand Forces, not just the Volunteers, and incorporating the Acts passed concerning Volunteer land and property. The 1886 Defence Act omitted the previous rule that Volunteers should not serve more than twenty miles from their corps headquarters except in emergency, and the capitation to be paid was no longer specified, a necessary omission as the amounts laid down in 1865 had not been consistently paid. A new section was added to the Volunteer law in 1886, to enable men to be enrolled for “special emergent service”, who were on enrolment to be considered on actual service and liable to serve within or outside the Colony. In the debates which accompanied the reading of the Bill in the House of Representatives, J. Balance the defence minister justified this measure in terms of the recent Russian war scare, which he claimed had made it desirable to raise a force able to serve overseas.[43] This measure may also have been influenced by New South Wales decision in February 1885 to dispatch a force to aid Britain in the Sudan.

The most important feature which becomes obvious upon analysing these amendments to the Volunteer system, was the gradual transition from an 'internal' defence force to an 'external' one. As previously noted, the prime reason for the establishment of the Volunteer movement had been concern over the threat from hostile Māori’s within the colony. As time progressed, the threat of attack by the rebel Māori’s subsided and the settlers began to focus upon possible threats to their security from forces outside New Zealand. Thus, the role of the Volunteers within the defence of the colony had to modified to meet this changed situation.

[43] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (1888), Vol 55, Page 344.

Despite this great outpouring of regulations and its changing defence role, the Volunteers were permitted a great deal of local autonomy. This was because the force consisted of a large number of small units, which fluctuated in size according to change in government and departmental policy and were scattered all over the Colony. The formation of corps was entirely in the hands of local communities. · This meant that the size of the Force at any one time was dependent upon national and local attitudes to defence, which tended to fluctuate between calls for retrenchment, indifference and wild enthusiasm. This 'autonomy' formed the core of the Volunteer system and in itself was responsible-for most of the problems of the Volunteers as a military force. The autonomy allowed to Volunteers meant that they in fact became corporate bodies rather than parts of a large military whole. Day to day Government control of the Volunteers was largely a matter of issuing Regulations and filling in forms; not for nothing were the Volunteers known as the 'Army of Regulations'.[44]

Close supervision was difficult because of the minute size of the Permanent Staff at both District and Colonial level, and the scattered distribution of the corps. A single effective headquarters officer, be he Undersecretary, Inspector or Commander, could not hope to effectively inspect and supervise the force, and the District Staff, usually one officer commanding the district, perhaps an Adjutant, and one or two Sergeant-Instructors could scarcely turn the Volunteers into a homogenous, ' well-organised and well-trained force. In addition, a number of North Island Districts during the 1870s were commanded by Armed Constabulary Officers, who thus had two jobs to perform at once. Consequently, irregularities arose, some from intent to evade the Regulations, others from ignorance of proper procedures.

The Volunteer movement in Wellington can trace its roots back to the conflict of the 1840s, but these early 'volunteers' were seen more of as a 'first-class militia' and were given no formal recognition. It was not to be until 1858 before any attempt to organise volunteer units, as discussed here, were made. In that year a band of Wellingtonians formed a volunteer unit under the name 'veterans'. This unit did not flourish and by 1867 it was apparently disbanded.

[44] J.H Nankivell, *A Brief History of the New Zealand Military, 1840-1940* (1945), 16.

In July 1863 a further attempt had been made to establish a Volunteer unit within Wellington. On 16 July a meeting took place in Miller's Commercial Hotel for the purpose of forming a Volunteer Rifle Corps. The primary reason for the establishment of this Volunteer unit seems not to have been fear of the Māori's, rather fear of the Imperial Troops, as the riot of the 14th Regiment had occurred only a few days prior. Mr Henry Anderson briefly summarised the object of the meeting when he observed that:

> It would be in the recollection of those present that a disgraceful outrage was recently perpetrated by the military in this town, and that they were also aware that a public meeting had been held at the Athenaeum for the purpose of taking staps to protect persons and property in the event of such another outrage being attempted. A Vigilance Committee had been formed by the meeting to answer immediate purposes, but about a dozen gentlemen who were members of that Committee, determined that they would enrol themselves as special constables, and be ready to turn out any time when they might be required. This small band, he believed, were known by the title of ''Independent Specials'' and he (Mr Anderson) was an unworthy member of the body. He might add that their worthy Chairman had been elected captain of that corps, and Mr Skeet held the position of lieutenant. It was determined by the members of this body, if they could get supported, to turn it into a volunteer corps, of which the few already enrolled as special constables would form the nucleus. This was the reason for which the meeting had been convened, and they now called upon all others to join them. He believed the impression was extant that unless some 'great gun' took a prominent part in a public movement in Wellington it could not be successful.[45]

Despite this plea, the meeting seems not to have achieved its aim. Perhaps as Mr Anderson pointed out, no 'big gun' was willing to take part in the movement. It was not to be until 1867 before the Volunteer Movement actually took off in Wellington. In that year two units were established.

It had been announced that in 1867 His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh was about to visit Wellington, during his tour of the Australasian Colonies. Captain Buck, who had been a member of the 65th Regiment, conceived the idea that it would be an excellent opportunity to raise a veteran corps from amongst the ex-soldiers of the various Imperial Regiments who had served during the New Zealand wars. The result was that at a meeting held on the 29 October Captain Buck stated that in his opinion the duke would no doubt be very pleased to find that his guard of honour on arrival here was formed of old soldiers of the British Army

[45] "The Volunteer Movement."

who had taken part in the wars with the Māori's. About 50 were present, and it was decided to form the Wellington Veteran Volunteer Corps. The first officers were Captain Buck, formerly of the 65th, Lieutenant Hastings, late of the 101st, and Ensign Isherwood of the 69th. The colour-sergeant was Sergeant Crowe, late of the 65th.

Shortly after the Veteran Corps was formed Māori disturbances took place in the Patea district, and Captain Buck offered the services of a corps which contained the members of the Veteran Corps and other Volunteers and was known as the Wellington Forest Rangers. This Corps saw action against the Māori's at Te Ngatu-o-te-Manu in September 1868. Here, the company suffered heavily with Captain Buck and Lieutenant Hastings both getting killed.

The original purpose for the 'Veterans' founding, the Duke of Edinburgh's visit, had been delayed owing to his attempted assassination in Sydney, and did not eventuate until 1869. The Veteran Corps, despite its losses at Te Ngatu-o-te-Manu, kept together and eventually formed the guard of honour as originally intended. In order to provide the necessary numbers to keep the corps in existence it was then decided to admit the sons of veterans as members.

In 1872 the name of the Corps was changed, and it became known as the Wellington City Rifles, a name which it retained until the Territorial scheme of 1911 was instituted, when it became 'A' Company, 5th (Wellington) Regiment.[46]

Just two months prior in 1867, on July 22, another meeting had taken place, this time in the Princess Hotel, Molesworth Street, to consider the formation of an Artillery Corps in Wellington. Within a month of this meeting, there had been sufficient members recruited and the Government accepted their services. They were to be known as the Wellington Artillery Volunteers. Their first Battery Captain was Mr P.A. Buckley, a prominent member of the legal fraternity of Wellington. Messrs N. Holmes, Eustace D'Bathe Brandon, and Amelius Smith were the first to hold the rank of Lieutenant.

These then constituted the first recognised Volunteer units of Wellington. Their founding occurred at a time when the main campaigns of the Māori wars were drawing to a close. Consequently, there was a decline in interest in volunteering and a cry of retrenchment had

[46] "A History of the 5th (Wellington) Regiment," *New Zealand Military Journal* (1914): 191.

resulted in a reduction of the capitation grant to 12/6d ($1.25) p.a. Despite this decline, the two wellington Corps were able to establish themselves and maintain their numbers.

By the early 1870s, Inspectors of the Volunteers reflected upon this decline in the Volunteer Movement. Generally, they observed that the Volunteers consisted mainly of small pockets of men scattered all over the colony with no coherent centralised organisation. That they dressed very showily, took themselves very seriously, drilled and manoeuvred only in the most formal manner and seldom left their drill halls save for ceremonial parades. There were few instructors and no uniformity in drill or methods of instruction. Field training was at a minimum. That pride of corps often ran high, but there was a marked reluctance to sacrifice this by participation in higher formations.[47] In 1874, things came to a head when the Inspector for that year, Major Gordon, produced a particularly outspoken report. He claimed that:

> 1. The whole system was inefficient, lax and wasteful.
>
> 2. Artillery armament was most varied, quite unorganised and depended on the whim of the individual Corps.
>
> 3. No two companies in the Colony were dressed alike.
>
> 4. The instructors were quite unqualified.
>
> 5. why they attended drill at all was a matter of much surprise.[48]

The Wellington Volunteer Corps did not escape this attack. Gordon observed of them:

> In the Wellington District, the first corps which paraded was the Wellington Artillery Company; and in appearance, as regards uniformity of equipment, physique, etc., it is one which could scarcely be excelled; but I found it very deficient in its knowledge of squad and company drill, though expert in the use of its ordnance.
>
> Its instructor was very defective in his knowledge of certain portions of the rudiments of his duty, owing perhaps to his having for too long a period of his Imperial service served in the tailors' shop of his battery. I explained to the corps that the description of knowledge of military duties required from an Artillery Company was very clearly defined in the form of efficiency certificate issued to each Volunteer who earned it, at the close of each Volunteer year, and that, in my opinion, the corps did not yet possess that knowledge. I advised the members on dismissal to look at the form of certificate I alluded to, when they would discover how simple were the requirements exacted by our Regulations

[47] J.T Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army* (1964), 47.
[48] Maj Gen Sir H. Kippenberger, "A Curious History," *Evening Post* (Wellington), 15 September 1956.

> to qualify as efficient. The officer commanding the company subsequently stated that his corps had, before my inspection, no knowledge of the document called the 'Efficiency Certificate," and that such a certificate had never been issued to his corps during the many years of its existence.
>
> I was not prepared to find, particularly in Wellington, that corps had been in the habit of receiving capitation without having earned the "efficiency certificate".
>
> The other corps of the city were pretty much in the same predicament and condition, and it was obvious that the occasions of monthly inspection, when the largest attendance is obtained, had been permitted to pass without any sound explanation or practice of drill having been imparted or adopted, and I very much fear that, at such parades, duties of mere ceremony were alone attended to.
>
> The permanent staff-sergeant was not so well acquainted with his duties as a government instructor should be, notwithstanding the numerous gifts and testimonials he was permitted to receive on his removal to West Coast.[49]

Apart from the indignation this report caused many of Volunteer Corps, Major Gordon's recommendations for improvement seemed to fall upon deaf ears. Nothing was done to closely supervise the capitation grant which had been provide better qualified instructors; issue better arms and equipment; the reduction of the unwieldy 'paper force' to a size bearing some relation to the needs of the colony; or uniformity of dress. A new regulation at this time, however, which fixed the minimum number in a corps at 50 did have the effect of reducing the overall strength considerably, to 5,500.

It was not until 1878 before the Volunteer movement would again see a revival. In that year it looked as though Britain might go to war with Russia and the Australasian colonies feared they might become pawns in such a conflict. The New Zealand Government was gradually becoming aware that an external attack on the colony was just as likely as an internal one. A Parliamentary report as far back as 1869 had stated that:

> for all practical purposes there is not a single harbour in the colony which is not exposed to the effective attack of a privateer or cruiser carrying heavy guns and there is no ordnance that would afford the hope of a successful resistance.[50]

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[49] "New Zealand Volunteer Force, (Report by Major Gordonm of Inspection of)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1874 Session I, H-24* (1874), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1874-I.2.2.4.31.

[50] "Correspondence with the New Zealand Commissioners relative to the Employment of Imperial Troops," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1870 Session 1, A-09a* (1870), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1870-I.2.1.2.14.

The Colonists fear of a Russian attack had already been whipped to a. frenzy a few years earlier, when on Monday 17 Feb 1873 the *Daily Southern Cross* published a story with the headline:

WAR WITH RUSSIA
A CALAMITY FOR AUCKLAND
HOSTILE VISIT OF A RUSSIAN IRONCLAD
SEIZURE OF A GOLD & TEN HOSTAGES

There followed a very stirring account of how a Russian man-of-war named the KASKOWISKI under Capt Herodskoff had stealthily crept in Auckland harbour on the previous Saturday night and had captured with its sophisticated weapons,

> the British Warship lying in the waters of the Waitemata, seized our principal citizens as hostages, demanded a heavy ransom for the city, and emptied the coffers of the banks of all the gold and specie they contained.

The reaction of the public to this story was one of sheer panic with many of them missing the footnote which explained that the story was fictional, being taken from the Daily Southern Cross of May 1873, that is, three months later. The paper's offices were besieged by colonists seeking more information and the banks pestered by clients wanting to withdraw their savings. A school in the suburbs gave the children a holiday to go and see the Russian frigate. One poor old lady after hearing the news rapidly surveyed her humble abode in order to save her most valuable possession. She decided to save that article which had been a source of income to her over the years and promptly buried it in the garden – her favourite washing tub.[51]

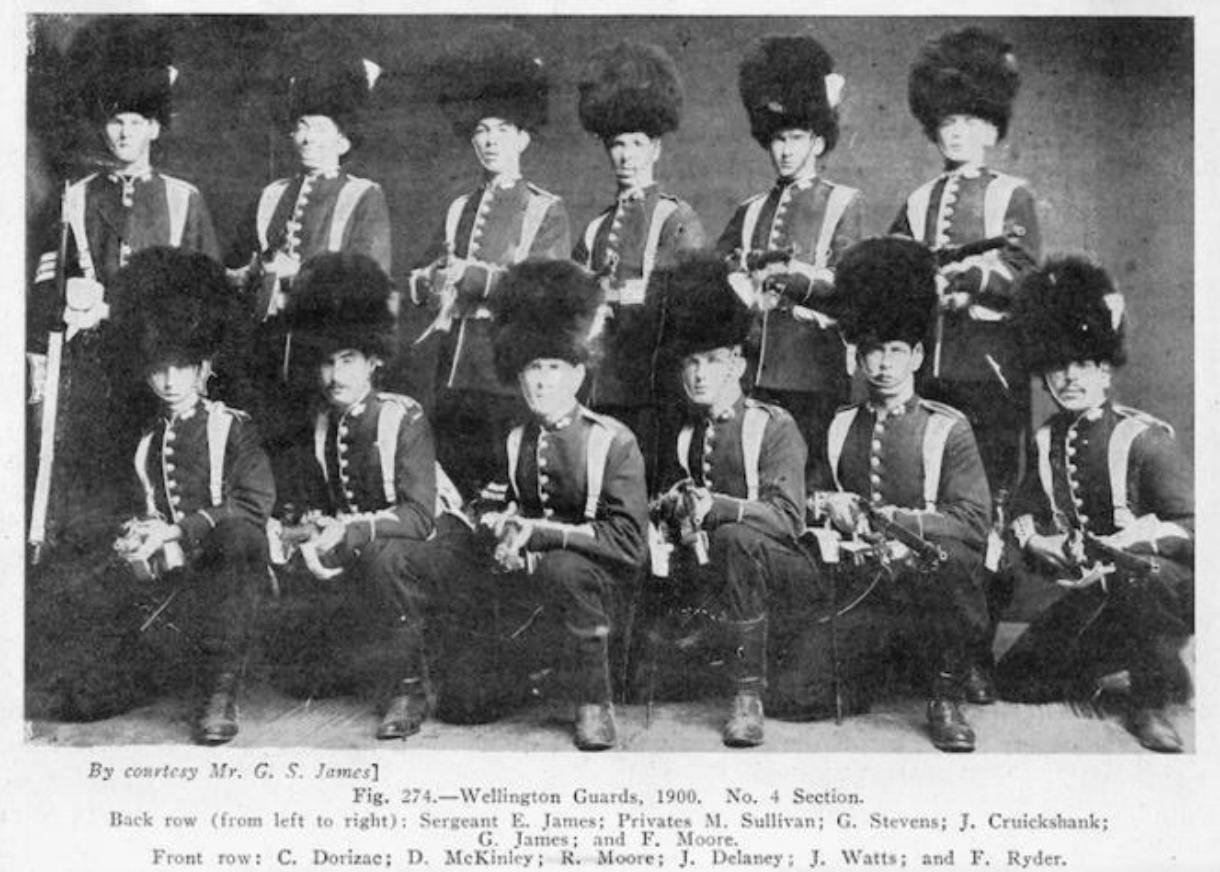
1878 broke the complacency which had surrounded the colony's attitude. to defence, for now a Russian threat was 'real'. Interest in the colony's defence became aroused with the Volunteers seen as the mainstay. Recruiting in the Volunteer force was expanded to 8,032. These were distributed among 118·Corps as follows:

[51] A.J. Culling, *The Russian War Scare of 1885: A Turning Point in New Zealand's Attitude to the Empire. Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Post Graduate Diploma of Arts in History at the University of Otago* (1972), 17-19.

	North Island	South Island
Cavalry	9	1
Artillery	4	8
Navals	3	3
Engineers	3	1
Rifles	54	31
Bands		1

[52]

Wellington contributed a new corps to this expansion when in 1879 the Wellington Guards were founded (see Photo 3:1).



By courtesy Mr. G. S. James]
Fig. 274.—Wellington Guards, 1900. No. 4 Section.
Back row (from left to right): Sergeant E. James; Privates M. Sullivan; G. Stevens; J. Cruickshank; G. James; and F. Moore.
Front row: C. Dorizac; D. McKinley; R. Moore; J. Delaney; J. Watts; and F. Ryder.

Photograph 3.1: Photograph of Wellington Guards, 1900. No. 4 Section. Ref: 1/2-028064-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23162225

From here it can be seen that the North Island was much stronger in the two arms most suited to Māori "Warfare" - Cavalry and infantry. Also, although the bulk of the population (62%) was at this time in the South Island, the majority of the corps were in the North

[52] Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army*, 50.

Island. At the same time, the Artillery Volunteer Corps were formed into one regiment for the whole of New Zealand, "the New Zealand Regiment of Volunteer Artillery". The batteries dropped their local titles and assumed letters. Thus, the Wellington Artillery Volunteers became 10' Battery, with the Auckland Battery being termed 'A', Dunedin 'B', Timaru 'C', Christchurch 'E', Napier 'F", Invercargill 'G', Nelson 'H', Oamaru 'I', Cook Country 'J' and Port Chalmers 'L' Battery. With such an emphasis being placed upon reorganising the Artillery Volunteers the Government was initiating a major realignment in the utilisation of the Volunteers in the Colony's defence. As the 1878 report itself stated:

> In the future the defence of the Colony from an external enemy … will be chiefly confided to our artillery; and it is therefore the interest of the colony to give every encouragement to so important a branch of the Volunteer Service.[53]

To back this statement up the government ordered 24 coastal guns for installation in established forts. This date marks the point where the volunteers were becoming predominantly concerned with external security as opposed with internal security centring on the Māori's. But, again, once the initial scare was over, the Government embarked upon a policy of retrenchment, with in 1880, no capitation at all being paid. The result was that many of the corps were forced to revert to bazaars and other fund raising schemes to keep going.

1880, however, did mark an important year.in the history of the Volunteers, especially as regards their part in the Colony's defence. For in that year, Colonel P.H. Scratchley, CMG, RE, was invited to the colony to report on the defences of the country. His report was the first and most important of four reports on defence in the next ten years. His report laid the foundations of New Zealand's coastal defence policy for the next 60 years. As late as 1930, Brigadier Sinclair-Burgess was to describe the strategical principles of the report as "immutable".[54]

Colonel Scratchley recommended that forts should be established at the four main ports manned by a nucleus of regular soldiers assisted by special Volunteer corps on a part-time basis. Defences were to consist not only of guns, but also of such newly developed weapons

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[53] "New Zealand Volunteer Force," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1878 Session 1, H-20* (1878), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1878-I.2.2.3.29.
[54] P.J Spyve, "Post 1945 Development of New Zealand Army," (1981).

as mines, torpedoes and searchlights.[55] The remaining Volunteer corps of the colony were to be organised as a Field Force for the protection of the country in the immediate vicinity of the ports. Their strength was to be reduced to some 2,500.[56]

The Government did not act immediately and while they were deliberating a problem regarding the colony's ' internal defence erupted at Parihaka. A more detailed account of what occurred here will be provided in the following Chapter, since it primarily involved the use of the Armed Constabulary. What is of interest here, was that Volunteers too were called for in the suppression of Te Whiti and his followers, and from this arose an interesting incident in 'D' Battery's history. As the *Evening Post* noted:

> Though strictly observant of discipline when on parade in the olden times, the volunteer forces did not scruple to give very decided opinions regarding their superiors, if, in their opinion, the action of the latter were not considered to be in the interests of the force and did things that would horrify the Brass Hats of the present day, and probably result in court-martial. One incident will be remembered by many. At the time of the Parihaka scare, when Te Whiti and his lieutenant took up a very insolent stand, and gathered a large number of followers at Parihaka, the Government of the day decided that an expeditionary force should be despatched to secure the arrest of the arch conspirator and his principal adherents - using force if necessary. Volunteers were asked for, and a force was mobilised consisting of men from Wellington, Napier, Taranaki, and other districts. The Wellington volunteers offered their services freely, and about 40 of the D Battery volunteered. Much to the surprise of these men, Captain McCredie was informed that the services of the corps were accepted, but that it would have to act as infantry. The matter was placed before the battery by the OC, and it was unanimously decided that unless the men were allowed to act as an artillery unit, they would not take part in the expeditionary force. Captain McCredie undertook to interview the OC District (Colonel Reader), and to put the case before him and ask for a reconsideration of his decision. Colonel Reader positively refused to reconsider, and a rather interesting interview culminated in the Colonel saying in effect that Captain McCredie and the members of the corps were taking advantage of the opportunity as an excuse for not taking part in the expedition. At a meeting specially summoned, where some very plain speaking was used, a motion was passed severely censuring the District OC, and the battery withdrew from the expedition. It may be stated that a sore point with the “D” was the fact that the “H” Battery

[55] These types of torpedoes consisted of an explosive charge attached to an extended spar on the bow of a specially constructed boat of about 12 tons. · Each boat carried two of these torpedoes.
[56] Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army*, 51.

> (Nelson) was allowed to join the expedition as an artillery unit with two six-pounders.[57]

Thus, with the Government's attention focussed upon Parihaka, it was not until 1882 before Scratchley's recommendations could be properly examined. In that year work on the harbour forts was commenced and although local interests prevented his recommendations on reduction of the strength of the Volunteers being applied fully certain changes were made. Corps were divided into Garrison and Country Corps with strengths 43-63 and 30-50 respectively. The former were to consist of those within the four main towns. Garrison

corps were acquired to do more training and examinations for promotions were made more difficult. Also, instruction in minor tactics was made essential.

The construction of· the forts meant that some minor reorganisation was required within the Artillery Volunteers. That is, Naval Artillery Volunteers had to be formed to help in the manning of these forts. In Wellington, the Naval Artillery Volunteers were formed from part of the Artillery Corps.[58]

This split of members from 'D' Battery to the new was perhaps made easier or even necessary by the Government's changes in corps strengths. That is, many of the older corps, such as 'D' Battery, had recruited to the old maximum of 100 and beyond. But the Government was only willing to pay capitation up to the maximum of the new establishments, that is, for 43-63 for Garrison Corps. Once the Naval Artillery Corps had been formed, the Government again began to drift into a period of indifference as far as New· Zealand's defences were concerned. Finances began to dry up for the construction of the forts.

The only glimmer of light as far as the Volunteers were concerned, was the appointment of Colonel Whitmore as Commandant New Zealand Forces with the rank of Major General in 1885. Whitmore was the first officer to officially hold this appointment.

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[57] "The D Battery," *Evening Post, Volume XCVIII, Issue 127* (Wellington), 26 November 1919, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19191126.2.132.

[58] Culling, *The Russian War Scare of 1885: A Turning Point in New Zealand's Attitude to the Empire. Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Post Graduate Diploma of Arts in History at the University of Otago*, 29-30.

Whitmore immediately acted upon the Board-of Defence's 1881 recommendation that a Central School of Instruction for officers be established. The school was to be located at Mount Cook and then to be followed later by branches in the other three main centres. The school not only ran continuous courses but set and corrected all examination papers. Officers were compelled to pass the necessary examinations within three months of first appointment. The staff of this school consisted of and were paid as follows:

	p.a.	
The Officer Commanding	£300	($600)
The Drill Instructor (Rifles)	£128.2.0	($256.40)
The Musketry Instructor	£128.2.0	($256.40)
The Instructor Field Artillery (IFA)	£128.2.0	($256.40)
and as the IFA was responsible for instruction in both the North and South Islands, he was paid an annual Forage and Travelling Allowance	£75.0.0	($150.00)
The Cavalry Instructor	£128.2.0	($256.40)
with a forage and travelling allowance of	£ 55.0.0	($110.00)

[59]

1885 initiated a further growth of interest in the Volunteers and Defence' with the advent of a further Russian scare. This 'scare' was the direct result of, believe it or not, a Russian invasion of Afghanistan. Being a small state sandwiched between the British Raj and the Russian Empire, Afghanistan was of great strategic importance. Both empires vied for control of this barren and untamed land. During the 1880s, the Gladstone Government was preoccupied with issues in Egypt and the Sudan, thus it was anxious not to be involved anywhere else. ·Russia took advantage of this situation when in 1881 they subjugated the Tekke Turkomans and followed it up with the occupation of the town of Merv in 1884. As Merv was an important strategic post the British realised the need to establish a fixed boundary to limit the Russian advance and to develop a respect for the neutrality of Afghanistan. A Boundary Commission set up by the two empires quickly became deadlocked in early 1885. To make matters worse, the Russians advanced to the Afghan border,

[59] Colin Andrews, *End of an Era, An Informal history of the military in the Mt Cook area of Wellington 1846-1979*, ed. E.B Bestic (1979), Book, 16.

occupied the Zutfikar Pass and took up a position outside the town of Penjdeh, which the British considered to be in Afghan territory. On March 30th the Afghan and Russian troops clashed result that the Afghans were swept out of Penjdeh. The British Ambassador at St Petersburg declared that "war was inevitable" and Gladstone responded by proposing a credit of £6,500,000 to meet the case for preparations rendered necessary by the incident at Penjdeh. Previously on 26th March both the militia and reserves had been called out in Britain. Hence, with such a tense reaction to the situation in the Home and, it is little wonder that these were viewed with great alarm within the Colonies.

In New Zealand the fort building program was accelerated action was further backed up by a report presented by Governor Jervois (See Photo 3:2) who was an experienced soldier and-specialist in harbour defences. Governor Jervois reiterated the widespread belief that the type of attack which could be expected in New Zealand was a raid on valuable ports by hostile vessels. The strength of the attack however would not amount to an invasion because of the need for the enemy to protect its own country. Therefore, the security of the colony's chief centres of wealth was of paramount importance. He then concluded his remarks by presenting a thorough plan of defence for the colony at an initial expense of £400,000 ($800,000), with small annual costs thereafter.[60]

In Wellington as Map 3:1 shows, a complex network of forts were constructed. In the inner limits of the harbour forts were built at Kaiwarra and Ngaruahanga. At the former two 64-pounder muzzle loading guns which had been converted naval guns were emplaced, whilst in the latter there two fixed six-inch breech loading guns. In 1886 further fortifications were begun at Fort Ballance, and on other parts the Miramar (Watts) Peninsula, stretching from Scorching Bay to Shelly Bay, but most of these were not completed till 1893 or after.

[60] Culling, *The Russian War Scare of 1885: A Turning Point in New Zealand's Attitude to the Empire. Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Post Graduate Diploma of Arts in History at the University of Otago*, 29-30.

Photograph 3.2: Sir William Jervois', URL: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/sir-william-jervois, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 14-Jul-2014

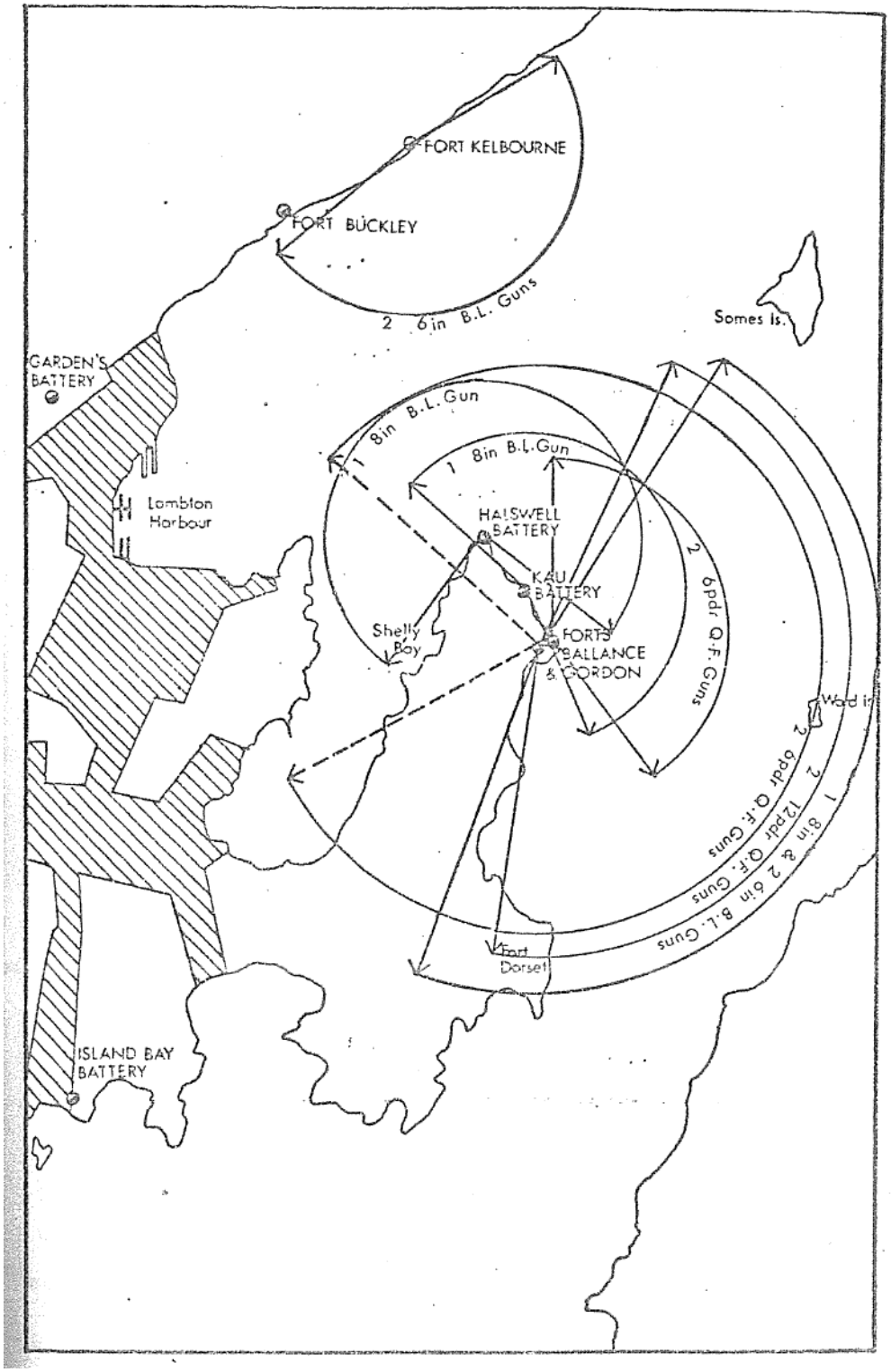
At Fort Ballance there were two seven-inch guns, six-pounder Nordenfeldts and one six-inch disappearing gun. At road level there were two sixty four pounders which moved from Kaiwarra (Fort Buckley). There were a further two eight-inch disappearing guns installed, with one at Kau Point and the other at Point Halswell. Not long after this, the fixed defences were further improved and extended with the emplacement of a third eight-inch disappearing gun at Point Gordon, overlooking Scorching Bay, the removal of the seven-inch and emplacement of a further six-inch disappearing at Fort Ballance and the addition of a six-pounder Nordenfeldt at each of the Batteries at Kau Point and Point Halswell. At the same time two further single gun batteries were constructed - the Gardens Battery located above the Botanical Gardens with one seven-inch muzzle loader and Island Bay where a six-inch breech loading gun was emplaced.[61]

On top of this, as a direct result of the 1885 scare, four more Volunteer companies were established in Wellington. They were the Wellington Rifles, the Newtown Rifles, the Te Aro Rifles and the Thorndon Rifles. These along with the City Rifles and the Guards constituted the First Wellington Rifle Battalion. The first Commanding Officer was Lieutenant-Colonel Crowe, who had been the Veteran Volunteer Corps first colour-sergeant when it had been formed in 1867.

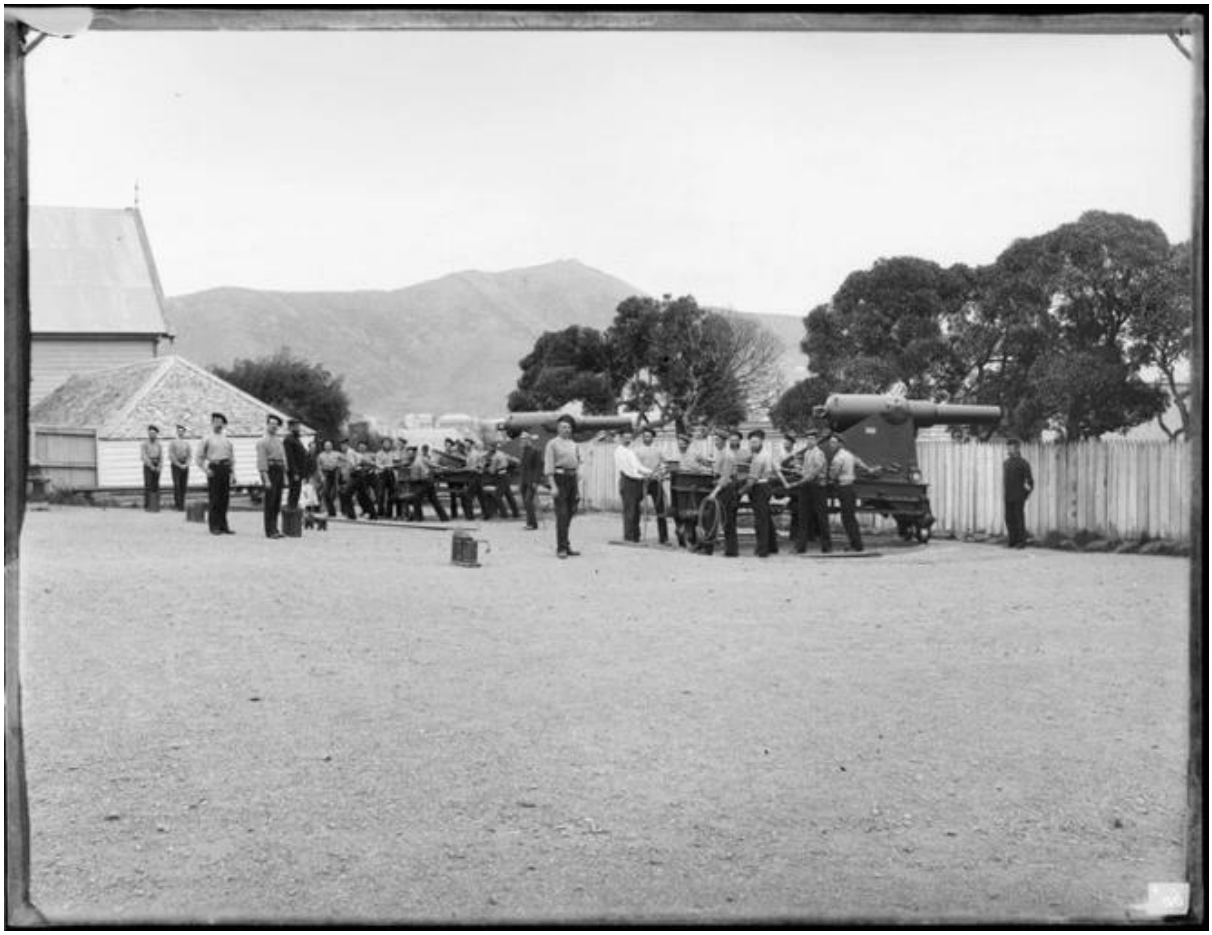
This expansion in Wellington's fortifications had the effect of turning the Mount Cook complex into a focal point for the Naval Artillery Volunteers. Apart from the instructional role fulfilled by the Central School of Instruction, Mount Cook became the main area for teaching the Volunteers their gun drill. This was because the Volunteers had to be taken to most of the batteries by boat since road access was in many instances restricted, especially to the batteries north of Miramar. When these batteries were built, there was no 'Miramar Cutting' so small tunnels beneath the hill had to be constructed in order that ammunition which was offloaded at a wharf where the Miramar and Burnham Wharves now stand could reach the various batteries. Even today, the entrances to these tunnels can be seen just a few metres up the Shelly Bay Road. As this journey by boat to the batteries was in itself a time-consuming process, especially since as citizen soldiers' practice could only take place

[61] A.J. Baigent, "Broadcast Text, Coast Artillery Defences," (1959), 3.

either in the morning or evening, it was decided to position a six-inch breech loading gun at Mount Cook so that practices could take place there (see Photo 3:3).



Map 3.1



Photograph 3.3: Members of the Armed Constabulary Field Force during a drill with 64 pound rifle muzzle loading guns, Mount Cook Barracks, Wellington. Williams, Edgar Richard, 1891-1983: Negatives, lantern slides, stereographs, colour transparencies, monochrome prints, photographic ephemera. Ref: 1/1-025891-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23058256

Mount Cook itself, containing the Colony's Defence Headquarters received attention too during the flurry of fortification construction as a result of the 1885 Russian scare. Tunnels were supposed to have been excavated beneath Mount Cook, the precise location of which are unknown as no record of their construction seems to have survived to modern times.

Apart from the acceleration and expansion of fort building, the 1885 scare also created a significant precedent in New Zealand's defence policy which would be of great importance in the future of the Volunteers. The Government of the Colony expressed a willingness to offer troops to the aid the Imperial Government should war have been declared on Russia. In a despatch to Britain the Governor Jervois stated:

> My Ministers, on 4 May, as soon as they considered that the defences of the Colony were in a state to justify them taking such a step, requested me to telegraph to Your Lordship that they proposed to ask Parliament to sanction the

> expense of sending one thousand well trained men, one fourth to be Māori's, for active service in Afghanistan or any part of the globe where Her Majesty's Government might require them.[62]

In 1886 this offer of aid for the Defence of the Empire was formalised in New Zealand's first so named 'Defence Act'. This Act now enabled Volunteers to enrol for special emergent service which could be either inside or outside the Colony. This Defence Act also initiated a major reorganisation of New Zealand's Armed forces, although no real attempt was made to reform the Volunteer System, which will be discussed in later Chapters.

Unfortunately for New Zealand's Defence Forces the next few years found the Colony plunged into the worst economic depression it had so far experienced and the new reorganisation suffered accordingly. In 1888 General Whitmore resigned and a period of retrenchment began. One of the first casualties of this policy was the Central School of Instruction at Mount Cook, with it closing in 1888. Also, the Defence Engineer complained bitterly of the shortage of labour and finance available to construct the fortifications.

Despite these fluctuating fortunes in the NZ Government's support for the Volunteers, the Wellington Corps managed to maintain their strengths and their contact with Mount Cook during these years became more formalised. In 1893, 'D' Battery after occupying various sites ranging from the old Market Hall in Cuba Street to the drill shed in Lambton Quay moved to the permanent Artillery Drill Shed in Buckle Street. Here at Mount Cook, there was sufficient room for the storage of the artillery pieces and more particularly, stable space for their horses.

Drill instruction for the Wellington's Volunteer Corps was also provided by the Senior NCOs from the Mount Cook· Barracks. These instructors were usually men on loan from the Royal Artillery. For example, 'D' Battery's Drill instructors from the 1880s onwards consisted of Instructor Mowatt late of the Royal Artillery who held a first class Master-Gunners Certificate from the School of Gunnery, Shoeburyness; Sergeant Major Hyde, a Crimean War Veteran; Master-Gunner Nevillel RA and Master-Gunner George S. Richardson.

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[62] "Correspondencer Jervois to Darby," *Archives New Zealand No 209/245* (20 June 1885).

Drill for the Volunteers themselves usually took place in the Drill Hall at Mount Cook itself. Mr Fred Gooder provided some reminiscences of his experiences as a Volunteer who used to drill at Mount Cook. He was a member of the College Rifle Volunteers, which had been formed in 1898 mainly in response to the Fashoda incident.[63] He stated:

> I was a volunteer in the College Rifles in 1909 and 1910. We were a Company of the Wellington Regiment. We drilled every Wednesday evening in the Drill Hall, Buckle Street. It was at this time that the Compulsory Military Training Act was passed, and the Drill Hall became a very busy place. Instructors were imported from Britain and Musketry became a very important part of our training .... No liquor was allowed in the Drill Hall. However, the "orderly" rooms were upstairs. After parade two of our number would go outside. A bucket would be lowered from the orderly room window facing Taranaki Street; taken to the Royal Tiger Hotel and filled with beer; hauled up through the window, and Bob's your uncle.[64]

Periodically, the Volunteer Corps would have to go on camps for the amount of instruction given within a drill hall was limited. In 1895, the authorities turned this into an annual event which was to last a week. In Wellington, the Miramar Peninsula provided the perfect location for such camps.

'D' Battery in particular used this site. This was because it was impossible to keep the volunteers in the camp through the whole period. Hence, Reveille was sounded at 5 am and one hour's drill was carried out when the-men had breakfast and left for their various positions in the city. On arrival at camp in the evening the men immediately fell-in and drilled until darkness set in and attended lectures afterwards. In this manner the 'D' Battery held its first annual camp at Mahanga Bay in 1896, and the camp concluded on Saturday with shell practice at targets towards Ward Island. The camps for the following years were usually held either at Miramar or Seatoun (see Photos 3:4 and 3:5).

[63] The Fashoda Incident of 1898 involved a clash of Imperial ambitions this time between France and Great Britain in Africa. Britain was trying to construct a Cape to Cairo Empire whilst Franco was expanding from West to East. Fortunately, the French backed down at Fashoda in the Sudan

[64] "Letter, Mr F Gooder," (26 December 1981).

Photograph 3.4: D Battery, Miramar, Wellington. Army Department: Photographs of D-(artillery) battery. Ref: PAColl-3375-3. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22494818

Photograph 3.5: 'D' Battery parading at Seatoun, Wellington 1901

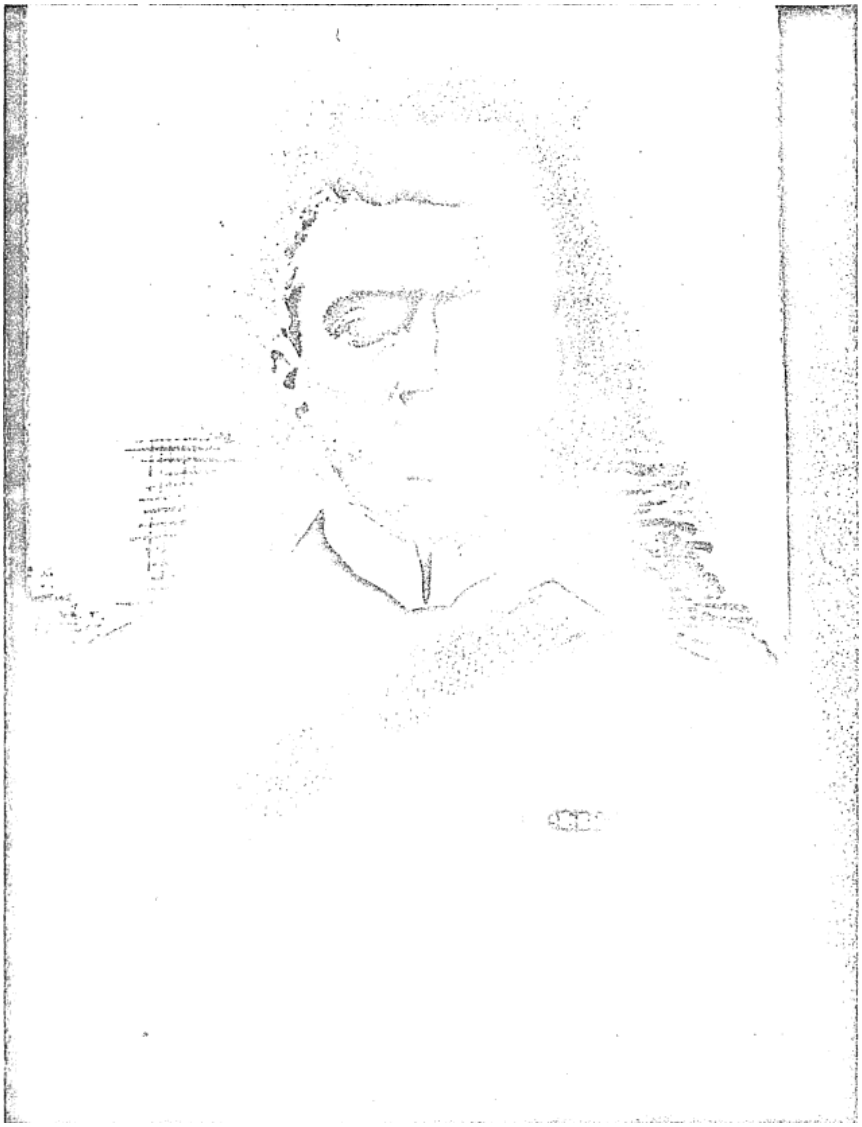
The introduction of the annual camps marked a revival of interest by the Government in the Volunteer System and also that the worst effects of the 1888 depression had receded. The Government, particularly with R.J. Seddon as Minister of Defence became sympathetic towards the Volunteers and started to give assistance. Consequently by 1892 the Volunteers picked up in numbers again with the Force being 6,600 strong in 113 Corps. A new innovation introduced was that 'khaki' was sanctioned for general use in uniforms. It is interesting to observe that a comparison of the two photographs of 'D' Battery at their annual camps in 1898 and 1901 shows that they had taken up this more practical option. Unfortunately, not all the Volunteer Corps were willing to change thus reflecting one of the main anomalies which still plagued the System.

These weaknesses caused serious repercussions when the practice was begun of securing the services of a ranking British Officer as Commandant of the Forces. The first of these, Lieutenant Colonel Francis John Fox, RA (see Photo 3:6) on being appointed in 1892 inspected every Volunteer Corps and all harbour defences.

His report was devastating and created a great sensation and fierce controversy. Almost his only commendatory remark was that the spirit was excellent, considering that no real interest was taken in the welfare of the Force and that there was no system upon which anyone could depend for 12 months at a time. Fox's report contained the names of the officers whom he felt were inefficient or lax and he was quick to criticise the poor condition of many of the Corps themselves. For example, his reports on the Corps in Wellington stated:

D BATTERY, NZ ARTILLERY- 26th July 1892

> Present: 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 6 sergeants, and 46 rank and file. Absent: 14 rank and file.
>
> Uniform. - NZ Artillery.
>
> Arms and Accoutrements. - Four 6-pr. R.B.L. guns; Snider artillery carbine; buff sword-belts.
>
> Officers. - Captain St Hill: Will be efficient.
>
> Lieutenant G. Johnston: Keen and intelligent; good officer.
>
> Lieutenant C. Pearce: A capable and willing officer.



Photograph 3.6: Lieutenant Colone Fox, RA

Non-commissioned Officers. - Good.

Captain St Hill had but lately been appointed as Acting Captain of this corps. From what I saw of him, and of the spirit evinced, I am satisfied that he will succeed. Lieutenants Johnston and Pearce are good officers, who work well. The non-commissioned officers and men appear to be taking much interest in their work.

The battery was seen by me on· the afternoon of the 30th July. There were present three officers and thirty-seven rank and file. I drilled the battery and was much pleased to find that all ranks worked with much intelligence. Once a movement was explained it was at once done satisfactorily. Major McCredie was present.

I consider this will be a very efficient battery as regards its officers, non-commissioned officers, and men. The guns - four 6-pr. R.B.L. guns - are in such a bad state that they are not fit for ·use; other guns must be provided for this battery.

WELLINGTON NAVAL ARTILLERY - 27th July 1892.

Present: 1 lieutenant-commander, 3 sub-lieutenants, 6 petty officers, 37 seamen (9unners), and 32 seamen (submarine miners). Absent: 14 seamen (gunners) and 14 seamen (submarine miners).

Uniform. - NZ Naval Artillery. This corps has also gaiters and straw hats.

Arms and Accoutrements. - Snider rifle; black bets, in good order.

Officers. - Lieutenant-Commander Duncan: A very excellent commanding officer; takes great interest in his corps and does his best for his officers and men. Sub-Lieutenant Campbell: An excellent officer; very keen; gunnery lieutenant. Sub-Lieutenant Bell: An excellent officer; torpedo lieutenant. Sub-Lieutenant Hume: A young officer, taking great interest in his work, attached to gunnery - 6in.-B.L.-gun drill.

Petty Officers. Of a good stamp; hard-working and intelligent.

Men. - Good quality; intelligent, and taking great pride in their corps.

I saw a squad at 6in.-B.L.-gun drill at Mount Cook, and squads at 7in.-R.M.L.-gun drill in the drill-shed. The work was efficiently done, but I would like to urge that a higher standard of intelligence may easily be reached by a higher class of instruction - men cannot be as interested in mere manual labour as they can be were the reasons for the manual labour fully explained to them at the time. The mere fact of telling a man he must or must not do a certain thing is not, to my mind, sufficient. The reasons should be explained to him, and his intelligence brought into play. I also saw squads at submarine-mining work. The manual labour was very well done, but the above remarks as to higher instruction bringing out intelligence and interest here also apply. The men are fully intelligent; it will be well to make the best use of their powers.

The corps is also well trained in infantry work.

This is an extremely creditable corps, reflecting great credit on its officers and on the spirit evoked by them amongst the men.

I inspected three detachments of this corps at work with 6in. B.L., 7in R.M.L., and 6-pr Q.F. Nordenfeldt guns on the afternoon of the 4th February, 1893. The men were well up in their work. It is to be regretted that so few men were present.

WELLINGTON CITY GUARDS - 28th July 1892.

Present: 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 5 sergeants, and 42 rank and file. Absent: ;7 rank and file.

Uniform. - Guards uniform, full and undress; in shabby condition.

Arms and Accoutrements. - Snider rifle; buff belts.

Officers. - Captain Paterson: Is, I judge, a good officer. Lieutenant Porritt: A smart young officer. Lieutenant McAlister: Lately joined.

Non-commissioned Officers. - Fair. I was not quite satisfied with their drill, but this will be remedied.

Men. - A good class.

Drill. - The turn-out was clean, but the uniform is not in good condition. The men drilled well, but they were not quite so well handled by the officers and non-commissioned officers as I should desire.

I think that this corps is improving and have great hopes of being able to report very favourably on it later on.

WELLINGTON RIFLES - 29th July, 1892.

Present: 2 lieutenants, 4 sergeants, and 32 rank and file. Absent: 6 rank and file.

Uniform. - Scarlet; bad.

Arms and Accoutrements. - Snider rifle; buff belts, badly fitted.

Officers. - Captain: None. Lieutenant Isherwood: has been in command for some months; he is keen in his work, but is too inexperienced as yet for command. Lieutenant Duthie: a young officer; intelligent, and anxious to learn.

Non-commissioned Officers. - Not up to the mark.

Men. - Young.

The drill of this corps was weak all round. It is considerably below the minimum strength.

I am in great hopes that a man of good position and influence may soon be found to take command of this corps and give it the support at present sadly needed. There are not enough Volunteers in Wellington to admit of our losing this corps. Every help should be given in order to put it on its legs.

WELLINGTON CITY RIFLES - 1st August, 1892.

Present: 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 5 sergeants, and 53 rank and file . Absent: 4 rank and file

Uniform. - Scarlet; black helmets.

Arms and Accoutrements. - Snider rifle, &c.; white belts in good order.

Officers. - Captain Collins: A very good officer.
Lieutenant Wilson: Capable.

Non-commissioned Officers. - Are well drilled and intelligent.

Men. - Well turned out and drilled.

> This is a very creditable corps. Captain Collins takes very great interest in his men, and they repay him by taking a great pride in their corps.[65]

Fox resigned before actually taking up his appointment, and so did many of the officers he had harshly criticised, aptly earning themselves the title of "Fox's Martyrs" in the process. Nevertheless, Fox's report did have a good effect in that it stimulated a gradual increase in efficiency within the Volunteer Movement. New Martini-Henri rifles were imported, and drill manuals were produced and issued. These changes were still not enough to fix the ills within the system.

It was the South African War of 1899-1902 which saved the Volunteer Movement from further decline, for it led to an upsurge in enlistment. Ten contingents, all of Mounted Rifles, were despatched. All but the Tenth saw action. The Contingents were officered almost entirely from the Volunteers and a vast proportion of the rank and file were of Volunteer origin as well. Mount Cook made a direct contribution to this supply of soldiers for the war because the Central School of Instruction for Officers had been re-opened in 1901·. Apart from this, the Volunteer Corps of Wellington were quick to join the Contingents of South Africa.

The conclusion of the War in 1902 did not mark a decline in. the Volunteer Movement for it was further stimulated by the Royal Visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. In Wellington, the Volunteer Corps provided guards of honour (see Photo 3:7). “D” Battery fired the Salute. Unfortunately, the battery, owing to old ammunition and obsolete friction tubes and misfires, only managed to fire 19 guns as opposed to the traditional 21 gun salute.

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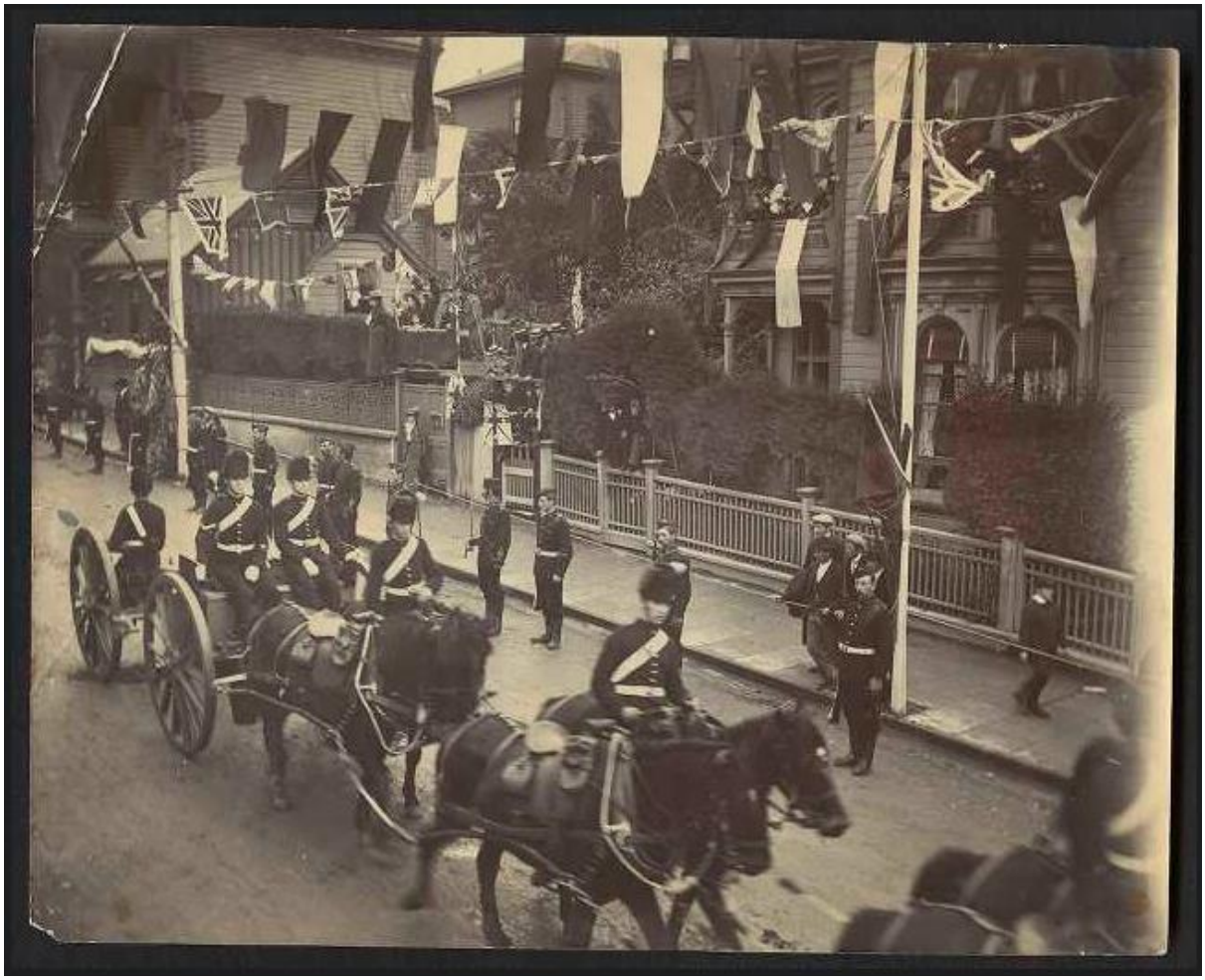
[65] "Report on the New Zealand Forces, ," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1892 Session I, H-15* (1892), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1892-I.2.3.3.14.



Photograph 3.7: Wellington Rifles, D Battery Artillery, Wellington, during the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. Army Department: Photographs of D-(artillery) battery. Ref: PAColl-3375-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23064718

The highlight of this visit as far as the Volunteers were concerned was the Royal Review held in Hagely Park, Christchurch, on the 24th of June 1901. On this occasion 10,745 Volunteers from all over the Colony paraded for inspection. This event perhaps marked the swansong of the Volunteer Movement. After this, the Volunteer Movement again was subject to benign neglect. The School of Instruction at Mount Cook was once more disbanded, for Major-General Babington complained over its closure. The only change to the Volunteers was made in 1906, in that year, the Government clarified the situation with regard to a possible Expeditionary Force. A special roll was prepared of Volunteers willing to serve overseas and the members who were subject to special regulations were paid an extra 55 ($10) per year. Despite this minor change, New Zealand still lacked an adequate defence force. Government indifference meant that the attendance of at drills or 'camps was at best, spasmodic, and with the increasingly tense international climate such an irregular force was more of a problem than an aid. The had degenerated into a ‘paper’ army on the same lines

the Militia some 50 years earlier. The Defence Council summed up its attitude towards the Volunteers when it stated:

> Volunteering has had its last chance. If the general public are in earnest to defence, they must themselves assist and assure that under the Volunteer System .... once men are enlisted, they attend regularly. The alternative is a system of universal or compulsory training, -whereby the burden of service in the Defence Forces will be more evenly distributed.[66]

Despite this warning, nothing was done, so in 1909 with little argument the Defence Act was passed which brought the Volunteer Movement to an end after a life of 52 years. On February 28 1910, it was deemed to have passed over bodily and become "the Territorial Force, to be kept up to strength by compulsion.

With the passing of the Act ended the Volunteer's association with Mount Cook. Although their corps names lived on, they were no longer 'volunteer' units. They were now part of an army of compulsion. Their association with Mount Cook as Volunteers had been only a part-time one, for they were 'citizen soldiers'. They had first come to Mount Cook as its caretaker, and later they utilised it as their training centre. This meant that the barracks accommodation of the site was vacant once the Imperial Troops had left. As mentioned, the Upper Mount Cook complex had been utilised in the 1870s:as immigrants' accommodation under Vogel's expanded immigration scheme. The Lower Mount Cook complex was soon occupied by another branch of the Colony's defence forces and it was they who would constitute the next permanent residents on the site. They were the 'Armed Constabulary'.

[66] Maj Gen Sir H. Kippenberger, "A Curious History."

CHAPTER 4: THE ARMED CONSTABULARY 1867 - 1886

The Armed Constabulary was the direct successor Zealand's first Permanent Forces. As early as the General Assembly had passed the Colonial Defence Act to enable the Colony to raise a permanent military to fight alongside the Imperial troops against the rebel This Act empowered the Governor to arm and train a force which was not to exceed more than 500 men. This Colonial Defence Force was raised as a corps of cavalry between 300 and strong and it took part in numerous actions with the Imperial from 1864 onwards, usually in the role of mounted infantry.[67]

With the conclusion of the Waikato and Bay of Plenty by 1865, the Colonial Defence Force was reduced in numbers. By 1867 hostilities had almost died down completely, and this lull in activity permitted a reorganisation of the Defence Force. In that year, the Armed Constabulary Act was passed. Under this act, the Colonial Defence Force the various Māori War Volunteer units ceased to exist. They were replaced by a dual role force termed the 'Armed Constabulary' whose function was to maintain the internal Defence of the colony against rebel Māori's as well as acting a police force. The Armed Constabulary maintained a direct link with its antecedent for most of the members of the Defence Force transferred to it upon its founding.

The Armed Constabulary was modelled on the Royal Irish Constabulary.[68] Hence, what seems to have been envisaged was a force which could perform both police and limited military functions in holding down potentially rebellious areas of the Colony with a parallel being drawn between Ireland, and New Zealand where although the major campaigns of the Māori Wars were over, the situation could clearly deteriorate at short notice.[69]

> The main provisions of the Act were as follows:
>
> **Sec 4.** A "sufficient number" of men were to be embodied for "putting down rebellion, quelling disturbances, preserving the peace, preventing robberies and other felonies and apprehending offenders against the peace". ·

[67] Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*," 72.

[68] "First report of the Civil Service Commission," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1866 Session I, D-07* (1866), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1866-I.2.1.5.9; "Second report of the New Zealand Civil Service Commission," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1866 Session I, D-07a* (1866), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1866-I.2.1.5.10.

[69] Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*," 75.

Sec 9. A commandant was not to be the equivalent of Lieut-Colonel of Militia and Volunteers and so on with the junior ranks. The first chief Commandant (subsequently called Commissioner) ·was Colonel Whitmore.

Sec 11. The original term of enlistment was for a maximum of 3 years. In an Amendment Act in 1869 no maximum term was fixed, but also no minimum.

Sec 15. Commandants and inspectors were to be Justices of the Peace.

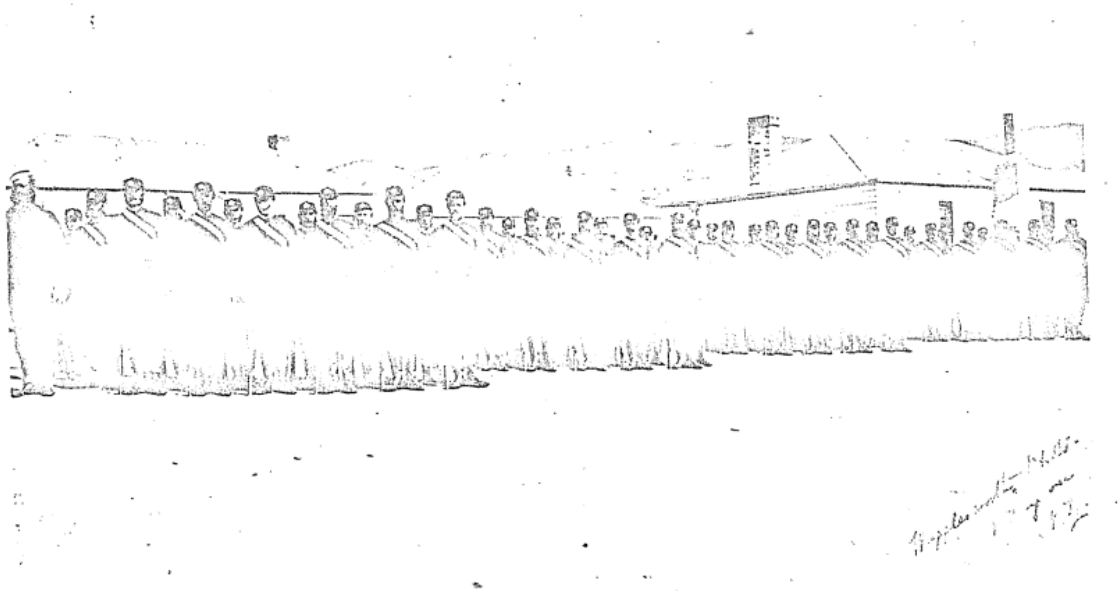
Sec 17. The 1867 Act had a provision that if in any regulation made after a man had enlisted, his pay was reduced, he could claim his discharge forthwith. This was repealed in 1869.

Sec 20. Commandants and inspectors could fine up to £1; otherwise men might be tried by two Justices of the Peace (one not from the Armed Constabulary) and fined up to £20 or reduced in grade.

Sec 26. No member of the Armed Constabulary was to vote-in any election for the General Assembly, Provincial or Municipal Council or take any part in an election save in an official capacity.

Sec 27. Fines and penalties were to go to a Reward Fund for the benefit of the Armed Constabulary.[70]

The command structure was to consist of officers with police-style ranks, headed not by one man, but rather by a number of Commandants. The new Force was organised into Divisions about 70 or 80 strong, its officers tended to utilise their equivalent military ranks as opposed to their police ones.



Photograph 4.1:

[70] Nankivell, *A Brief History of the New Zealand Military, 1840-1940*, 61; Nankivell, *A Brief History of the New Zealand Military, 1840-1940*.

Their uniform consisted of two distinct forms of dress. For duty in settled areas and for parades the Constabulary were issued with a navy blue uniform and a flat topped blue peaked cap not unlike that of the French Foreign Legion as the photograph of the Constables at the Mount Cook Depot illustrates (See Photo 4:1). But for operations in the bush, they used much less conventional garb. Each man was allowed considerable freedom of choice. The only common feature was a strong and warm, but light woollen shawl worn as a kilt which could be pulled up for river crossings or when using the creek bed as a road thus avoiding the discomfort of having to march with wet trouser-legs. Jumpers or a woollen shirt, a rolled waterproof cape or blanket and a great variety of nondescript headgear usually completed the outfit as Photo 4:2 illustrates.

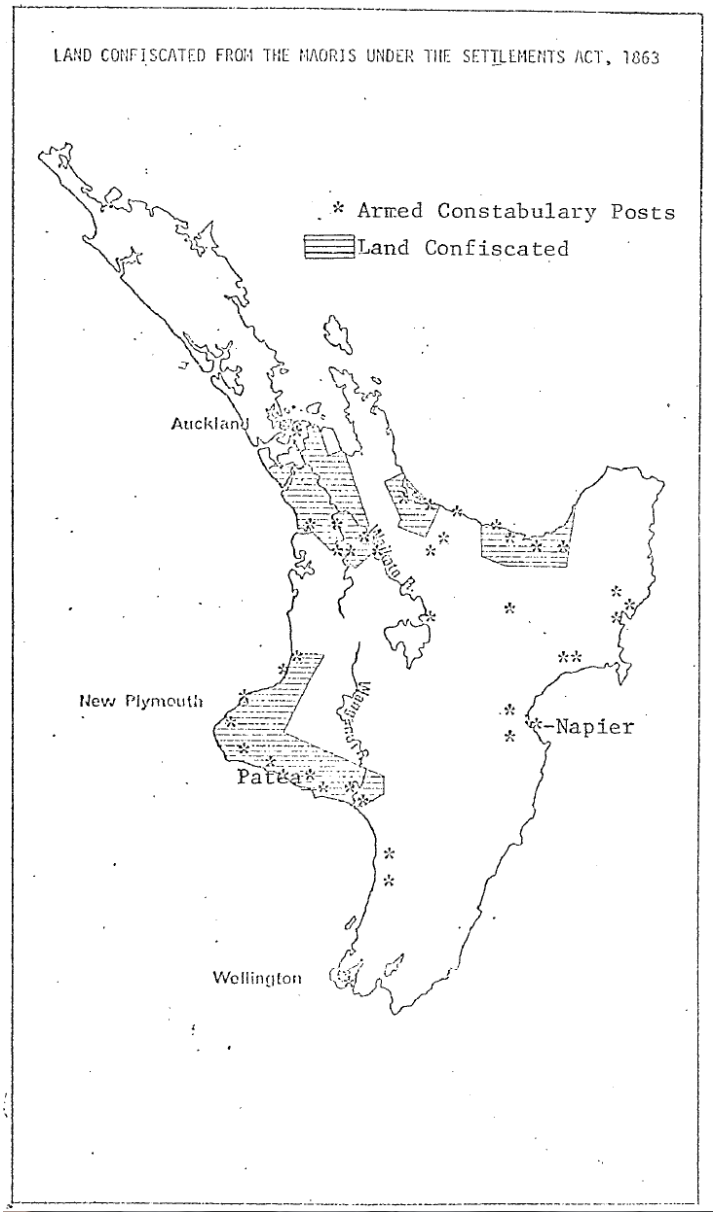
Photograph 4.2: Members of the New Zealand Armed Constabulary. Dart, C W R, fl 1966: Photographs of members of the New Zealand Armed Constabulary. Ref: PAColl-4327-1. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23041856

The advent of the Māori movement Pai Mairere or Hauhauism as it was commonly known by 1867, necessitated the force being committed to active operations before it could be organised in any detail as the Armed Constabulary Act had intended.[71] This meant that its police functions were relegated to the background, and it was employed solely as a military

[71] Pai Mairere was a Māori Millennial Cult which preached total rejection of European Society and a return to the ancient ways

body. This change in role became apparent in 1868 when the Government passed the Colonial Forces Courts Martial Act which placed the Armed Constabulary under full military discipline whilst in the field.

Hence the Armed Constabulary were in action against the Hauhaus from 1867 into 1869, and on a reduced scale into the early 1870s. But, by early 1870, the bulk of the Armed Constabulary had been withdrawn from active service and sent to occupy fortified posts, mainly around Taranaki, the Bay of Plenty, Taupo and the Waikato as Map 4:1 shows.



Map 4.1:

In 1869 with the worst of the Hauhau threat gone, a move was made to change the role of the Armed Constabulary. In that year a new Armed Constabulary Amendment Act was

passed, and the Force was withdrawn from active operations. The new Act replaced the three year enlistment period with a period to be specified when the recruit enlisted. It also replaced the Commandants of 1867 by a single Commissioner as Commanding Officer of the Force, and in addition to the duties laid down in 1867 members of the Force were to attend Courts and execute summons and court orders.[72] The intention of these changes was clearly to emphasise the police role of the Force more than had hither to been the case.[73]

The man appointed to be the Armed Constabulary's Commissioner was St. John Branigan, who had formerly been in charge of the Otago Provincial Police. Under Branigan's command the Armed Constabulary Force assumed the characteristic shape which it maintained until its disbandment in 1885-86. It consisted of between 600 and 800 men, although temporarily growing beyond this size in 1881, and sinking below it in The Constables were divided into Foot and Mounted, the considerably outnumbering the latter. The NCOs were 2nd Class sergeants, with over them a small number of sergeant-majors. Officers were now termed inspectors or sub inspectors, each rank being divided into 1st and 2nd Class.

Pay rates varied little from 1869 until 1885, in 1878 the men received rises of either 6d.(5c) or 1/(10c) per week depending on rank but in 1881 constables suffered a 6d(5c) per week pay cut. On average, the pay rates were as follows:

Foot Constables	£2. 2.0 ($ 4.20) per week
Mounted Constables	£2. 5.6 ($ 4. 55) per week
1st Class Sergeants	£2.19.6 ($ 5.95) per week
2nd Class Sergeants	£2.16.0 ($ 5.60) per week
Sub-Inspectors	£4.16.1 ($ 9.61) per week
Inspectors	£6.16.6 ($13.65) per week

Branigan's appointment had an important impact upon the former Imperial Troops barracks at Mount Cook. The changes he initiated within the Armed Constabulary meant that it was necessary to develop a site where recruits could be trained and drilled to fulfil their new role as armed 'policemen'. Mount Cook offered the perfect site for this because the facilities were already there and more importantly there would be less cost involved for the

[72] General Assembly of New Zealand, "Armed Constabulary Amendment Act 1869," (1867), http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/acaaa186932a33v1869n58433.pdf.
[73] Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*," 77.

Government in establishing an Armed Constabulary Despite this the Government was as usual slow to thus on 15 June 1870 Branigan complained:

> In accordance with the instructions contained in your letter of the 7th August, I proceeded to .....re-model and reorganize the Armed Constabulary Force mainly on the basis of the Royal Irish Constabulary system, as it has been ……altered in Victoria, to adapt it to the Colonies.
>
> The one and most indispensable preliminary in carrying out this object was the formation of a Depot for training, but there was no suitable building available, and some considerable time elapsed before Mount Cook barracks were altered and made suitable for the purpose. During the time the alterations were being proceeded with, a Temporary Depot was established for the accommodation of the men as' they trained.[74]

Once the Mount Cook Depot was finished by mid-1870 Branigan was able to move his staff into the building at Lower Mount Cook and report that:

> The departmental duties of the whole Force including their payment as well as payment of Militia and Volunteers, have now been ·narrowed down and simplified in such a manner as to -be conducted in the Head Office at the Depot.[75]

The Depot staff consisted of one 1st Class Inspector, one Class Sub-Inspector, one Sergeant-Major, two 1st Class Sergeants, two 2nd Class Sergeants and seventy-six constables.[76] Also, one Captain W.G. Stack was appointed the Instructor of Musketry to the Armed Constabulary. Stack's job was to initiate a proper system of musketry instruction for the force. This he did by training the Force's officers and NCOs at the Depot and then posting them to the various Armed Constabulary outposts where they could pass on their new skills to the constables.

In its formative years, the Armed Constabulary Force was plagued by discipline problems of which drunkenness was the main factor. The annual reports on the Force in the early 1870s show a large number of men dismissed due to this problem, no fewer than 368 in 1870, 107 in 1871 and 60 in 1872. In percentage terms this figure was quite alarming for in 1870, 48 per cent of the Force had been dismissed for drunkenness, 14% in 1871 and 8% in 1872.

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[74] "Papers and reports relating to the Armed Constabulary," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1870 Session I, D-07* (1870), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1870-I.2.2.4.8.

[75] "Papers and reports relating to the Armed Constabulary."

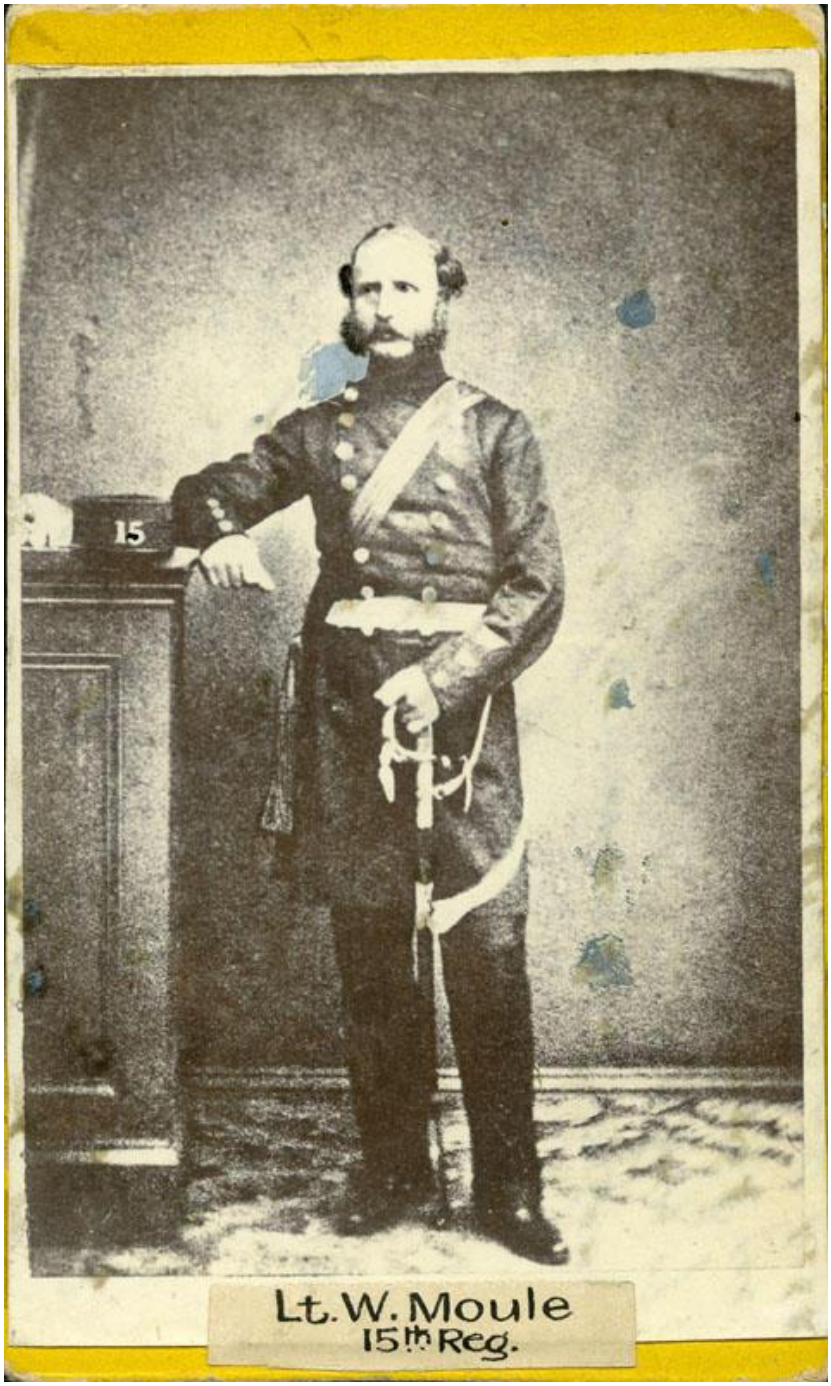
[76] "Papers and reports relating to the Armed Constabulary."

These high figures perhaps reflect the nature of the duty performed by the Armed Constabulary in that they were usually located in isolated frontier districts where there were virtually no social amenities or even company of the opposite gender. Consequently, there was very little else to do except drink. The men at the Mount Cook Depot being located in Wellington were in a better position far as social activities were concerned hence drunkenness seems not to have been a major problem there. No doubt though, the men at the Depot carried on the drinking tradition established by the Imperial Regiments by tripping across Taranaki Street to the Royal Tiger Hotel which had been their favourite "watering hole".

The change in policy which Branigan had introduced, that of withdrawing the Armed Constabulary from field operations and emphasising the civil police aspects of their dual role, came in for considerable criticism. Branigan himself bore the brunt of this criticism. The most punishing attack came from the *Evening Post* which published between January and February 1870 a number of editorials condemning the policy the Government with regard to the force and particularly attacking Branigan himself. The *Evening Post* took the line the Irish Constabulary were no doubt a fine body of men for the Armed Constabulary to attempt to emulate, but that it had taken them half a century to achieve such perfection, and that Branigan's men had better pay attention to their military functions if they were to be successful. The *Post* followed up this attitude with a number of violent personal attacks on Branigan himself, as the officer commanding “that sublime institution, the Demilitarised Constabulary", who was accused of knowing nothing of his real duties; an obscure provincial policeman raised to be Commander-in-chief of the New Zealand Forces. He was even accused of unconstitutional activity by giving the Commissioner enormous powers under the Armed Constabulary Regulations, and of having been given his job to buy political support for the government. Further broadsides included comments on the ineffectiveness of the “great demilitariser" and attempts to capture the Hauhau leaders, and gloomy predictions that they and the Kingite Māori’s were going to cause trouble for the foreseeable future.[77]

[77] "Armed Constublary," *Evening Post, Volume V, Issue 305,* (Wellington), 7 February 1870, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18700207.2.6; "Armed Constublary," *Evening Post, Volume V, Issue 281,* (Wellington), 8 January 1870, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18700108.2.6.

By 1871 this criticism had died away once it was realised that the contingents of Friendly Māori's were successfully hunting down the Hauhaus and that the Armed Constabulary was still able to function as a military force if necessary. Unfortunately, it appears that these personal attacks on Branigan took their toll, for in early 1871 he suffered a nervous breakdown and was eventually obliged to resign. His successor was Lieutenant Colonel William Moule (See Photo 4:3), the Under Secretary for Colonial Defence.



Photograph 4.3: Lieutenant Colonel William Moule

Under Maule's tutelage, the role of the Armed Constabulary remained much the same as it had been with Branigan, that of garrisoning the frontier areas and performing routine police duties in them. During the early the early years of 1870s, with the threat from the rebel Maoris significantly diminished the Armed Constabulary saw little or no action at all. It was at this point that the Colonial Government saw the chance to utilise this Standing Force in order to recoup the expense it involved. It was decided that the Armed Constabulary would contribute towards the opening of the frontier by public works construction.

The results of all this activity were considerable; for example, the Waikato force from July 1869 to April 1870 alone built or totally overhauled nearly 80 miles of telegraph line, three substantial buildings, cleared and fenced a sizeable acreage of bush, and produced 24,000 bricks from their own kilns for use in the construction, as well as sawing all the necessary timber. In the same period, they also carried out some improvements to roads and bridges and the whole effort despite interruptions caused by the activities of Te Kooti.[78]

At the Mount Cook Depot, the constables although far from the frontier areas of the North Island, were likewise utilised by the Government. Their duties were extended to providing a guard for Government House and providing guard and escort services for the Governor. For example, the Report of 1873 noted that:

> 19th November 1872, one constable with two horses was sent on escort with His Excellency the Governor to Rangitikei…..A party of 1 non-commissioned officer 'and 3 constables are on duty every twenty-four hours at Government House gate; also one orderly told off daily for His Excellency the Governor…..Guards of Honour for His Excellency the Governor have paraded on seven different public occasions during the year.[79]

Apart from this, the men at Mount Cook were put to use by the Colonial Government in performing various other duties. Again, the Report of 1873 observed that:

> Assistance has been afforded to the civil police for the arrest of persons inebriate or riotous; and on the strike of the Otago Police, a party of 1 sergeant and 12 constables was sent to Dunedin and performed police duty for a couple of months, some of them being permanently retained by the Provincial Government, sanctioned by the General Government - the remainder returning to their duty in the Armed Constabulary. Two constables volunteered to attend

[78] Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*," 82.
[79] "Armed Constabulary Force," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1873 Session I, H-14* (1873): 14, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1873-I.2.3.3.15.

> to the patients sent to Soames Island in June last with smallpox, one of whom caught the disease.
>
> One sergeant and two constables were placed at the disposal of Mr Woodward to collect agricultural statistics.[80]

Along with these Government duties the men performed, the constables at the Depot provided an important service for the citizens of Wellington itself. As the 1876 Armed Constabulary Report noted and like their predecessors at Mount Cook:

> All men available turned out with the barrack fire-engine on nine several occasions of fire during the past year, and particularly at the serious fire which commenced in Messrs Turnbull's store on the 25th March, and did excellent service, as was acknowledged by the public and the Press of Wellington and were, with the sanction of the Hon. the Native Minister, handsomely renumerated by the firm mentioned, and by others who were or might have been sufferers had the fire not been subdued.[81]

The *New Zealand Mail* gave a full account of the fire at Turnbull's store and the role the Armed Constabulary played in fighting it. It observed that:

> THE FIRE
>
> The Empire Hotel was attacked by fire early on Sunday morning, and narrowly escaped being burnt to the ground. Indeed, all that remains of it now is little better than a wreck. Strange to say, this fire, arising in the heart of the city, and consequently imperilling property of enormous value, was witnessed by, comparatively speaking, few of the townspeople. Whether people sleep sounder at the latter end of the week than at other times, or whether they were unusually influenced by somnolency during Saturday night and the small hours of Sunday morning, is a matter upon which no particular light can be thrown. Certain it is, however, that the alarm bells were not heard by hundreds who were greatly surprised to hear yesterday varied accounts of a· conflagration which had consumed the fashionable hotel of Wellington.
>
> The Origin
>
> How the fire originated nobody knows. Conjectures are numerous, but the variety and extent of them do not at all make a solution of the question easy. On the contrary, the variety of opinions expressed has a tendency to create hopeless confusion of mind. The direction in which the fire originated, however, is known, being in a corner of Messrs. Turnbull's 'store next to the Empire Hotel, and on the ground floor. This store contained two cargoes of American goods of a miscellaneous description, together with some other property. In the corner

[80] "Armed Constabulary Force," 15.
[81] "Armed Constabulary Force," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1876 Session I, H-16* (1876): 14, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1876-I.2.2.4.23.

alluded to there had been deposited the day before the fire took place, of quite recently, a quantity of oats, and some damaged fruit.

The Discovery of the Fire was materially delayed, owing to its being confined at first to an uninhabited store, and at a time when all people were at rest, save the police on their regular beats and others who have special duties to perform during the hours generally allotted for sleep. There had been no indication of a fire in the locality up to within a few moments of its discovery by one of the housemaids, who was sleeping in a room on the ground floor, the wall of which was next to Turnbull's store. She was awakened by smoke that had filled her room, and arising, heard a peculiar kind of noise, which she rightly judged to be caused by fire, and rushing to the night porter, Murray, made him acquainted with her fears. Murray at once gave the alarm by ringing the house bell - this in order to arouse the people in the house. Having done so, he proceeded to knock up the sleepers, and the second cook was despatched to give the alarm. Murray then went outside to ascertain where the fire was. He found clouds of smoke issuing from the side of Turnbull's store, and subsequently saw flames. To· get out the hose was the work of a moment but there he was brought to a standstill.

There Was No Water

At least, it had been turned off the night before to half pressure, and some fifteen minutes elapsed before the full pressure could be brought to bear upon the building. By this time

The Brigades Arrived

They turned out with that promptitude which on other occasions has gained them golden opinions, and for which indeed they are generally remarkable. The Armed Constabulary also appeared on the scene with equal readiness. The firemen first directed their attention to Turnbull's store. The door was burst in. One hose was attached to a hydrant, and the branchman commenced to play on the building; but it very soon became evident that owing to the inflammable nature of its contents more water than could be obtained from the street mains would be required to subdue the fire. By this time

The Empire Was on Fire

Rather the flames had caught a pretty firm hold of the left wing of that building. A hose was attached to the hydrant near the Bank of New Zealand, and taken to the back of Mr O'Shea's store. From this position the branchman in charge did his level best to keep the fire from spreading northward, but the force of water at his command was inadequate to the requirements of the case; and had no other means been available, it is more than probable that the whole block of buildings extending to Cohen's corner would have utterly destroyed. But the constabulary engine was brought into Mr O'Shea's yard, and commenced to play on the inner part of the Empire quadrangle, by taking the hose through the upper floor of the north wing of the hotel. One of the Central engines was taken down to the end of Harbour-street, and in the shortest time imaginable the foreman, in the coolest manner, had the gear connected and the hose also

carried through the same building as the A.C's had done. While the fire was at its height some sparks were carried on to the shingle of Mr. Compton's residence, which ignited, but a good watch being kept it was quickly extinguished. A quantity of old canvas and bagging in the rear of Messrs. Turnbull's offices was on fire, but Mr. Compton and others extinguished it before it got hold, and thus fortunately what threatened to be a second fire of large proportions was prevented.

Turnbull's Wharf was on fire at one time, pieces of burning timber which fell from the building having ignited it, and some goods that were placed thereon were destroyed. The approach to the wharf only was burnt.

It was blinding work. The whole place was enveloped in smoke, and to go down the passage of the Empire was to brave suffocation. But the firemen and all concerned worked bravely and well. Volunteers were called for, and it was evident to all that the fire was mastered.

Save the Furniture

It seldom happens that the attempts to save household furniture in cases of the kind are unaccompanied by all sorts of damage. This fire was unfortunately no exception to the rule. From the appearance of things in the first place it appeared eminently probable that the entire building would be consumed. Therefore all haste was made to save the contents of the building, although, as the result has proved, all the goods in the front of the house might have been let rest for all the injury they would have sustained. Every room in the house in which fire was not was cleared of its contents. Mirrors were thrown out, delicate pieces of furniture were handled roughly and much damaged. Even the attached fittings were removed from their places. A marble mantel-shelf was thrown out of a second storey window on to the "ground beneath and smashed to pieces. The stoves were wrenched, from their places. To sum up the house was literally transformed, and bore not a trace of what it had been one hour before - a comfortable and elegantly furnished hotel.

Confusion Prevailed

The lodgers suffered considerably. One gentleman, a commercial traveller, lost property consisting of samples of jewellery to the value of over £200. Others were unfortunate in different degrees. Some lost everything they had ·in the hotel. Several watches were lost and also money In some cases the victims had not even found time to provide themselves with a complete suit of clothes. One of these had to buy a pair of boots and borrow a coat on Sunday morning. Another was seen to rush up and down the street once or twice in a costume of the queerest kind, being a compromise between that used by our forefather Adam and a modern dress suit. He had on one tall hat, one shirt, and a pair of boots. He found a friend and clothed himself.

Mr Moeller's employees were exceedingly unfortunate. All of them suffered great loss. In fact their all was sacrificed, they having slept in that wing of the

> building which first caught fire, and consequently they were not able to save an atom of their property. Boxes of clothing, jewellery - everything was consumed within ten minutes of the alarm the employees of Turnbull and Co were on the spot, working like Trojans removing the goods from the store. They carried away an immense quantity of valuable stock, storing it in Jacob Joseph's store, which was found to be extremely convenient.
>
> The Insurances
>
> Messrs w. and G. Turnbull were insured in different offices for £2500; but it is stated that another policy of £1000 was taken out in the Transatlantic Company recently. This was on the building and stock. The value of the building and stock together is estimated at £7500, the stock having been recently increased by two shipments one by the Ned White and another by the Annie Lewis -of what are known as American notions. The loss from the fire may be set down at about £4000, as the goods being closely packed they will not have been all destroyed, and will realise something if put up to auction. Among goods contained in the store was £1000 worth of American chairs. Among the goods destroyed were 60 tons destined for Westport and Greymouth to the order of Mr Bentley.
>
> Turnbull and Co. were insured in different offices not including the policy of £1000 referred to as having been added recently - as follow: In the Transatlantic, £250; New Zealand Company, £250; National, £1000; the Royal, £500; the Batavian, £500.
>
> Mr Moeller had his stock and furniture insured for £1500. He had to pay Mr Martin £80 a year for insurance of the building; but it appears that Mr Martin never did insure the building, so that he will likely have to replace it. Notwithstanding the insurance, and in whatever light the catastrophe is regarded, it will be apparent that Mr Moeller must sustain considerable loss, though it be comparatively small to that of Messrs Turnbull and Martin.[82]

It is interesting ·to note that the citizens of Wellington were quick to criticise Colonel Maule's use of the reward money which had been donated to the constables for their aid during the fire. A letter to the editor of the *Evening Post* summed up public opinion towards this issue. It stated:

> Sir - I am a very careful and admiring reader of your paper, and as such must claim your indulgence should the remarks I make in this letter be considered inappropriate …..
> I noticed Messrs Blundell Bros. sent a donation of £5 to the A.C., as a recognition of services rendered at the late fire. Col Maule, in acknowledging receipt, said such donation would be applied towards replacing the clothing damaged on that occasion. The Government, I believe, have to provide the men of the A.C. force with clothes, and if such clothes are injured in the execution of their duty, it is

[82] "The Fire," *New Zealand Mail, Issue 238, 1 April 1876* (Wellington), 1 April 1876, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZMAIL18760401.2.29.

> scarcely fair to stop money from any little gratuity that may be given in consequence. What encouragement would they have to do their utmost if that were the case? If I were an A.C. man and knew that every little perquisite like Messrs. Blundell Bros' gift was to be disposed of in that way, I would see myself far enough before I would do more than the mere letter of the law compelled me, because people who would appropriate a voluntary contribution towards paying for imaginary damage to clothes, would not scruple at deducting from my wages any damage that might accrue through zeal in the execution of my duty.
>
> I am etc,
>
> A.H. Henry
> Wellington 30th March 1876.[83]

When not employed performing these various duties, the men at the Depot were put to good use in upgrading and maintaining the buildings in the Lower Mount Cook complex which they occupied. For example, the 1873 report observed that:

> The men at the Depot were employed daily on fatigue for three hours cleaning and repairing the barracks and roads thereabout. During the past year, in addition to the ordinary fatigues, the gymnasium and a magazine guardhouse have been built by the men of the force, and a portion of some of the barracks re-weatherboarded. A new cook house has also been erected. This building, together with the guardhouse, were rendered necessary by the Immigration Department having taken over the Upper Mount Cook Barracks, where formerly the cooking for the mess was carried on, and where there was also a guardroom on the magazine, though entirely unsuited to the purpose. The parade-ground and the road passing through the barracks (Buckle St) were regravelled, a considerable portion of the barracks repainted, some new fencing also put up round the Armed Constabulary paddock and barracks and a large culvert put in on the Magazine Road, which saved it from being all washed away.[84]

Although Wellington had a civil police department of its own, the constables of Mount Cook were at times asked to perform civil duties, particularly in regard to the area around Mount Cook itself. One of their most common duties was that of confining persons when found drunk. The biggest offenders in this area seem to have been the newly arrived immigrants who occupied the Upper Mount Cook Barracks. The 1874 Armed Constabulary report noted that this was the most common police duty that they were requested to perform, but was

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[83] "To the Editor of the Evening Post," *Evening Post, Volume XIII, Issue XIII,* (Wellington), 30 March 1876, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18760330.2.15.
[84] "Armed Constabulary Force," 15.

also quick to point out that these ''cases have been by no means numerous, considering the many new arrivals''.[85]

Hance, apart from performing these minor police duties in the vicinity of Mount Cook, the men at the barracks seemed like the rest of their counterparts throughout the Colony, to function more as an embryonic Public Works department as opposed to a defence force.

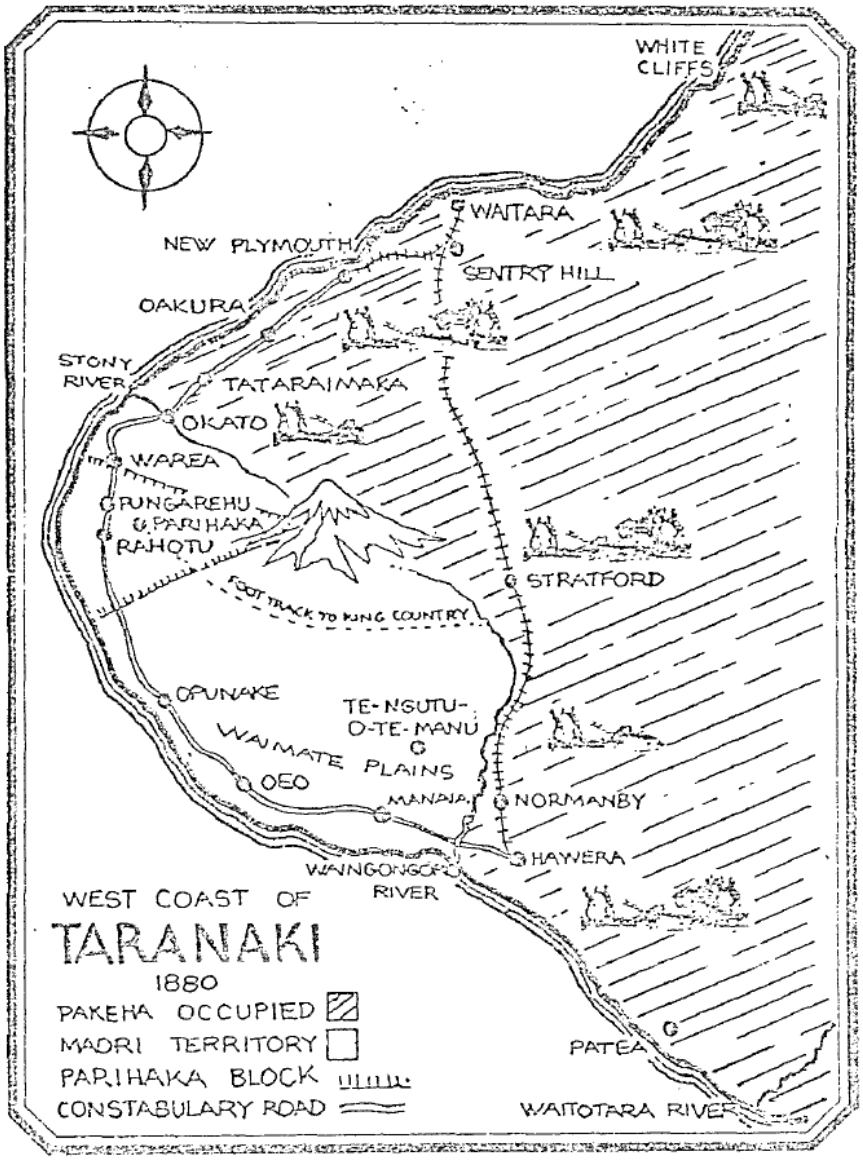
By 1876, the function of the Armed Constabulary was further altered. In that year, the Government decided to abolish the· Provinces. In doing this it was decided to incorporate the various provincial police forces into the Armed Constabulary. This move further accentuated the Armed Constabulary's role as a civil police force in contrast to its former military role. This change in emphasis was obvious by 1879, when in its annual report, the word 'Armed' was removed from the Force's title, and it was now termed "The New Zealand Constabulary".

1879 proved to be the wrong year for this change in emphasis to occur. Just when it was thought that the problem of the Colony's internal defence had been resolved, trouble erupted in Taranaki over the settlement at Parihaka. Although over 250kms away from Mount Cook, the man there, and the complex itself would figure in this dispute. ·

The origins of this dispute had its roots back in the conflict of the 1850s and 60s. During this time, Taranaki had been placed under the jurisdiction of the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863. This Act effectively confiscated the land from any Māori's the Government deemed to be in rebellion. As Map 4:1 shows the entire Taranaki peninsula was 'confiscated' in this manner. One of the provisions of this Act had been that the Government would quickly define the boundaries of reserves for the Māori's, both 'rebel' and 'friendly', within these confiscated areas. As in the other confiscated blocks, this promise was not undertaken. Consequently, the Māori's living within the confiscation boundaries ware left in a state of flux as regarded their occupancy. In the Bay of Plenty area, this lack of a definite policy on the part of the Government contributed directly towards the local Māori's adhering to the Pai Mairere Cult. In the Waikato a similar process had occurred, but it was less threatening

[85] "Armed Constabulary Force (Annual Report of Commissioner," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1874 Session I, H-12* (1874): 15, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1874-I.2.2.4.18/1.

since most of the Waikato tribesmen had withdrawn south of the ‘Aukati’ Line with their King into the 'King Country’.



Map 4.1:

In Taranaki, the place of origin of Pai Mairere, the Māori’s apart from giving rise to this millenial cult, retreated away from the pakeha occupied areas of the province to the western side of the Taranaki Peninsula as Map 4:2 illustrates. There, the Māori’s settled at Parihaka under the leadership of Te Whiti-0-Rongomai. Nothing was done to obstruct the Māori’s from settling there since the land they took up was sufficiently isolated from the main areas of European Battlement. But by 1878, the European settlement area was starting to encroach upon the Waimate Plains 8S all the available land had been gobbled up by land speculators and farmers. By mid-1878 the Government advocated the survey and

sale of the Waimate Plains. Te Whiti objected to this encroachment principally because the whole issue of Māori reserves within the confiscation boundary had not been resolved and his settlement at Parihaka was flourishing thus giving his decimated people ‘hope' for their future. Despite Te Whiti's protestations, survey parties crossed the Waingongoro River and began surveying the district.[86]

The reactions of the Māori’s at Parihaka to the Government's refusal to acknowledge their grievances caused deal of astonishment for the settlers in Taranaki. On May 1879 groups of Māori’s appeared on various settlers farms began ploughing them up. The intruders blandly explained to the irate settlers that "Te Whiti is not ploughing the land he is only ploughing the belly of the Government"[87]

These actions created a great deal of unease amongst the settlers in Taranaki. Some thought the ploughing meant reoccupation of land bought and not paid for, some believed it was to call attention to the wrongs of the past, others declared it was a religious outburst inspired by Samson’s excursions against the Philistines. Specials were enrolled, arms were issued and the farmers began drilling.

By June, the armed constabulary posts in the district had been heavily reinforced from other A.C. posts including men from the Wellington Depot. Immediately they began arresting the ploughman. "They went off to jail cheerfully, even gladly, as many as thirty-three in one day, and as fast as they went others took their place".[88]

Very soon the Taranaki gaols were full to overflowing. In order to remedy this situation it was decided that most of the Māori’s would be shipped south to Wellington and be detained in the Mount Cook Barracks.[89] Despite this, still more Māori’s arrived to take the places of those arrested. Māori’s of all ranks and from all over the Colony arrived to lend their support for Te Whiti and his followers. For example, Wiremu Kingi Matakatea who was a war chief ranking with Te Rauparaha as the greatest of this day, took up the plough. Also, another was Whakawhiria, son of Te Rangi-hina-kau, the man who killed Von Tempsky.

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[86] D. Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The Story of Parihaka* (Raupo, 1975).
[87] Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*, 55.
[88] Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*, 57.
[89] Some publication’s allude to the Māori’s being held in the Mount Cook Gaol on top of the hill. This action was impossible as that Gaol was not started till at least 1882 some 3 years after the Parihaka incident.

Whakawhiria was one of the Māori's who was transported to Mount Cook. It was whilst here that some of Whakawhiria's men 'mutinied'. Apparently, they turned up gaslights in defiance of orders and sang and performed hakas into the night.

Whakawhiria ever vigilant of Te Whiti's orders in regard to passive resistance had refused to participate in the action and fortunately avoided punishment by the authorities. Fifteen of the Māori's were placed on two day's bread and water and the most prominent, Te Iki and Tamata Kuku, were given seven days solitary confinement.[90]

By August 1879 over 200 prisoners had been taken and the Government began counting the costs of maintaining this arrest programme. It was becoming evident that the Colony was rapidly running out of prison space in the face of this passive resistance campaign. The Government decided, as it normally does, to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the Taranaki grievances. Apparently, the ploughing had succeeded in its aim. But the fate of the ploughman themselves was uncertain. The Government was anxious to discourage further actions by Te Whiti's followers in order that no trouble would occur in the future whilst the commission was sitting. Hence in August the Grey Ministry rushed through Parliament. The Prisoner's Trial Act.

According· to the new law the 'ploughman' were to be to be brought to trial within thirty days of the opening of the next session of parliament. But, when that session opened Government headed by John Hall repeated the postponement. Then in December 1879 the new Government provided that while the commissioners investigated 'West Coast' land grievances the ordinary course of the law should be suspended' and the trial of the ploughman was postponed for up to sixty days after yet another parliamentary session opened. Further to this, it was decided to ship many of the 'ploughman' away from Taranaki to prisons in the South Island. The Government now became guarded in its response to questions regarding the fate of the prisoners.

In Parliament the Honourable Mr Hone Taiaroa asked:

> What action the Government intends to take with regard to the natives at present confined in the Mount Cook Barracks: Whether they are to be tried, and if so, when?

[90] Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*, 58-59.

> The Hon. Colonel Whitmore: the Government intended they should be brought to trial according to law, for the offences for which they were now committed. The trial as at present fixed would take place in October.[91]

On the 4th November Mr Henare Tomoana the MP for Eastern Māori further inquired:

> What steps they intended to take respecting the Maori prisoners now in Mount Cook jail?
>
> Mr Rolleston (Minister of Lands) said "the Government had the question under consideration, but he was not qt that moment in a position to state what course they could take. [92]

By 4th June 1880 the Government tended to sweep such questions aside. Mr Gisborne, MP for Totara asked the Minister of Justice:

> What course the Government proposes to take with relation to the aboriginal natives committed for trial and now in prison .... He had no wish to cause the Government any embarrassment by putting the question. He might say he had been asked by a near relative of one of the prisoners to put this question.
>
> Mr Rolleston: At the present time it would not be convenient to make a statement.[93]

In July 1880 in order to quash further inquiries as to the legality of the detention of the Māori's, the Government passed the Māori Prisoners Bill which deemed:

> All the said natives committed for and waiting trial as aforesaid and all the other natives so detained in custody as aforesaid, for default of entering into sureties to keep the peace, shall be deemed and taken to have been lawfully arrested and to be in lawful custody and may be lawfully detained.[94]

In effect, this act provided for the indefinite detention of the 'ploughmen' without trial. In retaliation to this Te Whiti and his followers boycotted the Land Commission, turning it into a farce much to the Government's embarrassment. Despite this lack of consultation with the local Māori's, the Commission came out in favour of European settlement of the Waimate Plains and the Parihaka District.

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[91] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (August 6, 1879).
[92] Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*
[93] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (June 4, 1880).
[94] General Assembly of New Zealand, "Maori Prisoners Detention Bill 1880," (14 July 1880), http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_bill/mpdb18801071303/.

Thus, early in 1880 the Armed Constabulary crossed the Waingongoro River and began the construction of a road which would stretch around the western flank of Mount Egmont from Hawera to New Plymouth (see Map 4:2). As the road construction moved towards the Parihaka Block the conflict entered a new stage which became known as the battle of the fences'. On the 16th June 1880 Colonel Roberts, the constabulary commander, telegraphed the Government informing them of the new situation which had arisen, Apparently the road line ran through fields in which the Māori's had stored the previous year's crops and land that had been prepared for early sowing. The constables had torn down the surrounding fences and had run the road straight through the field. To the astonishment of the roadbuilders, the next day saw the fences re-erected right across the road. The constabulary pulled them down again only to find that the Māori's would put them back up. Thus started the arresting debacle again with each batch of Māori 'fencers' who would be arrested being eagerly replaced by other followers of Te Whiti.

By mid-August 1880 most of the able bodied men in Parihaka were in gaol. But even this did not weaken the Māori's resolve, for. the men were now replaced by the old and the very young who carried on the fence building.

The Government's reaction to this was the introduction of even harsher laws. By the West Coast Settlement Act a great array of new offences was created whereby any Māori could be arrested in Taranaki without warrant. "If he erected or dismantled a fence or building, if he cut, broke or removed survey pegs or if he 'digs up, ploughs, breaks or disturbs the surface of any land' etc, so that 'peace may be endangered' or the occupation of the land 'may be hindered', he could be jailed for two years with hard labour".[95]

Despite this threat, the fences still continued to be erected. To rub salt into this wound the Government was further. dismayed at the cost of maintaining the 'ploughmen' and 'fencers' in prison. By the end of 1879 it was costing them £5,600 ($11,200) per month and by 1880 estimates for maintaining a force of Armed Constabulary and the prisoners had passed the £1,000,000 ($2,000,000) mark. With such figures in mind, the Government was anxious to resolve this problem one way or another.

[95] Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*, 78.

Realising that just arresting the Māori's was not a in itself, the authorities decided to release the prisoners at the beginning of 1881. The Government now its resolve to rid itself of the problem of Te Whiti followers. On 19th October a proclamation was issued giving Te Whiti and his people fourteen days to accept dismemberment of their land or "it would pass away from them forever".[96] It was at this point that the call went out for recruits to aid the Government in carrying out the proclamation.

Sketch by Mr. G. Sherriff, at Parihaka, 5th November 1881 Te Whiti Surrendering to Mr. Bryce

This was the incident that led to 'D' Battery refusing to take part in the expedition unless it was allowed to go as an artillery unit.

[96] Scott, *Ask that Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*, 100.

The Armed Constabulary was expanded to over 700 strong to undertake this role. The number at Mount Cook was almost trebled to over 100 and most of these were sent off to Taranaki; Only the most essential staff were left behind to guard the facilities.

By 5th November 1881 a force of some 2,500 volunteers and Armed Constabulary had mustered on the plains at Rahotu a mere four kilometres from Parihaka. On that day, led by

John Bryce the Minister of Native Affairs, the force, fully expecting a battle on their hands marched into the village of Parihaka. Much to their surprise and consternation they were met by throngs of singing and playing children blocking their way. When Bryce finally reached the Marae itself all he found was the entire adult population of the village sitting in a group listening to the preaching of Te Whiti. Both Te Whiti and his deputy Tohu were arrested without a hand being raised. The expected showdown had turned into a non-event. with both of Parihaka's leaders in custody the Force had to devote its time to dispersing the Māori's at Parihaka by forcing them to go back to their respective places of origin.

Most of the force of Volunteers and Constables then returned to their various homes, with a sizeable garrison remaining to guard Parihaka itself. Te Whiti and Tohu (see paragraph 4:4) were themselves made subject to a special piece of legislation by the Government. By the West Coast Preservation Bill the 'two aboriginal natives named Te Whiti and Tohu' were not to be tried, they were to be gaoled Indefinitely, and if released they could be re-arrested without charge at any time, and any person who attempted to defeat the operation of this law by seeking their freedom was liable to a £500 ($1000) fine.

Te Whiti and Tohu were shipped to their exile in the South Island. Here, they were taken out of convict garb, and were treated as social oddities for people to entertain stare at with awe. A plain clothes warder was assigned to them to escort them around the sights of the South Island. Were they were to remain until March 1883 when the order for release arrived.

Their release did not mark the end of the Parihaka affair. The Government soon found out that absence does make the heart grow fonder. Instead of Te Whiti diminishing in respect by his people, his 'mana' had in fact grown to a greater degree. In July 1886 trouble again erupted in Taranaki, and the men from the Mount Cook Depot were once re called into

action. Colonel Whitmore gave a full account of this episode in a despatch to the Minister of Defence. It read:

> Wellington, 24th July, 1886.
>
> Sir,
>
> I have the honour to lay before you a report on the occurrences of the past week in the district of the west coast of this Island of which Opunake is the centre.
>
> On Saturday last, in consequence of a report from Mr Inspector Pardy that Te Whiti was, he had reason to believe, inciting the Natives to build and plough on European land, I directed that officer, by your instructions, to proceed to Parihaka and to warn Te Whiti that his action was known, and that, if the Natives trespassed on European land against the law, he would be arrested and treated as an accessory.
>
> On the following day the Natives, under Tītokowaru, forcibly entered a paddock near Manaia belonging to Mr Hastie, and, in spite of being ordered off by the police, proceeded to build. Two were then arrested but were forcibly rescued by a crowd of Natives. The police endeavoured to keep back the Māori's, but they broke into the paddock through the fence, and ultimately broke open the gate.
>
> Europeans began to collect as well as Natives, and towards the afternoon some three hundred of the former and four hundred of the latter were on the ground. Carts had been brought in, and the cattle and horses were turned loose in the paddock. These were collected by Mr Hastie, jun., who unable to get them out of the gate, broke down the back fence of the paddock, and drove the cattle and horses through the opening to the Manaia pound. Meanwhile, the Natives had got wood and other materials on the ground, as well as food. A large whare was marked out, the ground dug up, and the building begun. Fires were· lighted, and the women began to prepare the food. At this time, Sergeant Anderson and the police being unable to control the Natives, and the Europeans becoming impatient and excited, blows began to be struck, and a serious collision became imminent. Mr James Livingston, J.P., however, used all his influence, which is considerable, with the settlers to use moderation and to proceed lawfully; some forty special constables were then sworn in by Mr Livingston and Messrs York and Budge, Justices of the Peace, and, thus reinforced, Sergeant Anderson and the police arrested Titokowaru and eight others, not without some resistance, and, taking them out of the field, lodged them that evening in custody at the Opunake Redoubt.
>
> Mr Pardy reported these circumstances without delay, and received positive orders to arrest Te Whiti's orders, had ploughed European land at Oakura. Mr Pardy rode all night to Oakura, but, on arriving Te Whetu informed him that, on reconsideration, he had sent a messenger to Te Whiti refusing to plough as directed. Mr Pardy then proceeded to Pungarehu, which is close to Parihaka, reaching that place in the evening. On arrival he received your positive instructions to lose no time in arresting Te Whiti, and therefore sent a

requisition to Lieut.-Colonel Roberts for every man he could spare from guarding the prisoners to assist him. Lieut.-Colonel Roberts at once hired a coach and sent up every available man, being by this time informed that he would be reinforced from Wellington in the morning. Mr Pardy, finding himself, before daylight, with twenty-two Armed Constabulary and six police, determined to arrest Te Whiti directly after day broke. He proceeded with his men and a buggy to Parihaka unperceived, and, having caused a Native who was running to give the alarm to be seized by Constable Scully, Armed Constabulary, who succeeded in silencing him after a struggle, and having stopped Te Whiti 1 s wife, to ask for information, decided on surrounding the whare called the "secret" whare. This he effected quickly, and thereupon ordered his six policemen to enter and, if there, -to seize Te Whiti. It proved that he was there, with some fifty others whom he was haranguing, and the constables at once took him up and carried him off, placing him in the buggy. The Armed Constabulary men (twenty-two) thereupon formed between the whare and the buggy, preventing a rescue, and Mr Pardy drove Te Whiti at once to Pungarehu. The Armed Constabulary men were then sent to Opunake, arriving at 8 a.m., Mr Pardy driving Te Whiti down later, and arriving at noon. Meanwhile, at 8 pm on the 19th, you had directed me to leave Wellington· with twenty-five Armed Constabulary men to reinforce Opunake, if necessary, or to guard Te Whiti, if committed to Wellington for trial. We reached Opunake early, and Lieut-Colonel Roberts, whose men had been under arms all night, relieved them with the new detachment. Mr Pardy, whose continuous exertions for forty-eight hours had quite wearied him out, summoned his witnesses by telegraph, and Lieut-Colonel Roberts fixed the hearing of the cases for next day.

Although some hundreds of Natives assembled at the newly-made village at Opunake, no attempt at a rescue was made, but, on the contrary, such as I saw assured me, voluntarily, that there would be·no more ploughing.

Next day, at 2 pm the witnesses having arrived, the nine prisoners first arrested were charged with malicious injury to property on Hastie’s land. The case was clearly proved, and, although warned not to commit themselves, the Native prisoners voluntarily made statements admitting their guilt, and saying that their "master", Te Whiti, ordered them to do it., Te Whiti was not charged with this offence, though similar information’s were sworn against each, because it was supposed if he was not present the prisoners would be more outspoken. On the following day, however, Te Whiti was charged, with the rest, for forcible entry. There was some difficulty attending the proof in his case, as the Native witness on whom we relied was evidently afraid to speak; but enough was elicited from the witnesses to make a perfect prima facie case, and Te Whiti, on his own statement, practically pleaded guilty. It was evident throughout that he, and the others at his instance, wished it should be understood that their action was meant to be a protest against the confiscation of 1865, and all seemed to attach great importance to the fact that they had not wished to personally molest the Europeans.

On the 23rd, in the afternoon, the "Hinemoa" arrived, and all the prisoners were shipped, Lieut-Colonel Roberts, R.M., having committed them for trial to

> Wellington. On board Te Whiti wished to remain on the poop-deck, and use the cabin, but I directed him to be sent forward, to remain with the rest. The "Hinemoa" arrived at 8 a.m., when I sent the prisoners, under guard, to the Terrace Gaol.[97]

Te Whiti and his followers were tried in the Wellington Supreme Court on October 6 1886.

The Judge when passing sentence upon Te Whiti stated:

> You have pleaded Guilty to the offence of being accessory to the forcible entry committed by the other prisoners. I feel a great difficulty in allotting what may seem a proper sentence for the offence of which you have pleaded Guilty. I am quite sure if you consider the matter as I have no doubt you have often done, it must occur to you that such acts are little short of levying war against the Crown; and most certainly it must occur to you that such acts are certain to meet with resistance from the European settlers, and it would be impossible for you or any person to say how soon great bloodshed might ensue. On this particular occasion, owing to the good temper of both the natives and white people, fortunately there was but little actual disturbance. I have nothing to do with any supposed wrong you have against the Crown; all I have to do is to take into account the facts upon which this prosecution are based. I am, however, at liberty to take into consideration the fact that you have pleaded Guilty to the charge laid against you, and I entertain a hope that this is an indication that there will be no acts of a similar kind instigated by you. I propose therefore, only to pass what must be considered a very lenient sentence, but I feel bound at the same time to say that if another charge of a similar kind is made, the Court that has to adjudicate upon the matter will no doubt pass a very much severer sentence. The sentence of the Court upon the charges on which you have pleaded guilty is that you be kept in the public prison - the Terrace Goal for three calendar months, and that you pay a fine of £100. [98] Titokowaru, I do not propose to make any further observations to you beyond those I have made to Te Whiti, except as to the punishment. You have pleaded Guilty, not only to forcible entry, but also to the offence of riot. I have considered it proper to make a difference in the sentence passed upon Te Whiti to that which I shall pass upon you and the others. The sentence of the Court upon you, Titokowaru, in that you be kept in the public prison for one calendar month, and that you pay a fine of £20. Ngahina, I say the same to you, that you be kept in the public prison of Wellington for one month, and that you pay a fine of £20 on each count of the indictment upon which you have pleaded Guilty. His Honour repeated the sentence in all the other cases.[99]

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[97] "Despatches from the Governor of New Zealand to the Secretary of State," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1887 Session I, A-01* (1887), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1887-I.2.1.2.1.

[98] Again, some sources quote Te Whiti and his associates as being held in the Mount Cook Gaol. After consulting the AJHR's and the Police Gazette, these sources give his place of imprisonment as The Terrace Goal, as was laid out in his sentence.

[99] "The Maori Rioters in Court," *Evening Post, Volume XXXII, Issue 121* (Wellington), 30 March 1886, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18861006.2.37.

This then marked the end of the Parihaka problem, for when Te Whiti was released on 3rd January 1887, the possibility of his threatening the internal security of the Colony had significantly diminished. The attention of the New Zealand public had been shifted from this issue as well. Attention was now being focused upon possible external threats to the Colony and Empire as a whole. The Parihaka affair was to be the Armed Constabulary's finale. A cry went out for the Defence Forces of the Colony to be re-organised to meet this changed situation. In 1886 this was carried out. That year marked the end of the Armed Constabulary as such. Two Acts of Parliament, the Police Force Act, and the Defence Act completed the A.C's transition into a civil police force. Under these Acts, the remaining military members of the Armed Constabulary were transferred to what was termed "the Permanent Militia" and the remainder were classified as New Zealand's civil police. Both these new forces were to continue their presence at Mount Cook in one form or another thus maintaining the military's presence there.

CHAPTER 5: PRISONERS, PUPILS AND POLICE

Although it had initially been designated a. military reserve, Mount Cook, after the departure of the Imperial Troops came to be utilised by the Colonial Government for a multitude of purposes. Gradually the military presence on the reserve was pushed northwards. Until it was left with only the northwest corner of both sides of Buckle Street. The late 1870's was to mark the beginning of this invasion of the military reserve. Being placed at the disposal of the Colonial Government meant that Mount Cook could be requisitioned by other Government Departments. From this time on, three departments were to find themselves closely linked to the Mount Cook Reserve. These were the Prison, Education and Police Departments. Each in their own way was to develop a special relationship with their military neighbours and each would leave its own distinctive mark upon the site.

There had always been a prison located on Mount Cook 1845, but, it was small and was situated on the southernmost part of the reserve. It was to be in the late 1870's and early 1880's that the Prison Department was to make a tremendous impression upon the reserve. More specifically, it was to be the career of one man who would leave this mark. He was Arthur Hume.

Hume, in 1880, had been appointed the first ever Inspector-General of Prisons by the New Zealand Government in an effort to try and centralise the disjointed penal system which had developed under the various Provinces tutelage. The role which Hume was supposed to fulfil within this new position was clearly outlined in the terms of reference which the Government had issued for all the prospective applicants.

The Inspector-General was to have:

> A thorough practical acquaintance with the methods adopted in prisons and penal establishments, and also in reformatories of Great Britain, in respect of discipline, appliances and buildings.
>
> They should have a complete and personal knowledge of the plans of building suitable for those purpose …..Any gentleman who obtains the appointment must therefore be prepared not to limit himself to what he may understand to be the ordinary duties of an Inspector of Prisons, as he will be required, and must be competent, to advise and in every other way aid the authorities in the colony in placing the whole prison system there (N.Z.) on a complete and properly organised footing.

> Under such circumstances it is obvious that the officer to be appointed should be a man of such education and ability, as well as practical experience, as would give weight and authority to his recommendations.[100]

Hume seemed to be the man best able to fulfil these needs with him having had prison experience as the Deputy-Governor of Her Majesty's Convict Prisons of Millbank, Portland, Dartmoor and Wormwood Scrubs. Upon his arrival in New Zealand, he immediately began the task of reforming the colony's penal system. Central to his policy of penal reform was his idea of prisoner classification.

Hume was a firm believer in the need to 'classify' and separate prisoners. He believed that all association of prisoners was dangerous! and undesirable and that the pull was always downwards; the bad prisoner corrupted the good and only on the rarest of occasions did the good elevate the bad.[101]

To check this downward influence of imprisonment, Hume believed thot there were two essentials which the administrator must have. First of all he must have prison officers who are mature and intelligent, who are of undoubted integrity and who possess qualifies of leadership. Their influence for good must be stronger than the prison's power for evil, they must gain a moral supremacy over the bad prisoners and must eclipse their influence.

Secondly, the administrator must have sufficient buildings to be able to separate the hopeful and malleable prisoners from those who have abandoned all pretence of seeking to live a law-abiding life. These "habitual criminals' were regarded as infectious; they spread contagion among the comparatively healthy body of the accidental or novice offenders.

Using this as his ideological base, Hume set about his penal reform with New Zealand. His first consideration was the raising of the standard of the prison officers. Prison officers were a dispirited service which had for years been subject to benign neglect. They had received neither credit nor reward for their distasteful service. Few men of quality would willingly join the service. Upon reviewing them after his arrival, Hume considered most of them to be 'old, slovenly and infirm'. He was determined to get men of better quality for this service. One of his first achievements was to introduce a new salary scale which while it added little to the total reward, incorporated the principle of increments and pay for long service. He

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[100] P.K. Mayhew, *The Penal System of New Zealand, 1840-1924* (Department of Justice, 1959), 39.
[101] Mayhew, *The Penal System of New Zealand, 1840-1924*, 53.

created more intermediate ranks so that there were more opportunities for promotion. He managed to obtain approval for each officer to get a period of annual leave. He introduced new and better uniforms and discarded the contemptuous title of ‘turnkey". At the same time, he tightened up on the discipline of the officers and insisted on higher standards. On top of this, he deliberately started recruiting his ‘new’ officers from the colony’s permanent militia since these men had already been trained in obedience and discipline.[102] It was through these methods that Hume was able to greatly improve the standard and calibre of his prison officers thus providing him with his first essential for his reformed penal system.

To provide for the second essential, Hums intended to separate entirely the penal servitude and long-sentence hard labour prisoners from the remaining prisoners. This was in his view, central to any classification system, and was based upon the argument that "the longer the sentence the more depraved and contagious was the prisoner’[103]

To achieve his purpose Hume needed distinct institutions, and he therefore divided the existing prisons into two, first class prisons and second class prisons. The first class ones were Auckland, Wellington, Lyttelton and Dunedin, and the second class ones were New Plymouth, Napier, Wanganui, Nelson, Addington, Timaru, Hokitika, Invercargill and Westport. He proposed that no penal servitude prisoner or hard labour prisoner serving a sentence of more than one year should be detained in a second class prison. The first class prisons in these circumstances would contain a fairly homogenous group of prisoners, and there was no particular need for any further classification.[104]

Unfortunately, Hume's scheme struck a major snag; many of the prisons were suffering from extreme over-crowding and would thus be unable to fulfil Hume's plans for the separation of the various classifications of prisoners. For example, the Terrace Gaol, which was Wellington's main prison, suffered from extremely poor conditions. · Even by 1896, Mr Thompson, the Minister of Justice, told the House that there were as many as seven men in a cell 12 feet by 9 feet.[105]

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[102] Mayhew, *The Penal System of New Zealand, 1840-1924*, 63.
[103] Mayhew, *The Penal System of New Zealand, 1840-1924*, 57.
[104] Mayhew, *The Penal System of New Zealand, 1840-1924*.
[105] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (1896), 464.

To overcome this problem and to permit the introduction of his classification scheme, Hume advocated the construction of a central prison capable of accommodating long-sentence prisoners in separate cells. In May 1881 he wrote to the Minister of Justice and recommended that it be built at Mo unt Cook, Wellington; prisoners could be housed in the temporary prison already on the site from whence they could undertake its construction. Hums estimated the cost at £5,000 (310,000).[106] Once approval was given prisoners were transferred to 'Wellington during 1882 to begin construction.[107]

On the 7th February of that year, the Immigration Department was informed of the Prison Department's need of the site which their immigration depot presently occupied. They were asked to vacate it by the 15th of that month so that construction could commence. Unfortunately, they were unable to comply with this request. A memoranda sent to Captain Hume on the 13th of February stated:

> Capt Hume,
>
> As a number of immigrants will shortly be leaving England for this Port it is absolutely necessary that there should be some Depot Accommodation for them on arrival. I have applied to Col Reader who informs me that he has no buildings available in the Lower (Mount Cook) Barracks.
>
> Under these circumstances cannot you allow the Immigration Depot to continue to occupy the lower position of Upper Mount Cook Barracks as at present until the Immigrants for this season have been disposed of.
>
> In furtherance of my request I may inform you that immigrants for all the Minor Central Ports of the Colony arrive at Wellington and it is absolutely necessary to provide them with accommodation until they can be transhipped to their several destinations.[108]

Thus construction had to be postponed until the following year. This was to mark the beginning of many obstacles which would impede progress on the project.

The project itself was to be no mean task. As plans for the prison show (See Diagrams 5:1 and 5:2), it was an elaborate structure designed by the Acting Architect Pierre Burrows. The building was to comprise of six wings each of three stories and a basement. These wings

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[106] T.Y Wilson, "The Penal System of NZ, The Administration of Lt Co A, Hume. " (Master of Arts Victoria University, 1970), 101.
[107] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (1882), 11 & 101.
[108] "IM 1," *Archives New Zealand No 28/38* (13 February 1882).

were to radiate out like spokes in a wheel from a central point topped with a dome designed after the style of Paul's Cathedral which would be over 150 feet high. As the plan shows, this elaborate design, even with labour, would cost £82,000 ($164,000), considerably more than the £5,000 which Hume had estimated it would cost.

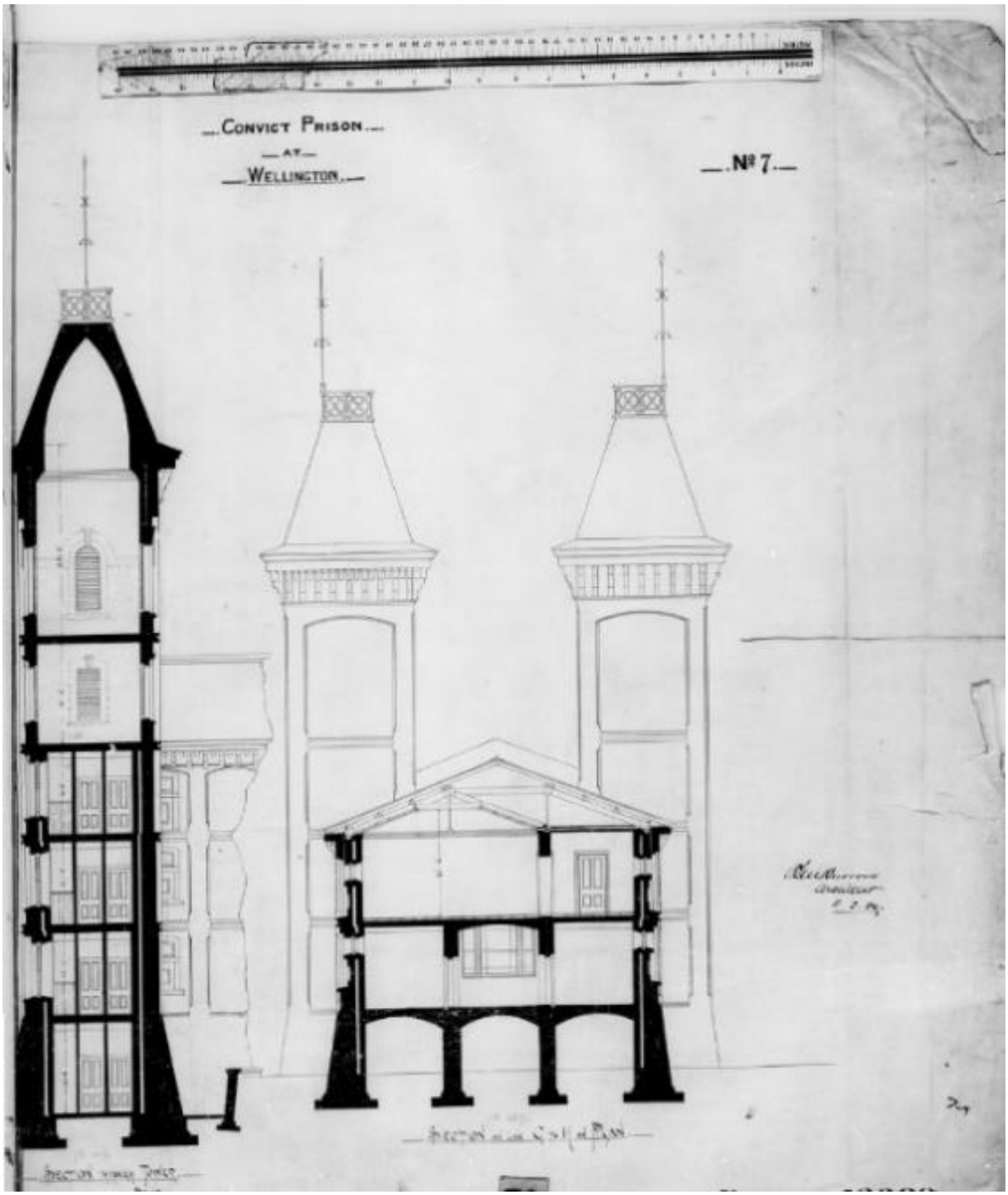


Diagram 5.1:

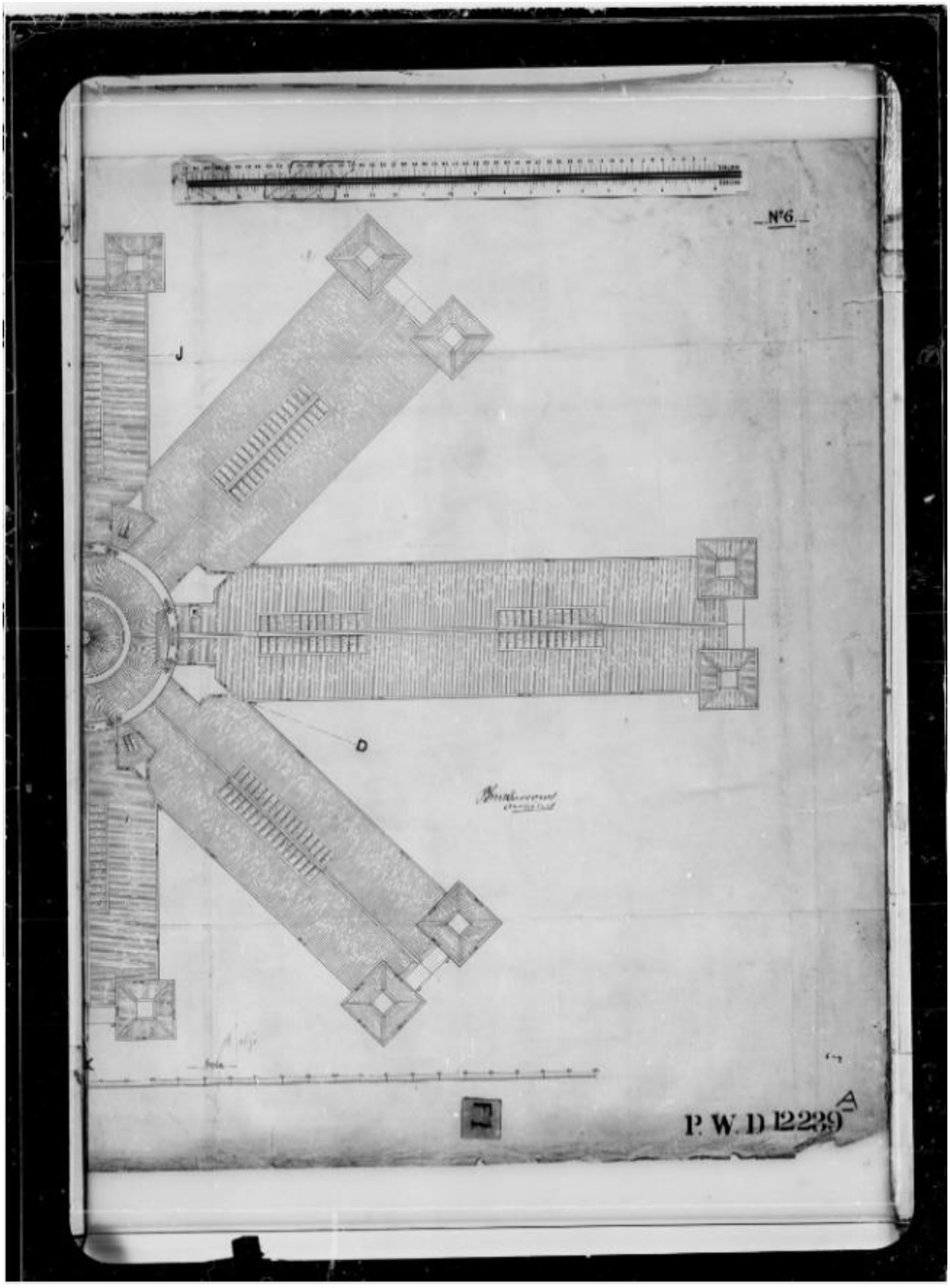


Diagram 5.2

In 1883, the prisoners were able to move onto the recently vacated site on top of Mount Cook and commence the demolition of the old barracks (see Map 2:5) which had originally been constructed to accommodate the Imperial Troops. Considerable difficulty was experienced in razing the barracks, the tough hardwood timbers offering stout resistance to the wreckers. Mount Cook itself, was lowered by an additional thirty feet in the course of site preparation. On top of this, the prisoners in the small Mount Cook gaol just south of the

site, were set to work in the prison brickworks there, making the thousands of bricks necessary for the prison's construction.

All this preparatory work was extremely time consuming thus making progress incredibly slow. This lack of progress gave those who opposed the prison time to mobilise. In 1886 a deputation of wellington residents consisting of the Mayor, members of the City Council, the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and representatives of 'every other public body in the City, waited on the Premier Mr Stout asking that the prison be removed.[109] They demanded that he "arrest the erection of that frowsy prison fortress which stands at this day upon the noblest site in this "City".

> At a later stage, on the 4th February 1886, the Mayor, Mr Brown, telegraphed to Mr Stout at Dunedin stating that the Mount Cook Prison works were still being carried on in spite of his promise that they should be stopped. All their hopes in the matter had been blighted, and, as he had said, an unsightly and objectionable building stood in a place where the people of Wellington thought they ought to have had erected instead a university building, as a means of providing a higher class of education for the poorer classes of the youth of this part of the colony. He had had no communication whatever with the Government upon this question, nor had he any idea what were their views upon it. He therefore, for the information of the people of this city, and in the interests of the education of the poorer classes of the youth of this city, had the honour to ask the Government what their views wore upon the question.[110]

In 1897, Mr Seddon himself, admitted in Parliament that a great error of judgement was committed when 'that noble site' was taken for purposes to which it had been applied and that it was now a monument to the blundering of someone.

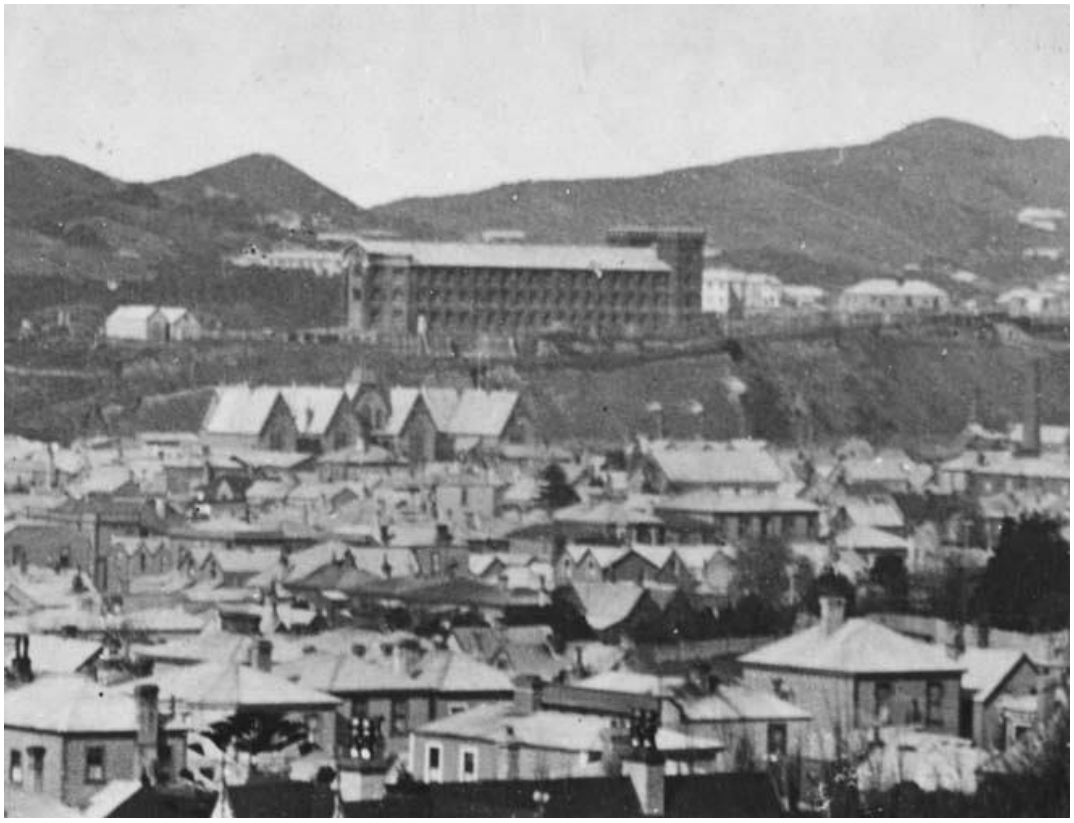
Finally, all this pressure paid off, and much to Hume's indignation this marked a defeat for the implementation of his reform scheme for the Colony's penal system. In his Prison Report for 1900 his embitterment is evident when he reported that:

> As regards new prisons, as was stated last year, Wellington is the locality that requires most attention. It was pointed out many years ago that the Terrace Prison was out of date, and though it has been considerably improved as far as sanitary arrangements go, it can never be converted into an up-to-date prison, but rather should be entirely pulled down and rebuilt on some definite plan according to present day notions, if it is -decided to retain a prison on that site.

[109] Wilson, "The Penal System of NZ, The Administration of Lt Co A, Hume. ," 101.
[110] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (1897), 48.

> There can be no proper classification of prisoners in those buildings as they now stand and as a prison must be located in Wellington, it seems high time ·some final decision was come to on this important question. No fault can be found with the department in this matter, as a new prison was built and actually occupied at Mount Cook, on a site that had been ·told off for a gaol reserve over fifty years ago, and this would have provided ample accommodation for proper separation and classification of prisoners in accordance with present day requirements; but owing to local agitation and other causes this prison, though suitable for a prison and only a prison, is lying idle, while the department is allowed to suffer for want of suitable accommodation for prisoners in this city.[111]

Although the opposition to Hume's prison had succeeded in halting its construction, they were left with something worse. What they now had was a lone wing completed and the basements of two others near completed. This wing presented a bleak outlook over the city as Photo 5:1 illustrates, for it was to have been the rear wing of the prison and if the entire project had been completed would have been out of sight behind the dome and the Prison's grand facade.



Photograph 5.1: Mt Cook Prison, 1896. Alexander Turnbull Library, F. J. Denton Collection Reference: 1/2-019606-F

[111] Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*

A reporter who visited the place described it in the following terms:

> At one end of a long corridor is the prison kitchen with lavatories attached. At the other end are the punishment cells where refractory prisoners will have ample time to think over matters in solitude. On either side of this corridor are rooms for warders, storerooms and pantries. After leaving the basement floor we enter the prison proper - a long hall three storeys high, of solid brick with treble-barred windows and instead of three floors, balconies running round at the level of each flat so that a warder standing on any one of the floors can have a complete view of the other two. Here too are endless cells running round each floor, each pair fitted with a gas jet so fixed that it sheds its light in both cells at once. Each pair of cells also has a food shaft communicating with both cells. Continuing our journey we next visit the women's quarter - a dark, dungeon-like place where no gentleman would dream of stabling his horse. Their quarter is anything but satisfactory and is certainly calculated to breed consumption in the strongest woman.[112]

Now there was the problem with what to do with this uncompleted prison which nobody except Hume wanted. One suggestion was that it could be converted into a University as Diagram 5:3 illustrates. Mr Seddon summed up opinion as regarded this idea when he stated that:

> He should be very sorry indeed to make that building the University buildings for the district. It would be a standing jar to every youth of the colony to say that they got their teaching in the now gaol-building of Wellington.[113]

Another was that it could be converted into a Dominion Museum. The reaction to this proposal. was much the same:

> The suggestion that the grim frowning building on Mount Cook can be converted into a Dominion museum that shall invite the public has been received in many quarters with smiles. Some persons who are acquainted with the interior of the building, and with the massive construction of its many cells, have expressed surprise that the idea should be for one moment entertained of opening these up to form the roomy halls that are essential to a museum. The cost and labour that would be involved in such a work would be, they say, enormous. The present barracks contain a few large rooms already, but the building consists mainly of the cells before-mentioned, which have dividing walls of solid brick. Externally and internally no structure more unlike a museum could well be imagined than the Mount Cook barracks.[114]

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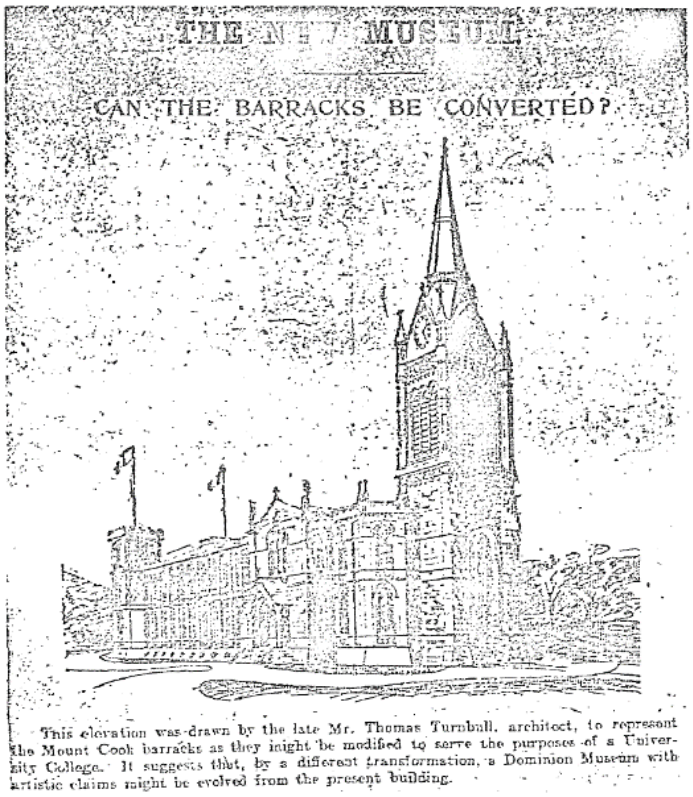
[113] "Departmernt of Justice, Prisions Branch (Report on) For the year ending 32 December 1899," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1887 Session I, H-20* (1900): 3, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1900-I.2.3.2.47

[114] Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* 48.


THE NEW MUSEUM.

CAN THE BARRACKS BE CONVERTED?

This elevation was drawn by the late Mr. Thomas Turnbull, architect, to represent the Mount Cook barracks as they might be modified to serve the purposes of a University College. It suggests that, by a different transformation, a Dominion Museum with artistic claims might be evolved from the present building.

It was to be the Army who would finally provide a solution to this dilemma, for in 1901 it was they who took over the uncompleted Prison as their neu headquarters and barracks. Even this saving by the Army was condemned in certain quarters. Mr Hogg the MP for Masterton asked Mr Seddon in the House:

> Whether operations have been commenced by the prisoners at Mount Cook with a view to the conversion of the building into barracks; and, if so, how far the work has progressed? He need not explain this question. It was put simply owing to a rumour in Wellington that the building on the Mount Cook Reserve, intended originally for a gaol, was being converted into barracks. He might say there was a very strong opinion in the City of Wellington, and also in the country districts, that this conversion should not take place. He would like to know whether any steps in that direction were contemplated by the Government[115].

In reply to this, the Minister of Public Works, Mr Hall-Jones, said:

> The first question was, whether operations had been commenced by the prisoners at Mount Cook with a view to the conversion of the buildings into barracks? To that he could say, No, not for their conversion into barracks, but circumstances had arisen which had brought about the necessity for using the place temporarily as a defence depot. Honourable members some few weeks ago had had an opportunity of inspecting some of the buildings used by the Permanent Force in Buckle Street, and he believed honourable members who saw those buildings were unanimous in saying that they were unfit for

[115] Andrews, *End of an Era, An Informal history of the military in the Mt Cook area of Wellington 1846-1979*, 7-9.

> occupation by the men. Now, they had had within the past few months scares connected with the plague which had caused some trouble in Australia, and he wanted to see, not only in Wellington, but in every part of the colony, steps taken to meet what might be a possible trouble during the coming summer. He did not intend to have the men living in the buildings in Buckle Street during the next summer, because to do that might be.to risk the lives of the men. They had now at Mount Cook a building which, at a cost of a few hundred pounds, could be temporarily fitted up for their accommodation, and that work was now in progress. Again, there had arrived in the colony within the last feu months a valuable field battery and stores, the cost of which altogether was something like £16,000. When it arrived it was necessary to store it in some sheltered place, and they made provision for storing this battery in part of that building. That was all that had been done so far. The building was to be used so as to meet emergencies? which, If met otherwise, would mean an expenditure of £20,000 in eructing new buildings, and which could not be got ready for the accommodation of the men before next summer.[116]

So now, the members of the Permanent Militia were the new occupants of Hume's Prison. The accommodation here was a vast improvement on the dilapidated buildings which they had occupied in the Lower Mount Cook Barracks.

Despite this setback for Hume, the Prison Department maintained its presence on Mount Cook by still occupying the small prison complex where those serving hard labour sentences made bricks out of Mount Cook's clay. Here, they were to stay until 1920 when the brickworks was finally closed down.

The Convict Bricks were renowned for their quality, and many were used in the construction of some of Wellingtons most prominent buildings. Convict bricks built the General Assembly Library and the Harbour Masters Office. These bricks can be identified by the Convict Arrow, which was always stamped onto them, but, in the construction of buildings such as the General Assembly Library, it was ensured that these arrows did not show up.[117] Due to the lack of accommodation at Mount Cook itself, many of the prisoners were marched each day from the Terrace Gaol to the brickworks labour there. Very little was known of the experiences the convicts themselves who worked in this prison, but, some recollections provided by some Conscientious Objectors from the First World War, who were sentenced to labour there, (See Chapter 8).

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[116]."Dominion Museum Boxfile on the History of the Dominion Museum."
[117] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (1900), 148.

Hume himself, maintained a close contact with the new occupants of his prison for later in his career he became the Under-Secretary of Defence from 1891 to 1894. Also, he was a member of the Volunteers, in which he attained the rank of Lt-Colonel.

The Education Department was the next Government organisation which would leave its mark upon Mount Cook. In 1875 the Mount Cook Girls School opened in Buckle Street, thus beginning the Education Department's association with the site which still lasts to this day. Although designated a 'Girls' school, it was forced to accommodate both the boys and infants due to their schools only being in the planning stages.

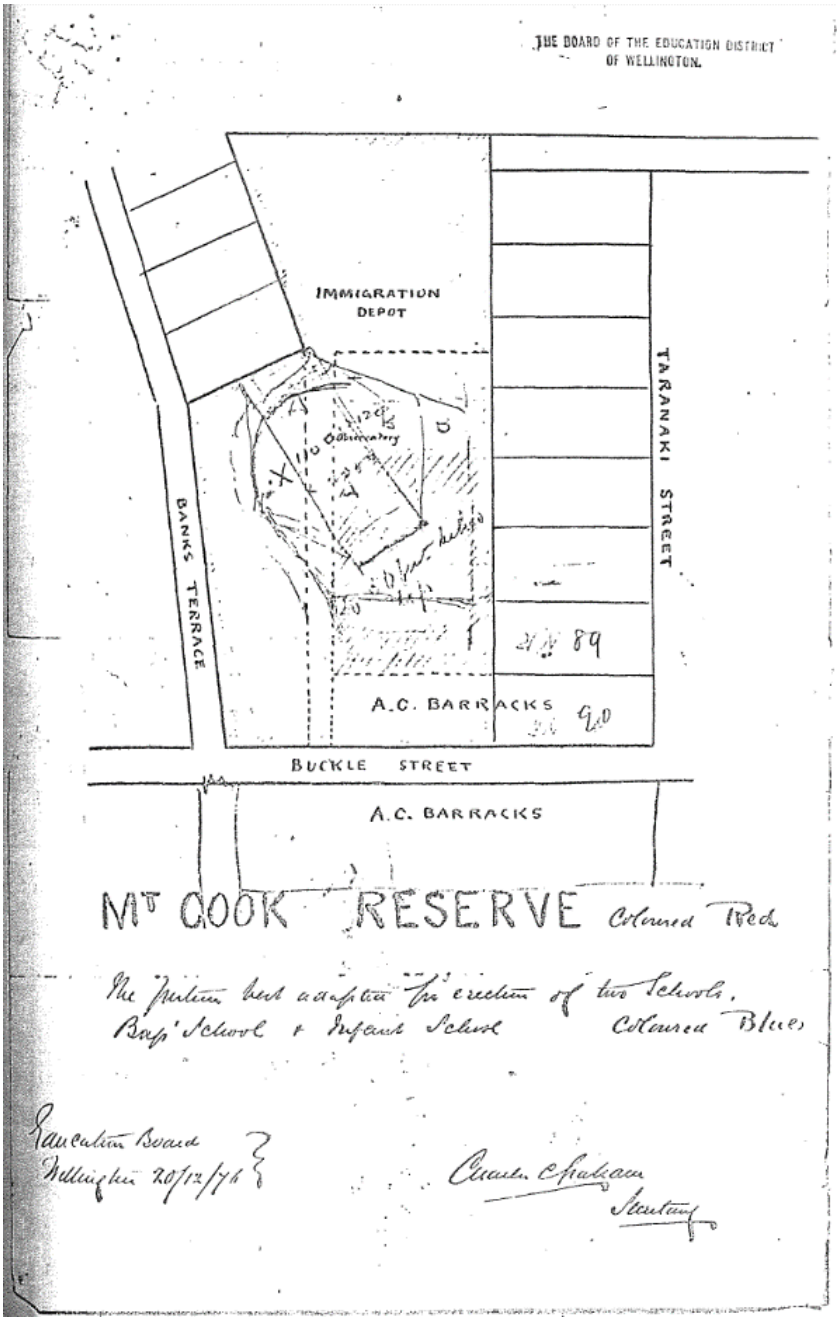
This unhappy state of affairs was to exist until 1878 when finally, the boys were able to move out into their own school.

The main reason why everyone was crammed into the Girls School was that there was very little in the way of Educational Reserves for the Provincial Authorities to utilise. This dearth of land was so bad that the education authorities approached the Government to ask whether it could gain access to the Armed Constabulary Reserve at Mount Cook. In a memoranda dated 2nd August 1876 Mr C.J. Pharazyn wrote to the Minister of Native Affairs and Defence requesting:

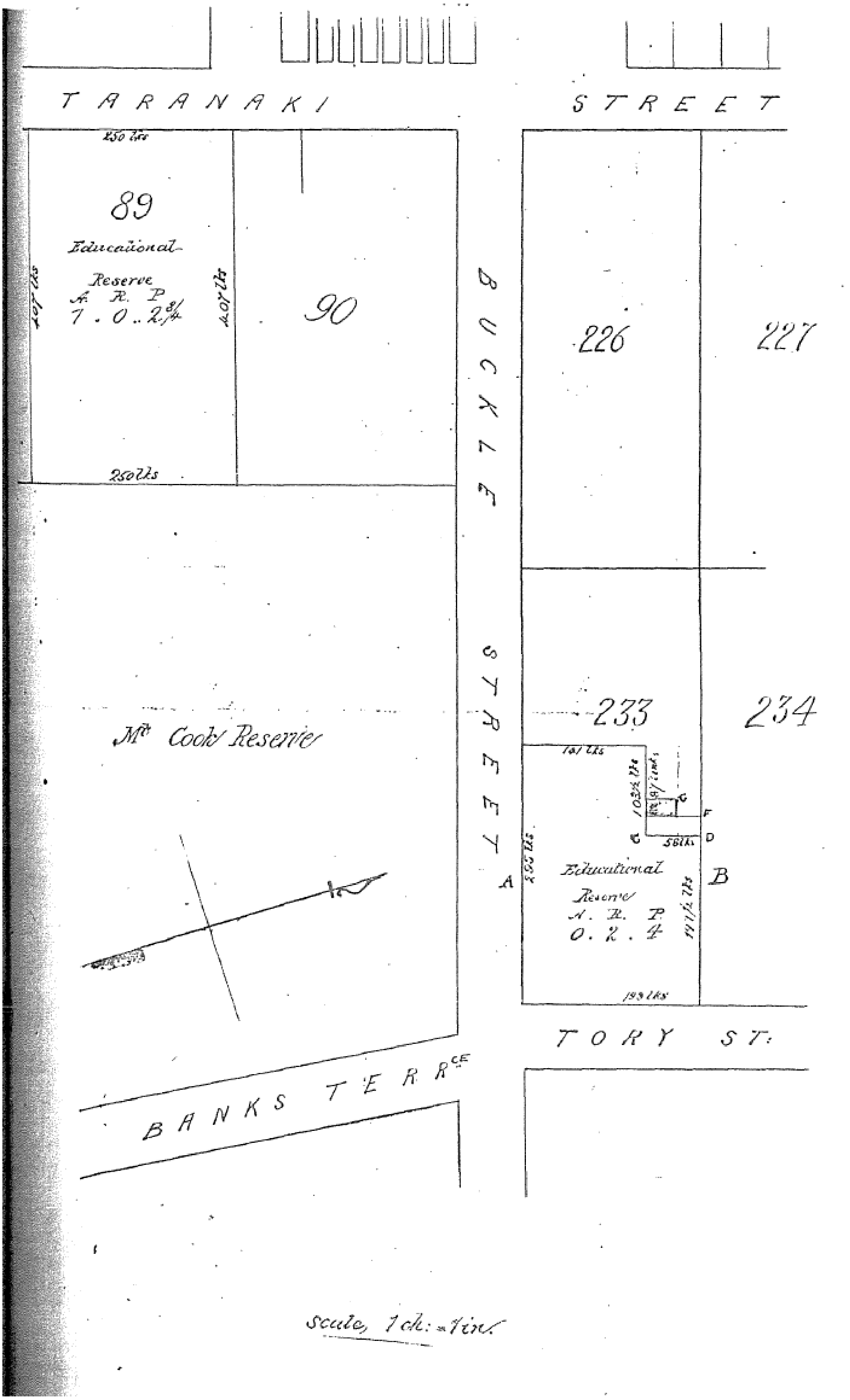
> Sir,
>
> I have the honour on behalf and at the request of the Education Board of the Province of Wellington to bring under your notice the necessity of providing increased school accommodation for the City of Wellington, the prime obstacle being the difficulty of obtaining suitable sites, at all events at a price at all within the very limited means at the disposal of the Board.
>
> Under those circumstances, the Baaed ventures to hope that the General Government will be willing to grant a portion of the Armed Constabulary Barrack Reserve at Mount Cook, that being represented to the Board as a highly eligible site for a Public School.[118]

As maps 5: 1 and 5:2 illustrate the Educatiof1 Board was initially after more than just a portion of Mount Cook.

[118] Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*


THE BOARD OF THE EDUCATION DISTRICT
OF WELLINGTON.
IMMIGRATION
DEPOT
TARANAKI STREET
BANKS TERRACE
Observatory
A.C. BARRACKS
BUCKLE STREET
A.C. BARRACKS
Mt COOK RESERVE Coloured Red
The portion best adapted for erection of two Schools.
Boys' School & Infants School Coloured Blue
Education Board
Wellington 20/12/76
Charles C Graham
Secretary

Map 5.1


TARANAKI STREET
250 lks
89
Educational
Reserve
A. R. P
1 . 0 .. 2¾
407 lks
407 lks
90
250 lks
BUCKLE STREET
226
227
233
234
Mt Cook Reserve
101 lks
56 lks
A
B
Educational
Reserve
A. R. P
0 . 2 . 4
193 lks
TORY ST.
BANKS TERRACE
scale, 1 ch: = 1 in.

Map 5.2:

Apart from the small parcel in Section 233, (Map 5:2) they made a bid for the front half of the Upper Mount Cook Barracks. Unfortunately, their attempt at gaining this parcel of prime real estate was thwarted by the Prisons Department, whom as we have seen, had plans of their own for that part of Mount Cook. In the end, the Education Board had to make do with the extension of Section 233 and the Governments allocation to them of Lot 89 which had been one of the New Zealand Company's ill-fated Native Reserves. It was to be on these two sites that the remainder of Mount Cook's educational institutions would be erected. The Boys School was located in Lot 89 in Taranaki Street, whilst the infants were given the eastern end of section 233. (See Photograph 5:2).

Although all three schools wore in close proximity to the Armed Constabulary and later the Permanent Militia Bur racks, it was to be the Boy's School which would have the most contact with the men in the barracks. This was because as the Colony's defence forces developed over the latter years of the Nineteenth Century, the defence programme expanded to training in the schools under what was known as the 'School Cadets'. The advent of this programme of military training placed Mount Cook Boyes School in a unique position with it being the Colony's Defence Headquarters next door neighbour. This closeness to the Mount Cook Barracks would tie in the school's history very closely to that of the Barracks itself. At times this would involve an unwilling participation in the events surrounding the history of the barracks.

Photograph 5.2: Mount Cook Boys' School. No Known Copyright Restrictions

Fortunately, much of the records relating to the history of the Boy's School remain intact, whilst those for the Girls and Infant's Schools are very scant indeed. The type of education which was received in these institutions was typically English, in that the curriculum was orientated around English History and Geography and of course the three ‘R’s'. The standard of teaching which one could receive in such an institution could be absolutely minimal because there were no regulations governing the training of the teachers. The majority of teachers learned on the job. A youngster could become a pupil teacher at fourteen. It was usually left to the headmaster and his senior staff to determine the standard of teaching within their school.

In their efforts to develop a good school, the headteachers ran into many problems. Mount Cook Boy's School was no exception. Here, the headmaster had to contend with a drinking and smoking problem amongst the younger members of his staff.

> (In) 1878 some of the male staff not only liked to smoke but saw no reason why they should not do so in front of the boys, much to the annoyance of the headmaster. However, with the move to the now building in Taranaki Street, the proximity to the Royal Tiger was too groat a temptation for two young men on the staff. They didn’t actually visit the public house; worse still, it seems the

> teachers sent boys down to buy beer for them so that they could enjoy a pint with their lunch. The headmaster-was outraged.[119]

Only one month later in February 1878 the headmaster was faced with another problem with the Annual Hutt Races. He decided that no holiday day should be taken for the event. Normally this occasion was marked by considerable absenteeism if the day was not formally given off. Whatever his reasons the headmaster stuck to his guns, a decision which seemed to displease not only some of the parents but a few of the staff and many of the children. One teacher plotted with his boys to gain a political decision and without informing his Headmaster allowed the boys to visit members of the School Committee during school hours, to gain their support. The first the unsuspecting Headmaster knew of this conniving was a letter from a member of the Committee stating he had no objection to the granting of a holiday for the Hutt Races. Whatever he said to his staff is not recorded but the headmaster put pen to paper in his log stating the way teachers were appointed, their general habits and morals and describing "such gross insubordination" as "this great evil" 11 among other things. Who won? Well, no holiday was granted but great havoc was played with the roll, for no fewer than eighty boys enjoyed the Hutt Races the next day.[120]

On two occasions, the Boy's school was actually taken over by the military authorities next door for their own use. In 1901 the school was used as a temporary barracks for the Volunteers. The school authorities readily agreed to the utilisation of the school for this purpose since it was a joyful occasion as the volunteers were needed to act as guards in crowd control for the visit of the and Duchess of Cornwall.

The 1913 Waterfront Strike was the next occasion which the school was requisitioned. This time the school to accommodate Massey's 'Special Constables' much to the resentment of the school authorities.

> On November 3rd the Special Constables took over the Boys School, the rooms for the men and the grounds for the horses. They remained till November 18th and left behind considerable damage. Many windows were smashed by stone throwing, presumably the Specials were the target, and the school was identified with its inhabitants. If the crowds were somewhat indiscriminate in what they broke, the guardians of the law were perhaps no more careful, for on his return to school the headmaster found fourteen hockey sticks had been

[119] D.F Brown, *Mount Cook School, 1875-1975* (Mount Cook School, 1975), 5.
[120] Brown, *Mount Cook School, 1875-1975*, 5-6.

> sawn in two in the woodwork room, the asphalt had been taken off the sewer traps in the latrines and some items of equipment had disappeared. These were not replaced for some months, though the Army quickly replaced the hockey sticks Many parents were most upset at the use of their school by the Specials· and considerable bitterness (was) generated as a result. When the time ·came to resume lessons, many parents kept their children home in silent protest and a number of boys gained an extra week off school.[121]

Here, the school had become an unwilling participant in the 1913 Waterfront Strike and thus became entwined in the events surrounding the violence which erupted around the barracks (see Chapter 7). Although the school looked upon this event as an unwelcome intrusion by the Military authorities upon their domain, in all fairness, it must be mentioned that the Military had to put up with numerous juvenile invaders on their territory. Boys being boys, the Mount Cook Barracks offered a prime site for an adventure playground with all its military paraphernalia lying about. On one occasion this invasion by the midgets from next door was potentially explosive. Mrs Francis the Headteacher from the Infant's School noted that the Army was storing live ammunition in a shed next to her school and that some of the boys set fire to the shed. Since there was no report of any devastation one must presume that the little beggars were caught in time and the fire extinguished.

All these incidents aside, the Boy's School in particular had a more formal contact with the barracks through its School Cadets. The school Cadets were the junior component of the volunteer defence system which New Zealand had for most of the latter years of the Nineteenth Century. The Cadet movement within New Zealand schools dates from the 1870's but the first mention of the Mount Cook Cadets is in the school log of October 1892.

Their close proximity to the barracks provided a golden opportunity for the school as far as Drill Instruction was concerned. Senior NCOs from the barracks used to come across to the school for this purpose. Mr F. Gooder who was in the cadets whilst at Mount Cook School (See Photo 5:3) noted that they drilled every Friday afternoon in the schoolyard from 1.00 - 3.30 pm.

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[121] Brown, *Mount Cook School, 1875-1975*, 26.

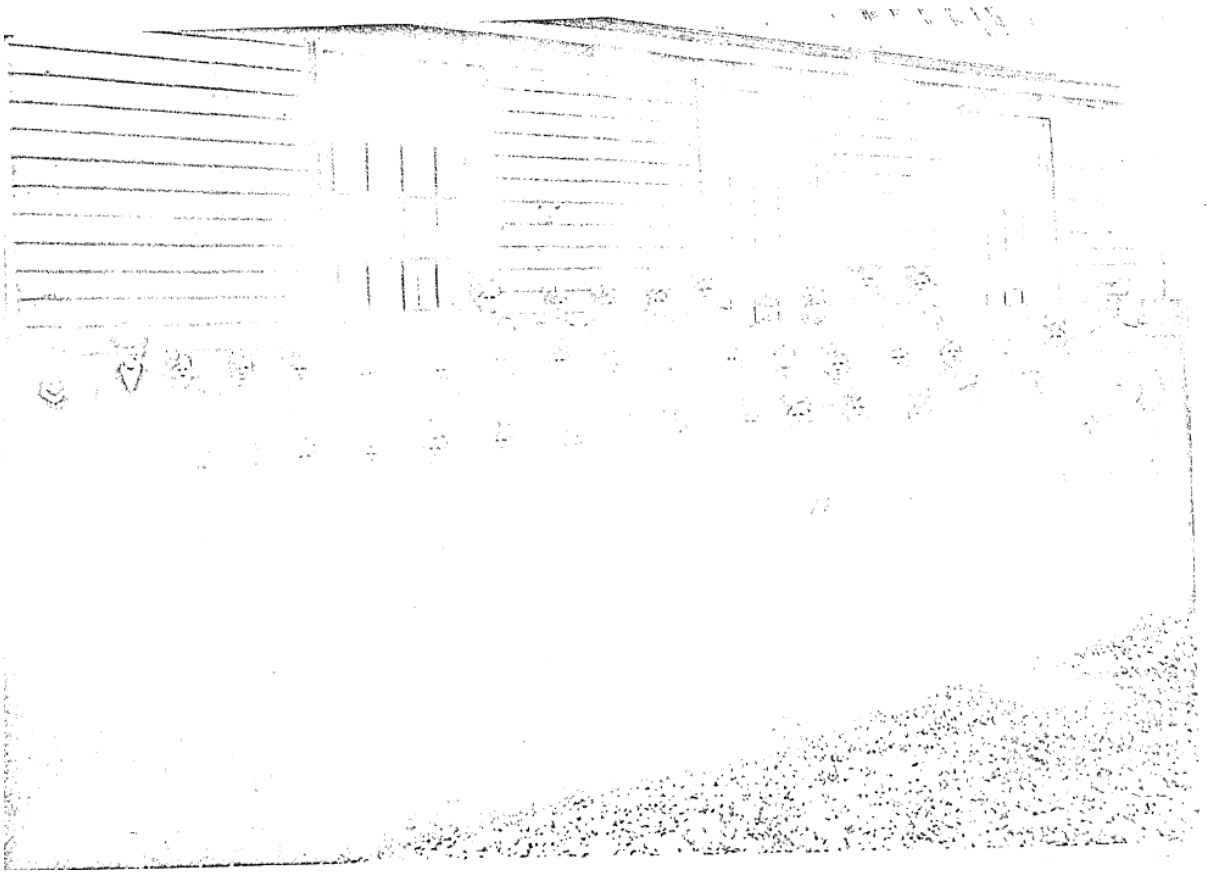

Photo 5.3:

The men from the barracks at times were seen as not to take their job of instructing the cadets seriously. On 7th February 1895 one teacher complained to the headmaster that:

> It is very difficult to keep order when the drill instructor is present. He says things to make the boys laugh and chucks them under the chin occasionally.[122]

Despite this Mount Cook took its cadets very seriously. Unlike many other schools where interest in the cadets flagged until the outbreak of the Boer War, the Mount Cook Cadets seem to have been active and interested from the beginning. By the end of 1895 each boy had his own rifle and things had reached such a pitch that there were rifle racks in the senior classrooms. By the turn of the Century, the Cadet movement was reaching its apex and after the euphoria of the Boer War its only high points were the 1907 Camp at Christchurch and Lord Kitchener's visit in 1910. Forty boys from Mount Cook journeyed south in 1907 to join the 4000 other Cadets there. When Lord Kitchener visited, their camp was closer to home. This time they wore inspected by Kitchener himself at Lower Hutt. The *Evening Post* recorded the preparations made for the visit of this Imperial hero:

[122] Brown, *Mount Cook School, 1875-1975*, 36.

PREPARING FOR TOMORROW

THE CADETS AT HUTT PARK

FOUR THOUSAND BOYS

It is recorded that Lord Kitchener was exceedingly pleased with the turnout of the public school cadets at Christchurch, Wellington is not going to be outdone by Canterbury, and the boys at Hutt Park are determined to 1.,1in further approval from the great soldier. There will be nearly four thousand cadets in all at the review by Lord Kitchener tomorrow. Even now, with the city battalions not quite fully represented and contingents expected from Nelson and elsewhere, there are 3500 boys in camp.

Some went into camp at the beginning of the week, the first-comers being a detachment from Petone, who, under Captain Lynskey, have practically prepared the camp all complete for their comrades in arms from all parts of the province. They have pitched over two hundred tents and looked to the shifting of various necessaries for any well organised camp. The Petone boys are very proud of themselves, and, according to one member of the corps, willing to challenge all and sundry comers to any martial contest.

The contingents from the country have come in by degrees. The Wanganui brigade, thanks to the representations of their officers, secured an extra day, and spent yesterday seeing the sights of the city. This contrasts very favourably with the expectations of the Taranaki battalions, who, travelling all day yesterday, only arrived in camp a 1 o'clock this morning. They were given a hot meal and made as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. The fact is that members of the executive at the camp have as much to do as they can manage. There are fully 50 per cent more cadets than was anticipated, and to feed the extra mouths and find accommodation for all the little strangers has been something of a task. There are, in addition to the 200 tents aforesaid, 9 marquees. All the "buildings" are occupied, too, like country hotels at race time. The fine weather has made it a picnic so far. There has been plenty of bathing, plenty of drill, plenty of hard work, so that the boys cannot complain.

This morning, after a general bathe in the river, there was a full parade, the battalions being well represented. In effective contrast to the sober blue with yellow and red facings of the cadets were the Boy Scouts in business-like khaki. In all thirteen battalions paraded, and the numbers were about 3500. In charge was Lieutenant-Colonel Stevenson of Woodville, the senior officer. Captain Mostyn Jones, as Brigade-Major supervised operations, while Major T.W. McDonald, Officer Commanding the Junior Cadets, was in supreme control of the whole camp. The Brigade Sergeants-Major are Staff-Sergeant-Major Peacock and Bombardier Just.

The battalions were as follow: - Wellington City Battalions- No. 1 (Major Hempleman), 426; No. 2 (Major Mackenzie), 300; No 3(Major Burlinson), 400, including the Hutt and Petone Cadets. Wairarapa Battalion (Major Haslam), 359; Hawkes Bay, No. 2 Battalion (Lieut-Colonel Stevenson), 293; Taranaki No. 1

> Battalion (Major Sandford), 816; Wanganui Battalions; No. 1 (Major McLean) 353; No 2 (Major Aitken) 352; No 3(Major W. Adams) 228; No 4(Major Strack), 273, including Eltham, Hawera, Waverley, and Patea contingents; Boy Scouts (Lieut-Commander Mcleod), about 200. There are also a number of Boy Scouts in the Cadet Corps.[123]

This was the last major event involving the cadets. Under the reforms instituted by (Kitchener's visit and the imposition of compulsory military training by 1912 the cadets were all but finished. Teachers wore complaining that time was being taken up by parades and drills. Thus, in the log of Mount Cook on October 13th 1913 there was the entry;

> A circular was received from Mr Royd Garlic asking that all equipment must be returned to Headquarters. In obedience to that request the goods were sent away.[124]

With this entry, ended the pupils military association with the Barracks at Mount Cook, but their presence on and around the hill was to continue and still exists to this day. In 1923, with the three schools showing their age, it was decided to combine all three in a new school on the site of the Infants School (See Photo 5:5). The foundation stone was laid in July 1925 and the children started school in 1926 in their brand new surroundings. This building no longer exists for it too succumbed to the demolisher's hammer a few years ago in preparation for the widening of Buckle Street. The Education Department Land now takes up the southern the Mount Cook reserve with the construction new Wellington Technical College.

The Police were the other major Government Department to move onto Mount Cook`. They were the other successors of the Defence Reforms of 1886 which had replaced the Armed Constabulary.

This new Police Force maintained very close ties with its fellow successors the Permanent Militia. In fact, the major prerequisite for entry into the Police Force was that each respective constable was to have served time in the Permanent Militia itself. This close link between the two forces and also the Prison Department was seen as vital to the establishment of the Police Force and was prevalent throughout the entire hierarchy of the force. For example, Arthur Hume, whom we have already discussed, apart from being the

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[123] "Preparing for tomorrow," *Evening Post, Volume LXXIXI, Issue 45* (Wellington), 11 April 1910, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18940411.2.12.
[124] Brown, *Mount Cook School, 1875-1975*, 37.

Inspector-General of Prisons, and Under-Secretary for Defence, was also Commissioner of Police in 1890.

Photograph 5.5: Close-up of aerial photograph, dated 1934, showing the Mount Cook area with the Mount Cook School and playgrounds visible (lower centre). Source: Alexander Turnbull Library - PA Coll. Ref: 6301-59

One of Hume's principle aims with this young force was to establish new police stations in the growing towns of New Zealand. With the ·Armed Constabulary gone from Mount Cook, this area of Wellington had no one present to fulfil a civil police role as the A.C. had sometimes done. Te Aro, at this time was an expanding area of Wellington City. On top of this, the early 1890's were years of economic crisis with much poverty, due to a recession in both Australia and New Zealand, and the thickly populated area of Te Aro Flat was a particularly difficult town to maintain law and order.[125] Thus it was deemed necessary that a substantial police station on which overlooked much of Te Aro would be needed. For this end it was decided to construct a Police Barracks on the Mount Cook Reserve. The site chosen was in the far in the far north-eastern corner of the Reserve at the intersection of

[125] G Anderson, The Mount Cook Police Barracks, 1978, *Manuscript Dominion Museum*.

Buckle and Tasman Streets. From here, the building would have a commanding view straight down Tory Street which cut right through the heart of Te Aro.

Since the Prison on top of Mount Cook was still being constructed utilising the bricks manufactured by the city's convicts, it was decided that the New Police Station would be built in the same material and use the same work force.

No one is quite sure who actually designed the Barracks, but its architecture incorporated some unique features (See Dia 5: 3) which Mr Grahame Anderson points out

> The original building, then, is indeed a stern no-nonsense, four-square block, standing with uncompromising severity on its prominent site. The west side of Tasman Street, against which the building stands, is offset some 20 foot to the east in relation to Tory Street, so that from one end to the other of the latter, as one approaches southward, the north facade is largely closing off the view at the end. Although an architectural advantage of some rarity in Wellington, the offset would have boon of great assistance in providing a view down Tory Street as well, where no doubt much of the station's business originated.
>
> The straightforward English bond brickwork, which rises the two storey height of the building, has mortar joints raked to some ¼" under flush and is set on a plastered plinth which takes up the substantial changes in level along both street frontages. Each storey is pierced by a row of semi-circular headed windows, five on the north wall and three on both the east and west walls. On the Buckle Street facade, the lower central opening continues downward to floor level to form the main entry to the station. The openings. on the street frontages have a half brick step in the reveal, while the west face openings have·not. All the windows have a wide plastered sloping sill projecting some 4" beyond the brick face, and double hung timber sashes (the top one semi circular headed) set in a timber frame. The plastered plinth returns into the main entry opening, where it stops against the full brick step in the reveal and is set down to below floor level to provide a deep plastered entry landing. A vary ordinary timber door with a high level glass panel, and a semi-circular headed sash above, is set in a timber frame 5 but the 1901 drawing shows a more elaborate door, presumably replaced some time since then. But the unusual feature of all these openings is the black and white glazed brick banding over and between the heads of each one, a treatment which lifts the facades from the commonplace and, together with the decorated quoins, transforms them into a striking and never repeated composition. Those glazed special bricks are also stamped with the arrow and remain as starkly black and white as when they were first made. They occur nowhere else, and it is tempting to speculate that perhaps they were the result of the meeting of minds of a designer in the office of the Colonial Architect, brickmaker-warder in the prison works nearby, and foreman of the prisoner-tradesman at work on the building of the new station.

Whatever brought about the striking innovation certainly required some considerable forethought on the part of each of them, and it is a fascinating coincidence. that the building had one notable European equivalent - the similarly banded massive New Scotland Yard, designed by Norman Shaw and built for the London Police in 1887 and 1890. Described not long after its construction as"….a daring design indicating the powerful personality of the man who perhaps influenced contemporary architecture more than any other single architect" it is entirely possible (but pure speculation) that whoever designed the police station in Buckle Street knew of the new police headquarters in London, and of Norman Shaw, and set about creating his small colonial equivalent.

At eaves level, under an ogee profile metal spouting of the still standard profile, the polychrome banding is repeated, with the lower black band, consisting of a bullnosed brick, projecting out from the main face and the White and black courses above set out further, all providing a cornice which is, even without the colour, in the classic brickwork tradition. With the colour added it is a sharp clear and very effective companion to the window banding. The idea of close collaboration between designer and brickmaker, suggested by the polychrome banding specials, is further encouraged by the second unusual feature of the exterior treatment. Unglazed, but rich brick red, the decorated quoins to the four main corners of the building are each three courses high, and alternatively one and one-and-a-half bricks long on adjacent faces. Each square face has a deeply incised ton part rosette of elegant proportions sot into it, while each long face is left plain. Bevelled edges to the quoins match the incised rosettes, soften the actual corner of the units, and also ease their projection beyond the brick face - all much as is done when they are of stone. Altogether a very thoughtful variant on the stone quoin idiom, nicely adapting it to the talents of the brickmaker! [126]

[126] G Anderson, "The Mount Cook Police Barracks," *Newsletter of the Wellington Regional Committee of the Historic Places Trust, Vol 1, No 6*, 6 June 1978, 15.

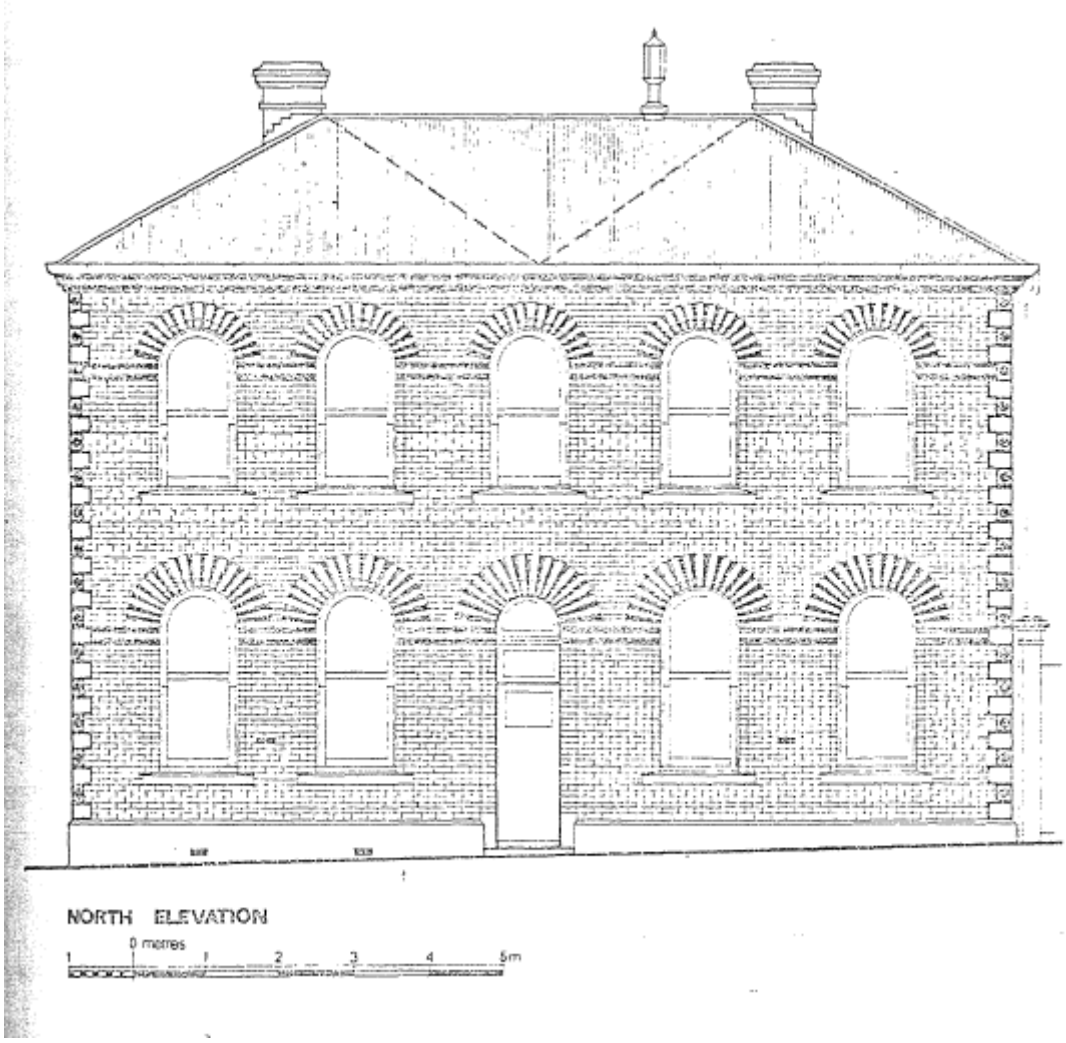

Diagram 5.3:

Although a lot is known about the architecture of building very little is known about its actual 'history'. This is because many of the Police Department Records dealing with this station wore destroyed in 1952. The Police Gazette does mention that on April 18th of that year a new station was opened at Mount Cook. The Evening Post on January 19th noted that:

> Sergeant Shirley who is coming up from Dunedin will be placed in charge of the new Police Barracks at Mount Cook. About a dozen constables will be stationed there.[127]

A later report dated April 11th recorded some of the names of the constables who would actually be resident at the new barracks.[128] After this, the only official reference to the

[127] "Mount Cook Police Barracks," *Evening Post, Volume XLVII, Issue 16* (Wellington), 19 January 1894, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18940119.2.7.
[128] "The New Police Station," *Evening Post, Volume XLVII, Issue 85* (Wellington), 11 April 1894, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18940411.2.12.

place's history is in the Police Gazette of 1956. In that year, it recorded that the Mount Cook Station closed down as an operative police station on 25th July.

The station was to remain deserted till 1972. Since then, the adjacent Dominion Museum has treated it as a dumping ground for exhibits it did not have room to display. Up until a feu months ago, a pedestrian walking along Buckle Street would have been able to see a row of stags heads through one of the windows in the station. But, this is soon to change. The *Mount Cook Messenger* observed:

> People will be able to wine and dine in jailhouse surroundings when the old Mount Cook Police Barracks opens as a restaurant early next year.
>
> The city council recently approved the conversion of the Buckle St barracks, by Cromwell Property Resources Ltd subject to the company discussing car parking availability with landowners in the area.
>
> The company planned to establish a restaurant for up to 70 people and later upgrade the cells and courtyard as a museum for items connected with the restaurant and wine industry, town planning committee chairman, Cr Gavin Wilson said.
>
> Cromwell Property Resources manager Mr G.I Bringans said it planned basically to restore the barracks to its previous condition, with the interior incorporating as much of the buildings history as possible.
>
> "Subject to meeting council's requirements on parking, we expect to have our drawings lodged with the council during the second week in October" he said.
>
> "We plan to start work by early November hopefully finishing by early February or March."
>
> Mr Bringans said the company was in final negotiations on a lease with the Museum and Art Gallery Trust, who owned the building. [129]

Thus, each of these, Prisoners, Pupils ·and Police, have left their distinctive mark on Mount Cook. Each in their own way has developed a special relationship with the soldiers who were the first occupants on the reserve.

[129] , *Mount Cook Messanger, Vol 5 No 5*, 25 October 1981.

CHAPTER 6: THE PERMANENT MILITIA: 1886-1913

The Defence Act of 1886 marked the beginning of a new era in the military's occupation of Mount Cook. With much of the Colony's internal security problems resolved, attention now became fully focused upon possible external threats to New Zealand. The ‘Russian Scares' of the 1870's and early 1880's brought this possible threat to the awareness of most of the colonists.

There was a realisation that the Colony was secure from an actual invasion. For such a venture to be undertaken would require a fleet of considerable size and the previous defeat of the Royal Navy; prerequisites which were high indeed for such a strategically unimportant prize as New Zealand. What was really feared by New Zealand's leaders were possible harrying attacks on the colony's principal ports by 'raiders' in the '*Alabama*' "mould as the hysteria of the *Kaskowiski* ‘attack' illustrated.[130] Hence, after the visits and recommendations of various British experts, it was decided that the best means of countering such a possibility would be to fortify the principal ports of the Colony. But, constructing forts would not provide the complete solution to this dilemma. What was needed was a force which would form the permanent nucleus necessary to man them. The Armed Constabulary as it stood could not perform such a role since it was principally an internal security force with most of its constables located at posts on the frontiers of the colony. It was decided that in light of New Zealand’s changed security status with internal security superseded by external security that the colony's defence forces needed an overhaul. In 1886 this was done with the colony's first purely designated 'Defence Act'. This Act designated that:

> All officers and constables of the Armed Constabulary who at the commencement of this Act may be serving in any engineer, artillery, mounted infantry, or torpedo corps, or other corps ·forming part of the reserve force of the aforesaid Constabulary, shall be deemed to have been duly appointed to the permanent Militia, established under this Act, and to such corps therein respectively, and shall continue therein respectively without being resworn until the expiration of the term for which they respectively were enrolled under "The

[130] The Alabama was a confederate warship which had operated as a commerce raider during the civil war and had caused considerable damage to northern shipping. This sort of attack was cited on numerous occasions within NZ defence papers. See AJHR 1871 A4 Jervois, W.F.D The Defence of NZ Wellington, 1884

> Armed Constabulary Act, 1867," or any Act amending the same, or until released therefrom before such time in due form or by competent authority.[131]

The remainder of the Armed Constabulary Force came under the jurisdiction of the new Police Act and were constituted into the colony's civil police force. With Parihaka still fresh on their minds, the Government designated the Permanent Militia a backup force for the police by declaring in the Act that:

> In the case of any sudden or extraordinary disturbance of the peace, and also whensoever any such disturbance is immediately apprehended, and also for the fresh pursuit of offenders, and also for the conveyance of prisoners, the Governor may aider the whole or any part of the permanent Militia to proceed to any part of the colony, and to act therein either in aid of or as a Police Force; and, when so acting, every member of such permanent Militia, although not sworn as a constable, shall have the same rights, powers, and authorities, and be subject to the same rules, regulations, and orders, and be in all respects in the same situation as if forming part of the Police Force.[132]

More importantly, for the first time ever, there was a recognition that the Permanent Militia and Volunteers could be used in the defence of the Empire under the heading of 'Special Service'. Here the Act stated:

> Volunteers for special or emergent service or public danger may be enrolled under such regulations as may from time to time be fixed by the Governor. Volunteers for special service shall be considered to be on actual service, and shall be liable to the provisions of "The Army Act, 1881, 11 of the Imperial Parliament, and subject as follows:
>
> > Each officer and man thereof shall sign an agreement to the effect that he will serve wherever required, on the terms of his engagement, whether within or beyond the limits of the colony.[133]

The new Permanent Militia force was divided into Artillery, Torpedo, Engineer and Rifle branches. The Artillery consisted of a detachment of one officer and twenty-five men at each of the four main centres; the Torpedo Corps of fifty all ranks divided between the centres as necessary The Rifle Corps was to be 160 strong in ten skeleton companies divided between the batteries (i.e. the coastal forts) and inland Districts, where they operate as training cadres capable of indefinite expansion in time of war. The Engineers were to have

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[131] "Defence Act 1886," *Parliamentary Counsel Office* (31 July 1886): 64, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/da188650v1886n17133/.
[132] "Defence Act 1886," 63.
[133] "Defence Act 1886," 64.

an organised strength of about twenty. The whole force was to be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel J.M. Roberts, an ex-Armed Constabulary Officer, who would be based at the old Armed Constabulary Depot on Mount Cook.[134]

Recruitment into the Permanent Militia was to follow a complex process. ·Recruits into the Artillery, Engineer and Torpedo branches would be drawn solely from the Rifle Branch. Access to the Rifle Branch could only be gained by efficient Volunteers of not less than one years efficient service and they were not to be over twenty-five years of age at their date of application. With these criteria fulfilled the prospective applicant had to do the following:

> Applicants for appointments to the Permanent Militia, Rifle Branch, will send in their applications to and wait, if possible, on the Officer Commanding Permanent Militia at Dunedin, Lyttelton, Wellington, or Auckland, with their addresses, ages, medical certificates of fitness, and certificates of character, one of which must be from the Commanding Officer of the corps in which they are serving.
>
> As vacancies arise, appointments will be made from the ·list of applicants from each part of the colony in turn. On his being informed that he has been so appointed, the candidate will report himself for enrolment at Mount Cook Barracks, Wellington, within one month, otherwise the vacancy will be offered to the next on the list, and he will be held to have forfeited his appointment, unless in case of certified sickness, when he may be replaced at the head of the list within three months, if then fit for service.
>
> The minimum height for the Artillery is 5ft 8in.
> " " " " Engineers is 5ft 8in.
> " " " " Torpedo is 5ft 4in.
> " " " " Rifles 5ft 7 in.[135]

On top of this, a special relationship between this force and the new police force was developed. The Police Force was to be solely recruited from men serving in the Permanent Militia for a minimum of one year. This acted as an incentive for recruitment into the Permanent Militia by offering a secure government job to men willing to perform some military service first. Also, it acted as a means for continuing the close association of the colony's civil and military forces which had been combined under the Armed Constabulary.

Mount Cook was to continue in the same role for the Permanent Militia as it had done for the Armed Constabulary. It remained the central training depot for the new force. Many of

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[134] Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*," 102.
[135] , *New Zealand Gazette,* , 18 March 1887, 357, .

the duties which had been performed by the Armed Constabulary there now became the domain of the Permanent Militia. They took over the guard and escort duties for the Governor and more particularly the parade duties for special occasions.

Due to Mount Cook being· a training depot for the Permanent Militia, it created a dilemma for the officers commanding it. Each branch of the Militia apparently had its own regulations governing the discipline of their members. Thus whenever there was a perceived breach of regulations by a soldier it had to be determined as to which Branch he belonged to and whether it was a breach of the regulations which covered him. The one issue which brought this problem to ahead was the men from the barracks wearing civilian clothes into Wellington whenever they had leave from Mount Cook. Some were permitted to do this under separate Branch regulations whilst others were not. In order to overcome this it was decided in 1887 to write a separate set of regulations regarding discipline of the Permanent Militia at the Mount Cook Barracks. The regulations provide an interesting documentary of the daily routine and ' lifestyle of those at the Mount Cook Barracks at that time. They are divided into two parts. The first part outlines the duties of the Orderly Sergeant, and the second, covering the duties of the other ranks.

Orderly Sergeant:

1. He will commence his duties at _____am during the summer and _____am during the Winter his first duty will be to see the men present at the Stables at the proper hour and dismiss them at the proper time "he will keep the keys of the forage, attend all stable hours and give out the feeds at each feed time.

2. He will tell the fatigue men off to their work in cleaning the barracks and see that the Barracks are properly clean before the men are dismissed.

3. He will warn all duties at the afternoon parade for the following days and those men who are not present at that parade should be warned at "Tattoo" he will parade all duties and fatigues and hand them over to the person who is to take charge of them. He will inspect the stablemen on going to exercise and before they dismount on their return.

4. He will never quit the Barracks while on duty except if married, then he will be allowed 1 hour at meal times.

5. He will get the passes from the Office and give a list of all men on leave to the gate orderly at 10.30 pm

6. He will be in charge of the "Fire Picquet" should there be one during his tour of duty and will see that the "Hose Reel" and all articles belonging to it are in good order and ready for use.

7. He will not allow civilians to· enter the barracks and premises except on business nor are women or children to be allowed to enter the rooms under any pretence whatever.

8. He will visit the Mess Rooms at Meal Hours and see that the men are clean and have their jackets or jumpers on and ascertain if there are any complaints.

9. He will call the roll on all parades and make out the morning “Sick Report” forwarding a copy to the Medical Officer should there be a man ill.

10. He will see that men sick are not allowed to quit the barracks.

11. He will inspect the whole of the windows and all out buildings daily reporting at once any damage·.

12. He will clear the Reading Room at 9.45 pm and call the roll and see that all are in bed by 10 pm and reporting the same to the Sergeant Major before lights out is sounded.

13. He will inspect the stables at 9.30 pm in company with the stable orderly, see that all is correct and lock the stables.

14. He will lock all gates except the Front One at 10.30 pm and see the lights out he will post the gate orderly at the same time and give him the names of the men who are on leave.

15. He will be answerable that the Draught Horses are properly cleaned before bedding down for the night.

16. In case of the gate orderly reporting any man under the influence of liquor he will at once confine the man and report that he has done so to the Sergeant-Major.

Other Ranks:

1. All men will rise at ____ am during the summer months and at_____ am during the winter months. The beds are expected to be made up in 30 minutes after when the men will then be employed either on fatigue and/or cleaning the rooms until 20 minutes to breakfast hour.

2. One hour will be allowed for breakfast .and the same for dinner.

3. Stablemen will ride to exercise at 9 am and have their horses thoroughly groomed and saddles clean before they fall out for dinner, no man will be permitted to leave stables till his work is thoroughly done.

4. The men will sit down to their meals clean and properly dressed.

5. Members are not to be allowed to make use of Reading Room unless they are dressed and clean.

6. Non-commissioned Officers and men will not be allowed out of Barracks (Sundays and Holidays Excepted) till after the evening meal unless on leave. 7. Non-commissioned Officers and men are never to appear in plain clothes either in or out of Barracks except special permission to do so has been given by the Officer Commanding their “detachment”. N.B. This order does not apply to clerks, tradesmen when at work, officers servants, or men employed in the stable or fatigue when old clothes may be worn.

8. Stablemen will be employed as required in the afternoon till time to "Bed down”one man will be told off each day to act as stable man and he will remain in Barracks during the evening watering the horses at 8 pm and give over all-correct to the orderly Sergeant at 9.30 pm

9. Married men when ill are to send word to the orderly Sergeant by 8.30 a.m. no excuse will be taken for absence from work or Parade on account of illness if it is not reported before parade.

10. Beds will never be made down till after the evening meal.

11. All men going on leave till midnight must have their beds made down by tattoo.

12. There will be a fire picquet told off daily who will not quit the Barracks during their tour of duty a Stableman always to form one of the Picquet. 13. Men who have been discharged for misconduct will not be permitted to enter the Barracks under any pretence whatever.

14. The address of all married men who reside out of Barracks will be hung up on a board in the Reading Room. Men changing their abode must acquaint the Sergt-Major of the alteration the same day.

15. No papers are to be removed from the Library without permission of ·the Librarian but in no case till they have been one week on the table

16. The Gate Orderly will be posted at 10 pm He will not allow any men out of Barracks or Civilians in after that hour • . He will receive a list of all men on leave from the Orderly Sergeant and will enter opposite each man's name the hour he returns. In case of any man returning to Barracks under the influence of liquor he will immediately report to the Orderly Sergeant.

He will remain on duty till 12.30 a.m and then lock the Reading Room and Front Gate and give the list and keys to the Orderly Sergeant before going to bed.

He will not be required to perform any duty before 9am.[136]

This then constituted the major part of the Permanent Militia' s daily activities. Overall, they did not see much active service. Only on rare occasions were they actually called upon by the Government. One of these occasions occurred in early 1889 and the detachments involved in this action were those stationed at Mount Cook. The action centred around that famous Māori warrior Te Kooti.

Te Kooti had an infamous reputation after his years of guerrilla warfare in the Urewera country during the late 1860s and 1870s. On 4 July 1868 Te Kooti and a group of his followers escaped from the Chatham Islands on the schooner *Rifleman*.[137]· On 10 July they landed at Whareongaonga, a few miles south of Poverty Bay. Te Kooti and his followers immediately made for the mountains.

Throughout August 1868 there was an organised expedition, led by Colonel George Whitmore, in an attempt to catch Te Kooti and disarm his force. Several times Te Kooti's force broke away from their pursuers into the Urewera back lands and for three months remained there undiscovered. [138]

This continual harassment by Government Forces made Te Kooti determined to show the authorities that he was not to be trifled with. Accordingly, on 9 November 1868 he descended upon the Poverty Bay township of Matawhero. Farmhouses were burnt to the ground after being looted and thirty settlers were killed along with forty 'friendly' Māori's. This action left much in the way of bitter memories for both the Europeans and Māori's of the Poverty Bay district.

Te Kooti was now faced with a fierce and fast reaction from the Government Forces, consisting mainly of 'friendly' Poverty Bay Māori's led by Major Ropata, whose antipathy towards Te Kooti amounted to a personal vendetta. From now on Te Kooti was restricted to mainly defensive actions. Between 1868 and 1872 he was pursued over much of the Central North Island until he reached the sanctuary of the King Country. From that time on he lived

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[136] "Rules and Regulations with Reference to the Permanent Milita Depot Wellington," *Archives New Zealand No R22549497* (1 June 1887), https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE20723540.

[137] In 1865 Te Kooti and 200 other Māori's had been incarcerated there after the battle of waerenga-a-Hika for committing treason. Te Kooti and the others were accused of firing only blanks at the enemy.

[138] Laurie Barber, Military Strategies Against the Hauhau 1981, 7.

at Tokangamutu near Te Kuiti where he lived under King Tawhiao's protection. During this time, he was still considered by the Government a wanted criminal.

In May 1879 it was proposed to issue a general amnesty to those involved in the Māori Land Wars. Te Kooti's case caused the Government serious disquiet. Whitmore, now the Colonial Secretary advised Sir George Grey:

> that Te Kooti must be considered a political offender. It is true he caused these crimes to be committed but he did so in fair war and did not contravene Māori custom in war.[139]

Despite this plea from Whitmore, Te Kooti, and his actions were seen as still too controversial, and the question of his amnesty was delayed until 1883. In that year, John Bryce the Minister of Native Affairs personally interviewed Te Kooti and secured his promise of not to take up arms.

> Sir
>
> I have the honour to report for your information that the detachment of the Permanent Artillery and Torpedo Corps under my command under orders to proceed to Gisborne embarked on board the *S.S. Wairaraea* at 5.30pm 22nd February and reached Gisborne at 1 am on the 24th., the men were landed and marched to the Drill Shed; I reported at once to the Honourable Premier, and at 8 am same day marched in company with East Coast Hussars and Ngatiporou under Major Porter for camp Lorne (22 miles).
>
> On 25th February the detachment remained in camp and were employed drilling (skirmishing) morning and afternoon, also army signalling, messages being sent from camp by Majors Porter and Ropata to the party on the slope of a high ridge, they expressed themselves as highly pleased with the efficiency of the men in this service.
>
> The Honourable Premier arrived in the evening and Major Porter received orders to march out with the E.C. Hussars and Ngatiporou at 10pm for Opotiki.
>
> 26th February. The detachment marched at 6 am a few E.C. Hussars being attached to my command, and reached the hub, edge of Motu Bush (22 miles) at 4.30 pm. A settler reported to me that 2 armed natives had been soon the previous day, who· had come by an unused trs.ck, had passed through the settlement and gone in the direction of Wairoa - Corporal Scott was seized with a fit about 10 miles from camp and I sent him back to camp with an escort of E.C. Hussars.

[139] A.H. McLintock, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (R.E. Owen, Government printer, 1966), 237.

27th February. Marched at 6 am and reached the Motu Bridge (19 miles) at 4 pm a despatch arrived from the Honourable the Premier at dusk containing orders to detain all troopers and arrange an orderly service between camp and Ormond, to consult Capt Kenny re supplies etc - a report arrived that Trooper Arthur with 7 men and packhorses with supplies had camped about 7 miles from here.

28th February. I sent 7 troopers back to camp Lorne and 2 to Ormond for mail service, Trooper Arthur arrived .in camp with packhorses at 10 am.

1st March. In camp, I sent 4 packhorses to Lorne for 3 days rations for the force – at 3 pm a mounted Ngatiporou arrived with dispatch from Major Porter saying that To Kooti had escaped and wishing one to have all tracks guarded, immediately afterwards a trooper arrived from Ormond with despatches stating Te Kooti had been arrested.

2nd March. In camp, I wrote to the Honourable the Premier for orders as to going on to Opotiki or returning to Gisborne, at 4 pm a trooper arrived from Major Porter with orders for me to march tomorrow for camp Lorne leaving rations if I could spare them for 125 men at the Bridge for his force.

3rd March. Left camp at 6 am - at 9 am met an orderly with letters from Capts Kenny and Anderson asking when I could be at Lorne as the *S.S Stelia* was waiting at Gisborne for the detachment - I reached the hub edge of Motu Bush at 3 pm.

4th March. Marched at 6 am and arrived at Lorne at 3.15 pm conveyances arrived for men and baggage in the evening.

5th March. Left camp at 7 am with police and reached Gisborne about 11 am paraded at 4 pm to hand over 30 rounds of ammunition per man received at Gisborne, paraded again at 5 pm when the men were addressed by Sir George Whitmore who spoke in high terms of their appearance, conduct, and efficiency marched to the wharf and embarked on board the *S.S Stelia* which left at 5.15 pm.

I wish to bring under the notice of the Honourable the Defence Minister the very excellent conduct of the whole of the detachment while engaged on this duty, the behaviour and the discipline of the men being all that could be desired.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your most obedient servant
W.W.Messenger

Major
Commander Detachment.[140]

As can be seen here, this action was fairly mundane in its carrying-out and, this was one of the few

occasions when the Permanent Militia were actually used!

The more common role which the Permanent Militia fulfilled was that of providing a professional Core for manning the principal ports fortifications. Again, the duties performed here were fairly routine, for despite the fabrications of certain New Zealand newspapers, the colony's ports were never threatened by an attack during this period. But, there were incidents which occasionally broke this peaceful existence. In Wellington on two occasions these incidents would bring tragedy to the men at Mount Cook. The *Evening Post* on 7 August 1899 observed:

> GUN COTTON EXPLOSION AT MAHANGA BAY
>
> Three Permanent Militiamen Killed
>
> Another man wounded
>
> Blow-up while demolishing a light pit
>
> A painful sensation was created in town this morning on receipt of information by the Defence Department that there had been a fatal explosion at Mahanga Bay…. where some members of the Permanent Militia were conducting blasting operations.
>
> It would appear that the fatality is of oven greater magnitude than the fateful explosion of gun cotton which occurred at Shelly Bay on 5th March 1891 when two men were killed and three injured.
>
> As to this morning's accident, it is absolutely certain that three men have been killed, namely:
>
> Sergeant Olive
> Corporal Blick
> Sapper Teague
>
> Sapper Head a fourth member of the party was so severely injured that it was first thought that he would not live to reach toun.[141]

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[140] Major Messenger, "Report on proceedings of the Permanent Militia under his command at Poverty Bay during the proposed visit of Te Kooti," *Archives New Zealand No R22549584* (9 March 1889), https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE20723985.

[141] "Gun Cotton Explosion at Mahanga Bay," *Evening Post, Issue 32,* , 7 August 1899, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18990807.2.67

The four unfortunate men had apparently been employed in demolishing an old searchlight mounting on Point Gordon. In order to achieve this end, the men were using gun cotton. For some reason the gun cotton exploded killing three of the men and severely injuring the other. One theory put forward for causing this tragedy was "that the exposure of gun cotton to the sun's rays……had rendered it more sensitive and liable to detonation, for the more gun cotton was heated, the more sensitive it became".[142]

Whatever the accident's real cause was, it is certain that the men of the Permanent Militia were faced with a constant danger in handling this unstable material. As the article had mentioned in the space of eight years six men had been killed and four injured in Wellington alone.

The accident not only shocked the occupants of the Mount Cook Barracks over the loss of their colleagues, but shook the City as well. The entire City of Wellington was in mourning for these three men and their funeral was one of the largest to be seen in Wellington for years. The *Evening Post* recorded:

> One of the largest and most representative funerals which have passed through Wellington's streets testified this afternoon to the intense interest in the disaster and sympathy with the victims families, felt throughout the city. Lieutenant Colonel Messenger had charge of the military arrangements. All members of the various Government Departments who desired to attend the funeral were given leave of absence in order to do so.
>
> At a few minutes after 1'clock the first portion of the cortege left the late residence of Sergeant Olive, in Crawford Street. The members of the D Battery, who manned the gun-carriage acted as bearers whilst comrades of the deceased in No. 2 Company (Torpedo Corps) were the pall bearers. Similar service was performed by members of the Battery and Torpedo Corps, on arrival at Roxburgh Street, where the bodies of Corporal Blick and Sapper Teague were taken. At the request of the relatives of the late sergeant, the funeral procession passed along Taranaki Street on its way to join the main body. Mrs Olive's relatives (including her father, Mr Haslem, and three brothers) were the mourners.
>
> Wreaths, with suitable inscriptions, were sent to the relatives of each of the deceased by their comrades of No. 2 Company, the Ministry and Colonel Penton. To Sergeant Olive's the Star Boating Club Sub-Marine Corps (for which he was at

[142] "Local and General," *Evening Post, Volume LVIII, Issue 34*, 9 August 1899, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18990809.2.24.4.

one time an instructor), Lady Douglas, and Sergeant-Major Boyle, also sent wreaths; as did the Rev D. FitzGerald and the officers of the Trinity Wesley Church to Corporal Blick's. Besides these representative contributions there were numerous wreaths sent by relatives and friends to each of the homes of the bereaved.

Whilst Sergeant Olive's body was being convoyed along Taranaki Street detachments from the Permanent Militia and D Battery took possession of the coffins, containing the bodies of Corporal Blick and Sapper Teague, both of which had been lying at the homo of Mrs Gauntlett in Roxburgh Street. Mr W. Blick (Brother of the late Corporal) and three nephews of the deceased followed as chief mourners.

Meanwhile, Courtenay Place where the Permanent Militia and Volunteers wore being marshalled by their officers under the direction of Sergeant-Major Finn, was thronged with people. Excellent order was maintained, and when, at 2 o'clock the Garrison Band began to play "The Garland of Flowers" the procession started along Courtenay Place into Manners and Willis Streets, and along Lambton Ouay in the following order: A firing party of 20 members of the Permanent Artillery, under Sergeant Gentles; Garrison Band; the three guns bearing the remains; immediate relatives as mourners; Permanent Militia; Volunteers; Fire Brigade; Police; carriages containing the Right Hon the Premier, Sir Arthur Douglas, and other reprehensive men, including members of Parliament; and a number of the public on foot. The Count de Coure, French Consul, was also present.

The following is approximately, the parade state: Permanent Artillery 60; Garrison Band, 20;Zealandia Rifles, 30; Kelburne Rifles, 25; Star Boating Club Sub-marine Mining Corps, 27; Wellington Guards, 25; Wellington City Rifles, 35; Institute Naval Cadets, 24; Wellington Navals, 80; Petone Naval Artillery 50; College Rifles, 25; Wellington Cycle Corps, 10; Post and Telegraph Rifles, 35; Heretaunga Rifles (on foot), 17; Fire Brigade, 12;· Police, 20.Sergeant P.B. Mcintosh (Victoria Rifles), represented the Auckland Infantry Battalion; and Lieutenant E. Davis represented the Devenport Torpedo Corps, Auckland.

Along the line of route the thoroughfares were crowded with spectators. Flags were flown at half-mast all over the· city (including those at the Government Buildings and Government Life Insurance Buildings), as well as on most of the vessels in port. At the Government Buildings a large number of Civil servants and members of both Houses of Parliament joined the procession, as also did Colonel Penton and Major Madocks, both in full uniform.

> The route after leaving the quay was along Molesworth Street, past the Parliamentary Buildings, through Hill Street into Tinakori Road and on to karori.[143]

Apart from these tragedies, life in the Permanent Militia before the turn of the Century was a fairly quiet one. It is of little surprise then, that when the Government found -itself falling on hard times that it was the defence vote which tended to come under the scalpel. 1888 was to mark the Permanent Militia's first introduction to this reduced Government spending. In that year the financial position of the colony deteriorated drastically. The Government in reaction to this cut its spending accordingly. Thus there was a retrenchment in Defence spending with the Permanent Militia having to bear the brunt of this. The Engineer and Rifle branches of the Force wore abolished from 1 April 1888, leaving only the Permanent Artillery (see Photo 6:1) and Torpedo Corps. Men from the abolished branches wore transferred into one of the surviving branches if they were qualified, otherwise they were discharged. New Artillery and Torpedo branch establishments were laid down; the former was henceforth not to exceed 191, the latter 51 men, plus officers, Both were also set pay rates which ranged from 8/6 (85c) per day for a Sergeant-Major or Petty Officer, to 5/6 (55c) per day for a Third-class gunner or torpedoman. Many of the officers of the Force were also dispensed with in 1888, out of fifteen originally allowed for seven were dismissed including the Commanding Officer and all three Majors. Total cuts in personnel came to about 100 men.[144]

This general retrenchment within the Defence Budget had a direct effect upon Mount Cook itself. The buildings themselves were starting to show signs of their age and the standard of accommodation they offered for the Permanent Militia was deteriorating. With a reduced Defence Budget maintenance and replacement of these old buildings was suspended. Consequently, by the early 1890's the buildings on Mount Cook were in a very sorry state indeed. Symptomatic of these poor conditions, particularly in regard to the Barracks sanitation was the outbreak of typhoid in 1892. The Defence Report of 1892 observed:

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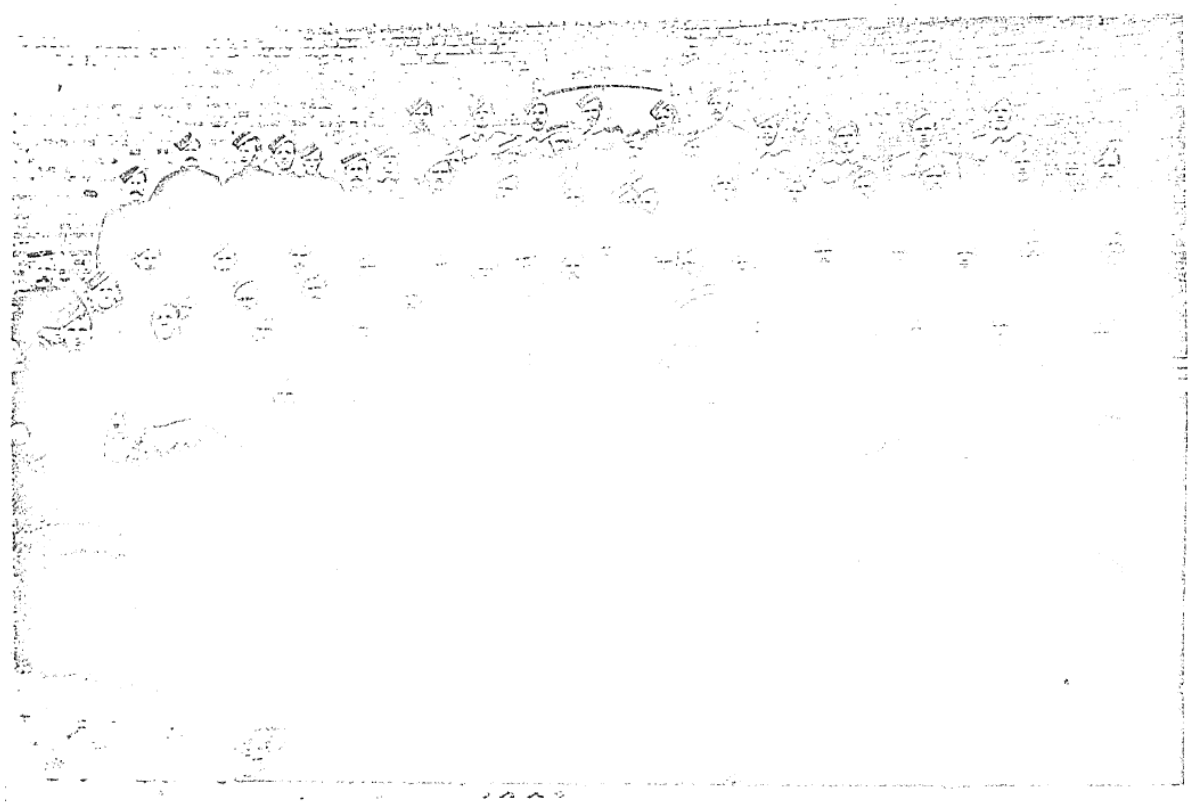
[143] "A large and representative funeral," *Evening Post, Volume LVIII, Issue 34*, 9 August 1899, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18990809.2.51.

[144] Stevens, "*NZ Defence Forces & Defence Administration, 1870-1900*," 102-3.



Photograph 6.1:

> An epidemic of typhoid fever broke out in the Mount Cook Barracks in February last to Nine men were attacked, two died; but the cause of the outbreak has not been satisfactorily accounted for.[145]

Despite this lack of knowledge as to the cause of the epidemic suspicion fell upon the outdated sewerage system at the Barracks. Major Messenger inspected this system and noted that:

> The whole of the closets are the old bucket closets. Of these there are four on the southern side of the Barracks two of which are nailed up …..With respect to the two which are .nailed up I would beg to suggest that they be removed altogether the structures are very old and only fit to be pulled down.
>
> In connection with the other closets I would beg to suggest that for general use a building be erected with a Doultons Improved Trough Closet for the men, and in connection with this it could perhaps be advisable to make provision for bathrooms. This of course would be expensive but if Mount Cook is to be the Permanent Militia Depot the question will have to be gone into at no distant date and most of the structures are very old and the timber decayed it could be

[145] "Report on the New Zealand Forces, ," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1892 Session I, H-12* (1892), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1892-I.2.3.3.14.

> as well to have a drawing made of the place and a proper system of drainage inaugurated which should be laid with a view to meet future requirements.[146]

Major Messenger recommended that £200 ($400) worth of improvements be undertaken in order to improve the Barrack's sanitary conditions. But, these recommendations did not alleviate the potential threat of typhoid for the men. In order to avoid the disease, it was decided to evacuate the barracks themselves and fumigate them. On the 28th March the men at the Depot were placed under canvas at Shelly Bay. Here the men remained until the weather became too broken for them to lead a comfortable existence under canvas. Once this happened they were moved back to Mount Cook, but this time they were placed in rooms on Upper Mount Cook in buildings which had been erected for the accommodation of the ' prison officers who were supposed to man the new prison.

Unfortunately for the men this was far from the end for their troubles. As Major Messenger reported, this new accommodation was far from satisfactory.

> The room at the Upper Barracks, Mt Cook, which was occupied by the Permanent Artillery after the outbreak of typhoid fever and which was subsequently inspected by the City Corporation Officer and pronounced by him as unfit for the men to sleep in…… I having at once placed the men in two tents pitched outside the barracks square, this was on the 12th Dec last……..Nothing has been done about the draining since, and it will not be advisable if it can be avoided to keep the men in tents during the winter months.[147]

Yet again the men found themselves forced to live under canvas. To make matters worse, the Minister of Defence had given approval for Major Messenger's recommendations to be undertaken. The Public Works Department was called upon to make the necessary alterations. With his men forced to live under canvas, Major Messenger was fairly scathing in his criticism of the slowness of the work. He wrote to the Under Secretary of Defence, Lt Col Hume:

> I have to bring under your notice the state that the barrack rooms, yards and outbuildings, at the Permanent Militia Depot are in at the present time; soon after the epidemic of typhoid fever last summer when the men were moved to the upper barracks Mt Cook, the Public Works Dept opened up the drains, emptied some old cess-pools and partly demolished some of the old buildings

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[146] "PM 92/106 Typhoid Fever at Depot," *Archives New Zealand Item AD Series 2/5* (9 March 1892).
[147] "PM 93/47 Further to State of Mt Cook Barracks," *Archives New Zealand Item AD Series 2/5* (30 January 1893).

> etc., the work was then suddenly stopped, and the place has remained since in a terrible state of disorder, drains partly opened in which water collects and stagnates, heaps of earth and partly stripped buildings, the entrance gate is completely rotten and fallen to pieces.
>
> I think it is my duty to point out the necessity that exists of some steps being taken to put the place in order before the heat of the summer comes on.[148]

By mid 1893 the men were at last able to return to their barracks, but, the improvements of the previous year only were a short way to overcoming the ravages of time which afflicted the old Lower Mount Cook complex. from now on, the annual Defence Reports put out calls recommending their replacement.[149]

Fortunately for the Government a solution to this problem lay in close proximity to the old barracks and would more importantly involve them in a minimal cost to implement it. The new Mount Cook Gaol which had been the subject of so much public protest lay empty on the top of Mount Cook. With the advent of the Boer War, increased pressure was placed upon the Government to make more space available for the expanded Defence Forces. In 1901 the Defence Report was able to note:

> The Permanent Force at Wellington, have gone into occupation of the Mount Cook Gaol building, which have proved eminently suitable as barracks. Each man has a small room to himself, and there is excellent provision for mess and recreation rooms. Gymnastic appliances are also fitted up there.[150].

Despite the onerous reputation of being the new occupants of Mount Cook Gaol, the men were generally pleased with the much improved standard of living which the prison offered. Perhaps this says a lot for the conditions under which the Permanent Militia had to exist for the final years of the Nineteenth Century. The Prison was renamed the Alexandra Barracks after the then Queen. What is even more ironic is that it finally took the advent of the Boer War to force the Government into recognising that the Defence Forces did need a new General Headquarters.

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[148] "PM 92/411, Calling Attention to the State of the Permanent Militia Depot Mt Cook Barracks," *Archives New Zealand Item AD Series 2/5* (30 January 1892).
[149] "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the), by Colonel A.P Penton, RA, Commander of the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1900 Session I, H-19* (1 September 1900): 2, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1900-I.2.3.2.40.
[150] "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the), by Colonel A.P Penton, RA, Commandant of the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1901 Session I, H-19* (1 September 1901), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1901-I.2.4.2.28.

The Boer War meant at last the conditions for service' which had been introduced in the 1886 Defence Act were actually implemented. This meant that a large force had to be trained and then sent outside the colony for ‘special service’. Thus, the Permanent Militia Depot at Mount Cook was placed under a tremendous amount of pressure. It was recognised how run-down the Permanent Militia had been allowed to come. Like the buildings which housed it, the Permanent Militia showed signs of years of neglect. There was a drastic shortage of staff officers and permanent N.C.O instructors which were vital if the New Zealand Contingents were to see service. To overcome this dilemma the staff at General Headquarters was expanded and a School of Instruction set up.[151] The expanded GHQ consisted of the Commandant with his personal staff officer, one Assistant Adjutant General, and staff officers for artillery and engineers. All except the AAG were on loan from the British Army.[152] The School of Instruction worked on the principle that the permanent instructors should train the Volunteer Officers and N.C.Os who in turn would train their own men. In this way, the Permanent Militia at Mount Cook were able to overcome the problem training a large overseas force. To their credit, New Zealand was able to train and dispatch ten contingents consisting of 336 officers and 6159 other ranks.

The ability of the Permanent Militia at Mount Cook to train such large numbers of men raised the problem of space within which to undertake this process. There was a call for a new drill hall to be constructed. There was already a drill shed on the northern side of Buckle Street, but this had been built in 1880 and was now too congested to serve its intended purpose. In 1906, it was decided that if such a situation arose again when it would be necessary for such large numbers of men to be trained, it was vital that they light, it was decided that Wellington needed a new Drill Hall.

[151] "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the), by Colonel A.P Penton, RA, Commandant of the Forces," 2.
[152] Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army*, 57.

Photograph 6.2: Photograph, taken on 1 June 1907, showing the crowd present at the laying of the foundation stone for the new Garrison Hall, corner Buckle and Taranaki Streets. The old Drill Shed can be seen at centre left. Source: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS19070613-7-4

On 1st June 1907, the foundation stone-laying ceremony was undertaken (see Photo 6:2). The *Evening Post* gave a full account of the ensuing ceremony and speeches and provides an excellent illustration of the "Imperial Atmosphere" under which it was decided to construct the Drill Hall.

> The foundation-stone of the new Garrison Hall to be erected at Buckle Street was laid by his Excellency the Governor on Saturday afternoon. There was a large muster of volunteers who presented a fine show in their bright and varied uniforms, the parade, being in charge of Colonel Collins·, VD., and the Garrison Band and the Engineers' Band played selections of music before and after the ceremony. The colours were carried by lieutenants Maben and Roache. The Heretaunga Mounted Rifles supplied the escort, and the Field Engineers carried out the arrangements in connection with the lowering of the heavy foundation-stone in position.
>
> The Acting Minister of Defence (Hon. McNab), in asking his Excellency to lay the foundation-stone, said that the occasion marked a new era in volunteering in the Empire City. The conditions under which volunteers had been trained in Wellington could be sufficiently indicated when he told them that the present accommodation dated back for a period of thirty years. During that time the number of volunteers had enormously increased. He believed that when the present accommodation was first built the number of volunteers in the city did not exceed 250 officers and men; now the number was 1138, and naturally, the

accommodation was not equal to the requirements. In addition to the increase in the number of volunteers there had been a great development in, the science of warfare all over the world. The number of the branches of the service had enormously increased. The amount of time and attention which had to be given to those branches increased as the years went by, and the Government must provide accommodation and facilities for officers and men to be educated and to educate one another in their noble profession. After a great deal of trouble and anxiety, the Government had consented to erect a structure that would be suitable to the requirement of today, and they were there to lay the foundation stone of that edifice. It was sufficient to say that there would be accommodation for drill purposes, for lecture purposes, and the hundred and one other purposes required. They hoped that the building would effect the object for which it was intended and turn out men better fitted than they had been in the past for the defence of their country, although they, one and all, hoped that the day would be far distant when the walls of the new building would re-echo with the tramp of men going out of it to take part in active warfare. They trained their volunteers for the defence of the Empire, and not for any purposes of offence, and that being so, it was to be hoped that the rulers of the Empire, might, by their wise counsels, postpone to a far distant date the time when the volunteers would be required to make use of the education that they were going to receive.

His Excellency was then presented with a silver trowel by the Government Architect (Mr J. Campbell) and duly laid the foundation-stone. It was indeed, he said, a red-letter day in the history of volunteering in the province of Wellington, and it was not necessary for him to enlarge upon the difficulties which the volunteers in the past had had to surmount. They all probably knew a great deal more about it, and to their costs than he did, but he joined with them in thanking and congratulating the Government upon having now agreed to erect the excellent building which would shortly be placed on that spot. He hoped, however, that the people of New Zealand would not be satisfied with the ordinary routine of work in instructing and encouraging volunteers which the Government was carrying on, but that they would continue to assist in every possible way those volunteers who, in time of peace, had sacrificed themselves to be ready if necessary for war. They prided themselves on the greatness and the liberties of the British people, and upon the splendid history of loyalty and devotion, even unto death, which they had displayed in the past, but they must not forget that times are changing, and that the white population of two great countries at any rate - Germany and America - are already greater than the white population of the British Empire, and that it is growing at an even faster rate than we are; nor should they forget that the Japanese, our allies, counted dying for their country and their Emperor as an ordinary virtue, such as we would hold truth or common honesty to be. The British Empire, therefore, could not rest satisfied by relying on the past bravery of her soldiers and sailors. They had to face the future - it might be the immediate future, and it was when such

> thoughts as those forced themselves upon him that he rejoiced in the splendid volunteer movement that exists in this country, and which he knew every New Zealander rejoiced in, and the admirable way in which it was being carried on. Might he be allowed to make an appeal to those to whom the protection of the Empire and the colony were as dear as to himself - he meant the merchants of the colony. He knew that one of the great difficulties that the Defence Council had to face was the short time that volunteers could get away from their regular employment. They could not train efficient soldiers by merely night drill, or the occasional holidays which they so readily and cheerfully gave up. What was needed was several days' training · altogether. The volunteers were making great sacrifices, giving up holiday after holiday, in order to be prepared to defend their country. He hoped that the employers would do their best for them, that they, in their turn, would make sacrifice not only of their convenience, but also to a certain extent in their purses. He again congratulated the volunteers upon the splendid new hall which was being erected, and he was quite confident that once it was in working order they would see an even greater increase in the splendid force which the capital city already had in its volunteers. (Applause)
>
> The ceremony concluded with three hearty cheers being given for his Excellency.
>
> The guests were subsequently entertained by the trustees in the old drill hall, Captain J. O'Sullivan and Mrs O'Sullivan carrying out the duties of host and hostess. The hall had been appropriately decorated, a prominent feature being a huge 6in gun, one of the latest pattern, which excited a good deal of interest, particularly among the civilian portion of the visitors. The affair passed off very successfully, the weather being fine, and it was witnessed by a large crowd of spectators, who appeared to take the liveliest interest in the proceedings.[153]

The construction of the Drill Hall, although alleviating the space shortage at Mount Cook, raised a problem which had been festering for years since the withdrawal of the Imperial Troops in 1869. With the Drill Hall nearing completion, it was decided to vest the land upon which it was being built and the adjacent area in Trustees under Section 10 of the 'Volunteer Drill-Sheds and Lands Act of 1888'. But, this proposal came upon a major snag: the land was not owned by anyone within New Zealand. The Under-Secretary for the Commissioner of Crown Lands wrote to the Secretary of Defence saying:

> I have to inform you that the land upon which the Drill Shed is being erected is a portion of the land that was granted to the Principal Officers of His Majesty's

[153] "New Garrison Hall," *Evening Post, Volume LXXIII, Issue 130*, 3 June 1907, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19070603.2.14.

> Ordinance for and on behalf of His Majesty on the 9th July, 1850, and no alteration has been made in that title.[154]

What was further discovered was that the entire Mount Cook Reserve itself was still theoretically the property of the British Government in London. To overcome this, it was decided that the Government would communicate with the Secretary of State for the Colonies through the Governor in order to correct this matter. The issue was finally resolved by an Order in Council on 10th August 1909 when both lots of land were officially vested in the Government of New Zealand (See Appendix II). The muddle of Mount Cook Reserve titles had finally been resolved after forty years.

The new Drill Hall apart from providing an excellent training facility also served as a social focal point for both the soldiers at Mount Cook and Wellington's citizens.[155] Its most glittering occasion was the yearly Soldiers' Ball which was a highlight of Wellington's social calendar.

Occasionally too, the Drill Hall was called upon to play a more sombre roll. One such instance was an 12th February 1909 when the SS. Penguin sank off Wellington Heads.

The *Evening Post* recounted this sorry tale:

> All Saturday afternoon and on into the night the great waves boomed like minute guns on the beach by Tom's Rock, and gave up the dead, one by one, till it was known that the number of lost lives was seventy. The savage sea and the pitiless tempest sang a dirge for the men, women, and children whom their fury had brought to death. Hour after hour on Saturday the friends and relatives of the passengers and crew hoped for some comfort, but the passing of the hours only increased the list of the drowned in that treacherous waste of water, where snares are set for ships. It is many years since such a terrible disaster as the wreck of the Penguin has occurred in New Zealand. When the Post went to press on Saturday it was stated approximately that 70 people (passengers and crew) had perished in the waves, and that only 30 out of a total of over one hundred on board had been saved. Even now it is impossible to get a precise statement of the number of people who were on the vessel when she struck, but the figures given on Saturday must be practically correct. The latest estimate gives:-
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | Passengers lost | | 45 |
> | Crew lost | 29 | |
> | Saved | 30 | |

[154] "Correspondence Under-Secretary for the Commissioner of Crown Lands to Secretary of Defence," *Archives New Zealand Item LS57607 Bundle 4* (4 February 1908).
[155] The Drill Hall was also equipped with three 25 yard shooting ranges in its basement.

Total on board 104

These figures, however, are subject to correction, but it appears to be beyond doubt that at least 70 people perished. The ship's papers were lost when the vessel went down, and there is consequently no record of the names of those passengers who were returning to Wellington on return tickets. Up to midnight 52 bodies had been recovered, and 25 of these had been identified. That, taking account of the survivors, if the approximate list is correct, would leave about 20 still missing.

The police worked untiringly all day yesterday to rescue the bodies from the waves, and the public can form some idea of the difficulty of the melancholy task when it is stated that the bodies were washed ashore over a stretch of five miles.

The task of taking the dead to Wellington will be a trying one. Yesterday afternoon arrangements were made to have the bodies packed over the Makara ranges to a point where vehicular traffic is possible.

One of the first to reach the scene yesterday was Dr M Arthur, District Coroner. He left town at 6 o'clock in the morning, and rode out via the beach from Island Bay. In order to expedite the removal of the dead, the Coroner gave relatives permission to have bodies which had been identified removed to Wellington. Fortunately, the Legislature passed an Act last session which gives Coroners authority to issue a burial certificate without requiring a jury to view a body. All day long willing workers toiled away with stretchers collecting the corpses.

In the afternoon there must have been over one hundred men on the shore mounted on horses, and many more had trudged out from Island Bay on foot.

The survivors are all well, with the exception of Mrs Hannam, who is suffering from shock. One and all commend this lady, who, as stated on Saturday, is the only female to survive the tortures of that black Friday night. Although she has lost her delicate husband and her four children aged 10, 5, 3 and 2 respectively, she managed to save the life of the little fellow Matthews. The survivors, too, are filled with admiration of the behaviour of the two stewardesses, Mrs Jacobs and Mrs Hope, who busied themselves in attending to the female passengers and providing them with lifebelts until the last. [156]

With such a large loss of life and numerous bodies still unidentified, the Drill Hall was utilised as a temporary morgue so that relatives might come and claim them.

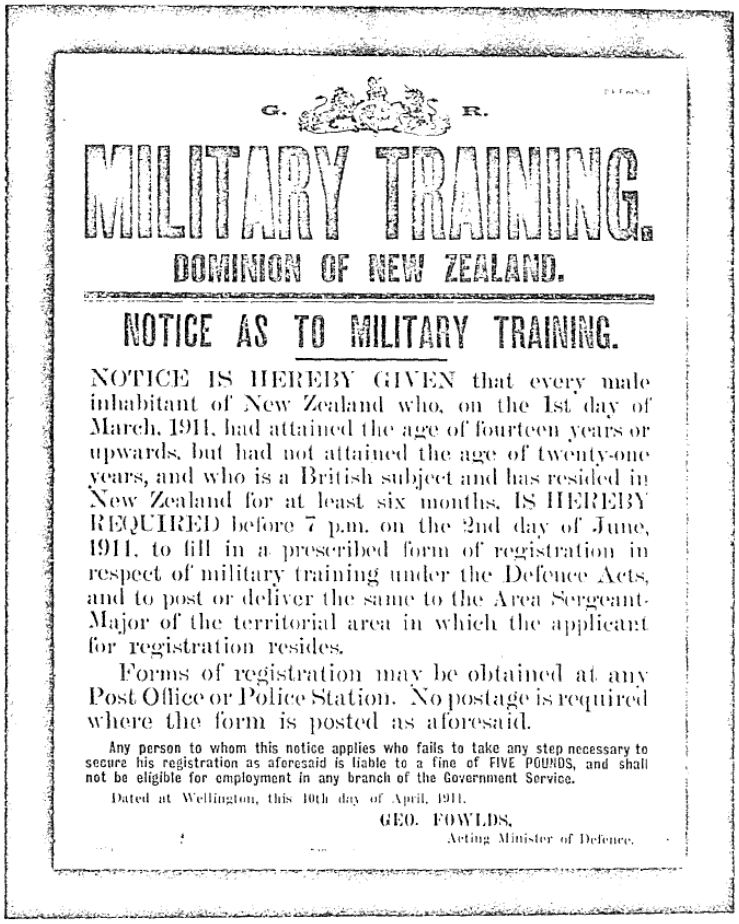
Apart from this sorry incident, 1909 at least for the Permanent Militia was to mark a new era in its development. In that year, it was decided to abolish the old volunteer system

[156] "The Penguin Disaster," *Evening Post, Volume LXXVII, Issue 38*, 15 February 1909, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19090215.2.22.

which had become more of an anachronism as opposed to an effective military force. The defence of the Dominion were remodelled on a 'Territorial' basis embodying the principal of compulsory military training. Military training was made compulsory on the following brackets:

Junior Cadets from 12 to 14
Senior Cadets from 14 to 18 years of age (1910 amended and extended to 25 years of age)
Reserve from 21 to 30 years of age.

All those within those age groups (excluding the 12-14 year olds) had to register themselves (See Photo 6:3). The Act divided New Zealand into four Military Districts Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago. Each District was in turn subdivided into fifty areas, and recruits were required to do their training in their own township or "territory". Hence the title "Territorial Army"[157]



G. R.

MILITARY TRAINING.

DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND.

NOTICE AS TO MILITARY TRAINING.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that every male inhabitant of New Zealand who, on the 1st day of March, 1911, had attained the age of fourteen years or upwards, but had not attained the age of twenty-one years, and who is a British subject and has resided in New Zealand for at least six months, IS HEREBY REQUIRED before 7 p.m. on the 2nd day of June, 1911, to fill in a prescribed form of registration in respect of military training under the Defence Acts, and to post or deliver the same to the Area Sergeant-Major of the territorial area in which the applicant for registration resides.

Forms of registration may be obtained at any Post Office or Police Station. No postage is required where the form is posted as aforesaid.

Any person to whom this notice applies who fails to take any step necessary to secure his registration as aforesaid is liable to a fine of FIVE POUNDS, and shall not be eligible for employment in any branch of the Government Service.

Dated at Wellington, this 10th day of April, 1911.

GEO. FOWLDS,
Acting Minister of Defence.

[157] J.R MacIvor, "NZ Military History," *Defence Library*.

The Act specifically authorised the establishment of an Expeditionary Force recruited on a voluntary basis.

> It shall be lawful for the Government at any time to accept the offer of any members of the Territorial Force, signified through the Commanding Officer, to subject themselves to the liability to serve in any place outside New Zealand, and upon such an offer being accepted, they shall be liable whenever required during the period to which the offer extends to serve accordingly and while so serving shall be subject to the provision of the Imperial Army Act.[158]

Since Field Marshal Viscount Kitchener was shortly to visit New Zealand to advise the Dominion on defence matters. it was decided not to implement this Act until Kitchener's recommendations had been received.

Apart from the opportunity for providing a spectacular occasion for the colonists to show off for one of the Empire's great heroes, and the possible economic to be provided by such a visit (See Photo's 6:4 and 6:5), Kitchener's tour was to have an immense impact on the development of New Zealand's defence forces, and particularly, the Army Headquarters at Mount Cook.

[158] "Defence Amendment Act 1910," *Parliamentary Counsel Office* (31 July 1910), http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/daa19101gv1910n21208/.

LORD KITCHENER

SAYS:—"Strategy is the art of using common sense."

SMOKE

VICTORY

TOBACCO

AND

USE YOUR COMMON SENSE

Man must offset toil by keen enjoyment.

Earth has no greater comfort than a good Tobacco—such as "VICTORY."

Rising into air, the curling smoke assuages dreariness, drives care away, furnishes inspiration for noble deeds, and teaches patience and goodwill to fellow men.

Therefore, smoke

"VICTORY."

Sold in 2-oz. Tins and Plugs everywhere.

FIELD-MARSHAL
LORD KITCHENER,

THE HERO OF A HUNDRED FIGHTS AND THE GREATEST GENERAL OF THE AGE!

HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER (born in County Kerry, 24th June, 1850) is now in his 50th year; and probably no man in the British Army has ever had honours heaped upon him so deservedly as "KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM." His present tour throughout the Australasian Colonies and the Dominion of New Zealand is a triumphant one. The genius upon whom all the military world is looking has risen to the high position he now holds purely by merit and force of character. During all the troubles in South Africa his name was a synonym for success. Unassuming and diffident, courteous and considerate, he has, by his gentlemanly bearing, won the esteem of all who have come in contact with him. Many of the young men of the day have tried to emulate him, and many have partially succeeded.

Young then and old men of New Zealand, take KITCHENER for your model. Try and be like him. If it is not possible for you to emulate his deeds in the military arena, do the next best thing—DRESS LIKE HIM! You will find the UNION CLOTHING COMPANY'S STORES will supply all your up-to-date requirements, from head to foot, at best value prices.

They are noted for their high-class ready-made tailored suits, from 45s, very suitable for business wear and quite equal, if not superior, to most of the so-called tailor-made suits at £5 5s. Another speciality with the UNION CLOTHING COMPANY is their very highly-finished boys' and youths' three-garment suits, with extension and bracelet knickers, which are now being worn by lads from 12 to 19 years of age, in the best English and Colonial all wool tweeds. The Taimu has brought us 48 cases of English novelties, which will be displayed in our windows in a few days, at the corner of Cuba and Manners streets, and Thorndon-street, Petone.

Kitchener stated that he expected Australia and New Zealand to play a full part in Imperial Defence. In order to achieve this he suggested that both countries should adopt homogenous systems of defence in order to achieve a more efficient fighting machine in the face of national danger. Kitchener aimed to establish a war machine sufficient to defend the Dominion and aid the Empire in time of need. He recommended a force of 80,000 in Australia, and on a population basis this called for a 20,000 strong New Zealand force. To justify the need for establishing a force in the Dominion of this size Kitchener quoted from his report to the Australian Government:

> It is an axiom held by the British Govt that the Empire's existence depends primarily on the maintenance of adequate and efficient Naval forces. As long as this condition is fulfilled and as long as British superiority at sea is assured, then

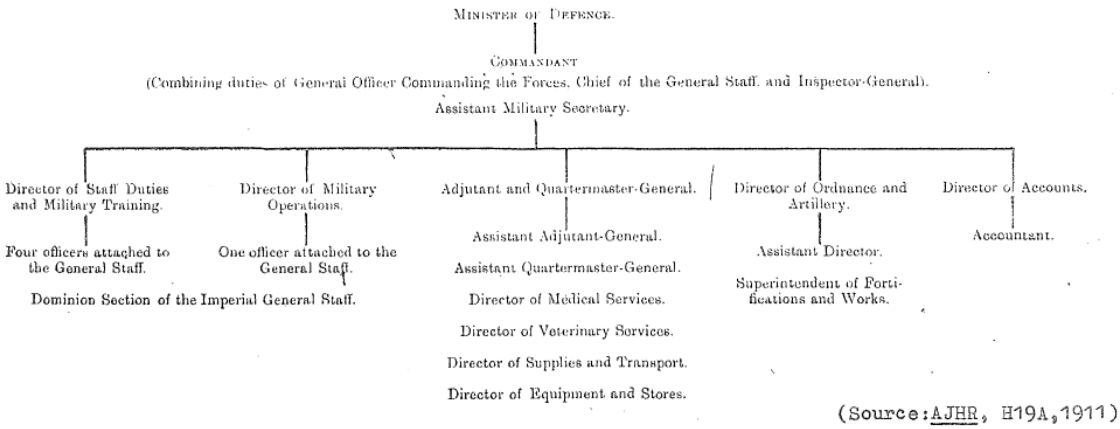
> it is an accepted principle, that no British Dominion can be successfully and permanently conquered by an organised invasion from overseas.
>
> But in applying this principle to Australasia, consideration of time and space cannot be disregarded. The conduct of a great war depends on the calculation and proper combination of naval, military and diplomatic forces; and it is quite conceivable that in the future, as in the past, national consideration may require the concentration of British Naval Forces in one or other theatre of operations. It follows that, in seas remote from such a concentration, the British Naval forces may find themselves for the moment inferior in force to an actual or potential enemy. In such a situation, although our ultimate superiority at sea may not be a matter of doubt, sometime might elapse before our command of the sea was definitely assured in all waters. It therefore becomes the duty of all self-governing Dominions to provide a military force adequate, not only to deal promptly with any attempt at invasion, but also to ensure local safety and public confidence until our superiority at sea has been decisively and comprehensively asserted. For this reason, it has been agreed that the Home Forces of the United Kingdom should be organised to compel an enemy contemplating an invasion to make the attempt on such a scale as to be unable to avoid our Naval Forces. The same arguments apply to Australasia, and its land forces should be calculated and organised on this basis.[159]

In order for New Zealand to carry out these recommendations the 1909 Act was implemented with minor changes. For the Army Headquarters at Mount Cook, there was a major reorganisation. To meet the demand for instructors and staff officers generally a new corps, the New Zealand Permanent Staff and New Zealand Staff Corps with establishments of 205 and 100 respectively was created, in addition to the RNZA. The Staff Corps consisted of officers only, the Permanent Staff of other ranks. General Headquarters was reorganised and expanded. The title of Commandant was replaced by that of General Headquarters was reorganised and expanded. The title of Commandant was replaced by that of General Officer Commanding the Forces and the first officer to hold the appointment was Major General Sir Alexander Godley who was sent out from England (See Photo 6:6). General Headquarters was reorganized on the following basis as Diagram 6:1 illustrates.

[159] "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand: Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces for the period from 7th December 1910 to 27th July 1911," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1911), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1911-I.2.4.2.30.

Photograph 6:6: Studio portrait of General (Gen) Sir Alexander Godley, KCMG, KCB, CB. AWM P03717.003

Diagram 6:1 ORGANIZATION OF HEADQUARTERS STAFF, NEW ZEALAND.—MARCH, 1911.



(Source: AJHR, H19A, 1911)

By 1912, this reorganised Army was making good progress. Now it was felt that New Zealand would be ready to meet any threat from an outside power. Little did they know that the following year would bring a threat from within New Zealand, and, Mount Cook would figure prominently in overcoming it.

CHAPTER 7: THE 1913 WATERFRONT STRIKE

1913 was to witness a vicious breakdown of labour employer relations with the Dominion's farming fraternity becoming heavily involved in this conflict. This involvement of the farmers would bring Mount Cook to prominence in the furore which ensued.

The origins of this conflict lay back in the final years of the Nineteenth Century. In 1894, the then Liberal Government introduced the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act. Under this Act, the country was divided into districts in which Conciliation Boards were set up. If the decision of a Board was to prove unsatisfactory either party, that is employers or employees could appeal to the Arbitration Court which was to consist of a Supreme Court Judge and two assessors elected by the employers associations and the unions. The decision of this Court was legally binding.

> The specific aim of this Act was to:
>
> Stimulate and protect unionism, for Reeves considered…that the unions were too weak to safeguard the interests of workers against employers.[160] The benefits to be derived from registration led to a great increase in the number of unions and an improvement in their efficacy. An early award of the court giving 'preference to· unions' over non-union labour gave them further encouragement…..Over the next decade it (the Arbitration Court) awarded many wage increases, thus ensuring that, in a period of rising prices, prosperity was to some extent shared by the industrial workers.[161]

With such innovative legislation, the Liberal Government was able to work its term in office with a period of complete industrial harmony. Between 1894 and 1906, there were no strikes in New Zealand. But as the years progressed from the I.C and A. Act's introduction discrepancies began to become apparent within this system. The Act tended to encourage a proliferation in the number of unions. Under its legislation if fifteen or more men wished to form an association they could be registered as a union. Thus, in 1893 there had been only 37 unions, but by 1906 this number had swelled to 274, consequently creating an impression of increased power on their part. The average membership of these unions was only about one hundred and twenty-four. Due to there being no ·'national' organisation round which these unions could rally, their effect as a lobby group upon Government

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[160] W.P. Reeves, Minister of Labour in the Liberal Government

[161] Keith Sinclair, *A history of New Zealand* (Penguin Books, 1980), 184.

opinion was minimal. Hence, they found that they could not influence the Government in introducing further social legislation to improve the lot of the working class in the Dominion.

Soon after 1900, the workers began to discover an additional grievance which would challenge the efficiency of the I.C. and A. Act. There developed a feeling that they were not sharing proportionately in the country's increasing prosperity. The Arbitration Court judges:

> Now somewhat less sympathetic than formerly to the unions, refused to adopt suggestions that they should introd0ce profit-sharing and contented themselves with fixing minimum wages. From 1902 to 1906 wages wore nearly stationary while the cost of living grew dearer; 'effective' wages, measured in terms of food and housing, began to decline, and despite some recovery about 1910, remained markedly lower than in 1903.[162]

From 1906, onwards, this lack of satisfaction with the Arbitration system and the unions artificially inflated feeling of power, constituted the economic milieu which provided the conditions for an upsurge of militancy in the trade unions.

This new aggressiveness manifested itself in several ways. Firstly, criticism of the I.E. and A. Act mounted. As the system of conciliation broke down, so pressure on the Arbitration Court increased. Between 1894 and 1901 the Court heard 135 cases, by 1901-1908 this had risen to 375 cases. Attitudes of the Court members were also singled out for criticism. Judge Sim, President of the Arbitration Court, 1907-13, was especially detested, and some union leaders recognised that the decisions handed down by the Court were increasingly hostile to the interests of labour. The Court had become a wage-fixing rather than a wage negotiating body. An amendment to the I.C. and A. Act in 1908, which strengthened penalties for strikes and lockouts only served to aggravate the discontent. Some unions registered their disgust by returning to direct bargaining - others chose to strike and, after 1908, many unions joined the newly formed Federation of Labour.[163]

The Federation of Labour had arisen out of a miners strike on the West Coast in 1908. The strike which lasted 11 weeks resulted in victory for the strikers and led to the founding of the Federation of Miners which soon expanded to become the Federation of Labour. Within a few years a number of unions became affiliated to it including most of the miners and

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[162] Sinclair, *A history of New Zealand*, 201.
[163] H. Campbell and V. Hughes, *'Massey's Cossacks': The Farmers and the 1913 Strike* (University of Auckland, 1977), 3. .

waterside workers. The FOL articulated the rift between employers and labour and encouraged unions to cancel their registration under- the I.C. and A. Act. It advocated strike action and within certain unions its influence became very strong. Its ideological colouring soon became apparent in its constitution with its preamble borrowing that of the International Workers of the World which in turn parroted the phraseology of Marx and Engels:

> The working class and the employing class have nothing in common.
>
> Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system ....
>
> It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism.[164]

Such rhetoric coupled with their strike action soon earned the Federation of Labour and its affiliates the title of 'Red Feds' and began to arouse the suspicions of certain groups within the Dominion, of whom the prime one was the Farmers.

The Farming community of the Dominion was becoming more and more concerned by this development in organised labour. In 1899 they began to take moves to counter this trend by ironically organising themselves into a union. But their union was fundamentally different. A circular issued by the Colonial Council of the Union in 1902 outlined this fundamental difference when it argued that:

> Combination should be met by combination: farmers who were alarmed at the views and statements of trade unionists could only put forward a clear statement of their own position by establishing an organisation of their own.[165]

Thus was born the New Zealand Farmers Union.

This anti-trade union stance brought the Farmers Union into a close association with the newly elected Reform Government led by William Massey in the period July 1912 - October 1913. What the farmers most liked was Massey‘s inflexible stance as the Minister of Labour, particularly with the handling of the Waihi Miners’ Strike in 1912.

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[164] Sinclair, *A history of New Zealand*, 203.
[165] New Zealand Farmers' Union, *Some Reasons why Every Farmer Should Join the N.Z. Farmers' Union* (Keeling & Mundy Print, 1902), 4.

Unfortunately, the Waihi Strike had also steeled the FOL's resolve, for now it was determined to flex its industrial muscle further. The Federation itself had grown into a powerful body with 1 in 5 of all organised workers in New Zealand (15,000 approx.) affiliated to it by 1912. Its power became evident in that year by the number of strikes - there were 35 in all, the highest annual total in the history of the country to date.

These events convinced the NZ Farmers Union of the need to be completely organised to aid the Government in helping to break these crippling strikes. In February 1912 the NZFU's newspaper urged farmers to take warning from the 'high-handed' acts of the FOL and the Trades and Labour Councils and predicted that:

> Sooner or later the attack of the labour forces will be directed against the primary producer…..To strengthen our forces and finances - now, is the best assurance of a successful issue when the fight comes.[166]

Now, the lines were clearly drawn, with the FOL and its associates wanting to flex their industrial muscle further to gain concessions for the workers, and the Government backed by the Farmers wanting to control and even eliminate this growth of the FOL and its associated industrial unrest. The scene was set for a major· showdown and rumours began to fly as to when it would occur. Most felt that it would come before the 1914 General Election. Besides, the Waterside Workers agreement with their employers was due to expire 1914; a strike to coincide with these negotiations seemed likely.

But, it was to be another union which would beat the watersiders to the gun. The Shipwrights' Union of Wellington, which was composed of at most 30 members, struck on October 10th 1913. To all appearances an acceptable solution to the problem seemed possible. For some 30 years the shipwrights had worked in the company's workshops in Victoria Street. When the company built a patent slip at Evans Bay it either provided transport or paid travelling time for men detailed to work there. In 1912 when the company shifted all of its workshops to Evans Bay, it· advised the men that neither transport nor travelling time would be given any longer. [167]

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[166] , Farmers Union Advocate, (10 February, 1912).
[167] *New Zealand Heritage, Vol 5*, 2024.

Although registered under the Arbitration Act the Union had never sought an award as direct negotiations usually sufficed. On March 19th 1913 the union protested to the company that the men were entitled to some compensation for the inconvenience. On April 9th the company's local manager con ceded that the men deserved some compensation. Thereafter nothing happened.

In retaliation to this inaction on the part of the company, the Shipwrights voted to cancel their registration under the Arbitration Act and affiliate with the Wellington Watersiders Union. This union had joined the Federation of Labour in January 1911.

The company now became more steadfast in its stance, declaring that their agreement with the shipwrights did not oblige' them to recognise wharf labourers as spokesmen for skilled shipwrights. On August 19th the Watersiders Union warned the company that “it would stand by the shipwrights in the event of trouble arising.” On October 17th the company refused to recognise the Watersiders Union in this dispute and declared that any stoppage of work would be deemed a blatant breach of the 1912 Agreement. Then the shipwrights struck.[168]

On October 22nd the shipwrights and watersiders held as topwork meeting. This lasted two hours and referred the dispute between the company and the shipwrights to the FOL. During this meeting the employers had hired alternative labour to take the absent men’s places. The employers (the Shipwright Company and the Wellington Harbour Board) agreed to let them return to work but refused to put them in their previous places. The men declared this a lock out.

This relatively minor incident was the signal for the trial of strength which had been rumoured so often since 1912. The 'Great Strike' of 1913 had begun.

The ‘locked out’ men immediately called a further meeting which was. attended by over 1,500. These men agreed to stop work until those at the morning meeting had been given back their places. The employers replied that they considered the stop work meeting a violation of their verbal agreement of 1912 which they had with the watersiders.

[168] *New Zealand Heritage, Vol 5*.

On October 24th violence began to erupt on Wellington's streets. On that day, the unionists charged through the gates of the wharves and attacked ‘scab’ labour loading the teamer *Defender*. On the same day representatives of the two sides met. The employers offered to accept the existing conditions and promised no victimisation but declined to recognise the old agreement on the ground that it provided them with no protection if the union broke it. The Watersiders Union rejected this, so negotiations broke down. ·

On October 26th the strikers, over 1000 strong again prevented any work being done on the wharves. Later in the day a vast crowd, marched to the Basin Reserve, stormed the gates and held a meeting. The Minister of Justice and Police, A.H. Herdman reassured those who wanted reassurance that "everything is being done by the Government to maintain law and order and ensure that proper protection is accorded to citizens and their property." The Government issued an appeal for 11 special constables" to aid the police, and for horses. [169] The moment had come which the Farmers Union had been waiting the fight had arrived!

The *Farmers Union Advocate* on the same day as Herdman had called for police reinforcement voiced its reaction to the strike and gave a clear indication of its stance by stating, “the sooner a good ·fight comes the sooner peace will reign.”[170]

Massey himself started making overtures to the Farmers Union. He approached the Union discreetly to find out whether any of its members would be willing to work as labour on the wharves. J.G. Wilson, the Dominion President of the Union wrote to Massey outlining how the strike would directly affect the farmers and what their reaction to this would be. He wrote that:

> It is the dairy farmer that is going to suffer. I hope we are in for a fight just now. The dairy farmer has never been threatened yet and this will rouse him. Already they are beginning to organise in the Wairarapa.[171]

On 28th October the *Herald* reported that the police had received a large number of applications for special constables including many from the country. [172]

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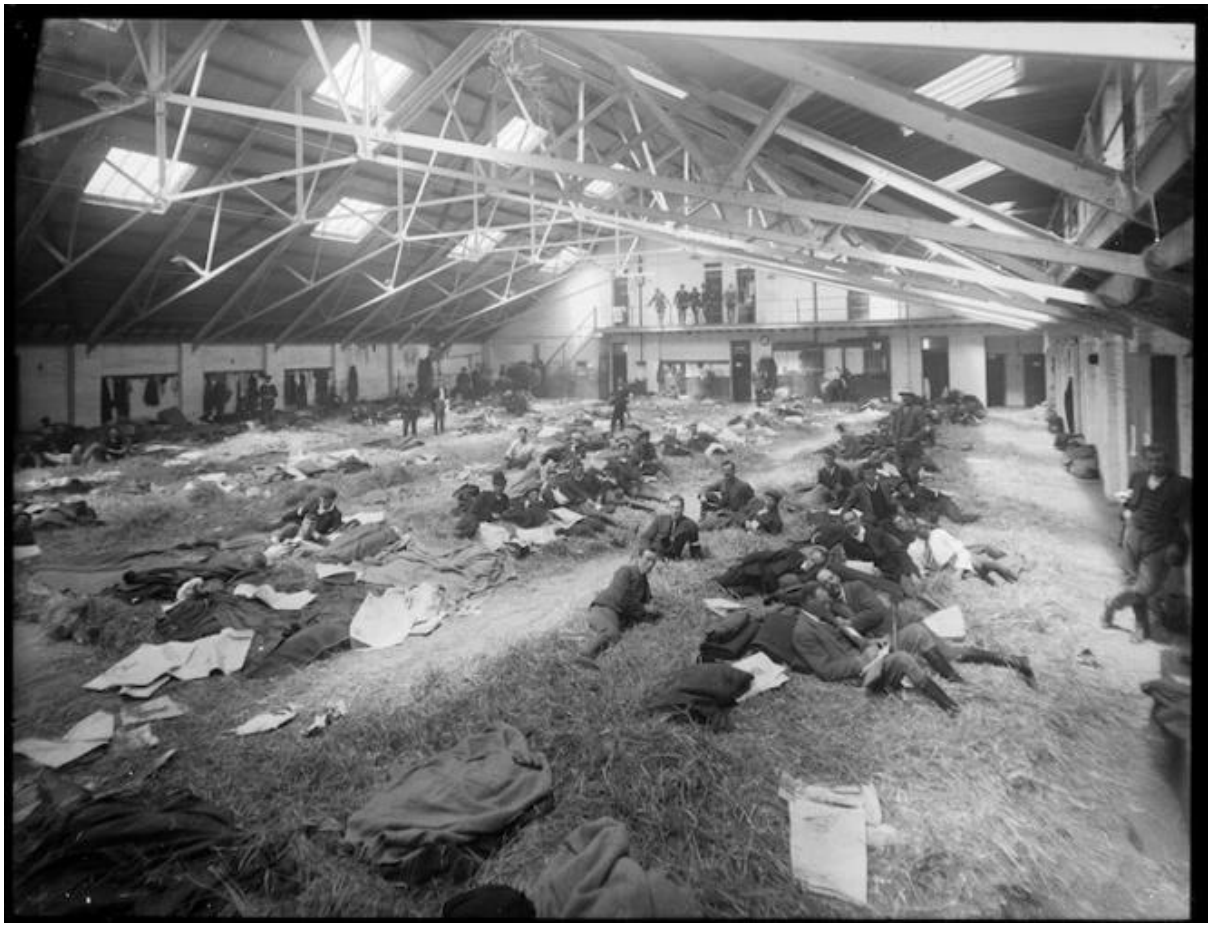
[169] *New Zealand Heritage, Vol 5*.
[170] , Farmers Union Advocate, (10 February, 1913).
[171] "Letter, Wilson to Massey," *Archives New Zealand PM 9/13* (27 October 1913).
[172] "An Appeal for Horses," *New Zealand Herald, Volume L, Issue 15441*, 27 October 1913, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19131027.2.78.

Photograph 7.1: Scene at Mount Cook Barracks, Wellington, during the 1913 waterfront strike, showing horses for the Mounted Special Police. Smith, Sydney Charles, 1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand. Ref: 1/1-019680-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22754726

By October 31st most of the contingents of 'Mounted Specials' had arrived in Wellington from the Wairarapa and Manawatu. These contingents were accommodated at the Military Barracks on Mount Cook (See Photos, 7:1 and 7:2). Here, there was sufficient room to. stable their horses and the constables if need be could be protected by the Army. Because of the large numbers involved, the Drill Hall and the adjacent schools were taken over for accommodation purposes. This in itself was to create problems for those buildings, particularly the Boys School, which were discussed in Chapter 5.



Photograph 7.2: Sleeping quarters for Special Mounted Police, at Mount Cook Barracks, Wellington, during the 1913 waterfront strike. Smith, Sydney Charles, 1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand. Ref: 1/1-019684-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23183228

The arrival of the Specials at Mount Cook instigated a form of propaganda war between the farmers and the strikers. The Farmers Union prepared large proclamation placards which emphasised the financial loss that farmers would incur should the strike continue. Readers were informed of 'produce from Nelson rotting on boats in the stream and the likely closure of those butter and cheese factories which depended on coal for fuel.'[173] The strikers replied to this literature with messages of their own:

> TO SPECIAL CONSTABLES
>
> Farmers Saris with whom we have no quarrel
>
> You have been deluded by the Shipping Combines into coming to Wellington TO BATON AND BLUDGEON US into subjection under the heels of that great trust which has raised the freight on your butter, cheese and wool. Why rob our children of their bread?
>
> If these Shipping Companies beat us you also will be beaten by them next. WHY NOT STANO ON YOUR DIGNITY AS MEN? Go peaceably to your homes. Let our

[173] Campbell and Hughes, *'Massey's Cossacks': The Farmers and the 1913 Strike*, 18.

> men go back to work. All they ask is their old agreement back again….Every union in Wellington and New Zealand is with us. The public who cheered you in are now hooting you round the streets. You will be branded for life. Why not come out. We will see you safely to the Station. Come out men, Come out.[174]

But, such messages were to no avail. Both sides were heavily entrenched in their own opinion, and the Farmers were more confident, for they knew they had the Government's backing. Massey himself had hardened his opinion considerably and saw no further need for negotiation. Massey wrote to J.H. Gunson the Chairman of the Auckland Harbour Board that:

> I am quite satisfied that there will never be any industrial peace in this country as long as the Red Feds are allowed to control matters 'or even interfere. At first I thought it was possible to make satisfactory arrangements for the settlement of the difficulty without attempting to oust the Red Federation. I am not of that opinion now.[175]

With two such diametrically opposed groups in such close proximity to each other it was inevitable that violence would erupt. On October 30th mounted specials rode down a crowd, who had gathered at Wellington's waterfront to watch and jeer the farmers loading the ships. (See Photos 7:3 and 7:4). Massey became very concerned at this outbreak of violence in Wellington and on the same day sent the following memorandum to the Governor General:

> The Prime Minister presents his compliments to His Excellency the Governor, and desires that he will kindly ask the Captain of HMS "Psyche" now in wellington Harbour, whether in the case of an emergency he would be prepared to land Officers and men, in order to maintain law and order, as it is apprehended that serious disturbances are likely to occur to the danger of life and property.[176]

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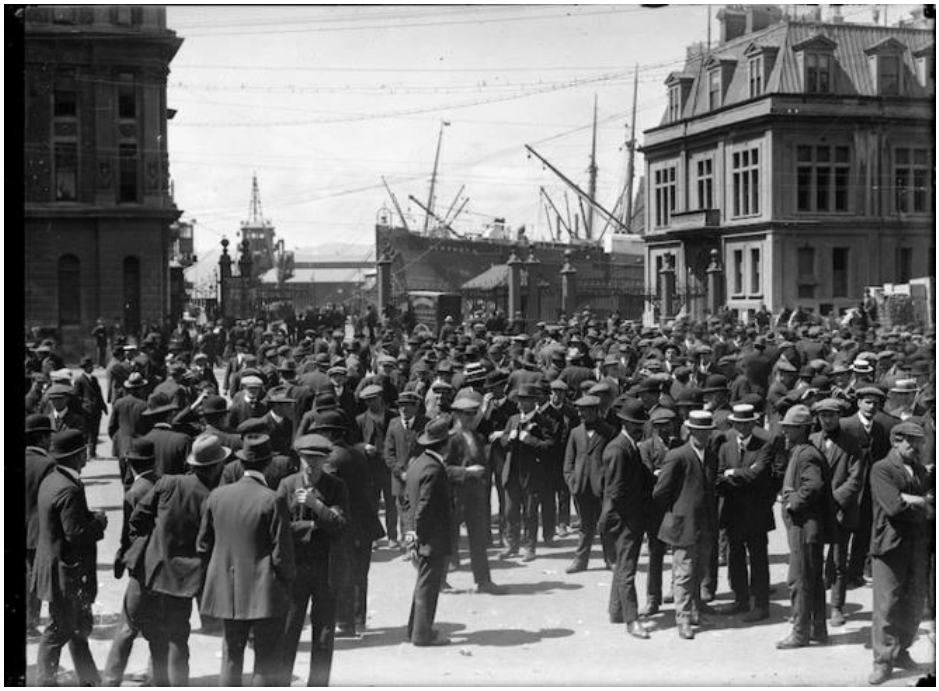
[174] *New Zealand Heritage, Vol 5*, 2028.
[175] "Letter, Massey to Gunson," *Archives New Zealand PM 9/13* (11 November 1913).
[176] "Memorandum for his Excellency the Governor," *Archives New Zealand PM 9/13* (30 October 1913).



Photograph 7.3: Crowd outside entrance to Queens Wharf, Wellington, during the 1913 Waterfront Strike. Smith, Sydney Charles, 1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand. Ref: 1/2-048927-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23110255

Photograph 7.4: Crowd on Jervois Quay, Wellington, during the 1913 waterfront strike. Smith, Sydney Charles, 1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand. Ref: 1/1-019675-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22749620

On the last day of October, in wellington at least, something akin to civil war seemed likely.

On November 1st, in an effort to display the armed might behind the Government, the

Regular Troops at Mount Cook were paraded with naked bayonets and a machine-gun post was established at the end of Buckle Street (See Photos 7:5 and 7:6).

Photograph 7.5: Buckle Street, Wellington, during the 1913 Waterfront Strike. Smith, Sydney Charles, 1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand. Ref: 1/2-049061-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23032408

Photograph 7.6: At Buckle Street, Wellington, during the 1913 waterfront strike. Smith, Sydney Charles, 1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand. Ref: 1/2-048786-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22820606

Despite this, further clashes between the Specials and the strikers still occurred. Clashes took place in Post Office Square, Taranaki, Featherstone and even Buckle Street itself. Those in authority almost lost control of the Post Office Square clash on 30th October, and only the appearance of a contingent from the *Psyche* restored order.[177]

In several such clashes revolvers were fired, wounding two civilians and although the police insisted that only the strikers were armed, there is evidence to believe that both sides possessed arms.

The most serious incident where guns were used, occurred in Buckle Street by the Mount Cook Barracks. In a report to Massey on the Buckle Street disturbance on 3rd November the-Police Commissioner Cullen said:

> Numerous complaints have been made as to the public blocking Buckle Street and people inside being insulted by being called all sorts of opprobrious names. The street had to be cleared to allow persons to pass, and when the police tried

[177] Campbell and Hughes, *'Massey's Cossacks': The Farmers and the 1913 Strike*, 27.

> to get the crowd back they could not get them to move, but began hitting the horses heads and throwing missiles. As the crowd would not move back it was decided to turn the hose on them, due warning being given, hose was first played on the road, but .no effect, then lightly on the people but still no effect. · Then a fusillade of stones, iron bolts etc. Sergt Major Thompson who was standing on the footpath a little distance away was struck on the head by a missile and sustained slight concussion, being taken to the hospital. Some of the special mounted constables were brought out to assist the Police in clearing the street and instructions given not .to hit anyone and to act gently in moving back the crowd. Before this was done some revolver shots were fired from under the veranda at the corner of the street. Disorder followed and more shots were fired from under the verandas but being dark it was not possible to see who fired them. No one as far as has been ascertained was hit. The streets were then cleared and the crowd kept back, the police taking up their patrol on the road. One of the iron bolts thrown was five inches long and half a pound in weight.
>
> The statement that special constables were under the influence of drink is absolutely contrary to fact. The specials have not been out of the camp except on horseback this morning and there has not been any liquor whatever taken into the camp. The Commissioner has been three times at the camp today and among the men and is quite positive on this point.[178]

The Dominion's correspondent, Pat Lawlor disagreed. He was not entirely convinced that the shots had been fired solely from strikers. In his report he stated that:

> Certainly shots were fired on November 3rd during as serious riot near Buckle Street….At about 7 pm I heard from my home (in Upper Cuba Street) the shouts of an angry crowd. I was out in a trice and hurried up to Taranaki Street…..Shortly I came on a shouting angry crowd of some hundreds. I saw men clutching pieces of metal and pulling palings off fences and a general air of feverish anticipation. I was told that the Specials had recently charged down the street and that another sortie was expected shortly also that horses had been used. I took cover behind a nearby fence and had not long to wait. There was a roar from the crowd, as the main body of the Specials charged down Taranaki Street shots were fired. It was now dusk so that although I saw the flashes of guns from the centre of the road any gun play from the footpath was more in the nature of an impression. Horses plunged and reared. Cries of anguish and two riderless horses told their tale; the crowd roared in anger and defiance. I had to rush for fresh shelter as men nearby kicked in the fence behind which I was sheltering for more palings to use as ammunition. There was a respite when the Specials passed onwards down the street but not for long. They wheeled around. As they galloped past the renewal of gunfire and the murderous fusillade of stones and palings, even an empty kerosene tin hurtled through the air at which horses reared dangerously. Two horsemen became detached from their fellows and the mob started in pursuit with renewed cries, but the pursued wheeled about on the footpath and in a frantic gallop past flying missiles

[178] "Letter Cullen to Massey," *Archives New Zealand PM 9/13* (3 November 1913).

> rejoined their mates now up the include in Buckle Street. It was time now for the rival factions to lick their wounds. The injured were removed from streets littered with debris. Doctors and an ambulance arrived. It was found that two civilians and a permanent officer had been wounded from the gunfire.[179]

The wounded specials; were taken to a temporary hospital at the Mount Cook Barracks.

References to the Specials sobriety, although there was no evidence to prove or disprove these claims, led to a back lash for pubs which catered to them. In particular, the Royal Tiger Hotel became a popular target, and in one instance the Specials had to charge a mob who were about to destroy it. During this melee a mounted constable was hit on the head by a missile and most of the hotel's were smashed.[180]

Such clashes did nothing to endear the Specials to the local populace Indeed many accusations of misconduct were levelled against them. Special Constables themselves revealed that they tended not to use their batons discreetly. In one charge at strikers, D.P. Fraser a Special Constable, noted that as casualties increased, "our baton strokes became heavier, and more than one striker got something that would make his head sing for a day or two''. At one point where crowds congregated, constables were unable to see who were strikers and who were not. Consequently, "anybody at hand got baton strokes dealt out to them''. Another Special Constable, G.D. MacKenzie, along with other 'Taranaki boys' worked out a plan whereby they 'clubbed' their way into houses and brought out stone throwers for the police.[181]

Shopkeepers and homeowners also complained of abuse. Several shopkeepers who refused to serve ‘specials’ complained of assault, and when one striker sought refuge from specials in a private home his pursuers wrecked havoc. “They wantonly smashed pictures, photos, crockery, a fire screen, a sewing machine and practically all the china and glassware in the room".[182] These actions earnt them the title of 'Uhlan's from the Country' or ‘Massey’s Cossacks'.

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[179] Andrews, *End of an Era, An Informal history of the military in the Mt Cook area of Wellington 1846-1979*, 33.
[180] "The Police Force of the Dominion," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1914 Session I, H-16* (1 January 1914): 7, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1914-I.2.3.2.26.
[181] Campbell and Hughes, *'Massey's Cossacks': The Farmers and the 1913 Strike*, 29.
[182] Sinclair, *A history of New Zealand*, 30.

In all fairness to the Specials though, it must be mentioned that there undoubtedly was provocation from the side of the strikers. Stones, bricks, nails and bolts had been thrown at them. Howling mobs continually taunted them in the streets, and in Wellington itself, there were even plans to ambush contingents of farmers arriving in the City.[183] Articles in the labour press continually published threats of retaliation upon the farmers through 'guerrillas' preparing to enter country districts to carry out acts of revenge.

As Photo 7:7 illustrates, these men were generally young and had not the training of the Police. It is understandable if they did act vigorously to such provocation. It is interesting to note that one of these Special Constables was Bernard Freyberg himself (see 3rd Row from Front and 7 from Left). As the Police Report of 1914 observed:

> In regard to the special constables called up to assist the Police during the strike the special mounted men who came to town from country districts wore hurriedly brought together into strange surroundings and conditions at a time of great excitement; many of them were young men who had seen little of town life previously. Notwithstanding this, their conduct was exemplary; they preserved their dignity and kept their temper under the most adverse circumstances.[184]

What is most important as regards the Special Constables is that they were a success. They achieved what they had set out to do. They broke the strike.

By setting up alternative unions under the Arbitration Act and enlisting themselves as union members, they destroyed the FOL's claims of using ‘scab' or 'free' labour. Soon, those disaffected with the strike began to trickle back to work. The FOL saw its industrial muscle wither before its very eyes. · By the end of November, most of the unions had returned to work with only some of the miners and watersiders still holding out.

The Specials too began to return to their home districts. With Massey’s ambition achieved (i.e. the Red Fads smashed) they were no longer needed in Wellington and Auckland. The last of his 'Cossacks' returned to the provinces when the strike was officially called off on December 20th. Mount Cook started to return to normality. All that was needed to be done,

[183] Campbell and Hughes, 'Massey's Cossacks': The Farmers and the 1913 Strike, 30.
[184] "The Police Force of the Dominion," 9.

was to arrange for the return of all the horses that had been billeted there, and to replace the hockey sticks of the Mount Cook Boys School.[185]

Photograph 7.7: [Special Constables at the Buckle Street Barracks]. From the album: Wellington waterfront strike, 1913. https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/721708

In all the Strike constituted a sorry incident in Mount Cook's history. For the first time in the country's history, the nations soldiers had been used to intimidate its own citizens. Regular troops had patrolled Wellington streets with guns and naked bayonets.

As for the FOL, with its muscle smashed, all hope of further industrial action was quashed. Now, it began to devote its energies into establishing a purely political party to represent the interests of labour. Besides, any hope of trying to revive industrial action was dashed by the events of the following year. 1914 was to mark the beginning of a wider conflict and which again would see Mount Cook figure prominently in another sorry incident in New Zealand's History.

[185] See Chapter 5

CHAPTER 8: WORLD WAR I: 1914 -1918

On 4 August 1914 the Rt Hon W.F. Massey rose in Parliament and, reading from a cable from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, declared, "War has broken out with Germany."[186]

The Prime Minister then moved a resolution "That in view of the fact that Great Britain has become involved in war with Germany this House approves of the necessary steps being taken by the New Zealand Government to have in readiness an Expeditionary Force". The motion was wholeheartedly supported by the Opposition and Government Members. The Prime Minister indicated that the Government intended to mobilise 7000 to 8000 men of the Territorial Force who would be- asked to volunteer for service in New Zealand or abroad.[187]2

The Government was able to undertake such an action due to the high state of readiness of New Zealand's Armed Forces. The reforms instituted by the 1909 Defence Act and lord Kitchener's visit meant that the years 1910-14 had marked a complete overhaul of the colony's defence forces. The new 'Territorial' force had a total strength of approximately 29,000 thus permitting an expeditionary force to be quickly established and despatched.

A few days after the declaration of War New Zealand was called upon to try out this new 'machinery' when the Governor General received a cable from the Secretary of State for War which asked:

> If your Ministers desire and feel themselves able to seize the German wireless station at Samoa , we should feel that it was a great and urgent Imperial Service.[188]

The New Zealand Government was eager to comply, but first sent a cable to the Colonial Office to ascertain what German forces and defences existed in Samoa. The reply advised, ''For information regarding the defences of Samoa see Whitaker's Almanac''· A search of this publication revealed no information. [189]

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[186] J.T. Henderson, *The Evolution of New Zealand Defence Policy, 1840-1939* (1971), 118.
[187] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (, 1914), 399-400.
[188] Henderson, *The Evolution of New Zealand Defence Policy, 1840-1939*, 119.
[189] William Downie Stewart, "Series 12 William Downie Stewart research papers relating to Sir Francis Henry Dillon Bell," *ATL-Group-00404* (1 May 1937): 115.

Despite this Lack of information, within a couple of weeks the Government was able to despatch a force of 1413 men drawn from territorial units in Auckland and Wellington commanded by Colonel Logan to occupy Western Samoa. This was accomplished in an unopposed landing on 29 August and thus giving New Zealand troops the honour to be the first of the allies to take possession of German territory. The reforms of the last four years were shown to have been a success by the completion of this action.

By September 1914 the Colony was ready to despatch the main body of its Expeditionary Force, but due to uncertainty created by German raiders in the Pacific and Indian Oceans their sailing was postponed until October when sufficient warships were made available for the convoy's protection. These troops, once they reached their destination, were placed under 'Imperial' contro1 and thus their actions fall outside the realm of this history. It was the machinery which kept up the constant supply of troops for the Imperial War machine which is of interest here. For Mount Cook formed the lynchpin of this organisation. On this site was located the Dominion’s Defence Headquarters and it was from here that the Government's policy in regards to New Zealand's Armed Forces was implemented. Because ·of this important role, Headquarters too had been reorganised and expanded so that the Defence Scheme could be administered properly. The title of Commandant had been replaced by that of General Officer Commanding the forces, and as previously mentioned Major General Sir Alexander Godley had been sent out from England for this expressed purpose. He had brought with him fifteen staff officers and a number of British instructors. They were loaned to New Zealand because the country did not possess the trained men capable of starting the new territorial system. Their secondary task was to train New Zealand officers and NCOs to be their successors.[190] The General Headquarters at Mount Cook was reorganised as Diagram 8:1 illustrates.

[190] Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army*, 77.

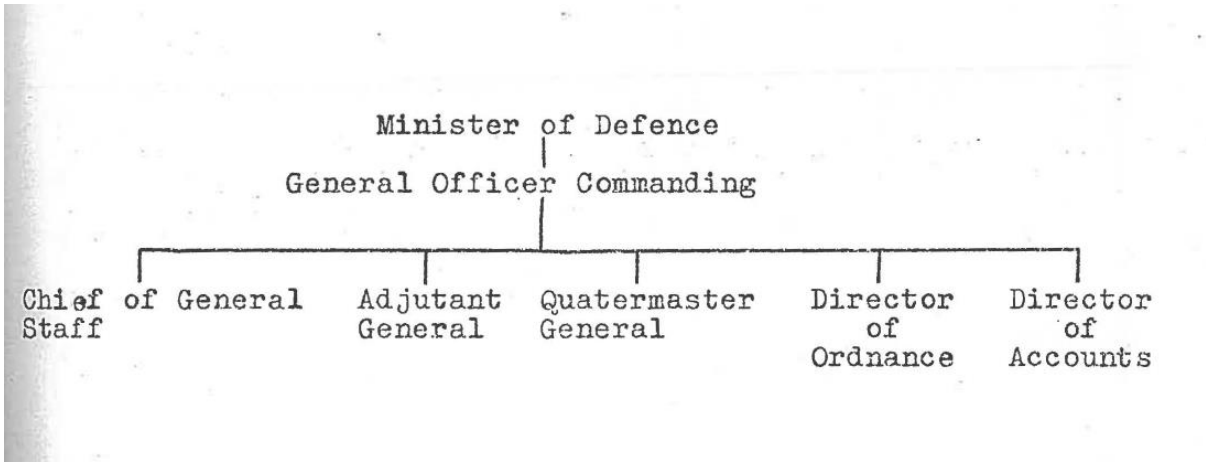

Diagram 8.1: General Headquarters reorganisation

Here Headquarters Organisation consisted of the Minister of Defence who was responsible to Parliament for both the New Zealand Army and Navy.[191] The General Officer Commanding the New Zealand forces was to be the Minister's adviser and controller of the Military forces. He was to be assisted by the following heads of departments:

The Chief of the General Staff
The Adjutant-General to the Forces
The Quartermaster-General to the forces
The Director of Ordnance
The Director of Accounts

The distribution of duties amongst the Staff at Headquarters was to be:

1. <u>The General Officer Commanding</u>
   is responsible for the organisation, discipline, and efficiency of the Forces and their inspection; advice on local military policy; plans for local defence; Supervision of training; education of officers and selection of officers for study at Imperial Staff Colleges; appointments promotions, resignations, and retirements of officers.

2. <u>The Chief of the General Staff and the Director of Staff Duties and Military Training</u>
   is responsible for Staff organisation; Staff tours; record of Officers suitable for Staff employ; instruction and training for war: education and examination of officers; training manuals; arrangement for examination of candidates for British Army and Royal Australian Military College; manoeuvres; estimates for and allocation of training and manoeuvre grants; military libraries; leave and exemption from training; intelligence; plans for local defence .and strategical distribution of the Forces; mapping and reconnaissance; war establishments .and war organisation; plans for mobilisation.

[191] During war though, the NZ Navy was taken over by the Royal Navy.

3. The Adjutant General
   is responsible for peace organisation; discipline; martial, military and international law; Courts-martial, administrative arrangements in connection with training and education; ceremonial; personnel (excepting RNZA); editing and issuing orders (other than Operation Orders); Army List and Regulations; leave of absence (except exemption from training); registration, enrolment and posting; appointments to and distribution .of Permanent Staff; returns of strength and prosecutions; casualties (excepting RNZA); mobilisation and other regulations dealing with above services; mobilisation of personnel; medals; chaplains; war claims and military pensions; Honorary Territorials, National Reserve; medical services.

4. The Quartermaster General
   is responsible for mobilisation stores; clothing equipment and general stores (except for Artillery and Engineers); Dress Regulations, quartering supplies, and transport; inspection and care of Maxim guns and small arms; store buildings drill halls; mobilisation arrangements in connection with above services; administration or corps dealing with above services; veterinary service and remounts.

5. The Director of Ordnance
   is responsible for armaments and all accessories; coast defences; Defence Department's vessels; reserve of arms and ammunition; technical equipment and vehicles of Artillery and Engineers units; guns, ordnance and field gun ammunition; permanent fortifications and works; Artillery and rifle ranges; control and distribution of Permanent Force; inspection of Artillery and Engineer duties.

6. The Director of Accounts
   is responsible for audit and examination of accounts; consideration and compilation of parliamentary estimates; payments; financial advice; contracts; control of accountants in districts; compiling and editing of "Financial Instructions and Allowance Regulations" in consultation with Q.M.G.[192]

Just one month prior to the outbreak of War; the visiting Inspector General of the Overseas Forces, General Ian Hamilton, recommended that further changes be made so that the military forces of New Zealand could function better on a war footing. Hamilton's main complaint was that Commanders of troops were made responsible for all financial as well as

[192] "Military Forces of New Zealand (Report by the Inspector General of ther Overseas Forces on the)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1914 Session I, H-19a* (1914): Appendix I, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1914-I.2.3.2.30.

military arrangements within their various districts. Hamilton's conclusions in regard to this situation were:

> a) In all armies, and especially in Militia armies, the Commanders of troops should .be freed from financial responsibility, and so placed in a position to devote themselves wholly to their military duties.
>
> b) financial responsibility should therefore be transferred to the men who, in war, will have to feed and supply the army with all its needs.
>
> c) In as much as men form an integral part of a war machine, they must in all grades have full military status.
>
> d) The business branch of an army, which necessarily includes a finance section, must be homogeneous throughout, its officers and men forming part of one corps.
>
> e) The organ1sation of the business branch,·and the appointment, promotion, and distribution of its personnel, are matters which, subject to the authority of the General Officer Commanding the Forces, should be left as much as possible to the head of the branch.
>
> f) The instruction of the officers and men of the corps must, from the start, be specialised mainly on business lines, only so much military education being added as will enable its members to fulfil military requirements with intelligence.
>
> g) Last, but not least, the chain of responsibility in matters of finance and accounting must run within the business branch itself, and Commanders of troops should have no share in this responsibility.[193]

Diagram 8:2 offers an illustration of how these proposals would affect Army Headquarters organisation. Hamilton made no excuses for what this reorganisation was specifically designed for. He stated that his proposals were essentially a 'war organisation' modelled on the staff system evolved by Wellington during nearly five years warfare in the Peninsula and in France. These proposals were designed to render easy the training of officers in peace for the specific functions they would have to carry out in the field and that it would free the commanders of troops of all the financial responsibility and anxiety that such responsibility entailed. It would leave them free to devote themselves to the troops under their command, instead of forever sitting in their offices.

[193] "Military Forces of New Zealand (Report by the Inspector General of ther Overseas Forces on the)," 10.

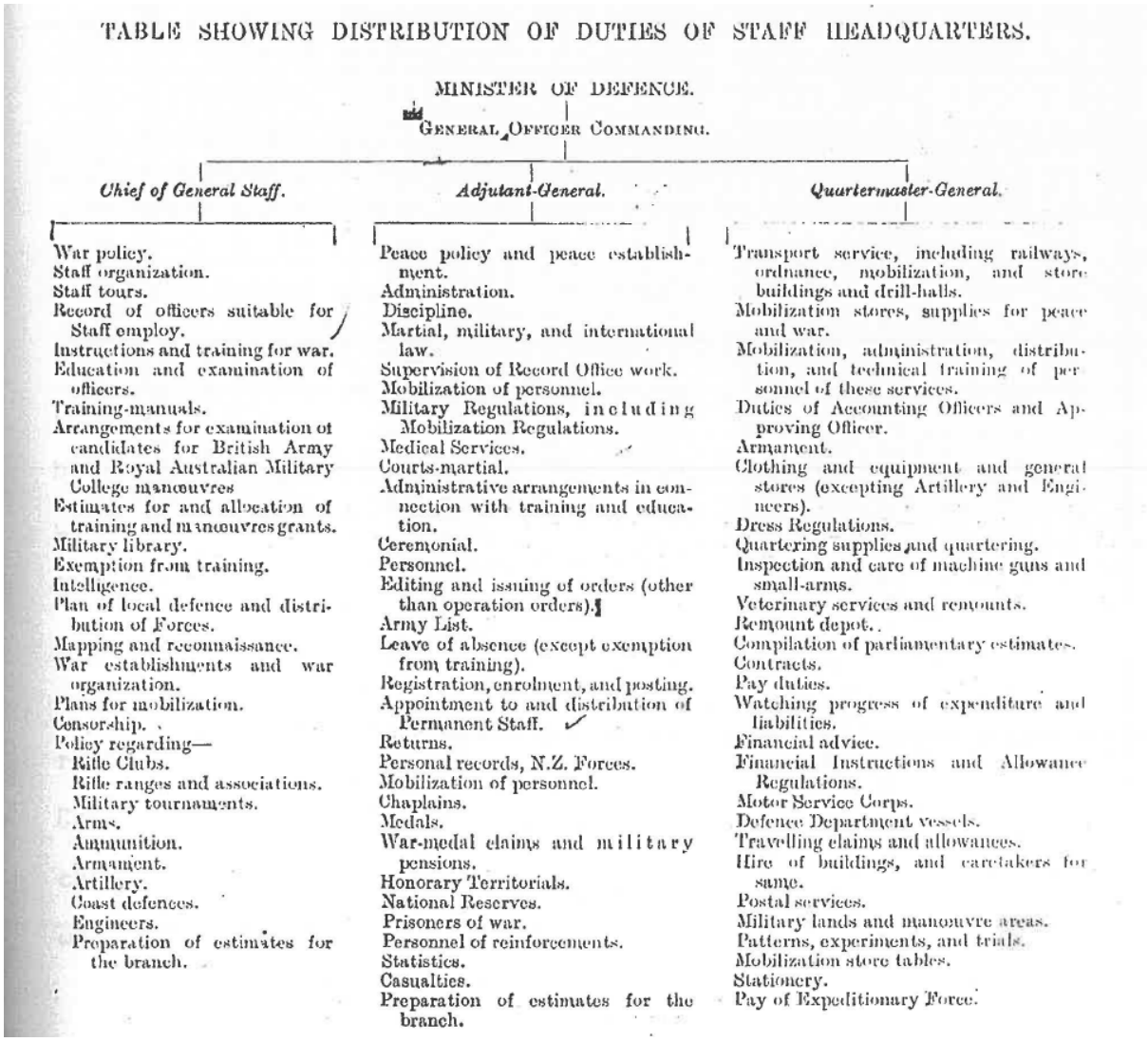

TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF DUTIES OF STAFF HEADQUARTERS.

MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING.

Chief of General Staff.	*Adjutant-General.*	*Quartermaster-General.*
War policy.	Peace policy and peace establishment.	Transport service, including railways, ordnance, mobilization, and store buildings and drill-halls.
Staff organization.	Administration.	Mobilization stores, supplies for peace and war.
Staff tours.	Discipline.	Mobilization, administration, distribution, and technical training of personnel of these services.
Record of officers suitable for Staff employ.	Martial, military, and international law.	Duties of Accounting Officers and Approving Officer.
Instructions and training for war.	Supervision of Record Office work.	Armament.
Education and examination of officers.	Mobilization of personnel.	Clothing and equipment and general stores (excepting Artillery and Engineers).
Training-manuals.	Military Regulations, including Mobilization Regulations.	Dress Regulations.
Arrangements for examination of candidates for British Army and Royal Australian Military College manœuvres	Medical Services.	Quartering supplies and quartering.
Estimates for and allocation of training and manœuvres grants.	Courts-martial.	Inspection and care of machine guns and small-arms.
Military library.	Administrative arrangements in connection with training and education.	Veterinary services and remounts.
Exemption from training.	Ceremonial.	Remount depot.
Intelligence.	Personnel.	Compilation of parliamentary estimates.
Plan of local defence and distribution of Forces.	Editing and issuing of orders (other than operation orders).	Contracts.
Mapping and reconnaissance.	Army List.	Pay duties.
War establishments and war organization.	Leave of absence (except exemption from training).	Watching progress of expenditure and liabilities.
Plans for mobilization.	Registration, enrolment, and posting.	Financial advice.
Censorship.	Appointment to and distribution of Permanent Staff.	Financial Instructions and Allowance Regulations.
Policy regarding—	Returns.	Motor Service Corps.
Rifle Clubs.	Personal records, N.Z. Forces.	Defence Department vessels.
Rifle ranges and associations.	Mobilization of personnel.	Travelling claims and allowances.
Military tournaments.	Chaplains.	Hire of buildings, and caretakers for same.
Arms.	Medals.	Postal services.
Ammunition.	War-medal claims and military pensions.	Military lands and manœuvre areas.
Armament.	Honorary Territorials.	Patterns, experiments, and trials.
Artillery.	National Reserves.	Mobilization store tables.
Coast defences.	Prisoners of war.	Stationery.
Engineers.	Personnel of reinforcements.	Pay of Expeditionary Force.
Preparation of estimates for the branch.	Statistics.	
	Casualties.	
	Preparation of estimates for the branch.	

Diagram 8.2:

These changes were carried into effect immediately and Brigadier-General Alfred William Robin (see Photo 8:1) was able to report in 1915 that: "The suggestions made by the Inspector-·General Overseas Forces on his recent visit are being steadily carried out as far as is consistent with the war emergency which now exists.[194]

[194] "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June, 1915.," ", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1915): 1.

Photograph 8.1: Sir Alfred William Robin. New Zealand. Department of Internal Affairs. Ref: 1/1-013286-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22360715

Brigadier-General Robin had replaced Major-General Godley as General Officer Commanding when the latter sailed with the Expeditionary Force to the Middle East in October 1914. Robin was the first New Zealander to ever hold this appointment. He had joined the Dunedin Hussars as a trooper and later won his commission. He had served in· South Africa and on his return joined the Permanent Force. During the war he was promoted to Major-General, thus becoming the first New Zealand officer to hold this rank.

Apart from these organisational changes, the Defence Headquarters underwent a physical transformation as well. With the initial enthusiastic rush to enlist for the war and the

despatching of the Expeditionary Force, Mount Cook came under an increasing amount of strain as regarded floor space. Room was urgently needed for medical facilities so that Medical Boards for enlistment could be undertaken. The Drill Hall in Buckle Street fulfilled this role with rooms at the front of the hall being utilised as the Medical Inspection Room

More importantly, the new troops needed equipment, so storage space for this gear was at a premium. The defence report of 1915 observed:

> The store buildings in Wellington, which were considered ample, have been taxed · to the utmost by the quantity and variety of store requisitioned for the complete equipment of our Forces going abroad. Recently_ the congestion was so great that it became necessary to lease a store to relieve the pressure. The store comprises a flat in Taranaki Street, and being fairly near the main store buildings is proving of great service for the receipt and examination of saddlery, supplies etc.[195]

Further extensions were made to the stores themselves to keep up with this expanding demand for storage space consisting of two two-storeyed buildings of 4000 square feet.

Another important change which placed a further strain on the facilities at Mount Cook was the establishment of Base Records. The 1916 Defence Report observed that ''owing to the enormous amount of work necessary in dealing with the records of the members of the Expeditionary Force, the reporting of casualties, and the treatment of returned soldiers, a separate Department designated "Base Records" has been set up under the Adjutant-General 's Branch”[196] This new directorate within the Adjutant-General's Department was unable to be accommodated at Mount Cook due to a complete lack of space. Even so the accommodation which they did receive was so cramped that the staff were forced to work in three separate shifts due to lack of office space for them.

As the War dragged on, a considerable strain was placed on New Zealand's manpower resources. To overcome this, in 1916 conscription was introduced. The move was justified by the heavy casualties suffered and the unequal distribution of sacrifice under the volunteer system. The Military Service Act made all British residents between the ages of 20

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[195] "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June, 1915.," ", 14.

[196] "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces, From 26 June 1915, to 31st May 1916," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1916): 10, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1916-I.2.2.5.22.

and 46 liable for military service, but volunteering continued and overall nearly threequarters of New· Zealand's forces were volunteers.[197]

Towards the end of 1916 a general war weariness set in, and the feeling grew that New Zealand was sending too many of its men overseas. In September 1916 this sentiment was given further impetus when an Australian referendum rejected conscription. This action greatly stimulated the anti-conscription movement within New Zealand.

This controversy over conscription was to lead to one of the most bizarre incidents in New Zealand's history, and Mount Cook was to centre in its undertaking. The Military Service Act specifically defined conscientious objection as covering only those who "had belonged on the fourth day of August 1914, and had since continuously belonged to a religious body, the tenets and doctrines of which declare the bearing of arms and the performance of any combatant service to be contrary to divine revelation". If one belonged to such a group then he could be exempted from combat duty, but, he could still be called upon by the Military Authorities to perform non-combatant duties. For anyone who was opposed to war on other than religious grounds, there was to be no respite.

One such man was Archibald Baxter, the father of the poet James K. Baxter. In 1915 when the National Register was taken in preparation for conscription, he was one of the 33,700 who stated that they would not undertake military service at home or abroad.[198] He wrote that:

> Many years before the war of 1914-18 I had reached the point of view that war - all war - was wrong, futile, .and destructive alike to victor and vanquished. · ·
>
> I belonged to no organised Church and did not base my beliefs on the teaching of any sect. To me, Christianity is based on the Commandment: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'.

[197] Henderson, *The Evolution of New Zealand Defence Policy, 1840-1939*, 124.

[198] The National Register required all males of military age to state whether they were willing to undertake military service.196,000 men were registered. Of these, 33,700 said they would not undertake service at home or abroad, and 44,300 stated that they would undertake home service but not abroad.

> I do not profess to be able to live up to this ideal, but one can at least go so far along the road as to try to treat other people as one would wish to be treated by them, and war cuts this position at its very roots. [199]

Baxter's autobiography, *We Will Not Cease*, offers a unique insight into the fate of the men who objected to military service during the war for other than purely religious grounds. These men fell basically into 3 categories. Harry Holland in his book *Armageddon or Calvary* provided a description of these types of conscientious objector.

> Different in many ways from the Christian Objectors were the Socialist Objectors; of these there were some thousands. The Christian Objector is always a Pacifist. Sometimes the Socialist is a Pacifist; often he isn't. There are many Socialists who wouldn't fight under any circumstances whatever. Again, the Socialists are legion who - while they would avoid war as long as it could be avoided - would fight to the death in a struggle to liberate mankind from Capitalism. Generally speaking, the Socialist Objector bases his objection ·on the fact that wars are never made by the workers nor yet in their interests, but have their foundations in the quarrels of the national capitalists over markets and for economic supremacy. "The interests of the workers of all countries are identical," said the Socialist Objector; "there is no reason whatever why they should kill one another in their masters' quarrels.". And, of course, he immediately found himself up against the Military Service Act and the War Regulations.
>
> Of a different type, again, were the Irish Objectors. Often, of course, the Irishman is a Christian; often he is a Socialist; sometimes he is neither. It is seldom that he is a Pacifist; once in a hundred years you will find a Sheehy Skeffington – and Skeffington was of English descent, anyhow. When, during· the recent war, many Irishmen in New Zealand objected to military service, their objection was not based on either a Christian or a Socialist reason; its foundation was historical. They protested that the Irish had never been voluntary, but always compulsory, subjects of England, and that, therefore, they ought not to be required to fight in England's wars. In support of this objection, they called in evidence seven hundred long and terrible years of history - years of oppression and repression, of recurring artificial famine, of overflowing prisons, of cruel evictions numbered by the million, of a country depopulated by misrule. Their history was sound; their case was strong. But the War Regulations reached them notwithstanding.
>
> The Māori Objectors were again of a different type. In some respects the Māori Objector resembled the Irish - with the difference, of course, that the Māori

[199] A. Baxter, *We Will Not Cease* (Eddie Tern Press, 1980), 10.

> belongs to a different historical period from his white brother. The Māori Objectors came mostly from the Waikato Tribe. They are not Pacifists; from time immemorial they have been a warlike people. The reasons on which their objection was foundationed are to be found in the history books.[200]

Baxter, like most of the non-religious objectors was arrested by the Police for failing to report for military duty in early 1917. Upon being arrested, he was transported to Trentham Military Camp. Here he was placed in the guardhouse with other objectors who had likewise been They were taken to the Stores and offered their kit which they all refused. The result of this refusal was, as Baxter wrote:

> We were now brought before the Colonel, formally charged with disobeying an order. I explained that ·my refusal was part of my general refusal to take on any· service whatever in the Army. The others said their attitude was the same as . mine.
>
> 'If you were in Germany, you'd be shot,' said the Colonel. 'Twenty-eight days detention'.[201]

Their 28 days detention was to bring the COs into their first contact with Mount Cook, for they were taken down to Wellington and marched through the streets to the Alexandra Barracks on top of the hill. Here, they were locked in cells which were in the top storey of the building. Baxter observed that "the windows of the cells were large and admitted plenty of light and air and we could get a good view of the town through them. There were no bars, escape not being considered possible from that height."

Baxter and his colleagues refused all work under military orders. After a fortnight, the Military Authorities decided to Court-martial them for disobeying orders. They were marched down from the barracks to Buckle Street where their Court-martial was to take place in the Drill Hall. Baxter observed that:

> The members of the Court were new to the job of trying objectors and doubtful of their ground. They gave me plenty of opportunity to state my case. I argued that, not having taken the oath, or agreed to take on service in the army, I was not a soldier and could not, therefore, be charged with disobeying the lawful command of a superior officer. I also pointed out that we had not finished our sentences at the Barracks, that the offence we had committed was an offence against the discipline of the Barracks and that legally, we should be punished

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[200] H.E. Holland, *Armageddon Or Cavalry: The Conscientious Objectors of New Zealand and the Process of Their Conversion* (Nabu Press, 1919), 2-3.
[201] Baxter, *We Will Not Cease*, 17.

> according to regulations in force there and not tried by an outside court. They held me up at intervals and held long discussions in whispers. Plainly they were nonplussed by my arguments…..We were all found guilty and sentenced to eighty-four days hard labour in the civil prison. [202]

Initially they were held in The Terrace Gaol but since their sentence entailed hard labour, the only place where this could be carried out was back at Mount Cook. Here, the Prison Department had a gaol built around a brick-works. This prison was located at the southern end of the Mount Cook Reserve behind the Alexandra Barracks. So once again, the conscientious objectors became associated with Mount Cook. Baxter's book provides one of the few accounts of what it was like for prisoners within the brickworks there. Baxter himself was uneasy about the prospect of being sent there and wrote:

> I was not anxious for the change to Mount Cook. I had become accustomed to the routine at the Terrace and knew the worst that could happen to me there. Whereas Mt Cook I didn't know and I had heard lurid accounts from prisoners sent over to the Terrace for punishment of the hard work over there, of a brick kiln in which you were baked alive and the soles of your boots curled up with the heat. However, what I thought on the matter was not likely to affect the course of events. In due time I found myself sitting on the back of a lorry on my way to Mt Cook.

But once there, many of Baxter's fears seem to have disappeared. He noted:

> I found a considerable difference between the two prisons. The work, for one thing, was nearly all in the open air. I worked in a gang with my mates. The cells, owing to the fact that the building was of lighter structure, were much airier, and admitted more light, especially where we were, on the upper landing, on which the cells had skylights instead of windows. We washed in the hall instead of ·our cells, and, consequently never had time to wash properly as the warder's whistle always went before we could possibly have finished and we had to stop immediately and go back into our cells. The bread ration was larger, sixteen ounces instead of twelve, and so was the meat ration.
>
> The work was not hard for men accustomed to manual labour, and Jack and I, at least, soon found that we had to accommodate ourselves to a much slower pace than anything we had been accustomed to.[203] Once we forgot ourselves and went on shovelling clay into the trucks with such vigour that the man who drove the trucks to the brickyard came back with a strongly worded message that we

[202] Baxter, *We Will Not Cease*, 21.
[203] Baxter's brother who was also a conscientious objector.

> were to moderate our stroke; they couldn't keep up with what we were doing.[204]

Once their sentence was completed, the conscientious objectors were collected by the Army and marched back through the city to the Railway Station and taken back to Trentham. Here, the same procedure was gone through again where the men were offered their kits, and they refused yet again to accept them. They were sentenced to a further twenty-eight days detention. This meant that they were transported once more to the Mount Cook Barracks to serve their renewed sentences.

But after a few days here they were taken from their cells and handed over to a military escort. This was ·to mark the end of their association with Mount Cook. They were marched through the streets of Wellington to the wharves where they were placed on board the transport ship '*Waitemata*'. In all there were fourteen COs who were to be transported. A letter slipped off the ship by one of the objectors listed the deported men as:

> John Baxter, Archibald McColl Learmont Baxter, Alexander Baxter, Brighton, Otago.
> William Little, Hikurangi, Whangarei, via Auckland.
> Mark Briggs, Box 285, Palmers ton North.
> Fred Adin, Patrick Street, Foxton.
> L. Penwright, Geeverton, Tasmania.
> Harry Patton, North Beach, Cobden, Greymouth
> Albert Ernest Sanderson, Babylon, North Wairoa, Auckland.
> Garth-Carsley Ballantyne, 53 Bidwell Street, Wellington.
> David Robert Grey, Lowcliffe Hinds Canterbury.
> Daniel Maguire, c/o P. Higgins, Foxton.
> L.J. Kirwan, Sewell Street, Hokitika.
> Thomas Percy Harland, 15 Lawson · Street, Roslyn, Dunedin.[205]

The Government had decided that these men would be shipped to the Western Front where they would be forced to fight. It was hoped that once they were out there they would realise on their own accord or after some persuasion that they would have to accept military duties. Some of the men did, but Baxter and a couple of the other objectors remained steady in their commitment. After being subjected to No 1 Field Punishment

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[204] Baxter, *We Will Not Cease*, 47-48.
[205] Holland, *Armageddon Or Cavalry: The Conscientious Objectors of New Zealand and the Process of Their Conversion*, 22.

Baxter was finally removed from the front and placed in a mental hospital in Britain. From here he was finally discharged and was returned to New Zealand.

These fourteen men were the only ones to be deported to the front in such a manner. Apparently, the British Government gave the New Zealand Government a rap over the knuckles for sending 'their problem men over to them when they already had a big enough problem of their own with their conscientious objectors. Back in New Zealand, the Labour Party and other Socialists used the treatment of these men as a platform with which to attack the Government, and more particularly the Military Service Act. Consequently, many of the prominent members of the Labour Party were imprisoned by the Government. Among the most prominent figures convicted of sedition under the War Regulations were E.R. Williams, T.S. Ramsay, S. Armstrong, P.C. Webb, S. Fourmer, G.S. Thompson, Rev J.H.C; Chapple, R. Semple, T.P. Cummins, J. Flood and P. Fraser:[206] Many of these men themselves were held in cells in the Alexandra Barracks on Mount Cook.

As the war progressed, although already housing the Dominion's Defence Headquarters, plans began to appear on utilising Mount Cook for a different purpose. A memorandum dated 18 October 1918 from the Director-General of Medical Services proposed that a barracks for Venereal Diseases be built there for the returning soldiers so infected. [207]

VD had become a major problem for the military authorities. Those with particularly bad infections such as syphilis were generally beyond medical help. To make matters worse, it was a 'socially unacceptable' disease in that it raised moral questions which people did not wish to face. In New Zealand, people tried to sweep this problem under the carpet, but one young woman tried to fight this. Her name was Etti Rout. She was a nurse who served with the medical units during the war. She was appalled by the extremely high rate of VD amongst the New Zealand troops and dared to write a newspaper article to expound better educational and hygiene methods for the troops. Her article showed just how severe the VD problem was. It stated;

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[206] Henderson, *The Evolution of New Zealand Defence Policy, 1840-1939*, 126.
[207] "PW 23/126," (3 December 1918).

VENEREAL DISEASE
ALARMING SPREAD
INFECTION AMONG NEW ZEALAND SOLDIERS

.(By Ettie A. Rout)

LONDON August 22

I make no apologies for dealing with this matter publicly now, because the problem has gone from bad to worse for the last two years. Venereal diseases are naturally much more prevalent among the overseas troops more than among the Home forces. That is to be expected. What is not to be expected, and not to be endured, is that the New Zealand force in the United Kingdom tops the poll so far as venereal diseases are concerned. I repeat that statement, and make it deliberately as the result of official information given to me: that the percentage of infection by venereal diseases is higher among the New Zealand troops than among any other overseas troops. The Australians come next and the Canadians next - the Canadians considerably lower.

NEW ZEALAND COMMANDANT'S REPORTS

Last week I had a lang interview with General Richardson, as the result of which he consented to my writing this article. General Richardson greatly regrets the necessity for any public discussion on this subject, as we all must do, and still more regrets the necessity for the various measures he has been compelled to adopt recently. Month after month the Commandant has tried every possible means of lessening these diseases by moral suasion, by military control, by appeals to patriotism, by the encouragement of recreation and counter-attractions, but the result has been deplorably disappointing. Whatever efforts have been made by the Commandant have been·ably backed up by the New Zealand High Commissioner, and the High Commissioner has made special efforts himself. If all this had not been done no doubt the position would have been even worse than it is. But it is so bad that we cannot be content with that.

THE FACTS OF THE CASE

We have here in the United Kingdom several thousand New Zealand soldiers - a floating population: men in training, men on leave, and men stationed here temporarily. The leave granted is certainly not extravagant. Yet we always have from three to four hundred New Zealanders in the Venereal Disease Hospital at Codford; there are others here who resort to quacks and private practitioners; in France there are numbers of New Zealanders in the different British VD Hospitals; in Egypt there are others; and every reinforcement which arrives bring the complement of infections contracted en route. Altogether we are getting several thousand fresh infections every year - probably from five to six thousand at least; recorded and unrecorded.

NATIONAL MEASURES

Whatever measures are adopted must have as their object the preservation of the health of the nation. This object will not be attained if ethical considerations are allowed to confuse the issue. It is not true to say that any large number of our soldiers abroad lead strictly continent lives. It is not reasonable to expect them to do so. No doubt romance and religion act as restraining factors; complete restraints in a few cases; partial restraints in others. No one suggests these factors should be derided or neglected. But every one who has the national welfare at heart must now insist that impractical morals must be separated from practical medicine. It is not possible to eliminate or even greatly diminish venereal diseases by moral suasion; 'but it is quite possible by medical measures to establish a fairly high degree of control, and that has now certainly become our national duty. That duty is so clear that I need not spend time in combating the utterly immoral and ·abominable argument that "vice" should be made "dangerous" i.e., the bodies of those who offend against the conventional code of morals should not be burned or hanged, but should be deliberately poisoned by venereal diseases infection, and the poison later spread among thousands and thousands of innocent women and children.

PROPHYLACTIC OUTFITS

For some considerable time these "preventive medicaments" have been distributed free among Canadian and Australian troops. The "outfits" are not altogether satisfactory either in quantity or quality, and are not always available; but even their partial distribution would seem to account for the lesser percentages of infection among these troops as compared with New Zealand troops. Last month, General Richardson issued orders for the outfits to be on sale throughout the New Zealand camps and elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Medically we are only on the fringe of prophylaxis, and as time goes on we shall improve our methods medically, and secure better military distribution. Having regard to the future welfare of the New Zealand homes, the High Commissioner is in favour of a regular official issue (free) to all members of the NZEF; and after two years' war-work I am perfectly certain he is right. The credit of taking the difficult and responsible step of ordering prophylactic outfits for the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in the United Kingdom belongs to General Richardson. Until the necessary expenditure is authorised in New Zealand these outfits must be on sale, and therefore we shall have faulty distribution-and lessened protection in the United Kingdom. But more than that until the outfits are issued our soldiers in New Zealand and en route, infection will go on apace in the Dominion and New Zealand reinforcements will continue to arrive - at the Codford Venereal Disease Hospital.

CONTROL OF LOOSE WOMEN

This problem can be solved when we are sufficiently courageous and sufficiently honest to turn the clear light of a reasoning mind on the actual facts of the case, instead of smothering them with masses of disordered intelligence and mock heroics. Large numbers of men cannot be induced to refrain from promiscuous mercenary relationships; large numbers of women are voluntarily prepared to cater for them apart altogether from economic pressure or moral temptation. War does not create this class of women; it merely increases its opportunities for spreading infection - one diseased drab infecting perhaps scores of soldiers, and being herself merely a "carrier" of disease.

The abolition of licensed houses did not eliminate this class; it merely led to the invasion of immorality in sections of womankind previously immune, and gave wider scope to infection by venereal disease. For this reason London is the plague-spot of the world. So far as the troops are concerned, countries where women are under some measure of control ere much less dangerous than England, as the following official War Office figures show: -

Venereal Disease Infections per 1000

France……22
Egypt ……31
England …… 48

In a discussion on the subject, General Richardson has laid down, and the High Commissioner for New Zealand has approved, the following propositions: -

> That properly licensed houses under medical supervision should be provided in England.
>
> That the law of segregation for infected soldiers should apply also to women.

I do not see how any thoughtful, honest man or woman can disagree with those propositions. Why should all men of military age be subjected to compulsory examination, compulsory notification, and compulsory treatment for venereal disease, and all women escape? If as citizens of the Empire we tried to make the control of our loose women a success instead of trying to make it a failure, of course venereal disease infection would decrease.

"EARLY TREATMENT" HUTS

The High Commissioner for New Zealand was responsible for establishing one of the first of these, and the New Zealand military authorities are now and have been for some time past pushing on with the work. The men are definitely advised not to expose themselves to infection, but if they do so, are ordered to report for treatment within so many hours.

SOLDIERS' MEDICAL CLUB

> With the approval of the Commandant of the NZEF in United Kingdom, and of the High Commissioner for New Zealand, and others, I am starting a Soldiers ' Medical and Health Club in London very shortly. This will provide extra medical attention and advice to all troops in much the same way as extra rations are provided in clubs and canteens; we shall deal with 'all complaints, but have special regard to the prevention of venereal disease.
>
> Altogether, among British and Overseas troops we are getting about 250,000 fresh infections per year. There is no sense in sitting down helplessly saying, "Oh, that is what war means." It is not what war means. It is what the neglect of sexual hygiene means. The club will be in control of a highly qualified medical practitioner - a retired member of the New Zealand Medical Corps, who is giving his services free. If possible, we shall also engage a qualified dentist. I feel that even if starting the club delayed my return to Egypt some months, I ought to undertake it nevertheless, for the sake of the women and children at home whose future health and happiness is at stake. We cannot fail to save a few of our men from physical contamination, and that in itself is ample recompense for all the trouble and work involved.[208]

For daring to raise such questions, Ettie Rout was severely censured and was sent home. Fortunately for Mount Cook, when the proposal was made for it to be used as a 'concentration camp' for the VD cases the War was nearing its end. On 3 December 1918 the Assistant Director of Medical Services was able to write to the Public Works Department that:

> Since the military position has now so greatly altered it is possible to make other arrangements for venereal cases. It will not be necessary, therefore, to proceed with the buildings at Mount Cook Barracks.[209]

With the declaring of the Armistice on 11 November, the staff at Defence Headquarters now had to concentrate on the demobilisation of the vast citizen-soldier army which it had built up over the last four years. By Armistice Day New Zealand had over 56,000 troops overseas and a further 10, 000 ready to embark or in training. These men now had to be brought back to the Dominion and returned to civilian life. Also, plans had to be made for a 'peace-time army'. Mount Cook was now witnessing a winding-down of New Zealand's war machine and was preparing itself for a time of retrenchment.

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[208] "Venereal Disease," *New Zealand Times, Volume XLII, Issue 9799* ( ), 24 October 1917, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM19171024.2.13.
[209] "PW 23/126."

CHAPTER 9: THE INTERWAR YEARS: 1919-1939

1919 was to mark the beginning of a new era for New Zealand's military forces, the post war reorganisation would bring about vast changes in both the physical and organisational structure of Mount Cook itself. The enthusiastic euphoria which the colony witnessed in 1914when the soldiers marched away had by 1919 taken a pacifistic turn. The shock of the realities of the mass slaughter during the war led to a· wariness if not abhorran6e of all things military. The mood of the colony was similar to that in most of the other countries which partook in the war; that it must never be allowed to happen again. Thus, the soldier had gone from being a symbol of 'patriotic pride' to one of ‘sympathy'. Armies in general during this period were pushed into the background, their fate becoming rather similar to that outlined in one of Rudyard Kipling's poems:

> God and the soldier all men adore
> In time of war and never more
> In time of peace when all is righted
> God is forgotten and the soldier slighted.[210]

By 1919 the administrative section of the Dominion’s military machine despite this outlook and the cessation of hostilities had to keep functioning at the same pace as it had done during the height of the war. Instead of men and equipment being sent to the front, the Army now had to gear itself for their return home and demobilisation.

Demobilisation of the N.Z.E.F. was a massive task which when finally completed by the end of April 1920. The Defence Report of 1919 detailed the numbers which were involved in this undertaking. [211]

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[210] Rudyard Kipling, Quoted in A.J. Goodpaster, *Civil-military relations* (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1976), 1.

[211] "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Annual report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1920): 2, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1920-I.2.2.5.23.

Actual Numbers Embarked (including re-enlistments)			98,080
Enlisted Overseas			620
			98,700
Killed	10245		
Died of Wounds	3958		
Died, other causes	2351		
Died in NZ before discharge	227		
	16781		
Discharged in NZ			79377
Discharged abroad			2463
Awaiting discharge in NZ			17
En route to NZ			10
Still abroad			52
	16781	+	81919
			97800

[212]

In order to undertake the processing of such a large number of men, the administrative services of the Defence Department had to be kept at full strength in order to cope with the mass of detailed work involved. for any outside observer of the activities at the Defence HQ on Mount Cook during this time, it certainly looked as though the war was still continuing. Even as late as the end of 1921, these administrative services of the Army were still trying to cope with the backlog of material consequent of the war. Although staffs were gradually being reduced ready for their peacetime role, their numbers still had to remain in excess of their recommended strength. for example, the Ordnance Corps recorded that their numbers had:

> been considerately reduced during the past year, but it is still in excess of the strength required for its normal peace duties which consist of accounting, storage, issue and receipt, and care of all Ordinance stores for the NZ Military forces.
>
> The following are some of the principal activities in excess of ordinary routine which the Ordnance Corps has been engaged on during the period under review, and which have militated against further retrenchment being carried out:

[212] "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Annual report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces," 2.

(a) Receipt, accounting and storage of large supplies of military equipment from the United Kingdom.

(b) Ordnance issues and accounting on connection with military hospitals and sanatoria.

(c) Sale of surplus stores.

(d) Marking of new rifles and equipment and reissuing to Territorial Force and Cadets.[213]

Apart from this winding down of activities, the Army had another duty to perform; that of preserving the history of New Zealand's soldiers in the Great War. Mount Cook, being the focus of the Army.at that time, became the natural repository of this heritage.

On the 15th July 1918 Brigadier General G. Richardson moved that "a New Zealand War Museum should be established in the Dominion''. His motion received the seal of approval from Lieutenant General Sir Alexander Godley and the Prime Minister William Massey. Unfortunately, these plans bore no fruit, in that the Dominion was yet again struck with a further period of economic downturn· resulting in drastic cuts· in public spending. To make matters worse, before financial approval had been withdrawn arrangements were made with the British for shiploads of war trophies to be sent to the Dominion. Two shiploads of trophies arrived in New Zealand before the orders could be cancelled. As there was no proper repository yet built, an Order in Council was passed which directed that all the trophies were to be stored in the Alexandra Barracks until such time as a museum was built.[214]

Apart from this, the Alexandra Barracks at Mount Cook were also used as an Army Archives. Care was taken to bring back to New Zealand the archives created by the Expeditionary Force. It was intended to use them in writing official histories. Here, they were to lay until the barracks were demolished in 1931.

Once all the activities concerning the demobilisation of the Expeditionary Force and the preserving of its military history had been completed, the Government decided to

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[213] "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Annual report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1921): 4, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1921-I-II.2.3.2.23.

[214] Those war trophies became dispersed throughout the Dominion when plans for the War Memorial Museum were scrapped. Andrews, *End of an Era, An Informal history of the military in the Mt Cook area of Wellington 1846-1979*, 36.

reorganise the Army in preparation for its peace time role. In 1921 _it was announced that compulsory military training was to be continued. It was, however, to be on a reduced scale. Training was to be reduced to 15-18 years in the cadets and 18-21 years in the Territorial Force.

> For the Territorial it was to consist of twelve drills, six half-day parades and six days camp only. The size of the force was also reduced. There were to be twelve infantry battalions, nine mounted rifles regiments, one regiment of artillery consisting of 3 brigades (i.e., twelve batteries) · of field artillery, 1 brigade (i.e., 4 batteries) of medium artillery, 2 coast batteries and two pack batteries.[215] The four military districts were reduced to three (now called Commands) by combining the two South Island districts, and the force was divided equally among them. Each command was subdivided into four regimental districts, each to supply one infantry battalion. Engineers, Signals, A.S.C., and Medical Corps depot units were established in each command. Provision was also made for the organisation of an Air Force…..The Regular Force was reduced to 156 Officers and 676 other ranks. The object was to have a small, but highly trained group of officers and NCOs to train and administer the Territorial Force with a very small surplus to maintain defence works, war material and stores.[216]

As previously mentioned, before even this reduced scheme was implemented, New Zealand was hit with the post-war depression of 1921-22. To overcome this the Government cut its spending, particularly with in the field of defence, thus beginning the period of low defence expenditure which was to characterise the interwar period. -Many officers and NCOs were discharged, and Territorial training was further reduced by allowing trainees to be posted to the Reserve after four years training for which two year's cadet training was allowed to count.

Consequently, these cuts meant that there was a huge drop in Territorial numbers. The size of the force plummeted from over 20,000 to 14,670.

By 1925 the worst effects of the depression were passing and once again the Army was beginning to build up its strength. The Territorial Force rose to over 20,000 and annual camps were re-instituted. The Staff Corps and Permanent Staff were strengthened and the policy of sending cadets to the military academies at Sandhurst and Woolwich were once

[215] The defended ports wore reduced to just Auckland and Wellington
[216] Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army*, 115.

more begun. New mobilisation and training camps complete with ordnance workshops, magazines and training grounds were built at Burnham, Trentham and Ngāruawāhia.[217]

Yet again this revival was short-lived. In 1929, a new and more severe depression hit New Zealand. This time it was of global proportions so that it appeared that any hope of moving out of it within the foreseeable future was bleak indeed. The prices for New Zealand's agricultural exports tumbled drastically and within the country itself, wages fell, and unemployment reached major proportions. The Great Depression had arrived.

Government again stuck to its traditional adage of ‘trimming one's ·coat to fit one's needs. “Defence was one of the items hardest hit” It was decided to suspend compulsory military training and replace it with a voluntary system and to hold no camps in 1930. The Regular Force witnessed the suspension of enlistment entirely and the imposition of compulsory retirement. Specific corps such as the Army-Pay Corps were disbanded · and others like Ordnance had their members reduced to civilian status with only a few officers and other ranks remaining in uniform. The results of this harsh policy was catastrophic for the Army. As Diagrams 9:1 and 9:2 illustrate, the numbers within the Territorial and Regular Forces fell by a massive amount with the Army becoming a very faint shadow of its former self.

For Mount Cook the years of the Great Depression were to have special effects. Apart from the huge decline in its manpower, it was to witness a parallel decline in the Army's occupancy of the site itself. As long as Colonel Hume's gaol on top of Mount Cook had been built, there had been various schemes calling for its demolition. Despite the Army's occupancy of the building since 1901, the calls for the removal of that "eyesore" still remained. Groups of Wellington's citizens began to plan for the -downfall of Hume's monument.

Before the advent of the Great War, it had been decided to establish in Wellington a Dominion Museum and Art Gallery. Preliminary plans were prepared for a building on or about the site of the old museum behind Parliament Buildings. With the events of 1914 the whole project was called to a halt.

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[217] Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army*, 116.

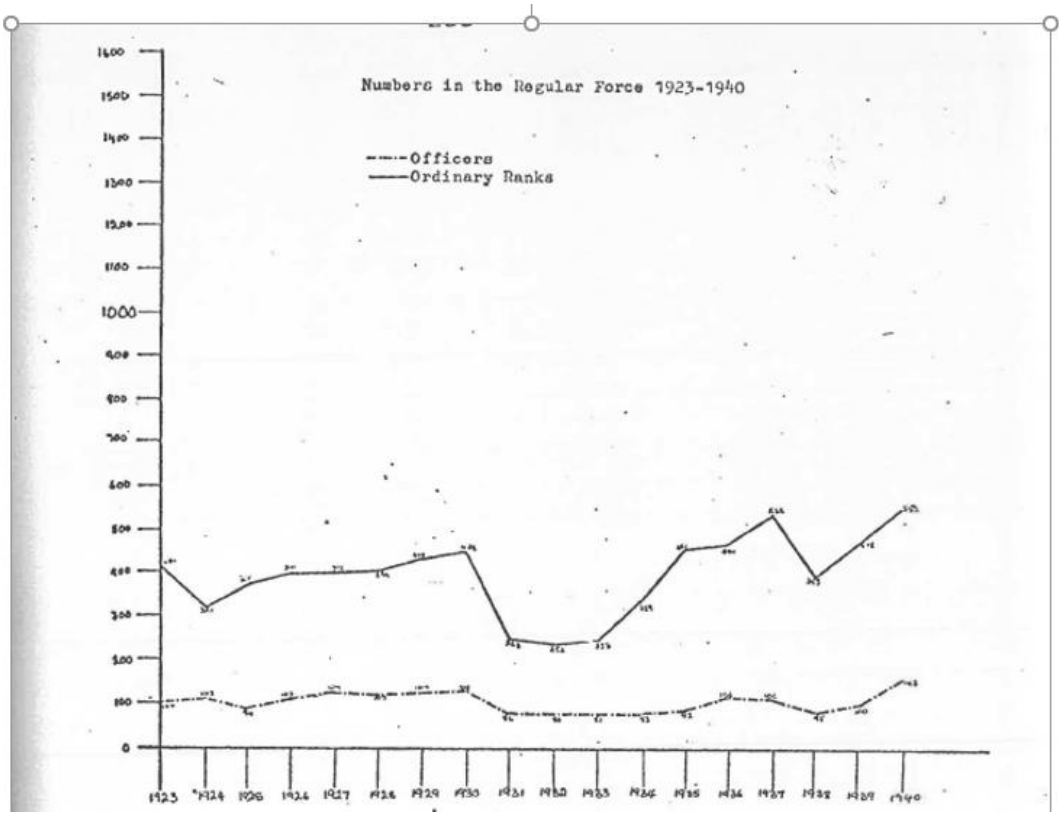

Diagram 9.1:

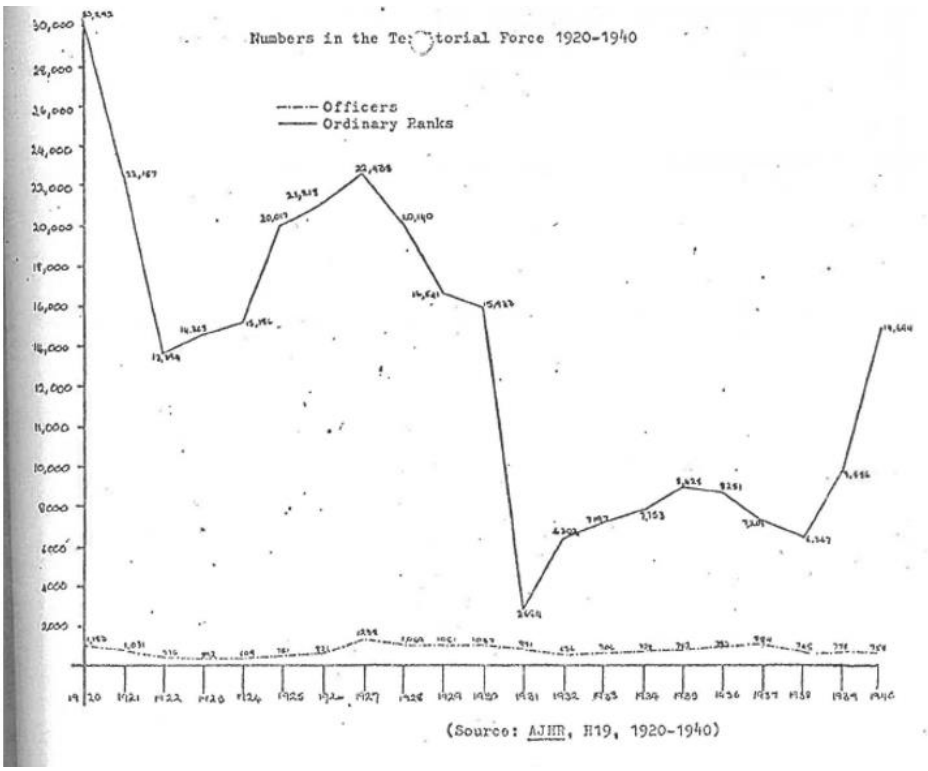

Diagram 9.2:

With the war over, in 1919, as previously noted, the Prime Minister gave approval for the plans for a

National· War Memorial and Museum. It was during this time that the Mount Cook site was suggested as the best location for such a project. But the financial state of the Dominion overshadowed such proceedings, and the project was thus shelved.

In May 1927 a deputation of prominent Wellingtonians waited upon the Government and proposed that they help them in the construction of a Dominion Museum and National Art Gallery. Mr J.G. Coates, the Prime Minister, said that the Government would give £100,000 ($200,000) towards the project, if, and only if, the city of Wellington raised a similar sum. Subsequently he also agreed to donate a sum of £15,000 for the erection in part of a Campanile in which a War Memorial Carillon of Bells could be housed, this Campanile to be erected at the same location.

The Government stated that it would provide the site for such a project, possibly at Mount Cook. The city of Wellington eagerly took up this challenge and much to the Government's surprise, the sum was raised quickly. But the project began to generate controversy as to the actual siting of the Museum and Art Gallery. This became termed "the battle of the sites'' The *Dominion* reported:

> Strong objection has been made against the site of the present museum probably based mainly on the fact that the building would be obscured for all time by the Houses of Parliament. The Government has five or six acres of available land at Mount Cook barracks, but there is a good deal of opposition to that site, too.
>
> "The sooner those buildings on the Mount Cook site are pulled dawn the better," stated the Minister of Internal Affairs (Hon R.F. Bollard) in·an·interview yesterday. "It is a pity they cannot be blown up. That would be the best way to deal with them. They are so constructed that there is no practical use that they can possibly be put to."

> The Committee, it is understood, may be forced to consider the question of purchasing a site for the building.[218]

The controversy raged between the Mayor, Mr Troup and his group who wanted to develop Mount Cook into a Civic Centre consisting of the National War Memorial, the Dominion Museum, the National Art Gallery and the Wellington War Memorial Carillon. To them, this combined project offered at last a chance to remove the unfinished prison which dominated Wellington's skyline.

Opposition to Mr -Troup and his advocates for the Mount Cook site, came mainly from members of the science and art fraternity led by the Hon. Mr G.M. Thomson. Mr Thomson set out this group's opposition to siting the Museum at Mount Cook in a letter to one of his fellow Parliamentarians. He wrote:

> Dear Sidney,
>
> You are probably aware of the deputation which recently waited on Mr de la Perella to make a strong protest against the erection of the proposed new Dominion Museum on the Mount Cook site. I was to have introduced the deputation and spoken at the interview, but unfortunately or perhaps fortunately at the date fixed I was ·away from town and could not attend. I have thus escaped the newspaper war which has since been waged.
>
> I wrote to Mr Troup last session pointing out that the Mount Cook site was very unsuitable for the national museum and that this view was taken by all the scientific opinion of New Zealand, and not of Wellington alone. I also stated that my late son Allan was extremely active in connection with securing the promise from Mr Massey of a £ for £ grant for a museum and art gallery and that his activities were only arrested by his illness and subsequent death. I further stated that the total amount proposed, viz. £100,000 by public subscription and £100,000 by Government grant was to be allocated in the proportion of £150,000 for the Museum, and £50,000 for the Art Gallery. Mr Troup replied in a very angry strain to the effect that he alone was personally responsible for securing the £100,000 of public subscriptions, and that the new museum was to form part of a municipal block on the Mount Cook site. I did not reply. An angry man is not a reasonable correspondent. Mr Troup does not know what are the main functions of a museum, and I did not think it worthwhile to educate him.
>
> The present site of the Dominion Museum with its unoccupied area, which amounts altogether to about two acres, is the ideal site for the purpose. This has been my own opinion since I first knew Wellington. It was the view strongly held

[218] "Museum and Art Gallery," *The Dominion* ( ), 23 June 1926.

by Sir James Hector, Mr Augustus Hamilton and Dr J. Allan Thomson and is shared by the present director Mr W.R.B. Oliver. As far as I remember, and subject to correction, I think that at one time shortly before the war upset all plans, a scheme was prepared by the Government Architect, Mr John Campbell, who gave an estimate for a concrete building 200 ft by 100 ft and three stories high, to be erected along the Bowen Street front of the present building. The 'figure for the shell, without any internal fixtures, was £11,000 but that estimate was considerably increased later to, I think, £17,000. However no action was taken. Sir Francis Bell who exercised a very strong influence in the Massey Cabinet, and who has no scientific leanings, always insisted that the site was wanted for a hostel for members of Parliament. I think you will agree with me that members do not want a hostel; they see quite enough of each other as they are at present situated, and a hostel would be a waste of money.

The museum site should be made the scientific centre of Wellington. If the new Museum were erected there, it could be built to house other scientific departments of the Government service e.g. the Geological Survey, the NZ Institute, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research etc. There should also .be housed there a National Scientific Library which would be invaluable for many Government departments and a great boon to all research workers: By bringing together the libraries of the NZ Institute, the Wellington Philosophical Society; the Museum, the Geological Survey and probably one or two other scattered collections, a most valuable library would at once spring into existence. I think also that Dr Scholefield would be glad to hand over a few thousand scientific books which at present lumber his available space in the Parliamentary Library but which he is not able to house or utilise properly. At present these collections are scattered in separate buildings and are not readily accessible to research workers. The proximity of the Museum and Scientific Library to the Dominion Laboratory, the Parliamentary Library, the Turnbull Library and the Government offices, would prove invaluable to all those who are daily in touch with one or other of these institutions.

To send the Museum up to Mt Cook would no doubt please some Wellington people who think a museum is a place for the public to spend a spare hour or two in. Its real value is educational and research work, and its valuable collections are not in the showcases, but in the drawers and cupboards where they can "be examined at leisure. The show cases have their value of course, but it is quite secondary to that ·of the material that is not seen by the public.

I am writing you at some length as I understand that the matter of the Government subsidy has yet to come before Cabinet and I hope you will exert your influence as a leading educationalist to prevent the irreparable mistake of placing the Museum at Mount Cook. The Art Gallery should be there. That is a place where all the property is on public view, and its aesthetic and educational value lies in that fact.

> The self appointed committee, of which Mr Troup is, chairman, has already suggested a division of the money to be spent which is a complete departure from the original scheme. It has also got plans prepared of a building in which the museum would be merged in a block which is incapable of expansion, and without all the accessory accommodation required for a museum. These plans I presume have to be approved by Cabinet and there is time to stop the expenditure before an irretrievable blunder is made.
>
> I am sure that none of those who are opposed to the erection of the Museum on Mount Cook are in any way hostile to the idea of making that site an ideal municipal centre. But a museum was no part of the original notion, which was to erect there a War Memorial. It is stated that some subscribers to the public fund would withdraw their promised contributions in the event of the present proposed allocation being disturbed. I know of Wellington people who refused to subscribe just because it was proposed to put the museum at Mount Cook, so this argument cuts both ways. To block the scheme now means further delay in the erection of the War Memorial and a re-adjustment of the promoters' ideas. But far better that, than to make a national blunder. I do not suppose that Cabinet is averse to a delay. Apart from that would it not be a good scheme for the Government of which you are a member to show that it is a progressive body with a vision of the future? It has already shown its interest in many ways in the development of the country. Here is another way in which it can do it, a way which would commend itself to the intelligent and educated section of the community, and of their communities as well.
>
> Kindly give this question your favourable consideration and if possible, support our proposals.
>
> Yours sincerely,
>
> (Signed) G.M.T.

Despite this opposition, the mayor and his associates won the day. It was decided that a National Museum would be incorporated into a large civic complex to be constructed at Mount Cook., A bill was introduced into Parliament which vested:

> All that area in the City of Wellington, containing 9 acres 1 rood 30 perches, more or less, being part of the Mount Cook Reserve, Block X, Port Nicholson Survey District: Bounded towards the north-east by : Buckle Street for a distance of 400 links from the north-eastern corner of Town Section 90 and by other part of Mount Cook Reserve for distances of 70 links, 35 links, 100 links and 210 links respectively, to Tasman Street at a point 200 links from the corner of Buckle Street; towards the east by Tasman Street, for a distance of 1100 links, to the north-eastern corner of Town Section 715; towards the south by the said Town Section 715, for a distance of 417.5 links, to the eastern boundary of Lot 1 on Survey Office Plan 262/1, being portion of the Mount Cook Reserve set apart as a site for a technical school by section 53 of the Reserves and other Lands

> Disposal and Public Bodies Empowering Act, 1919; towards the west and again towards the south by the said Lot 1 for distances of 88.52 links and 454.26 links respectively, to the north-western corner of Lot 1 aforesaid; and again towards the west by part of Town Section 85 and by Town Sections 86,87,88,89 and 90 to the north-eastern corner of the last-mentioned section, the place of commencement, a distance of 1277.06 links: be all the aforesaid linkages more or less: as the same is delineated on the plan marked .L and S.57607A, deposited in the Head Office, Department of Lands and Survey at Wellington, and thereon bordered red.[219]

With the area now designated the site for this large civic project, the Defence Department had to vacate the site and make other arrangements. The Army was now left only a small part of the original Mount Cook Reserve covering sections 89,90, 226, and a portion of 233 consisting of an area of hectare approximately. A large proportion of their buildings were sited upon the area transferred to the National Art Gallery and Museum. The buildings which had to be vacated were; the GHQ Offices, the Alexandra Barracks, the Ordnance Workshops, the Stables, the Wireless Rooms and the Laboratory.[220]

The Army put forward a number of proposals in regard to finding themselves new accommodation. They stated:

- If buildings on corner of Buckle Street and Taranaki Street are to be left intact, it should be possible by alterations and additions to accommodate GHQ in the said buildings. If not, accommodation should be provided by renting a sui table building in town, if other Government offices are not available.
- Ordnance Workshops are not fit for removal and new workshops will require to be built at Trentham.
- The laboratory being in brick cannot be removed which will necessitate building at Trentham.
- Stables, also in brick, cannot be removed. New ones will require to be erected at Fort Dorset.
- The wireless plant can be removed to the new site for GHQ.[221]

On top of this, Headquarters Central Military District had only recently been moved to Mount Cook. Initially it was located in Palmerston North but was temporarily transferred to

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[219] "National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum Act 1930," *Parliamentary Counsel Office* (31 July 1930), http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/nagadma193021gv1930n22467/.
[220] "PWD D205/8," (9 April 1930).
[221] "PWD D205/8."

a building on the Mount Cook site when its building in Palmerston North was destroyed by fire in 1930. Now, it too found itself searching for yet another new home.

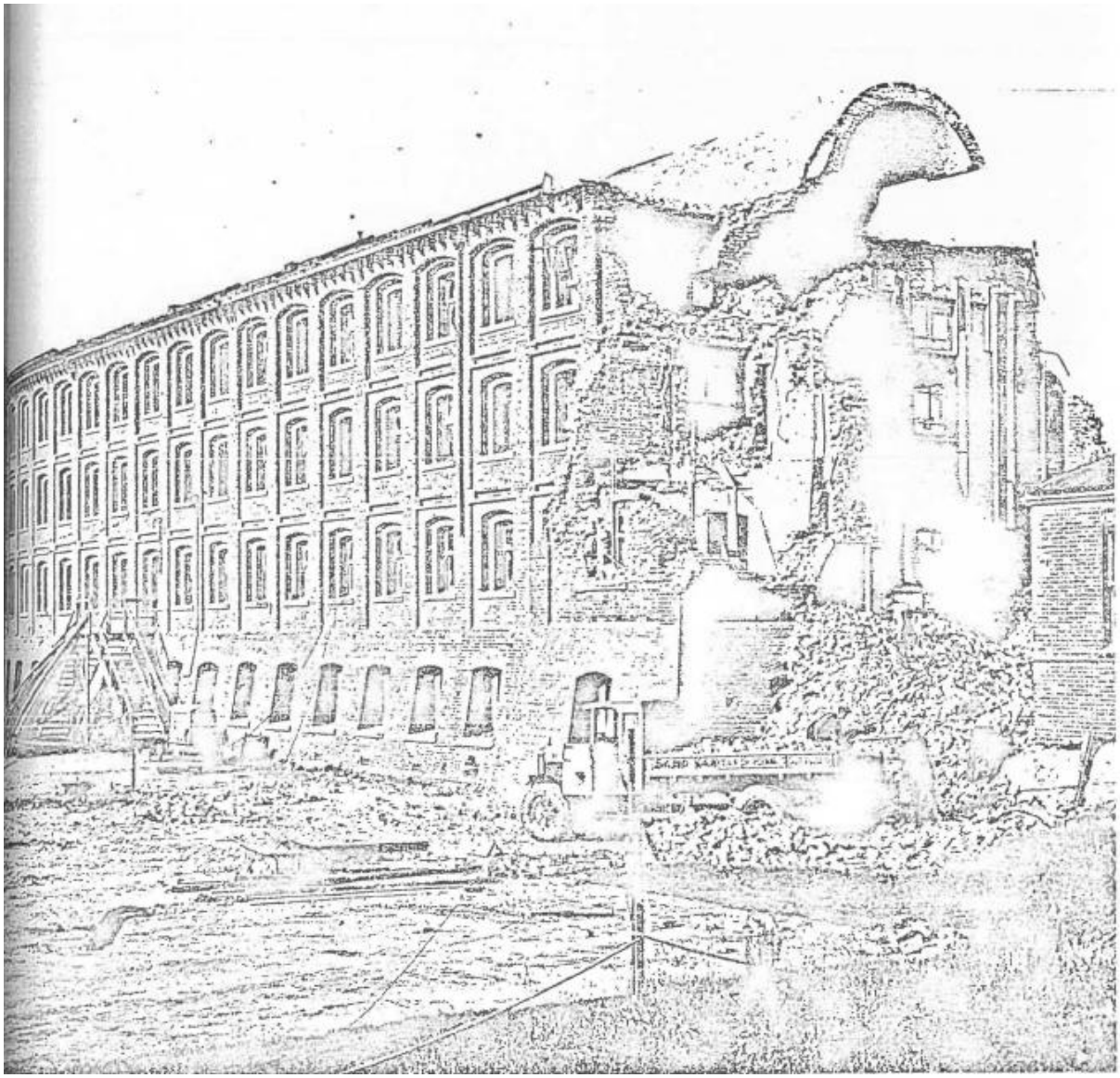
It was decided that the buildings at the foot of Mount Cook, on the corner of Buckle and Taranaki Streets would perhaps· offer the best site for GHQ 1s and HQ CMD's new home. £884 ($1,768) was spent on refurbishing these buildings to make this move possible. The Ordnance Workshops were to prove a different case. As was initially proposed, the Defence Department had plans drawn up for the construction of new ones at Trentham. The Public Works Department submitted an estimate of £10,000 ($20,000) for such an undertaking. The Government still feeling the effects of the Depression said that this was way too much and asked the Defence Department to come up with some other alternative. GHQ finally decided that perhaps the old workshops were fit for removal after all and consequently ordered that they be moved to Trentham and reconstructed there. This job was undertaken by the Army at a grand cost of only £1,000 (£2,000).

With the Army now suitably accommodated, tenders were called for, for the demolition of the remaining buildings, in particular the old Alexandra Barracks. The Board of Trustees recorded that:

> The following six tenders were received for the demolition of the building. In no case was there any offer to pay for the building. J.L. McMillan £1800, Fletcher Construction Co. £6532, Templeton £ 6704, Downes & Co. £8928, Bruce £10250, Escher £10,625, Driscall £12,500.
>
> Mr Shirtciliffe moved that the tender of J.L. McMillan be accepted if satisfactory arrangements could be made with the Defence Department for the vacation of[222]

As Photo 9:1 illustrates, the removal of the Mount Cook Barracks· was no mean task. The designers of the prison had meant the structure to last. In places the walls were 15 feet (4 metres) thick. But, by the 31st of July in 1931 the Architect was able to report to the Board of Trustees that "the demolition of the Mount Cook Barracks building had been completed".[223] Now all was ready for the project's construction.

[222] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees Meeting," (1931): 3 February.
[223] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees Meeting," 31 July.



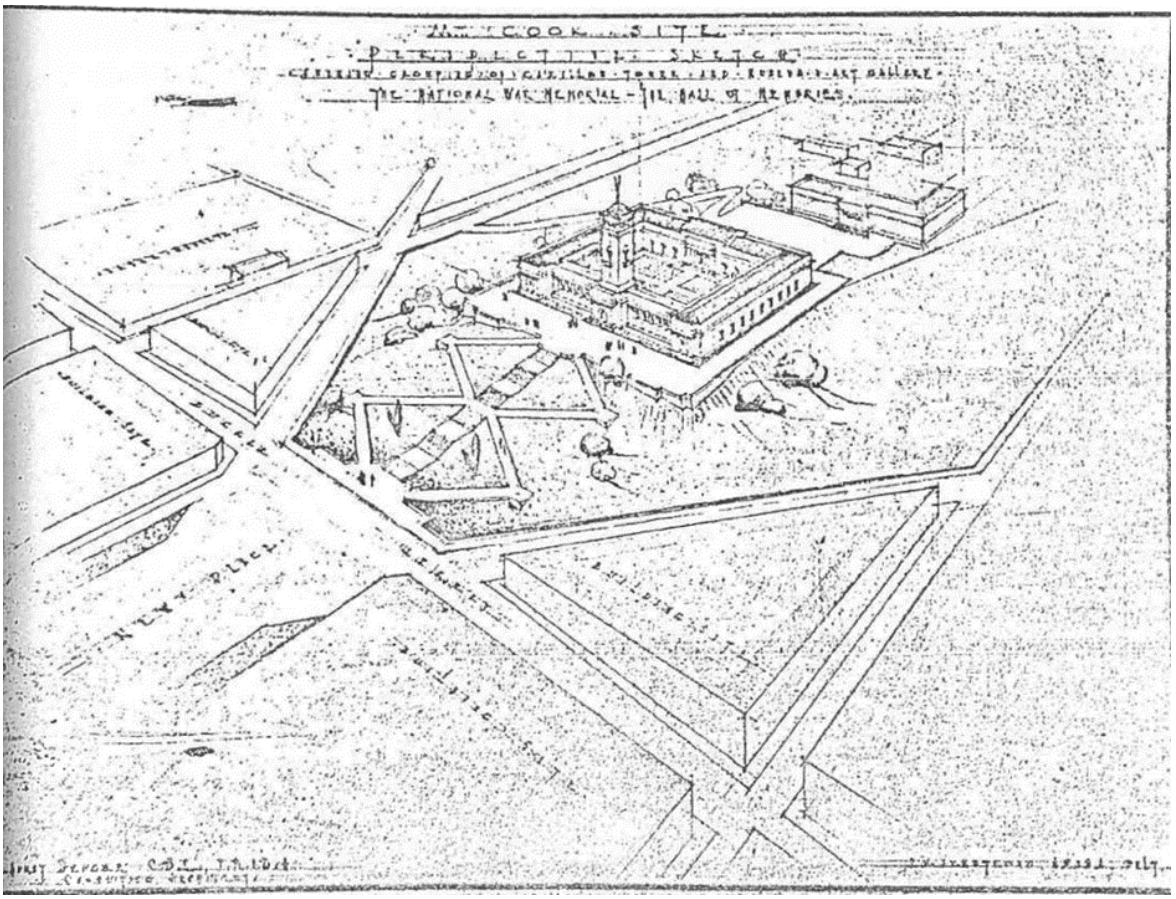
Photograph 9.1: the removal of the Mount Cook Barracks

The actual design of the complex had been the subject of a national competition. The Wellington City Corporation hoped to turn the construction of the project into a focal point of its town planning scheme for Te Aro. As Mr Fraser the MP for Wellington Central noted in his speech on the selection of Mount Cook for the Museum's site:

> when the projected town planning scheme for Wellington is carried out, the streets sweeping up to Mount Cook from the waterfront should be splendid boulevards, affording a magnificent vista, fittingly crowned by the National Museum and Art Gallery.

Accordingly, the many designs which were submitted for the Museum complex accentuated this proposed role of the project as a city focal point. Large areas of Te Aro were envisaged

as being traversed with wide boulevards (See Photo 9:2). As many saw it, providing the civic authorities with the opportunity of getting rid of one New Zealand's largest slum areas.



Photograph 9.2:

The first prize in this national competition was won by Messrs. Gummer and Ford, F.F.R.I.B.A. of Auckland. Their design consisted of a combined National Museum and Art Gallery Building with the National War Memorial Campanile set forward some distance from this block (See Photo 9:3).

Photograph 9.3:

By November 1932 all the tenders for its construction had been received on the 16th of that month it was announced that the Fletcher Construction Company had been successful with its tender of £162,218 ($524,436) for the main block. Eight tenders had been received for the scheme. They were:

	£	S	D
Fletcher Construction Co.	162,218	1	11
P Graham and Sons (Chch)	167,509	19	6
E.S. Knight (Wellington)	172,605	16	6
J and W. Jamieson (Chch)	175,585	0	10
J.T. Julian and Sons (Auck)	174,000	0	0
W. Hodges (Wellington)	181,357	3	6
McLean and Gray {Wellington)	184,440	0	
A.T. Downer (Wellington)	187,060	0	0

[224]

The Carillon was already well underway by the time the main contract had been let. On ANZAC Day 1932 the Carillon was finally dedicated marking the completion of Stage II of the Mount Cook complex. (See Diagram 9:1)

Work on the main building began nearly one month before the dedication of the Carillon, on March 20. The start of the project was seen as a great boost to Wellington's economy. The

[224] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (, 1930), 215.

city itself had been particularly hard hit by the depression with many thousands of its workforce unemployed. The construction site on Mount Cook offered 100 jobs in the midst of one of Wellington's if not the entire ' country's worst slum areas. The museum quickly began to take shape and the citizens of Wellington became accustomed to seeing a great mass of scaffolding shrouding the growing edifice (See Photo 9:3).

Photograph 9.3: Dominion Museum, Wellington, under construction. Smith, Sydney Charles, 1888-1972: Photographs of New Zealand. Ref: 1/1-023103-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22704214

With the Museum half constructed a special ceremony was held to mark the laying of the foundation stone (See Photo 9:4). The *Evening Post* reported:

> Today an important step has been made towards the realisation of an ideal of many years in the laying of the foundation-stone of the National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum by his Excellency the Governor-General, Lord Bledisloe, in the presence of a large gathering of the public. The pleasant weather, the music of the bells and of the First Wellington Regiment Band, the formal and dignified ceremonial between the lofty columns of the main entrance to the combined art gallery and museum building, and the great attendance have made the occasion memorable.

> The hopes and enthusiasm which have led to the construction of what will be the finest group of buildings in New Zealand had their beginning many years ago, and though for long the general public practically lost heart, there were those who believed all along that the scheme, ambitious though it was, was possible of achievement. Particularly to be honoured in this regard is the ex-Mayor of Wellington, Mr G.A.Troup, who was the driving force in a remarkable campaign through which Wellington citizens contributed and promised in less than six months practically the whole of the £100,000 which was aimed at as Wellington's share of the cost of this magnificent group of buildings, the National Art Gallery, the Dominion Museum, and the War Memorial Campanile.[225]
>
> The space about the entrance to the building, to one side of which the foundation stone is laid, is limited for the accommodation of a big public gathering, for though later there will be a big expanse in front of the building, separating it from the campanile, temporary buildings at present restrict the area. Nevertheless, the arrangements made enabled the public to follow the proceedings very well. Invited guests and visitors were accommodated on the portico and immediately before the main entrance. There was here full representation of both Houses of Parliament, of local bodies, in Wellington Province and elsewhere, Government Departments, the Society of Fine arts, and other organisations which have played an active part in the securing of funds for the building and in science and art, the churches, and the citizens generally.
>
> The guard of honour was provided by the Wellington College Cadets.[226]

On 1st August 1936, the Museum and Art Gallery were officially opened by the Governor-General, Lord Galway. Now Mount Cook was at last topped by a building which Wellington's citizens were proud of. No longer was there the stigma of having a prison located on one of the city's most prominent sites.

Although Mount Cook benefitted from such a vast building programme during the 1930s, it was also witness to the deprivations of the depression of the time. Apart from being located in the midst of one of Wellington's poorest areas, Mount Cook became the site for the city's Employment Bureau.

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[225] The Carillon itself, although appearing complete on the outside was still partially complete inside. It had only 49 of its planned 61 bells and there was still no Hall of Memories which was planned for the base of the tower. These were finally added in 1960, some 28 years later.

[226] "Laying of Foundation Stone," *Evening Post, Volume CXVII, Issue 88* ( ), 14 April 1934, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19340414.2.111.1.

Photograph 9.4: Foundation stone ceremony at the Dominion Museum, Wellington. Evening post (Newspaper. 1865-2002). Ref: PAColl-6301-43. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22800285

In February 1931, the Employment Bureau was given offices in one of the defence buildings in Buckle Street. The Army apparently could spare this space since it had been severely pruned back by the Government. The sharing of these two departments inevitably led to friction and complaints. The Defence Department Custodian complained to the Under

Secretary of Defence of the undesirability of sharing their buildings with the Employment Bureau:

> Sir,
>
> I beg to draw your attention to the unsatisfactory state of affairs which exist in consequence of the proximity of the Unemployed Bureaux to so much valuable Defence property. I will try to explain several aspects of this relative to fire and also inconvenience to Staff.
>
> A section of the unemployed or unemployable known as Meth spirit addicts continually frequent the Yard and are to be found frequently in the cart entrance close to Ladies' Rest Room & 1st Wn Regt Store where there are quantities of inflammable materiel. The danger from cigarette butts & matches is obvious. I have found these "undesirables" on the premises at all hours and have occasionally had to obtain the assistance of the Mount Cook Police.
>
> May I suggest that some sort of fence or barricade be erected so as to confine all outsiders to a right of way leading from the main entrance up to the bureaux door.
>
> I would like also to point out that it would be desirable if steps could be taken to prevent persons connected with the unemployed movement from using the Yard for the sale of papers and pamphlets. A stand is usually taken up in the vicinity of the door leading out of the main Building and the usual phrases and parrot cry of the seller is loud enough to become very objectionable to many employed on our premises. Similarly complaints have been made to me that Officers and Territorials crossing from the Drill Hall to the respective Q.M. Stores at the end of the Yard are subjected to insulting remarks and especially the young territorials are made a butt for scorn. The Stationery Office have complained and the matter has from ·time to time been dealt with regarding the continual use of the stops leading up to their entrance by the unemployed while waiting on the Bureaux.[227]

The Defence Department had to grin and bear this situation because the Army was informed by the Government that ''from the point of view of the Unemployment Board Authorities, it is preferable that they should (congregate there) rather than congregate in the open street.[228]

By 1935 both the Army and the nation as a whole began to feel the winds of change. In that year, not only had New Zealand elected its first socialist Labour Government, but the nation

[227] "PWD D203/136/6," (16 October 1935).
[228] "PWD D203/136/6," 24 October.

was recovering from the worst effects of the depression. On the international scene there were indications of a deteriorating situation. Fascist governments with aggressive foreign policies were in power in Italy and Germany and on New Zealand's northern horizon there loomed a fast militarising Japan with imperial ambitions in Asia. All these variables would in the next few years have a significant impact on the development of New Zealand's Army.

Although many of the Labour Government's members had been prominent conscientious objectors during the Great War by the late 1930's most of them began to alter their anti-military stance. The realities of the international situation during this time 'did much to destroy their idealistic outlook and their faith in the ability of the League of Nations to work. John A. Lee exemplified this view. In 1937 he came to the conclusion that:

> We live in a world where it is no good trying to avoid unpleasant facts, and although we all may believe that an ideal world may contain no armaments, nevertheless, the conditions of our life are determined not only by our aspirations, but by the actions of other people …… We stand for a certain system of Government, and whether we like it or not, other nations stand for other systems ….Because of that fact the Government is compelled to take certain steps to safeguard New Zealand security, · to at least assure us that if a crisis does arise - and we all hope no crisis will arise - the people of New Zealand will not be altogether defenceless ….. A self governing Dominion as small in population as New Zealand, standing as it does for a democratic ideal, could not sit down and watch the democratic system of Government being put to death elsewhere. Secure in the belief that when democracy was dead elsewhere we would ourselves be able to defend it in New Zealand.[229]

Thus, with this in mind, the Labour Government began taking steps to revive New Zealand's much neglected defence forces. The Territorial Force was reorganised on the basis of an augmented brigade capable of protecting the main ports and providing a field force which could in an emergency be expanded in size. A recruiting drive was launched to attract more members to this reorganised force, and rates of pay were improved.

> A start was also mode at mechanising the forces. Modern arms and equipment were imported and the Bren gun and carrier made their appearance. The Army School of Instruction was opened at Trentham ….Coast defences were strengthened. Regular force recruiting was re-opened and the numbers rose to 106 officers and 444 other ranks by 1936.[230]

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[229] New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* (, 1937), 1093.
[230] Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army*, 117-18.

In 1937 a major re-organisation of the Dominion's defence forces ·and their administration was undertaken. The Air Force was established as a separate service in April and an Army Board set up in October. The Army Board was created specifically to administer the Army and was to consist of not more than three Military Members and the Army Secretary. The appointment of General Officer Commanding the Forces was replaced by that of Chief of the General Staff who became the first Military Member of the Army Board.

In 1938 in order to co-ordinate the activities of the three services.as a single fighting force for the better defence of New Zealand, a Council of Defence was established consisting of the Minister of Defence (Chairman), Chief of the Naval Staff, Chief of the General Staff, Chief of the Air Staff, Secretary of the Treasury and the Permanent Head of the Prime Minister's Department. Its purpose was to advise the Government on defence policy.[231]

This expansion in staff numbers and the re-organisation of General Headquarters (now designated Army Headquarters) placed increasing pressure on the Army's now diminished floor space at Mount Cook. The Army was now provided with the opportunity to get rid of that 'thorn in its side' the Employment Bureau. A memorandum was sent to the Secretary of Labour stating:

> A section of your Department is in occupation of an Army building in Buckle Street.
>
> The Army Department has recently established a pool of mechanized transport vehicles for the Central Military District, and it is necessary to set up a workshop to enable maintenance and running repairs to be carried out.
>
> The only suitable premises for the purpose are the brick building housing your Employment Bureau, and it is desired to learn how soon it could be vacated by your staff and made available for the needs of the Army.[232]

By mid-1939 this request had been complied with, much to the joy of the Army.

With Army Headquarters now expanded, and with the Government encouraging its further development in light of the international situation, the Army was desirous to ·move out of its cramped buildings in Buckle Street. As early as 1935, General Headquarters had begun pressuring the Government Buildings Accommodation Board for ·"more commodious and

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[231] Gill, *History of the New Zealand Army*, 118.
[232] "PWD D203/136/6," (9 February 1938).

convenient premises'' especially within the vicinity of the Railway Station and shipping wharves. A memorandum dated 13 November 1935 pointed out that:

> A building that might conceivably meet Defence requirements in many respects would be the present Head Office building of the railway Department which will no doubt become vacant when the new Railway Station building becomes available. It is understood the Railway Head Office building would require to be considerably strengthened structurally, but if this were done the question of its being set apart for the accommodation of the General Headquarters staff of the Defence Department and the Civil Aviation Branch should, it is suggested, be borne in mind by the Accommodation Board, failing more suitable -premises becoming available.[233]

This request was finally met with in April 1938. Yet another part of New Zealand's military hierarchy had departed from Mount Count. Despite Army HQ's vacating of Mount Cook, the site was far from deserted. If anything, it was now more busy. The tempo of activity within the Army was once more reaching the level of the pre-war years of 1911-14. The Government was fully aware that time had run out. The idea of peace was seen as a last cause. As 1939 drew in, Mount Cook was gearing itself, as was the nation, for another period of conflict.

[233] "PW 23/32."

CHAPTER 10: WORLD WAR II 1939-1945

On 3rd September 1939, the ultimatum issued by Britain to Germany after the invasion of Poland expired Britain was now at war with Germany. New Zealand, as in 1914, being committed to the British stance soon followed suit. But, there was one major difference this time. Japan which had been an ally in the last conflict was now a potential belligerent with its large Pacific fleet. But, the defence problems facing New Zealand in 1939-40 were essentially similar to those of the first World War:

> even if of less immediate concern than they had been in 1914: there was no powerful German squadron at large in the Pacific, nor a powerful enemy battlefleet threatening general British naval supremacy in European waters. In a war with Germany it was accepted in Wellington that New Zealand's ultimate fate would be decided in European theatres. New Zealand's leaders in consequence generally took the broadest view of their country's strategic requirements. The pre-war emphasis on local defence did not survive the early months of the war - though the danger from Japan was kept carefully in mind.[234]

New Zealand again as in 1914 was willing to commit its troops to fighting in decisive theatres far the Empire's overall defence. The Prime Minister Joseph Savage declared:

> We must face up to the facts and see them as they are. Our soldiers will be engaged in no far off foray that has little or no relation, except in sentiment, to our own lives and fate. In whatever distant place they take up they will be covering Auckland as immediately as if they were strung along the North Shore, entrenched on Rangitoto or Motatapu. Wherever they attack or defend they will be guarding Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin as instantly as if they were in action at Lyall Bay, Sumner or St. Kilda. [235].

But, the nature of New Zealand's war effort was very much dependent upon Japan's attitude toward the war in Europe. New Zealand was wary of raising an expeditionary force to fight in the European theatres, whilst there was the prospect of a hostile Japan at its own backdoor. Fortunately, the Japanese provided a Solution to this dilemma on 3rd September when they announced that they planned to avoid becoming involved in the war in Europe in order to devote their energy to settling its involvement in China.

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[234] Ian McGibbon, *Blue-water Rationale: The Naval Defence of New Zealand 1914-1942* (Government Printer, 1981), 345. .

[235] "Savage Speech," *The Dominion* ( ), 4 March 1940.

With Japan's intentions now fully outlined, New Zealand now felt assured in ·being able to commit itself to raising an Expeditionary Force for the war in Europe. Mount Cook once more began gearing itself for a war footing. Unlike 1914-18, its role within the defence administration was greatly reduced. Army Headquarters was no longer present here, it had shifted into the old Railways Department Building in Featherston Street. All that was left up at Mount Cook of any significance was Headquarters Central Military District. Despite its central role in defence administration being removed, the buildings in Buckle Street were still a busy place. As the Defence Report of 1940 observed:

> On the outbreak of war immediate steps were taken to expand staffs at Army and District Headquarters in accordance with scales worked out in peace.[236]

The number of personnel at these headquarters were expanded from 439 in April 1939 to 505 by May 1940. This expansion in staff was necessitated by the need to raise the Expeditionary Force. The raising of the Expeditionary Force placed a great deal of pressure upon the Army HQ and the three District HQs because as Major General Sir Howard Kippenberger noted:

> The New Zealand Army contained the names of about eighty Regular Staff Officers and some six hundred Territorial Officers, and with these and a smaller number on the Reserve a Division had to be raised and trained and a great expansion carried out.[237]

By 5th January 1940 three months after New Zealand's declaration of war against Germany, the first echelon was embarked for the European theatre. Mount Cook's role in aiding this action was somewhat minor with most of the training and mobilisation activity concentrated out at Trentham and other such camps throughout the country. With much of the nation's energy being devoted to the raising of the Expeditionary Force, as mentioned, local defence was pushed into the background. With each of the Military Districts HQs detailed to take care of such, they in comparison to the activities of raising 2 NZEF, became somewhat of a backwater. But, as the war began to fair badly for the Allies, the situation in regard to this was soon to change.

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[236] "Military Forces of New Zealand, Annual report of the chief of the General Staff," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1940 Session I, H-19* (1 January 1940), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1940-I.2.3.2.22.

[237] Major-General Sir Howard Kippenberger KBE CB DSO & Bar, *Infantry Brigadier* (Lucknow Books, 1951), 2.

On 15th May 1940 the German armour ruptured the French positions overlooking the Meuse on the Western Front. It made a breach which the Anglo-French Armies were unable to seal. Within six weeks Britain and France were hounded to deceive defeat; France to an armistice, Britain to ineffective defiance. The humbling of France created an entirely new situation in the far East of which Japan immediately prepared to take advantage. The French in the interwar period had placed their faith in a series of fixed defences along their border with Germany. These defences were known as the Maginot Line.

> The Maginot Line was much more than the shield of France alone. It had been the shield of the United States and the guarantees of American immunity from the malignancy of Nazism. It had also been the shield that had protected the British (including Australia and New Zealand) Dutch and French possessions in the far East which Japan coveted.[238]

Within a matter of weeks of the prostration of France, the Japanese made a series of moves to capitalise on the powerlessness of the European colonial empires. Japan saw this as its opportunity to complete its conquest of China without the fear of Dutch, French or British retaliation. They were quick to take advantage of Germany's triumphs. On 18th May 1940 they requested a number of economic concessions from the Government of the Netherlands East Indies, including a guarantee that nothing would be done to impede the export to Japan of specified minimum quantities of thirteen raw materials. A month later France was presented with a demand to end the passage through Indo-China of munitions and war materials to the Chinese Army under Chiang-Kai-shek and to permit Japan to station military observers in Indo-China to make certain that this was done. Then came Britain's turn. On 24th June 1940, the British Ambassador in Tokyo was informed by the Japanese Foreign Office that the British must close the Burma Road and the frontier at Hong Kong and withdraw its troops from Shanghai.[239] These moves foretold of Japan's intention to extend its empire to the south into Southeast Asia.

With Britain beleaguered in Europe and forced to fight the might of Germany by herself, New Zealand fully realised the exposed position it was now in as regard to Japanese aggression. The basis of New Zealand's defence policy, that of Britain's ability to despatch a

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[238] H.P. Willmott, *Pearl Harbor* (Cassell, 1981), 6.

[239] M.P. Lissington, *New Zealand and Japan 1900-1941*, ed. New Zealand. Department of Internal Affairs. Historical Publications Branch (A. R. Shearer, Government Printer, 1972), 142-3.

fleet to Singapore to protect the eastern portions of the Empire was now defunct. With the French Fleet lost to the allied cause and the entry of Italy into the war Britain had to concentrate all her naval power within European waters to maintain the balance of power. Theoretically, while France had been in the war it was still possible to send a fleet from the Mediterranean to aid the Far East. But now with no help to cover the Italian Fleet it had become impossible to do so. The New Zealand and Australian Governments were bluntly informed of the menacing situation:

> In the unlikely event of Japan, in spite of the restraining influence of the United States of America taking the opportunity to alter the 'status quo' in the Far East, we should be faced with a naval situation in which without the assistance of France we should not have sufficient forces to meet the combined German and Italian navies in European waters and the combined Japanese Fleet in the Far East. In the circumstances envisaged; it is most improbable that we could sent adequate reinforcements to the Far East. We should therefore have to rely on the United States to safeguard our interests there.[240]

But, unbeknown to the British, Japan had preparations well in hand for the removal of the restraining influence of the United States so that it would have freeplay within Southeast Asia. These plans came into fruition in late 1941. During this time, under pressure from Australia and New Zealand, Churchill had sent out two battleships, the Repulse and Prince of Wales, known collectively as 'Force Z' to act as a deterrent to any Japanese aggression. But, this action was too meagre and too late. On 7th December 1941, the Japanese acted. A surprise attack was made on the American Fleet at Pearl Harbour. At the same time, the Japanese unleashed their version of a 'blitzkrieg' as they swept through Southeast Asia. Two days later 'Force Z' was sunk off the Malayan coast and by February 1942, Singapore, the proclaimed bastion of Imperial Defence fell. New Zealand now felt totally exposed to a Japanese attack. The Defence Report for 1942 emphasised this desperate situation that New Zealand was felt to be in:

> Prior to the entry of Japan into the war, on the 7th December 1941, the Army activities in New Zealand were principally directed to providing reinforcements for our forces overseas and maintaining the efficiency of our home forces at as high level as possible in readiness for any deterioration in the international situation.

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[240] W.D. McIntyre and W.J. Gardner, *Speeches and Documents on New Zealand History* (Clarendon Press, 1971), 112.

> With the entry of Japan into the war the Pacific became a theatre of war, and the New Zealand Army had to be prepared to meet enemy action. New Zealand's claims for equipment were accordingly advanced to a high order of priority, and the quantities of equipment required were vastly increased.
>
> The whole defence situation in New Zealand was rapidly reviewed, and immediate steps were taken to mobilize the whole ·of the Territorial Force and to strengthen our garrisons in the Pacific Islands.
>
> The raising of additional units and expansion of others were also undertaken, and this process is still proceeding.[241]

Perhaps the only consolation to be gained from this dire situation was the fact that now the United States was committed to the war at last through the attack on Pearl Harbour.

For Mount Cook, this threat of a Japanese attack placed it in a central position. Now 'local' defence came to the fore, so the activities of the Central Military District gained in importance significantly. Now there was a desperate scramble to make sure that each of the main ports were secure from attack and plans had to be drawn up for the defence of the country as a whole. Within this revised defence scheme, the off-spring of the Army, the Air Force, had a major role to play. Being a maritime nation, air reconnaissance was vital in the protection of the country. Thus, the RNZAF underwent a rapid expansion. From its 1937 level of just two air stations in the Pacific and a force of just under 2,000, *it* was expanded to over forty stations and over 40,000 personnel by 1944. · Such a rapid expansion in organisation placed a great deal of pressure on space for the Air Force's administration. Once more it would be Mount Cook which would provide the opportunity for alleviating this problem.

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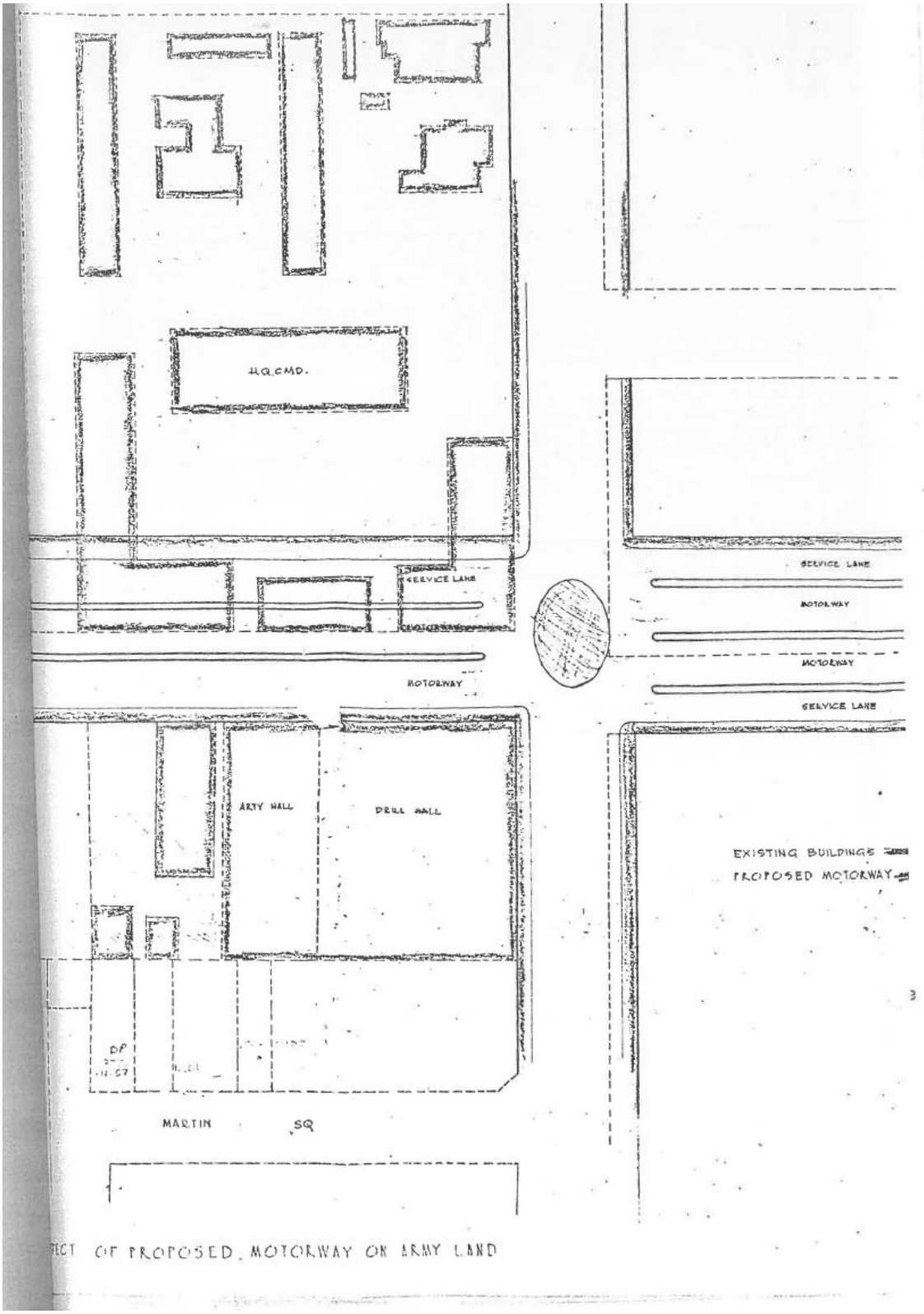
[241] "Military Forces of New Zealand, Annual report of the chief of the General Staff," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1942 SESSION I, H-19* (1 January 1942): 1, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1942-I.2.1.9.18.



Map 10.1:

It was recognised that the old buildings in Buckle Street were insufficient to meet the C.M.D. Headquarters expanded demand let alone accommodate a rapidly growing Air Force. In 1941, the War Cabinet allotted £8,600 ($17,200) to rebuild and refurbish the buildings in the

Buckle Street complex. Of this sum £3,940 ($7,880) was spent on rebuilding and extending the building on the southern edge of Lot 90 (see Map 10:1). Despite this, there was *still* insufficient space available. Hard-pressed, the Government was forced to look for other alternatives. Defence Department eyes, once more began to gaze upon the buildings on top of Mount Cook which once used to be their exclusive domain. The newly built Dominion Museum with its vast expanse of floor space was seen ideal as a solution to this problem.

The prospect of such a military take-over shocked those in control of the museum, and they were quick to raise objection to the proposal. The Chairman of the Management Committee wrote to the Prime Minister, who as Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the Museum could block the takeover. He wrote:

> Dear Sir,
> I write on behalf of the Museum Management Committee to ask that you will discuss with the Board of Trustees the serious position in which the Building with its collections is placed through its occupation by branches of the military organisation.
>
> I should say at the outset that we have good reason to believe that neither you nor the other members of the board are unaware of the seriousness of the position or are anything but anxious to remove the danger if that can be done without harmful effect on the discharge of the duty that the Dominion owes in this crisis. Nonetheless, we should like the matter to be discussed again by the Board in case some avenue not hitherto recognised should exist.
>
> The Committee would point out that the Building is the result of prolonged and strenuous work on the part of many devoted citizens and of voluntary gifts on the part of a very great number indeed. The treasures of Art and Science -that it houses are the accumulations of a century of work. The ·whole of the Art Gallery has already been given up, many valuable pictures have already had to be removed and many others are being stored to their certain detriment. Further, it becomes evident that more extended use of the building for military purposes is under consideration. This would involve the removal or piling up of the Museum exhibits. Such arrangements could not be carried out without great expense nor without damage, and there is no compensation that would be adequate. for the loss of many of these things. The Museum collections that are on view constitute only a small part of the valuable material that is in the building. The smaller rooms, available to students, are crowded with important collections and a great quantity of material is stored in the basement. The cessation of the educational work of the Museum; affecting, among others, many hundreds of school children in each week, would probably have to follow upon extended military occupation.

> The building has become not only a legitimate military objective but such an objective as an invader could not refrain from attacking without neglect of his military duty. It is evident that it would be cheaper to purchase or rent almost any building suitable for military purposes, if one can be got, than to replace this one, quite apart from the fact that its collections could never be replaced.
>
> In all that has been said the Committee recognises that the interests it represents are those of the Public and that these may have to yield to even greater public interests of whose pressing importance it in a position to judge. Nevertheless, it is bound not to acquiesce in any endangering of its trust unless urgent necessity exists.[242]

But, such pleas were to no avail. The country was desperate for accommodation for defence purposes, and within central Wellington, with the country in such a threatening situation, there was no time to debate the pros and cons of maintaining the country's cultural amenities in preference to its defence needs. On the 18th of June the museum was closed to the public for the duration, and the military moved in.

The move to the museum constituted a massive undertaking. All the exhibits had to be moved into a portion of the museum which was to be retained by the museum staff for their occupance. Almost all the ground floor space which consisted of the offices, library, lecture hall, workrooms and carpenter's shop were taken over. In an interview with the Listener in 1946, Dr W. Oliver the Museum Director explained move and what it involved:

> "It was a pretty big shift", he said "But we were given every assistance. The Army lent us 30 soldiers for a fortnight."
>
> We asked if any exhibits of exceptional value were sent out of Wellington for extra security.
>
> "No, everything was kept here", said the Director. "A lot of the material was moved to the upper galleries; but irreplaceable treasures, like Māori relics, ancient books and pictures, and documents *or* historical importance, were stored in the big strong-room. With concrete walls 12 inches thick, we thought it would be blast-proof if any enemy bombs came our way."
>
> "You and your staff were entirely segregated from the forces?"
>
> "Oh yes; their areas was out of ·bounds to us."
>
> "Was any damage done in moving the exhibits – all that glass in the showcases and the delicate stands for mounting specimens?"

[242] "PW 23/32," *Letter to the District Engineer* (10 August 1942).

"Practically none, except to a very little glass -and that was quite unavoidable. Some of our showcases had to be sawn in half to get them through the doors. Others, with huge plate-glass windows, presented a problem, but someone had a brainwave. Scrim was put under them and they were slid along the linoleum."

Building Fully Protected

Every precaution was taken by the occupying forces to prevent any damage to the interior of the building, Dr Oliver said. The marble pillars were covered with wall-board and fixed showcases were protected with wooden screens. In the big hall, all electric bulbs and shades were removed so that the black-out would be effective.

Pre-war visitors would not recognise the Museum as it is today. Stuffed animals are curiously assorted. The lion lies down in perfect amity with the lamb. The Māori House is a store-room for a mass of tip-up seats from the lecture hall; one of the giant Māori war canoes is a cradle for lighting apparatus and alongside it lie Island spears in bundles, awaiting reclassification.

Scattered here and there, but still more or less in classified sections, are seals, flying-foxes, cormorants and owls. Birds, beasts and beetles, moths and mummies rost temporarily in unaccustomed beds. And carefully stored away are the series of study specimens which far outnumber the exhibits usually seen by the public.

Where Corals Lie

Bones of moas and specimens of coral lie on the floor, labelled and awaiting re-assembly. The family Ostreidae (shells to the layman) is billeted along with evacuated birds of paradise and age-old pieces of pottery; a Campbell Islands crab stretches out its pincers towards a spiny ant-eater.

One of the biggest tasks was storing books which, in the rush and bustle of wartime, were bundled up in convenient parcels and dumped in piles. These have boon reclassified and arranged for return to ·their rightful places when the space is available.

There is something of a lesson to be learned from the timeless tranquillity of Neith {or Net) priestess of the Egyptian gad, Khem. Her embalmed remains, quite untroubled by the EPS men and their feverish activity, have lain far a few more years in their case, sharing a earner, for the time being with wooden water-pipes from 1810 London. Not far away a model of Captain Cook's Endeavour tacks merrily towards a sea of porcelain vases.

> All through this period-of upheaval, the Museum staff has carried an its work. Its members made earners far themselves where they continued their researches, their preparation and preservation of birds, beasts and fish.[243]

The National Art Gallery was moved into the top floors of the DIC Building in Lambton Quay. Here some of the staff actually noted that attendances at the Gallery rose because they now occupied a more central location where people found it easier just to walk in and gaze at their collection whilst they were in the City on business.

Outside the museum itself, Mount Cook was witnessing another transformation. Pearl Harbour had taught the Government about the vulnerability of an area to air attack. With Mount Cook containing such a great deal of defence material it was seen as a potential strategic target in an air raid. Construction was begun immediately in creating a command centre which could survive an attack from the air. A huge excavation was begun an the western-side of Mount Cook immediately behind the Museum Here a labyrinth of tunnels and chambers was to be built. Fortunately, the emergency which necessitated the construction of this bunker passed before the structure was ever completed. The battles of Midway and the Coral Sea halted the Japanese advance and severely mauled their fleet, making their actions after 1943 purely defensive. With the need far the building removed, the Government thought it more important .to channel its scarce funds into areas of greater demand. Thus, the building was left as an empty shell at the end of 1943 and was never used for its designed purpose.[244]

Although it was the Air Force which initially took over the Museum, for a time it was used as a combined headquarters with components of all three Services there. Part of HQ Central Military District and the Pay Office was accommodated there for a short while.

This expansion of activity was jolted to a halt in mid-1942. Between June and August of that year Wellington was hit by a series of earthquakes. Although not of the magnitude of those in the 1840s and 50s, they were sufficient to cause a good deal of damage. The buildings up

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[243] , *New Zealand Listner*, 18 April 1946, 18.

[244] The building did have its uses though. Lands and Survey Department recognised its potential ns a repository for its maps. They completed the interior of the building after the war and still use it today as their map library.

at Mount Cook, particularly the old Defence buildings in Buckle Street were hard hit. A report noted that:

> Following the earthquake on 24 June, certain surface cracks were discernible on portions of the above buildings, none of these at the time being considered serious.
>
> However, since the earthquake of 2nd August, certain of these cracks have opened considerably, particularly in the Garrison & Artillery Halls.
>
> The most seriously affected are as follows:
>
> 1. Garrison Hall. The wall at the records room Taranaki St. (1st floor) has broken away above the window sill line and now stands almost ½" to ¾" from the window frames. The position affected most is for a distance of 20 to 30 feet of the wall which is a 4i" brick skin and the only support the wall has are the brick ties. Certain bricks at windows have worked loose and appear to be merely sitting with little or no support.
>
> 2. Artillery Hall. Cracks developed at the wall between Artillery and Garrison Halls after the first shake.
>
> This wall runs the full height of the Artillery Hall and supports the. steel truss of the Garrison Hall and the wooden Truss of the Artillery Hall. The difference in seating levels of these trusses is approximately 10'0'' and after the second shake of 2nd August this crack which is between these two levels and running the best part of the length of the building has widened and appears to have thrust the lower brickwork approximately ¼" to ½" off plumb.
>
> 3. C.M.D. Building. Old HQ. One severe crack only has developed at the Main Entrance . Archway.
>
> 4. C.M.D. Building, New HO. This building has recently been completed and after the 24th June shake certain of the cross walls showed signs of cracking at the junction of the front wall. These cracks run from floor to ceiling.
>
> The two brick cross tie walls appear to be butted to front wall with little or no tie. Since the recent earthquake, these have further opened.
>
> Officers Mess and Ante Room
>
> In this building also certain cracks developed after the first shake and have also increased slightly since the one on 2nd August, 1942.[245]

[245] "PW 23/32."

These earthquakes could not have happened at a worse time. With the Government already hardpressed to provide accommodation for Defence purposes, it could ill-afford to lose the buildings at Buckle Street. Repairs were improvised as quickly as possible to make the buildings usable for the duration.

With the repairs to Mount Cook completed, the Army establishments there set into a routine similar for the other two Army Districts of the country for the rest of the war. By the end of 1942, New Zealand's war machine was moving in top gear and the Army within New Zealand followed a predefined sot of goals. As the Defence Report of 1944 observed:

> The policy of the Army in New Zealand now follows the principle that to the utmost extent possible every man and woman in the community should either be engaged directly or indirectly on war production or in serving or preparing to serve overseas. Adopting this principle as far as possible, the role of the Army in New Zealand is:
>
> 1. To administer, train, and despatch overseas reinforcements.
>
> 2. To guard, account for, and maintain in serviceable condition the large mass of war equipment, stores, vehicles and ammunition in New Zealand; to overhaul, pack, and despatch equipment etc, required by overseas authorities; to carry out technical inspection of war equipment manufactured in New Zealand for overseas.
>
> 3. To man such armament as is considered necessary from time to time by the New Zealand Chiefs of Staff to meet submarine attack on our ports.
>
> 4. To guard vital points in accordance with periodical surveys of the situation by the New Zealand Chiefs of Staff.
>
> 5. To guard prisoners of war.
>
> 6. To administer and train secondary-school Cadets, and the non-mobilized Territorial force to the extent considered necessary from time to time.
>
> 7. To carry out the administration of the Defence Department, including pay, accounts, and base records, the disposal of returning troops, and normal peacetime activities; and to retain the organization necessary to meet requirements of a changing war situation.[246]

[246]."Military Forces of New Zealand, Annual report of the General Officer Commanding," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1944 Session I, H-19* (1944): 2, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1944-I.2.2.5.20.

As mentioned, by 1943, the worst of the threat to New Zealand had passed and now military activity moved from the defensive to the offensive. This meant a change in Army Policy:

> Army policy has closely followed, and to some extent anticipated, the strategical situation throughout the world, and especially in the Pacific. When danger threatened in 1941 and the early part of 1942 our home Forces were raised to unprecedented strength, and, in addition New Zealand troops occupied advanced points of high strategical importance in the Pacific. As Allied strength mounted in the Pacific, so the necessity for strong home Forces and island garrisons decreased, and those Forces were reduced accordingly, from time to time, until the stage was reached when the retention of manpower for anti-invasion Forces was no longer justified.
>
> The effect of the progressive decrease in strength is emphasized in the Budget, which shows a reduction of £21,000,000 in the expenditure required for the Army. But, important as it is, this is perhaps overshadowed by the benefit resulting from the return to civil life of tens of thousands of men who had been immobilized by the threat of enemy attack. This release and the consequent reduction or cessation of defence works (including buildings) and in the manufacture of certain munitions, clothing, and other ·requirements of the Army, have brought relief to industry and to the civil papulation in several very important directions. To the extent that production has been increased by these measures, New Zealand's contribution to the war effort of the Allies has been increased. Another most important effect, both financial and as a contribution to the war effort overseas, has been the release for active theatres of war of quantities of war equipment and ammunition which had been concentrated in New Zealand.[247]

With this change in emphasis, the Army presence on Mount Cook was diminished whilst that of the Air Force was increased. Headquarters C.M.D. had reached its zenith whilst there was the threat of a direct attack on New Zealand itself. With the threat gone, and the releasing of men for Home Defence for strategic industries, many of the activities in the three District Headquarters were correspondingly decreased. The vacated space at Mount Cook was rapidly taken up .by the expanding Air Force. By the end of 1943, the Museum had been handed over to them as their sole reserve. This was necessary because it was the Air Force which now came into the fore. With the Allied lines of communication stretching over the vast expanses of the Pacific, it was ‘air power' which overcame the difficulties of the strategic situation. Also, the withdrawal of the 3rd Division from service in the Pacific in

[247] "Military Forces of New Zealand, Annual report of the General Officer Commanding," 1.

1944 meant that the Air Force hod to s how the New Zealand flag for the Government as far as the allied effort in the ·Pacific was concerned.

By the beginning of 1945 it had become obvious that the Allies were on the verge of victory against both Germany and Japan. With this greatly changed situation in mind the members of the Wellington Branch of the Royal Society of New Zealand called for the return of the Museum to original purpose in May of that year. This was to mark the beginning of a wrangle which would last more than a year.

On 23rd May 1945 the *Evening Post* reported that:

> Strong criticism of the continued occupation of the Dominion Museum by the Air Force despite assurances from the Prime Minister that it would be vacated early in the year, was made at the Annual Meeting of the Council of the Royal Society of New Zealand yesterday. It was decided on the motion of Professor L.R. Richardson that the standing committee of the Society should form a deputation to the Prime Minister in an endeavour to have the museum returned to public use.
>
> A letter received from the Wellington Branch urging further action stated:
>
> "It appears that the Air Force is not moving out as promised some months ago, but that further drafts are taking up quarters in the building". "I am tired of being fobbed off" said Professor Richardson. "It is a great misuse of civic rights. There are no indications at present that the Government intends to return the building to the citizens of Wellington in the near future. The position has gone to an absurd point; Innumerable people seek to use the Dominion Museum for its proper purpose and are unable to do so. This is a shocking position."[248]

This article was just the beginning of the 'battle for the museum'.

On 18th September, The Air Secretary, Mr T.A. Barrow, announced that the Air Force would vacate the building within three months. He noted that "the date would depend on the disposal of equipment with which the staff housed there was mainly concerned". [249] But, by February 1946, the Air Force had still not moved and once more became subject of much

[248] "Dominion Museum," *Evening Post, Volume CXXXVII, Issue 120* ( ), 23 May 1944.
[249] "Dominion Museum," *The Dominion* ( ), 13 August 1945.

criticism in the Press. On 24th May·1946, it became the subject of a scathing editorial which stated:

> Since 1942, when all other considerations had to be sacrificed to urgent military requirements, the public of Wellington and of the country generally have been denied access to the Dominion Museum and National Art Gallery. Nearly a year has passed since· the end of hostilities, demobilisation of the armed forces is virtually completed, but every effort to have the museum and art gallery restored to their normal use has been without avail. As was pointed out ·at the annual meeting of the council of the Royal Society of New Zealand this week, no authoritative decision can be obtained as to when the Air Force will leave the institution so that the public can once more have the benefit of this unique and important cultural amenity.
>
> As far back as September of last year the Air Secretary, Mr T.A. Barrow, gave an assurance that the Air Force would leave the buildings as soon as possible, "probably in the next three months.” The precise date would depend on the disposal of equipment which, Mr Barrow said, was the main concern of the staff accommodated there. Commenting on this statement, the secretary of the board of trustees of the museum and art gallery, Mr F.H. Bass, said that the retention of the museum would take up to three months and of the art gallery up to six months from the departure of the Air Force. These statements indicated that the Air Force should by now have left the building and that the institution would again be open to the public about June of this year. To all present appearances the re-opening is as far off as ever.
>
> It can hardly be claimed that the organisation of the Air Force.is still so extensive, or defence needs so pressing, as to warrant the retention of a major institution taken over in a time of acute national emergency. A few weeks ago the Minister of Defence, Mr Jones, stated that on the cessation of hostilities in August, 1945, the RNZAF had a total strength of 34,062, since when 27,545 had been demobilised. Further details then given indicated that, apart from interim Air Force enlistments, there would be only 4,000 members of the wartime strength left in the service on 30 June 1946. In spite of this reduction from 34,000 to 4,000 in personnel, together with the mass disposal of Air Force equipment and material over the past few months, the authorities apparently still believe it necessary to retain the museum and art gallery for the purpose of accommodating equipment, repairs and maintenance, training and other branches mainly of an administrative nature.
>
> Even if the Air Force were to evacuate the building immediately, the extensive necessary alterations and repairs would mean a lapse or about another year before the museum and gallery were again fully available to the public. It is to be hoped that the City Council, together with the educational authorities and organisations interested in the cultural life of the community, will support the Royal Society in· its endeavours to have the institution restored to its proper use

> without delay. The further occupation of the buildings for reasons that are no longer valid will be, as one member of the Royal Society expressed it, an infringement on the rights of the public.[250]

The state of the museum was picked-up by the reporters and emphasis was placed upon the amount of damage done to the museum. The *Daily Southern Cross* reported:

> Dr W.R.B. Oliver director of the Dominion Museum, said that during the services occupation, 250 windows in the Art Gallery had been broken, and that the whole building had been "messed-up" generally.
>
> Five miles of shelving was taken down and destroyed when the museum was occupied.
>
> "This would involve many months of hard work to restore", said Dr Oliver.[251]

To some it looked as though the Air Force had taken the museum as a permanent base and the only way that they might be forced to vacate the premises was if a major offensive was launched. This situation provided some humorous anecdotes for the Press as Photo 10:1 illustrates. By 9 July it was finally reported that:

> The RNZAF is moving out of the Dominion Museum at Wellington, by easy stages.
>
> It is not a large-scale move.
>
> The plan of campaign is to shift sections from the museum to Shelly Bay camp as oddments of space become available there.
>
> There is no room in Departmental -Buildings in Stout Street for any more Air Force sections. Some of those at present at the museum, by the nature of their work, cannot reasonably be transferred to so remote a spot as Shelly Bay.
>
> The medical section is an example. Men called for medical examination cannot forever be travelling to Shelly Bay.
>
> The solution is for a section now in Stout Street to move to Shelly Bay, while the medical section moves into Stout Street.
>
> The Air force move from the museum is bound to please the museum authorities.

---

[250] "Dominion Museum," *The Dominion* ( ), 24 May 1946.
[251] "Dominion Museum," *Daily Southern Cross* ( ), 9 July 1946.

Central Site Best

Doubts have been heard whether the art gallery authorities will be anywhere near so happy to return there.

It is said that they never had such interest taken as they have at their present central quarters in the DIC.

Stories of damage to the museum during the Air Force tenure have brought replies from Air Force men.

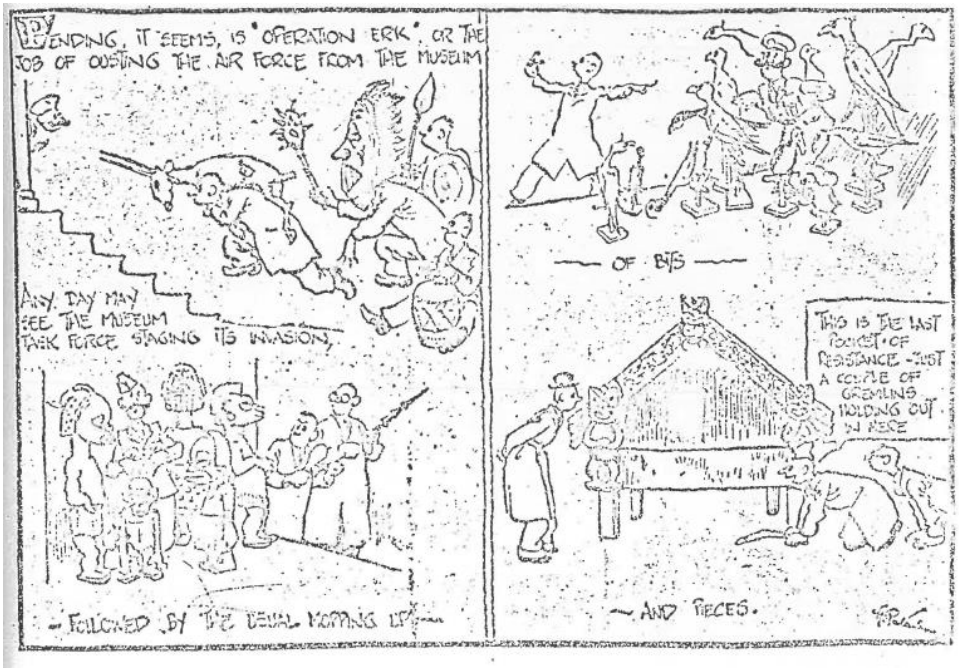
No Permanent Damage

One airman range the Southern Cross to say he had been working in the building more than two years.

It was in better condition now he said, than when he arrived.

He was proud of the way he and his fellows had cared for their quarters there.

At first sight some of the place looks a little battered, but the main pillars have been protected with pinex ever since the forces moved in. The pinex panels are much damaged in places, but this has brought no harm to the glazing beneath.[252]



The vacating of the Museum by the Air Force marked the end of Mount Cook's wartime role.

Once more the site was preparing itself for a peace-time role with the Museum being

[252] "Dominion Museum."

restored back to its original state and the Army down in Buckle Street awaiting its re-organisation as it had done so in 1918.

CHAPTER 11: POST WAR DEVELOPMENT 1946-1979

Although one could note similarities in the situation which the New Zealand Army found itself in 1919, 1945 marked the beginning of a huge re-assessment far the Dominion. Many of the tenets of New Zealand's defence which had held true after the Great War were no longer so after the Second World War. Britain's role as the world's major naval power had been surpassed by that of the United States. British power had been relegated to that of-an expression of American power.[253] The globe was now dominated by the two 'Superpowers', the United States and the Soviet Union. The Pacific Ocean in itself had become an 'American Lake'. The events of the final months of the war had altered the nature of war. The advent of nuclear weapons meant that the conduct of war had to be re-appraised.

For New Zealand, this changed situation meant a complete re-appraisal of the Dominion's defence would have to be undertaken. The Army was seen as sorely in need of reform to meet this changed situation. For Mount Cook, the post 1945 re-organisation would have special effects. In many respects it would restore to the site much of the lost prestige it had held up until the early 1930s. Although it would no longer be the Defence Headquarters for the country, its role within the Army hierarchy would still be significant.

As in 1919, the Army in 1946 was primarily concerned with winding down the war machine which had been built up over the previous six years. At the time of the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the Army had a total of 52,931 personnel, of which 37,312 were still overseas. The massive job of transporting these people home and demobbing them now had to be undertaken whilst at the same time planning for the Army's peacetime role and maintaining certain military commitments. The defence report of 1947 outlined the nature of this problem:

> The year covered by this report has been devoted mainly to the completion of the process of demobilisation, to planning for the future, and to the commencement of the re-organisation of the Military Forces far peacetime requirements.
>
> A major commitment has been the enlistment, training and despatch of replacement personnel to 2 NZEF (Japan). The first relief, approximately 4,200 strong, left far Japan early in the period under review. Arrangements are now well in hand for the despatch of a further volunteer relief Force to replace those now serving. The new Force will be reduced in size to a strength of 2,400 all

[253] C. Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power* (Humanities Press International, 1979), Chapter 1.

> ranks, which will include approximately 400 volunteers for a further period of service from the present Force.[254]

Between 1945 and 1948 New Zealand's primary defence concern was that Japan should never be permitted to rearm. Hence New Zealand's commitment of a token force to Japan's occupation which would at least assure itself of some say in any peace settlement regarding that country. During these years, there was no real need to quickly re-organise the country's defence forces because:

> There was no immediate sense of threat. The Japanese Navy no longer existed, the Soviet Union had not been a major naval power since 1904, and China was weak and torn by civil war ….the United States was in full control of the former Japanese territories in the Central Pacific: American forces in effect, covered the Northern approaches to the South West Pacific and the post-war United States Navy was overwhelmingly superior to any potential rival.[255]

Thus, this situation literally gave the New Zealand Government a 'breathing space' in which they could clearly examine the weaknesses and shortcomings of the Armed Forces during the war and restructure them. With the Government still considering the nature of the re-organisation, the Army itself was now sufficiently free, with demobilisation complete, to undertake some house-keeping of its own. One of these was that Headquarters Central Military District should be removed from Mount Cook. It was felt that ultimately HQCMD should be moved back to Palmerston North because:

> Central Military District embraces the southern half of the North Island. Its Headquarters was formerly located at Palmerston North which is well suited for the administration of the district, being centrally sited and also close to the main district training camp at Linton. The buildings at Palmerston North were destroyed by fire in 1930 and the Headquarters shifted to Wellington. Our long term plan has been to return the Headquarters to Palmerston North, but for the time being that idea has been shelved partly because the post-war Army policy has not yet been determined and partly because of the accommodation problem.
>
> The present Army buildings in Palmerston North are:
>
> a. The sub-area offices - a converted barrack room.

---

[254] "H-19 Military Forces of New Zealand, Annual report of the Chief of the General Staff," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives,1947 Session I, H-19* (1947): 1, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1947-I.2.4.2.20.

[255] Ian McGibbon, The Defence of New Zealand 1945-57, Defence Library vertical file Undated manuscript, 3, Defence Library

b. A gun park and stables of old construction and the only potential drill hall in the city.

c. Sundry small stores and offices only suitable for unit stores, training equipment etc.

This accommodation is quite insufficient for a District Headquarters.[256]

More importantly, it was felt that the buildings in Buckle Street would be inadequate for the demands of the post-war re-organisation if HQCMD was still in occupance. Furthermore, it was felt that:

> The accommodation problem in that area is further complicated on a long term basis - by the approved Wellington City Council Town Planning Scheme covering the widening of Taranaki and Buckle Streets. The plan involves the removal of a large part of the present Garrison Hall and the brick wings of the buildings on the opposite side of the street. The effect of this will be a loss to Army of approximately 15,000 sq. ft. of office space, 17,000 sq. ft. of Drill Hall and 3,000 sq. ft. of storage. [257]

Because of the unsuitability of the buildings at Palmerston North and the planned diminishment of the Defence land at Mount Cook, a temporary location of the Headquarters at Trentham was suggested. But it was soon pointed out that, "Trentham is not a suitable place for Central District Headquarters working under peace conditions, and an eventual double move of that Headquarters is most undesirable for reasons of economy and personnel."[258] So, the problem had come full circle. With no one coming up with a viable solution to this dilemma it was decided in the Army that HQCMD would remain in its present location until the full details of the Army's re-organisation were known.

In re-organising the Army on a peacetime basis, the Government was conscious of several paramount factors, as follows:

1. The increased complexity of military activities, the enormous expansion of standing camps, local defences and other capital works, and the holding of greatly augmented supplies of stores, weapons and vehicles returned to New Zealand demanded a much larger Regular force.

2. A Territorial Force based on voluntary enlistment was unlikely to be numerically effective.

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[256] "PW 23/32 Part III, Memorandum," *Letter to the District Engineer* (2 May 1947).
[257] "PW 23/32 Part III, Memorandum."
[258] "PW 23/32 Part III, Memorandum."

3. The practice of two wars of raising an Expeditionary Force, initially by voluntary recruiting and separate altogether from the Territorial Force was cumbersome and time consuming.

4. In any future war speed in putting a Force into the field might well be of vital importance.[259]

At this point, the New Zealand Government was still seeing the country's defences as operating within a Commonwealth context and was just starting to feel the first blasts of the 'Cold War'. With this in mind, the nation's defence scheme was centred around New Zealand's ability to deploy a Division in the Middle East; a theatre which was seen as strategically important to the defence of the Commonwealth.[260]

In order to be able to commit its troops to this theatre and despatch them quickly at the outbreak of a conflict the Government had to devise a scheme which would give New Zealand this constant state of readiness.

In order to meet this criteria, the then Labour Government suggested that Compulsory Military Training might be the answer. At the Labour Party's Annual Conference in May 1949, the Prime Minister Peter Fraser drew attention to the threat posed by Soviet-dominated communism, particularly "the huge forces under Russian domination in China" and stressed the desirability of New Zealand developing its capacity to contribute quickly and effectively to Commonwealth defence. To do this, he suggested, a compulsory training system was essential. Although generally sympathetic, the Conference insisted upon a national referendum on the question of compulsory military training. On 3rd August 1949 the referendum was duly held with the vote being 534,031 to 160,998 in favour. The Government now had a clear mandate to proceed with the scheme.

The new scheme operated on the following lines:

Registration

1. On reaching the age of 18 years all male British subjects ordinarily resident in New Zealand will register at the nearest District Office of the Department of Labour and Employment, either in person or by registered letter. Every person so registering will be enabled to indicate his preference as to the Service to which he would like to be posted for training.

   As far as is compatible with the requirements of each Service, the recruit will be posted in accordance with the preference he has indicated. Owing however, to the limited requirements of the Air force and Navy, no

[259] "The New Zealand Army," *British Army Annual, No2* (1955): 56.
[260] The Middle East, with the Suez Canal (The Empires Jugular Vein) was seen as one of the main strategic theatres in the defence of the Commonwealth.

assurance can be given that every man will be able to serve in the branch of the Services which he prefers.

Medical Examination and Other Preliminaries

2. Following registration, the Department of Labour and Employment will arrange for medical examination of the applicants. Those found fit for training will be served with an enlistment notice and may then apply for postponement of service.

3. The Department of Labour and Employment will then notify appropriate service (Navy, Army or Air) of the particulars of those who have not applied for postponement or who have been made available for service by determination of a Postponement Committee.

4. The appropriate Service will then issue a notice calling the recruit up for a period of fourteen weeks' full-time training, which will normally commence in the year following that in which the recruit reached the age of eighteen years.
5. In certain cases, the final selection of recruits for the Service to which they will be ultimately posted may be deferred until after calling-up notices have been issued. Pending such final selection, the recruits will be called up by Army.

Army Training

6. Army propose to hold two training periods each of fourteen weeks' duration for Army recruits in each year. One will be held in the summer months (commencing probably in January) and the other in the winter months (commencing in May). The latter period has been selected in order to meet the requirements of the farming industry and those engaged in seasonal occupations. An endeavour will be made to meet the wishes of other recruits as to the camp in which they prefer to train. Owing, however, to the necessity of keeping the numbers under training in each camp at a required strength, this may not always be possible.

Naval and Air Force Training

7. Naval and Air Force recruits will be called up for their period of full-time training in a manner similar to that proposed by Army, with the possible qualification that it may prove desirable to spread this training over three intakes instead of two. This, however, remains to be decided. Such a procedure would reduce any adverse effect on industries and occupations of a seasonal nature.

Subsequent Training

8. Following the completion by the Army recruit of his period of fourteen weeks full-time camp, he will be posted to a Unit of the Territorial Force where he will be required to serve for three years, carrying out in each year fourteen days in camp and six days other training (weekend camps and equipment parades). At the end of four years, he will be posted to the reserve, where he will remain for six years. No training is required while on the Reserve, but in the event of war or national emergency reservists may be called up for continuous service. The soldier must notify any change of address.

9. The procedure in the Navy and Air Force subsequent to the completion of the full-time training period will be generally similar to that adopted by Army.[261]

The implementation of the CMT scheme brought complications for the Headquarters CMD at Buckle Street. When it had been thought that HQCMD was about to move back to Palmerston North, the Army informed the Government Accommodation Board that it would no longer require the buildings on the southern side of Mount Cook. But, with the planned move shelved, the Army was forced to inform the ·Accommodation Board that:

> It is very much regretted that difficulties have been created for your· Board by the withdrawal of the above building from those available for Government Office Accommodation purposes.
>
> When in May 1947, a tentative offer was made for this building, it appeared that a move of Headquarters Central District to Palmerston North might vacate the District Headquarters Building in time for its use for Territorial training purposes. Subsequently, in September, it was realised that building restrictions would prevent a move of Headquarters Central District within the next few years. At the same time, it was thought that a Territorial Force requirement would not present itself within two years or so, and your Board was accordingly offered the use of the old GHQ Building for that period.
>
> The situation has now changed. The Right Honourable the Prime Minister has announced that there will be some form of Territorial training. The Government has been advised that Army Department can implement a training scheme immediately one is approved. The necessity therefore of securing adequate accommodation for the regiments of the Territorial Force has assumed

[261] "Compulsory Military Training Statement relative to the rerquirements of the services of the operatiuon of the scheme," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1949 Session I, H-19b* (1949): 4-5, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1949-I.2.3.2.22.

> immediate importance. The District Headquarters building not being available, the old GHQ office block will be required for this purpose.
>
> This building is at present in a very dilapidated condition, and-would have to be extensively renovated whichever Government Department occupied it. Renovations will inevitably take some time. Therefore, the time available for its occupation by some other Government Department will be reduced to such an extent that it would not, it is considered, be worth the administrative inconvenience and expense involved.
>
> For the foregoing reasons, it is asked that the Board consider favourably the request by this Department that the old GHQ Building be now considered not available for allocation by the Board.[262]

Unfortunately, this withdrawal of approval to the Government Accommodation Board came too late. With· the extreme shortage of available floor space in Wellington after the war, the Board was quick to snap-up the Army's initial offer. In May of-1947, the Board let the old GHQ building (see Map 10:1) to the Publicity Section of the Health Department. As the Army was soon to learn, it is easier to invite guests to stay than to ask them to leave. With skill resembling that of Amsterdam squatters the Army

would find it difficult to oust its unwelcome Health· Department guests. Thus, was to begin Mount Cook's version of Space Wars which would last for the next thirty years!

On 15th September 1947 just prior to the Health Department moving in, the Army had sent a memorandum to the Accommodation Board stating that:

> "It is desired to place on record the fact that this building will probably be required for Army purposes when the post-war military organisation is completed. Its availability for use by another Government Department will therefore be limited to approximately two years."[263]

Consequently, on the understanding that this condition would be honoured, on 17th· May 1948 a further memorandum was sent to ·the Board which stated:

> "In reference to my memorandum to you of the 15th of September 1947, I have now to advise that, in view of the Government's post-war defence plans, the Old GHQ Building at the corner of Buckle and Taranaki Streets will be required entirely for Army purposes.

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[262] "203/126/6," *Army Department* (March 1950).
[263] "PW 23/32 ", *Letter to the District Engineer* (2 March 1947).

> It is, therefore, regretted that the property cannot now be made available to another Government Department, and I have to request that you will kindly delete the unit from your list of premises available for occupation for other than Army purposes."[264]

Despite the Army's urgent need for the building the Accommodation Board still insisted that the old GHQ building be occupied by the Publicity Section. By the end of March 1950, the dispute between the two Government Departments had reached Ministerial level with the Minister of Defence informing his counterpart in Health -that:

> The building is urgently required by Army at present and, as there seems no other accommodation available Army has, solely in an effort to assist, agreed to make available, by shifting files to their Base Records Building, other space at Buckle Street. The accommodation which is offered is not large enough for Army requirements but is of sufficient floor space for your department. It is agreed that it is not ideal for your purposes, but it is considered that it could be made quite suitable.
>
> The repairs and alterations done by your department ·in the Buckle Street Building are quite satisfactory to Army and are in no way wasted expenditure.
>
> I am anxious for Army .to obtain possession of their building so as to get the Territorial Units established and functioning and would appreciate it if the move of your department could be expedited in any way.[265]

In 1950, the outbreak of the Korean war made this accommodation problem at Mount Cook pressing. The advent of Kayforce with its increasing number of personal records in ' Central Military Distri9t 2 Echelon Office made it absolutely essential to have adequate office space. Once more the Minister of Defence wrote to his fellow Minister in Health over the old GHQ building stating:

> Army's need for the use of this building is now urgent. The expansion of District Staffs and the activities of Territorial Force units provide a requirement of over 8,000 square feet for office and record space which cannot be met elsewhere.
>
> The Health Education Branch is occupying some 5,000 square feet of this building. It is very spread out and is not using that space economically.
>
> You will recall that Army offered Health Department an area of 4,700 square feet in the old Base Records (or S & T) Building in exchange for its present holding, and even offered to share the cost of renovating and refurnishing this

[264] "PW 23/32 ".
[265] "203/126/6."

> space to suit Health Department requirements. Alternatively, accommodation could be found for the Health Education Branch at Trentham.
>
> In view therefore of the urgent needs of the Army, of the fact that the Health Department assumed occupancy of the Old GHQ Building for two years only from September 1947, and of the offers made to provide alternative accommodation, I feel I must now insist that the Health Department co-operate to the extent ·of vacating this building.
>
> failing this, it will be necessary to seek Cabinet authority for the erection of a new building to provide the necessary accommodation for Army. Such a course would be obviously uneconomical; and it is my opinion that it would be obviated if you accept the eminently reasonable alternative that has been offered.
>
> The Army Department is under no obligation whatsoever to provide alternative accommodation for the Health Education Branch. That, properly speaking, is the responsibility of the Government Office Accommodation Board. In default of any other solution, however, and with the desire to be helpful, the offer is made.[266]

Despite such an urgent plea from the Minister of Defence, the reply from the Minister of Health was uncompromising. He replied:

> Referring to your memorandum of 28th February, I desire to comment on the points raised as follows:
>
> The contention that the space occupied by Health Education Branch is not being used economically and to best advantage is incorrect. The diverse nature of Health Education work calls for a variety of specially fitted rooms e.g., Film Projection, Posters and Pamphlets, modelling, Pastor and other designing. The materials handled are bulky, and it would be quite impossible to conduct the work in quarters that are at all cramped. As Health Education programme is expanding all the time, it is only reasonable that some space be held in reserve for future needs.
>
> The alternative accommodation offered by Army in the S & T Building early in 1950 is entirely unsuitable for Health Education purposes, even with considerable alteration and renovation. In addition, this accommodation would be available for only an interim period.
>
> A central location for the Branch is ·necessary, as, in addition to the substantial number of public inquiries and calls, there are visitors from abroad and other parts of New Zealand continually calling at the Branch. For these reasons, plus the difficulty that would eventuate with staffing, the location of the branch at Trentham is right out of the question.

[266] "203/126/6," *Army Department* (28 February 1951).

> As stated previously, the Health Department was not informed that occupancy of the Buckle Street premises was to be limited to two years from September 1947. After the experience in being required to shift from the Molesworth Street premises, the acceptance of alternative premises -for so short a period as two years would never have been ·entertained. On the contrary, my department went into Buckle Street on the verbal assurance that the accommodation was permanent and in the event of Army requiring space, it would be provided elsewhere.[267]

So once more the Army found that it was unable to re-utilise its own property. With this curt refusal to comply with the Army's request, the Minister of Defence sought Cabinet approval for the construction of a new building for the Army's requirements. After this, nothing was done. But the Army did keep up its barrage of requests for floor space. With the commitment to Korea and the Compulsory Military Training Scheme in full swing every square foot of space was needed for administrative purposes.

Finally, in 1955 the Government Accommodation Board acknowledged that there was an acute space problem faced by the Army's administration within Wellington. The Board considered a proposition to erect a multi-storey building to house the Armed Services. The land at Mount Cook was suggested as the site that could possibly be suitable. It was felt that since the buildings on that site were ultimately to be demolished once Buckle Street was linked into the City's motorway system that this might provide the opportunity to use the area again as a Defence Headquarters. Once more it looked as though Mount Cook would recapture its former prominence within New Zealand’s defence hierarchy. Preliminary investigations were begun to determine the suitability of the site for a multi-storey structure and as to the size of the building it could carry.

This planned renaissance for Mount Cook was but short. After preliminary drilling had been completed, the Commissioner of Works reported to the Accommodation Board:

> sufficient information is now available to indicate that this site is a poor one for the erection of a multi-storey building. There appears to be no firm sub-strata for foundations within a reasonable depth. This means that deep, costly foundations would be inevitable with the result that the scheme would be uneconomical.

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[267] "203/126/6."

> It is therefore recommended that, unless this proposal is an important part of a major scheme of development, it should not be proceeded with.[268]

With this recommendation to go on the Army found itself back to square one. To the Army this was a difficult burden to bear. By this time there had boon a significant shift in New Zealand's defence commitments with the Army's role greatly altered. By the mid-1950s New Zealand's defence policy had been re-orientated from the Middle East to Southeast Asia. New Zealand had long regarded Southeast Asia with an air of detachment and in 1949 showed no interest in British suggestions that in wartime it supply one or two brigades for service there as part of the garrison forces.

During the early 1950s this detachment was removed by the course of events. The main reasons were the rise of Communist China as a military power and the growing unity and strength of the Western European ''front" which raised the fear that the Soviet Union, blocked in this direction, would seek easier spoils in the less well defended Far East.

New Zealand now found its defence commitment focussing more upon Malaya than the Middle East. Between 1951-54 New Zealand's attitude to the defence of Malaya underwent a complete transformation from general indifference to insistence that it be adequately defended in a global war. Initially its concern was for the long term implications of a communist held Southeast Asia for Japan, which might be forced to seek an accommodation with China or the Soviet Union. With their assistance, it might again become a threat eventually. More than China, it had the organisational skills and industrial capacity rapidly to develop offensive forces.

There were other reasons, too. A communist held Malaya would be regarded as a threat to Australia by opening the way to infiltration down through Indonesia. · The communist occupation of Malaya in a global war was likely to be more far reaching politically than the Japanese occupation from 1941-45, even if it was eventually recovered. Furthermore, the loss of Malaya would seriously affect both the prestige and the economy of the British Commonwealth. Malayan raw materials were the major source of Britain's dollar earnings. There were, in addition, doubts about the political feasibility of New Zealand's Forces sailing past an unsecured Malaya to the Far East and a realisation that in a major war with Chino

[268] "PW 23/32 ", (8 October 1956).

alone, New Zealand would probably find it necessary to despatch its division to Malaya irrespective of its Middle East commitment.

Thus, with this shift in operational theatres for the Army it was reported that, “changes in Army organisation would be necessary in view of our obligations in Southeast Asia.[269]

The Defence Review of 1957 examined this shift in emphasis:

> In the ·early post-war years there did not appear to be any important threat in the Pacific other than the distant possibility of resurgent Japanese militarism. It appeared likely that the decisive theatres in any war would be Europe and the Middle East. In view of the general state of tension at the time, the Government consulted the United Kingdom Government on the part New Zealand could play in measures for common defence. In the light of these discussions, it was agreed that, subject to major change in the strategic situation, New Zealand's most effective contribution would be to make available in the event of war an augmented infantry division and certain air force units in the Middle East together with naval units for use where required. The reintroduction of compulsory military training in 1949 enabled the Government to accept this commitment.
>
> Upon the signature of the Peace Treaty with Japan in 1951, the New Zealand Government, bearing in mind the possibility of a recurrence of Japanese military pressure and the clear evidence of Communist determination to dominate the world, entered into the ANZUS Treaty with Australia and the United States, upon whose power, today as in World War II, New Zealand must primarily depend for its defence in the Pacific.
>
> Agreement had already been reached to establish a Commonwealth regional planning body in the Western Pacific and Southeast Asian areas, known as ANZAM. This arrangement provided the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, with a means of co-ordinating military plans and exchanging views and defence problems in the area.
>
> The direct threat to the Southeast Asia area was greatly increased by the victory of Communism in continental China and the emergence of that country as a major military power. As a result of this, it was agreed, after consultation with the United Kingdom and Australian Governments, that New Zealand's wartime commitment should be transferred from the Middle East to Southeast Asia, and that a Commonwealth Far East Strategic Reserve should be established in peacetime. New Zealand's contribution to the Strategic Reserve has been a

[269] "Military Forces of New Zealand Annual Report of the General Officer Commanding, for period 1 April 1955 to 31 March 1956," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1956 Session I, H-19* (3 July 1956 1956).

> Special Air Service Squadron, one or two frigates or a cruiser, a squadron of day-fighter ground attack aircraft, and transport and maritime aircraft.[270]

This change meant that ·the Army had to be restructured from one designed for desert warfare to one for jungle warfare. The report noted that:

> The transfer of the New Zealand commitment from the Middle East to Southeast Asia called for a review of the form of division best suited for the new theatre. This review, conducted in conjunction with the United Kingdom and Australia, has led to the conclusion that there should be a reduction in supporting armour and modifications in a number of other units. As a result, the total strength of the division is to be reduced from 33,000 to approximately 23,000 men, plus its share of ancillary troops who do not need to be trained in peacetime. Much of the reorganisation has already been put into effect.
>
> The number trained under the Compulsory Military Training Scheme and posted to the Army Reserve after the completion of their training obligation with the active Territorial Force is now between 33,000 and 34,000. Furthermore, in terms of the reduced establishment, the active Territorial division is at present overstrength.
>
> The number of eighteen-year-olds becoming available for registration is increasing and is expected to · reach 14,500 in 1960, and by 1965 would reach 18,400. These numbers are greatly in excess of those required to maintain the division at its revised strength and are, in addition, greater than can in practice be accepted for training.[271] 18

The following year this recommendation was taken one step further with the abolishment of CMT completely. This move proved to be unpopular and in 1961 a further Defence Review reinstated n limited form of military training by beginning selective national service. It was stated that:

> This decision will enable New Zealand to respond quickly on the outbreak of hostilities with better trained and better equipped, if smaller forces.
>
> The abandonment of compulsory military training three years ago made it impossible to provide promptly a force as large as a division of 23,000 men. Voluntary recruiting has failed to bring the army up to its nominal establishment. This has meant that the provision of even a considerably smaller force would present difficulty. The Government intends to remedy this situation without delay. In deciding not to reintroduce universal compulsory training, it is following the example of the United Kingdom and Australia. To the extent that

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[270] "Defence Review," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives,* (3 July 1956 1957): 4.
[271] "Defence Review," 9-10.

> the Army is not maintained at full strength by voluntary recruiting, however, some form of compulsory service is unavoidable.
>
> The Government has reached the conclusion that if a regular battalion is to be maintained in a forward position in Southeast Asia adequate numbers of trained "back up" forces must be continuously available. The present position in this respect is unsatisfactory in so far as the Territorial Force is concerned, but it will be remedied by the introduction of selective national service as proposed.[272]

These changes during the late 50s meant that the Territorial Force was reduced from a Standard Divisional organisation with a required strength of 23,000 men to a new 'light' Divisional structure of 10,000. These changes involved the disbandment of a number of Territorial units. As a result of this huge reduction the Army's case for the return of the old GHQ Building at Buckle Street was considerably weakened. In this light, the Army seemed resigned to the fact that it would never get back this building from the Health Department. It seemed pointless tb possess a building which was· usurped from their control Thus in September 1962 a memo stated that the GHQ building:

> is occupied solely by the Health Department Education Branch and for this reason Army Department recently made representations to the Government Office Accommodation Board that this building be handed over to Ministry-of Works for control and maintenance purposes.
>
> In this connection the Government Office Accommodation Board now advises:
>
> "Health Department and Army Department both agree to the transfer of this building to your Department (M.O.W) by "book entry" of Consolidated Fund Capital" from the Defence Department's control.[273]

During this same year permission was given for the establishment of a facility at Mount Cook which would foreshadow its ultimate fate. In June it was recommended to the Minister of Defence that in order to conserve manpower and vehicles that the transport requirements of Army Headquarters and HQCMD be met from one pool, that is, the Army Headquarters Transport Section which was at that time located in the yard behind the Army Headquarters in Featherston Street. But, it was found necessary to move from this location as plans were underway for the construction of a new Post Office. Since Mount Cook was the only available area in central Wellington it was recommended that it be relocated there.

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[272] , *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1956 Session I, A-19* (3 July 1956 1961): 8.
[273] "203/126/6," *Army Department* (12 September 1962).

£6,030 ($12,060) was spent on constructing a 75' x 70 1 garage on the north side of Buckle Street beside the Drill Hall. ·Now Mount Cook had taken on a new role within the Army by providing the site for the department's central transport pool.

Apart from this change in role for Mount Cook, by 1964 moves were afoot within the defence field which would ultimately lead to a revival in the area's importance. In that year the proposals of the Royal Commission on State Services of 1962 were acted upon. The Commission had recommended:

> A Department of Defence be established under a Secretary of Defence to:
>
> 1. Advise the Minister of Defence on defence commitments, the broad programme of defence expenditure for the present and the immediate future, and the allocation of defence funds among the three Services.
>
> 2. Advise the Minister on matters of joint-Service activities, integration, and conditions of service in the Armed Forces.
>
> 3. Provide staff and facilities for joint-Service activities, especially to serve the Chiefs of Staff Committee and any committees attached to it.[274]

This one might say was the direct successor to the Defence Headquarters which had been established at Mount Cook at the turn of the Century. Although at that time, the defence forces consisted of only Army, the advances in modern warfare and the establishment of New Zealand's own Navy had led to the development of three separate forces each with separate administrations. It was now seen as vital that all three services should come under a single defence administration as there had been when Defence HQ had been at Mount Cook.

A second event in 1964 which would influence Mount Cooks development was New Zealand’s participation in measures to meet Indonesian· "confrontation" against Malaya and more importantly its commitment of forces to Vietnam.

At first glance, bath these events seem unrelated and their effects on the development of Mount Cook even more unfeasible. But both reflected the development of New Zealand's commitment to the defence of Southeast Asia. It is all too easy to forget that New Zealand's involvement in this area; particularly Vietnam meant that that we were actually at War!

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[274] , *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1956 Session I, H-4* (3 July 1956 1964).

·Thus, it was important that there be a greater deal of coordination at the upper levels of New Zealand's defence administration. Hence the necessity of the establishment of the Ministry of Defence itself. The establishment of the Ministry also called for re-organisation further down the hierarchy and this need for reform became more apparent as New Zealand's commitment to the Southeast Asian theatre increased.

By 1970 the Army underwent another major re-organisation The three military district Headquarters were all disbanded. As the *Evening Post* reported:

> A major Army administrative reorganisation which will divide its elements into two functional commands, a field force command and a home command, will take effect from September 1, the Army announced yesterday.
>
> The change, part of an overall reorganisation of the Defence Department and Armed Services, was first announced by the Minister of Defence (Mr Thomson) in August last year. It will bring the Army's administrative system into line with command systems adopted by the Royal New Zealand Air Force and the Royal New Zealand Navy some years ago.
>
> The field force command will have its headquarters at Auckland and will administer Army elements throughout New Zealand which could be deployed overseas.
>
> The home command with its headquarters at Wellington, will administer Army elements throughout New Zealand which provide base support.
>
> The functional command system will replace a geographic location system under which Army units were administered in three major military districts with separate headquarters at Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. The old system has been basically unchanged for 60 years.[275]

What this meant for the Army was that it could be put on a war footing more readily than in the past, as the new headquarters would be performing their war role on a full-time basis in peacetime. For Mount Cook this was a return to its pre-World War II prominence.

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[275] "Army administrative reorganisation ", *Evening Post* ( ), 5 August 1964.

Both Commands were to interact and give mutual support and have specialist functions. (See Día 11:1).

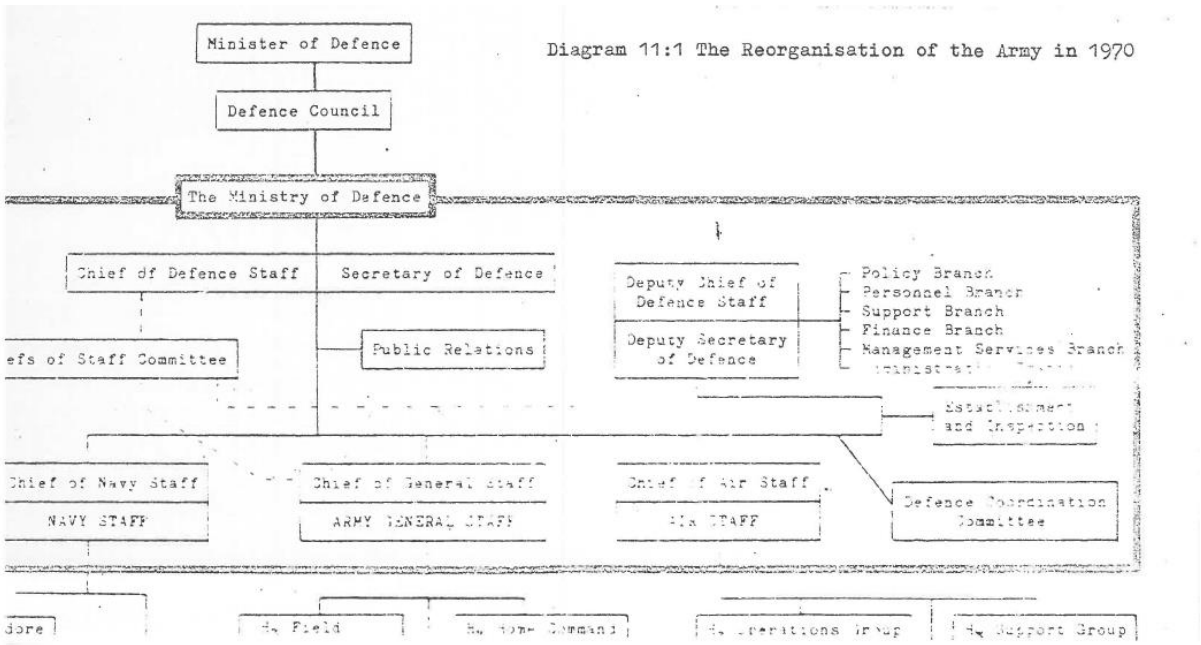

Diagram 11:1 The Reorganisation of the Army in 1970

The Home Command which was to be located in the old HQCMD in Buckle Street, was responsible for base support functions. It was to provide training facilities, accommodation, supply and maintenance arrangements and general administrative support. It controlled all Army Camps and commanded the seven Army areas.

Field Force Command with its headquarters in Auckland was responsible for maintaining the Field Force in a state of readiness to meet combat assignments given the Army. In other words, Field Force Command would, in time of major hostilities, command the operational fighting force which would be committed overseas.

The relationship between the two Commands could perhaps best be described as one of "landlord and tenant" because:

> Home Command plays the landlord role by providing the camps and training facilities; administrative and logistic support needed by the Army in New Zealand and is the agency responsible for general mobilization (should this be needed). Home Command also is responsible for the administrative machinery for deployment of the Field Force, or any portion of it, to an overseas theatre of operations.
>
> Field Force Command, as the "tenant", occupies the camps, uses the training grounds and firing ranges and relies on Home Command for administrative

> support in New Zealand. This allows the Field Force Command to concentrate on operational training and makes for a speedier move overseas by the combat units should the need arise.[276]

This revival of Mount Cook's role was but again fleeting. In 1972 two events occurred which diminished the role of Horne Command as well as the Army as a whole. First of all, the withdrawal of all New Zealand combat troops from South Vietnam marked the end of an era which began with the Korean War twenty years previous. For the first time since the end of the Second World War the New Zealand Army was to begin gearing itself for a purely peacetime role.

The second event was the abolishing of National Service by the Labour Government. This meant that the Army would now have to depend upon volunteers to maintain its numbers. These two changes ushered in a period of changed emphasis in New Zealand's defence commitments. Although seeing· Southeast Asia as of strategic importance there was seen to be no longer a need to have its troops stationed there. The idea of a "division'' army was now looked upon as irrelevant. What was seen as being of prime importance was the maintenance of a “core force" concept. This placed emphasis on the development of a small highly trained professional army able "to respond to low key emergencies in our own region…..and the provision of forces capable of quick response to any threat to New Zealand itself, of controlling the adjacent economic zone and at the same time of upholding New Zealand's wider national interests in our area of prime concern - the New Zealand Region and the South Pacific."[277] Such a force, it was felt, would be ample enough to form the base for timely expansion if the need should arise. Thus, the old army organisation based around Home Command and Field Force Command became obsolete in Army thinking. Hence, in 1978 a review of the nation's defence stated that:

> The Army organisation and structure will now be significantly changed in line with the true "core force” theme. Henceforth the Army will be more clearly organised around operationally ready units, training and reinforcement units, and a framework force as a basis for expansion.[278]

The *Evening Post* outlined the nature and effects of this re-organisation when it reported:

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[276] Anonymous Manuscript, 1970, New Zealand Army, Defence Library Vertical File,.
[277] "Defence Review," (1978): 18.
[278] "Defence Review," 31.

A Major event in the reorganisation of the New Zealand Army will take place next week when the new Headquarters New Zealand Land Forces is formally established.

The NZLF replaces the separate Field Force Command, which carried out operational control from headquarters in Auckland, and Home Command, which controlled the various support and training functions from headquarters in Wellington.

The Land forces headquarters, combining the two roles, will open in new premises in Takapuna, Auckland, on Monday.

Home Command in Wellington was formally disbanded last month, and the Army is now leaving its premises in Buckle Street, an area which Imperial and New Zealand forces used for more than 150 years.

Details

The reorganisation of the Army was included in the Defence Review carried out last year.

Details of the changes were described by the Army's senior officers in Wellington.

The Chief of General Staff (Major General S.M. Poananga) said of the creation of the NZLF that it was "much easier to exercise control through one headquarters than two."

The Army had been the only service with one of its major headquarters outside Auckland, he said.

The Colonel, Staff Duties (Colonel J.O.B. Horsford) related the change to the abolition of national service.

"We had to retract the scale of the units," he said. "We don’t really need the two Headquarters, and we came up with a new organisation which is basically an amalgamation of the two",

Headquarters NZLF will be responsible for implementing the policy made by the Army General Staff, which remains at Defence Headquarters in Wellington. This includes operations, training, and base support for the Army throughout New Zealand.

General Poananga, who is General Officer Commanding as well as Chief of Staff, will command the Army through the NZLF headquarters, but day-to-day responsibility there is that of the Commander Land Operations, a brigadier.

Task forces

The Land force will now be controlled and administered through three Task force regional headquarters.

HQ 1 Task force Region (1 TFR) for the northern half of the North Island, will replace the existing HQ 1 Infantry Brigade Group at Papakura. HQ 2 TFR, for the southern-half of the North Island, will be based at Palmerston North in place of HQ Logistic Support Group. HQ3 TFR, for the South Island, will be established at Christchurch to replace HQ3 Infantry Brigade Group.

On the principle of one headquarters covering all functions, the present Army area headquarters are to be disbanded and their responsibilities absorbed by either the HQ of the Task Force Region or the HQ of the local Infantry battalion in their present locations.

The Army Training Group, now under HQ Land Forces, remains almost unchanged. at Waiouru, although it will have a new regional responsibility on a small scale for the area between Taumarunui, Taupo and Taihape.

Units

"Force Units'', such as the Field Squadrons (Engineers) and Signals units, will be under the control of HQ NZLF, but the TFRs will have responsibility for their day-to-day administration.

The number of Ordnance units has been reduced from six to four.

General Poananga said the reorganisation would lead to a better use of resources.

About· 200 personnel were being redeployed out of headquarters and into field units he said.

Forces based overseas are not affected by the reorganisation. They remain directly under the Army General Staff in Wellington.

At present, they consist of an Infantry battalion in Singapore, as the main component of the New Zealand Force Southeast Asia.

General Poananga said it was still not determined where they would go to when they returned to New Zealand, and he indicated such a move was still some time off.

"When the decision is made it will three years to get them back. And they needn't all come back in one lump. It could be phased operation," he said.[279]

for Mount Cook these changes ushered in the 'end of an era'. The Army's hold on the site was at last extinguished. After over·130 years of there being some form of Army

[279] "Army administrative reorganisation ", *Evening Post* ( ), 7 April 1979.

administration there, it was to be abandoned. One of the last orders to be issued by Home Command HQ regarded its own demise. On the 7th March 1979 the following order read:[280]

Subject: FLAG LOWERING CEREMONY

To -
GSO1
AAG
AQMG
DST
DOS
DEME
DAE
CAO
Camp Comdt
DSTP
RSM
Bugler

For Info:
Comd
C of S
PRO(Army)

1. A parade is to be held outside the main entrance at 1530 hrs on 23 mar 79 to mark the occasion of the final lowering of the New Zealand Ensign at Headquarters Home Command. All HQ military staff are to parade and civil staff are invited to attend.

2. Parade details are:

a. Dress

Service Dress with Sam Browne and Medal Ribbons as applicable.

b. Timings

(1) Assemble in car park: 1520 hr

(2) RSM hand over to Camp Comdt: 1525 hr

(3) Bugler sounds retreat,

New Zealand Ensign lowered, folded, handed to Camp Comdt: 1530 hr

(4) Camp Comdt hands New Zealand Ensign to Comd Home Command: 1532 hr

(5) Dismiss: 1535 hr

c. Parade Formation - Military staff are to form up in a hollow square facing the main entrance.

d. Parade Appointments

(1) RSM: RSM Fort Dorset

(2) Camp Comdt/Adjt: Comdt Fort Dorset

(3) Bugler: Ssgt B.M. McGregor

(4) Flag Orderlies: Cpl J.F. Dorward
Bdr G.B. Timu

e. Saluting - Supernumerary Officers only are to salute during the sounding of the retreat.

(C.C. LAWES)
Lieutenant Colonel
Commanding Officer

[280] Andrews, *End of an Era, An Informal history of the military in the Mt Cook area of Wellington 1846-1979*, 48.

With the New Zealand ensign finally lowered (soe Photo 11:1) the Army's presence at Mount Cook passed into history. But, a military presence was still to be maintained on the site. Apart from Buckle Street still housing the Defence Services Transport Pool, a new service took over Home Command's farmer Headquarters. In November, another flag raising ceremony took place (See Photo 11:2). It was-reported:

> The Navy's colours rise over a part of Wellington held by the Army for more than 130 years …..The New Zealand White Ensign (was hoisted) over the former headquarters of the Army's Home Command in Buckle Street yesterday.
>
> The building is being taken over to become the new headquarters of HMNZS Olphert, the Wellington division of the New Zealand Naval Volunteer Reserve, which has used premises in Ghuznee Street for the last 10 years.
>
> Reservists held a "wake" in Ghuznee Street on Tuesday night to mark their departure to the new premises.
>
> The area off Buckle Street was used by the Imperial Army and successive New Zealand land forces from the 1840s until March this year, when Home Command was disbanded and absorbed in the new Land Force with headquarters in Auckland.
>
> Much of the area used by the Army in recent years is expected to be redeveloped by the Education Department, but the Defence Department is retaining an area on the corner of Buckle and Taranaki Street.
>
> The last outward trace of Army occupation of the main building - where the wording ''New Zealand Army, Headquarters Home Command" has been removed from above the front entrance - will be erased when the building is repainted.
>
> The Army will still have a foothold, however, with an office for the Defence transport pool which it operates on the other side of Buckle Street.[281]

[281] "The Navy's colours rise ", *Evening Post* ( ), 8 November 1979.

Bombardier C Timu RNZA lowering the NZ Ensign for the last time at HQ Home Command 1530 hrs Friday 23rd March 1979.

Photo 11.1

Thus, at least a small portion of Mount Cook still remained under military control. The Wellington Division of the Naval Volunteer Reserve now became the inheritors of Mount Cook's military heritage. They were now the bearers of the Flag.

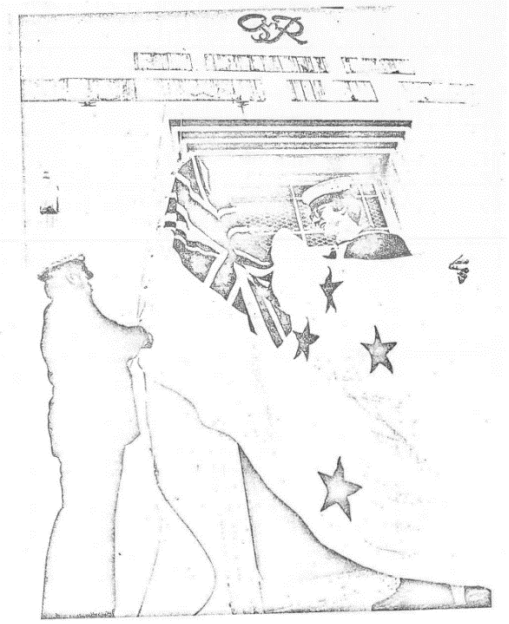

Photo 11.2:

But what of the fate of the remainder of the buildings at Mount Cook. Apart from a few requests to utilise the Drill Hall for community use and by the museum for their utilisation as storage space, they have remained deserted. Like a Damoclesian sword hanging over them, their fate is dependent upon the expansion of Wellington's motorway system. To this day the buildings remain standing, dilapidated, yet mute reminders of New Zealand's military past.

Chapter 12: Conclusion

Although Mount Cook's military history is to some extent still continuing, 1979 marked the end of its commanding role. In its more than 130 years of history it has wielded a great deal of influence and has played an important role in certain aspects of New Zealand's history. Three roles or themes predominate in an examination of Mount Cook t s history. These are: the role it has played in the development of New Zealand's Army; its role in the history of Wellington City; and, its role in the interdepartmental history of the New Zealand Government.

With the arrival of the Imperial Troops in the early 1840 Mount Cook quickly gained prominence. Possessing such a dominating location it was quickly seized upon as a principal site for a garrison. With its subsequent development and the Imperial Government’s withdrawal of its troops by 1867, Mount Cook became the natural focal point for the development of the Colony’s own indigenous defence forces. Apart from Wellington being the colony's capital, the ready built complex at Mount Cook provided the perfect headquarters from which to direct the development of New Zealand's defence forces. Although serving as a focal point for the regions citizen soldiers, the local volunteers and militia, the new permanent force known as the Armed Constabulary quickly settled into its new headquarters. It was from here that all regulations regarding the force were issued and all training for the forces new recruits was undertaken.

Mount Cook maintained this prominence when the Armed Constabulary was superseded by the Permanent Militia. Although the establishment of this force represented a fundamental change in the colony's defence outlook from an 'internal' one to an 'external' one the same sort of central administration and central school of instruction had to be maintained. By the turn of the century this paramount position held by Mount Cook was further enhanced by the establishment of the Dominions defence headquarters there. With the Defence Act 1909 and ·Lord Kitchener’s visit the following year, the subsequent reorganisation saw military activity within the Dominion reach a higher pitch. Mount Cook was completely reformed so that the country would be better prepared for war if the need arose. When war did arise in 1914 Mount Cook, as was the country's defence force as a whole, was well prep red for the ensuing conflict. The one thing which the Headquarters at Mount Cook was unprepared for, was the refusal of conscientious objectors to accept conscription. The

inability of the authorities to properly handle these men created a scandal which saw Mount Cook figuring prominently.

The post-War era saw a general weariness of all things military develop within New Zealand society and coupled with the worsening economic climate of the country saw the Defence budget drastically cut. Mount Cook like the rest of the Army suffered severely from this. With its numbers slashed the Army became a mere shadow of its former self. It was during this period that the Army's hold on Mount Cook was significantly slashed. The Army was dispossessed of their old home on top of the hill and were shuffled down into the buildings on the north-west corner of the reserve. It was during these years that the prestigious position which Mount Cook held was also diminished. In the late 1930's the Defence Headquarters itself was removed from the site to its location in Featherstone Street.

The outbreak of war in 1939 saw a revival in Mount Cook's fortunes. Although in the initial stages of the conflict, ·Mount Cook with Headquarters Central Military District based there, was still somewhat of a backwater as regarded the despatching of an expeditionary force, this was soon to change. The Japanese blitzkrieg across most of Asia and the Pacific brought Mount Cook to the fore. New Zealand was now under the direct threat of attack' and even invasion. HQ Central Military District was in charge of local defence and along with its two other counterparts were of paramount importance in the nation's defence. But this revival in Mount Cook’s fortunes was brief. The Americans-halted the Japanese advances at Midway and the Coral Sea. From then on, the Japanese moved onto the defensive. As New Zealand’s war effort shifted, HQ CMD’s authority was significantly diminished. To - some ·extent, Mount Cook adapted to this change with large portions of it becoming Airforce territory, the force which was carrying New Zealand's flag in the Pacific campaigns.

The Allied victory in 1945 saw Mount Cook's future hanging in the balance. The post-war reorganisation initially called for HQ CMD's removal back to Palmerston North, but with the beginning of the cold war' this moved was stopped. Emphasis was now placed on New Zealand's ability to quickly despatch a division overseas to a strategically important theatre. In order to be able to do this it was felt that the Army needed administrative reform. With the change in outlook from the Middle East to South-east Asia these reforms were seen as vital. As a result, the Army1s administration was split into commands. The old military districts which had been in existence since 1909 were seen as obsolete. They were to be

replaced by Headquarters Home Command based in Wellington and Headquarters Field Force Command based in Auckland. Mount Cook was selected as the site for HQ Home Command.

The withdrawal of troops from active service in Vietnam saw a scaling down of New Zealand's commitment to Southeast Asia. By the early 1970's the Government saw that it was no longer necessary to have the Army on a continual was footing, besides, for the first time in over 20 years New Zealand troops were not committed to an active theatre. New Zealand's priorities were seen as being in its immediate Pacific vicinity. Yet again the Army's Administration was seen as in need of reform. The consequent changes spelt the end of Mount Cook's administrative history. Two command headquarters were seen as no longer necessary. The administration of the Army was amalgamated into one command called Headquarters New Zealand Land Forces. HQ Home Command was disbanded and Mount Cook which had developed over the years, and in itself developed the Army, was now left deserted. Most of its buildings were handed over to the Ministry of Works for demolition.

During this long. history with New Zealand's defence forces Mount Cook, being located in the centre of Wellington became linked with the development of the city itself. From its earliest years the military had close ties with the growth of the city. Although the Imperial Troops had initially been sent to Wellington to supress what Governor Hobson saw as 'treasonous' activity on the part of the settlers there, this was soon forgotten. The settlers were only too glad to have soldiers present to protect them from what they termed 'hostile' natives. They in fact wasted no time in trying to get the military to resolve their land grievances with the Māori’s. Before long open conflict between the two races did erupt and the military had to step in to protect the settlers. Wellington rapidly developed into a garrison town. Mount Cook was selected as one of the principal barrack sites for the town. Soon it developed into a huge complex bringing with it the advantages and disadvantages of such a large concentration of troops.

On the advantage side, apart from providing business for the city's developing merchant class through Commissariat contracts, the average soldier and his dependents provided an expanded market for the town's business community. Apart from this, the men at Mount Cook provided numerous other services for the growing community. They built roads, which although being primarily of military importance, opened up Wallington's hinterland for

development; they added colour to Wellington's social life through balls, sports activities and through the use of the regimental bands. More importantly, they were a vital part of Wellington's disaster relief organisation. That is, it was the soldiers at Mount Cook who formed the city's fire brigade, a role they performed for many years as this history reveals. Also, during natural disasters, such as earthquakes, it was the body of men at Mount Cook who provided the rescue teams and helped clean up after the event. In these areas, it was one regiment which particularly touched the hearts of Wellington's citizens. The 65th Regiment during its long stay in Wellington built up a close liaison with the city which is still remembered to this very day.

On the disadvantage side the one which comes to the fore was the crime wave which this influx of soldiers brought to Wellington. A soldier's lot in the mid Nineteenth Century was far from a happy one. With flogging still practice and the low rates of pay coupled with a restrictive lifestyle there is no surprise that the soldiers of the Imperial Regiments were continually being arrested for drunkenness and theft. The continual apprehension of soldiers for these crimes inevitably led to friction between the citizens and the soldiers. At one point this erupted into a full scale riot and left much bitterness between the citizens of Wellington and the men at Mount Cook. ·Apart from this sorry incident though, once the troops were withdrawn from Wellington the citizens of Wellington came into closer contact with Mount Cook. ·With most of the citizens being 'citizen soldiers' in one form or another. Mount Cook became their focal point. It became their central drilling ground and their depot for their equipment.

1913 witnessed perhaps the most tense moment when Mount Cook influenced the history of the city. During that year, the relationship between the soldiers and citizens reached its most tense with riots occurring in Buckle Street and soldiers parading through the streets with naked bayonets to intimidate certain sections of the city.

Apart from Mount Cook playing a role in the city's history, the city too has influenced the Army's occupation of Mount Cook. In particular various civic schemes have over the years eroded the Army's control of the site. First and foremost was the construction of the National Museum and Art Gallery which took over two thirds of the reserve. Then, it was the city 1s motorway scheme which was to finally contribute to the Army's demise in the area.

The final theme forms an interesting aspect of New Zealand's history of which there seem to be very little work done. This is the history of interdepartmental relationships of the Public Service. (Perhaps this is a reflection of the restrictive legislation· of the Official Secrets Act or each department's desire to be a world in its own.) When delving into this sort of history one becomes amazed at how different departments seem to develop special relationships, almost amounting to alliances, whilst others seem to become each other's enemies. The study of Mount Cook provides an insight into this phenomenon. The Army being part of the Government machinery soon found that they had to share Mount Cook with other Government Departments. In certain cases, this sharing was readily accepted whilst in others its was strongly opposed. In particular the Army seemed to develop quite close relationships with three departments who shared the land up at Mount Cook. Each of these departments would in their own way leave their distinctive mark upon Mount Cook.

The first such department was the Prison Department. A close relationship was developed between this department and the Army through a number of variables. Firstly, top personnel within the prison Department tended to have Defence connections. For example, Arthur Hume although initially being the colony's inspector of prisons later became the Secretary of Defence. This interchange of personnel was not restricted to the upper echelons of the two departments. At the lower level many of the ordinary ranks within the Permanent Militia used to transfer into the Prison service. In many respects this practice still occurs to this day. This process was actively encouraged, for it not only provided a job for those who were retiring from the Army, but it was felt that men who had served in the Permanent Militia had the discipline and training necessary to be a Prison Officer.

Secondly, the Prison Department provided the labour necessary for undertaking the defence projects of the colony. In particular it was the prison labour which built the fortifications at the ports in the 1880s and 1890's.

For Mount Cook itself, the impact of the Prison Department was massive. It was this department which was given control of the Upper Mount Cook area for the construction of a central prison. T0e ensuring structure raised such a controversy that it was never completed. It is interesting to note that the structure was not demolished, rather, it was handed over to the Permanent Militia as their headquarters.

The second department which the men on Mount Cook had close ties was that of the Police. They along with the Permanent Militia were the direct successors of the Armed Constabulary. In fact, this ‘brother' type relationship was actively encouraged with entrance into the Police Force at first being restricted to those who had served in the Permanent Militia. They too gained a foothold on Mount Cook with the construction of their own barracks in a small corner of the reserve.

The Education Department was the third department which developed a relationship with the Army at Mount Cook. This relationship was not quite as close as with the Prisons and Police Department but nevertheless it existed. From the late 1870's on the reserve at Mount Cook seemed to be besieged by an invasion of school children. Various portions of the Mount Cook reserve were taken over for educational purposes. At one time there were three separate schools around Mount Cook. The soldiers at Mount Cook developed ties with one of these. This was the Mount Cook Boys School. These ties were more by compulsion as opposed to a voluntary act. The advent of the school cadet programme placed the Boy's School in the perfect location as regarded instruction. Being next door .to the nation's defence headquarters meant it was easy for them to gain access to drill instructors.

Other Government Departments seemed to create bad blood between the Army at Mount Cook and themselves. In particular two department figure here. They were the Labour and Health Departments. Periodically there would erupt 'paper wars' over their occupation of parts of Mount Cook.

The Labour Department had been moved to Mount Cook during the Depression. Having the employment office located in the middle of their complex rankled with the Army. Not only did they have to put up with their men being jeered at by the unemployed, but they also had to put up with agitators preaching revolution right in the middle of their own property. With such activities occurring there the Army did everything within its power to have the Labour Department ousted. Fortunately, or unfortunately, depending upon your point of view, the situation was saved by World War Two.

The Health Department proved a difficult nut to crack. Once it moved in after the war there was no budging it. With the skill of a group of Amsterdam squatters it claimed sovereignty over the old General Headquarters Building. Paper battles were raged over the next thirty

years to no avail. Finally, the Army had to acknowledge defeat. The building was handed over to the Ministry of Works.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF 65TH REGIMENT VETERANS IN NEW ZEALAND, 1902

		Service Yrs/Days
ALDERTON, Charles	Auckland	
ALEXANDER, R.	Wellington	
ALLEN, Robert	"	8 yrs
ATKINS, James	Taranaki	
ATKINSON, James	"	21 yrs
AUSTIN, Samuel	"	15 yrs (NZG)
- served with Wanganui Volunteers, died aged 74 1903, Wanganui		
BACON, Thomas	Auckland	
BALDWIN, Frank	Taranaki	12 yrs
BAYLISS, Benjamin	"	12 yrs
BEADLE, William	Auckland	
BEARDMORE, H.	Taranaki	
BELL, D.	Wellington	
BENNETT, William	Taranaki	12½ yrs
BILLINGHURST, Charles	"	19 yrs, 150 days
BOND, William	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	10 yrs 30 days
BOOTH, William	" " "	20 yrs 270 days
BORBER, P.	Wellington	
BOYLAN, Bernard	Taranaki	
BRIEN, John	Auckland	
BROWN, C.	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	11 yrs 101 days
BROWN, Eli	Auckland	
BROWN, John	"	12 yrs
- also served in 99th Regiment		
BROWN, William	Auckland	
BUCKLEY, John	"	
BURKE, Patrick	Taranaki	12 yrs
BURTONSHALL, William	Auckland	
CAMPBELL, Robert	Taranaki	8 yrs, 30 days
CAMPBELL, Thomas	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	12 yrs
CANE, Owen	Blenheim, Nelson, West Coast	
- duplicated under "K"		12 yrs
CARPENTER, John	Auckland	19 yrs, 318 days
CARR, C.	Wellington	
CLAREBUT, J.	Hawkes/Gisborne	11 yrs 7 days
CLEAR, James	Auckland	
CLEAREY, John	"	
COFFEE, Cornelius	"	14 yrs, 35 days
COLE, Andrew	Taranaki	12 yrs
COLE, John	"	13 yrs (D.C.M.)
COLEY, Charles	"	
- also served with 58th Regiment		
COLLARD, James D	"	10 yrs 8 days
CONAB, Joseph	"	10 yrs
CONNER, Michael	"	12 yrs
CONNOLLY, Patrick	Auckland	10 yrs
CONWAY, James	Taranaki	9 yrs 3 days
CONWAY, Patrick	"	15 yrs

		Service Yrs/Days
COOK, John	Auckland	
COX, James	Taranaki	10 yrs
CRAIG, William	Otago, Southland	10 yrs
CROCKER, Thomas	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	11½ yrs
CROWE, Alexander Lt Col	Taranaki	21 yrs
- First CO The Wellington Regt, Wellington Rifles died May 1913, 88 yrs		
CROZIER, Charles	Auckland	21 yrs 59 days
- Long Service & Good Conduct Medals		
CROZIER, John	Taranaki (also NZF)	
CUMMINGS, John	Auckland	
CUNNINGHAM, Robert	Taranaki	7 yrs
DALY, John	Taranaki	11 yrs 270 days
DANN, John	"	12 yrs
DAVEY, Phillip	"	13½ yrs
DONELEY, Bernard	Wellington	5 yrs
DORE, Charles	Auckland	
DOUGLAS, William	"	
DOWNEY, James	"	
DUFFY, Patrick	Taranaki	12 yrs
DUFFY, Stephen	"	
DWYER, Patrick J.	Auckland	
EASY, Jonah	Taranaki	12 yrs
ELLIS, Thomas	"	12 yrs
ELLIS, William	"	19 yrs 150 days
ETHERINGTON, George	Auckland	
FAHEY, David	Taranaki	12 yrs
FARMER, John	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	
FARRENDON, William J.	Auckland	12 yrs
FLAHERTY, Thomas A.	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	10 yrs 75 days
FLANNIGAN D,	" " "	19 yrs 240 days
FLOWERS, Nathaniel	Taranaki	
FLYNN, J.	Blenheim, Nelson, West Coast	8 yrs 201 days
FOLEY, Michael	Taranaki	
FOX, Michael	"	
FRIEND, G.	Auckland	
FREEMAN, Thomas W.	"	11 yrs 300 days
GADDIS, John	"	19 yrs
GALWAY, Thomas	"	10 yrs 219 days
GARVEY, Thomas	"	
GELL, Henry	"	
GIDLEY, Henry	"	
GOLDING, Nicholas	Taranaki	21 yrs 270 days
- Long Service & Good Conduct Medals		
GOODIER, Isaac	Taranaki	19 yrs 330 days
GORMAN, P.	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	
- NZ Long Service & Good Medals		20 yrs
GOODMAN, Dan	Died 1911, wounded at Rangiriri	
GRAHAM, W.J.	" "	11 yrs 198 days
GRANT, William	Auckland, died 1911	
GRAVE, George	Taranaki	10 yrs 208 days
GRAY, Robert Coulter	"	12 yrs
- died 1909 aged 82 at Okato		
GREAVES, William (Drummer)	Auckland	10 yrs 58 days
- wounded 21/10/1860 at Orongomahangai		

		Service Yrs/Days
GREEN, Anthony	Wellington	
GREENAWAY, James	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	11 yrs
GREENWOOD, Joseph	Auckland	
GRIBBON, Francis	"	
GUIRK, Patrick	Taranaki	12 yrs 38 days
GURLEY, William	Auckland	
HALLIWELL,[1] Greenwood	Wellington 29/4/1964	
- severely wounded, Gate Pa, NZ Medal Long Service & Good Conduct		
HALLORAN, Richard	Auckland	14 yrs
HAMILTON, William	Taranaki	12 yrs
HARRIS, Henry	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	31 yrs 241 days
HEALD, George	Auckland	10 yrs
HEANON, C.	"	
HEFFERNAN, William	"	
HENN, Edward	Taranaki	14 yrs
HENN, John	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	27 yrs
- 65th & A.H.C. NZ Good Conduct & Long Service Medals		
HERLIHY, Denis	Auckland	17 yrs
- India (Pegu) NZ, Good Conduct & Long Service Medals		
HERSER, Benjamin	Taranaki	5 yrs 60 days
HICKMATT, W.	"	6 yrs 240 days
HILL, Kenrick	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	10 yrs
HILLIER, Charles	Auckland	11 yrs
HOY, Patrick	"	
HUGHES, Daniel (Sergeant)	Taranaki	19 yrs 330 days
- died 1907 at Wanganui, wounded at Rangiriri		
HUNT, Richard	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	12 yrs
HUNTLEY, James	Auckland	
HYLAND, James	"	17 yrs 270 days
JACKSON, Richard	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	19 yrs 270 days
JENKINSON, Samuel	Taranaki	12 yrs
- Major Marshall's servant		
JENNINGS, Peter	Auckland	
JOHNSON, Charles	Taranaki	19 yrs 60 days
JOHNSON, William	"	7 yrs 60 days
JOHNSTON, James	Blenheim, Nelson, West Coast	12 yrs
JONES, Edward	Auckland	12 yrs
KANE, Owen	Taranaki	
KING, William	"	12 yrs
KINSELLA, Martin	Blenheim, Nelson, West Coast	12 yrs
- also 'Kensella', severely wounded at Matorikoriko (Kairau) 30/12/60		
LAYTHER, James	Auckland	
LEE, Daniel	"	
LEIGH,R.E.	Wellington	5 yrs
LEVY, Peter	Blenheim, Nelson, West Coast	9 yrs
- NZ Col, Long Service medals, 65th & NZF		
LIGHTFOOT, Edwin	Auckland	10 yrs
LLEWELLYN, H.L.	"	
LLOYD, W.R.	"	

		Service Yrs/Days
MALCOLM, Robert - Persia, Muting, C.I.	Taranaki	5 yrs
MALLEY, Edward or Edmond? - wounded Orakau 31/3/1964 -	Wellington 2/4/1864	
MARTIN, Edward - discharged 1965, aged 26	Auckland	12 yrs
MARSHALL, R.A. - died 1913, aged 74	Wellington	
MASTERS, James	"	
MCBRIERTY, Daniel	"	
MCCARTHY, Charles	"	
MCCRACKEN, James	Auckland	
MCDONALD, William	Haukes Bay/Gisborne	6 yrs 57 days
MCELWAINE, James Alex	Taranaki	10 yrs
MCFADDEN, John	Auckland	
MCGRATH, James	"	10 yrs 270 days
MCGRATH, William	"	10 yrs
MCGUSHEN, Henry	Wellington	
MCKENNA, Edward (Ensign) - V.C. died 1908	Taranaki	20 yrs 9 days
MCKENSEY, James	Taranaki	
MCLEAREY, James	"	11 yrs 240 days
MCLIVIAN, James	"	
MCMULLEN, John	Haukes Bay/Gisborne	19 yrs
MCSWEENEY, William	Taranaki	
MEARS, James	"	12 yrs
MIDDLETON, William	Haukes Bay/Gisborne	12 yrs
MOFFIT, Robert	" " "	10 yrs 139 days
MONTGOMERY, James	Auckland	
MORGAN, John - 65th and 58th	"	14 yrs 180 days
MULLIGAN, Richard	Taranaki	10 yrs
MURPHY, Owen	"	
MURPHY, Thomas	"	19 yrs 270 days
MURPHY, Denis M.	Auckland	5 yrs
NELSON, Robert	"	12 yrs
NESBITT, Robert	"	12 yrs
NEWTON, William	"	
NORRIS, James - wounded at Rangiriri, died 1911	"	13 yrs 66 days
O'BRIEN, Daniel	Auckland	
O'BRIEN, John - NZ Long Service & Good Conduct Medals	"	23 yrs
O'CALLOHAN, Timothy	Auckland	
O'CONNOR, Ambrose	Blenheim, Nelson, West Coast	12 yrs
PAGE, Charles	Taranaki	14 yrs
PAXTON, Peter - NZ Col Long Service Medals	Otago, Southland	10 yrs 180 days
PICKUP, James	Auckland	
PRAILL, James - NZ Long Service & Good Conduct Medals	Wellington	
PRINSELLA, Martin	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	12 yrs

		Service Yrs/Days
RADDING, Isaac	Auckland	19 yrs 24 days
RATTIGAN, Peter	Otago, Southland	10 yrs
RATTIGAN, T.	" "	
REARDON, Denis	Wellington	
REID, James	Taranaki	11 yrs 90 days
ROBERTS, William	"	11 yrs 150 days
ROBERTSON, Thomas	Auckland	
SCANLON, M.	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	8 yrs 201 days
SCHLENKET, Albert	Auckland	
SKELTON, Henry	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	9 yrs 180 days
SLIGHT, James	Taranaki	10 yrs 180 days
SMITH, C.	Auckland	
SMITH, Edward - wounded 16/1/1861 - 26/1/1861	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	6 yrs 300 days
SMITH, James	Auckland	
SMITH, Richard	Wellington	7 yrs
SPEAKMAN, William (Sergeant) - wounded at Matorikoriko (Kairau) 31/12/1860, NZ, LS, GC medals	Auckland	22 yrs
STAMP, John	Taranaki	19 yrs 300 days
STAPLES, Samuel	Auckland	6 yrs 182 days
STEVENSON, James	"	
STUCKEY, William G.	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	11 yrs
SULLIVAN, Jeremiah	Auckland	
SWAN, Joseph	Taranaki	
TARRANT, William	Taranaki	
THOMAS, George	Auckland	
TIER, Robert	Taranaki	11 yrs
TRACEY, Michael	"	20 yrs 150 days
TROY, Michael (Sergeant-Major) - 65th & 99th	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	24 yrs 224 days
TUCKER, Walter	Taranaki	4 yrs 60 days
TUI, Robert	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	11 yrs
TURNBULL, Joseph	Auckland	
TURNER, A.C. (Capt)	Wellington	
TURNOCK, Adam	Auckland	19 yrs 306 days
TWONIG, Daniel	Taranaki	
WALKER, Edward	Taranaki	11 yrs 30 days
WALKER, Richard	Auckland	11 yrs 180 days
WALSH, Michael	Wellington	
WARD, James	Auckland	12 yrs
WEBB, Joseph	Taranaki	12 yrs
WELCH, Henry	Auckland	
WHITE, J.	Hawkes Bay/Gisborne	11 yrs
WHITEHEAD, Joseph	Wellington	
WHITTLE, Thomas	Auckland	
WILSON, James	"	11 yrs 300 days
WILSON, Thomas	"	
WILSON, Thomas	Taranaki	8 yrs
WRIGHT, W.	Otago, Southland	14 yrs

The 65th heads the list with no less than 219 (actually 222) resident "1,600 saw their service in our regular forces" (and were alive in 1902)

List obtained from Mr B. Wilson
Rewritten with additions,
Sept 1978. D.C.R.

1. 2217 Pte G. Halliwell, aged 38, gunshot left notes - Gate Pa C.L.

Extra copy

630/09. Recd Govt House 6-Oct 09.

AT THE COURT AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE,

The 10th day of August, 1909.

PRESENT,

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

LORD PRESIDENT — LORD SUFFIELD

LORD CHAMBERLAIN — MR. RUNCIMAN

MR. PEASE

WHEREAS it hath been represented to His Majesty by the Right Honourable the Earl of Crewe, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, that it is expedient by Order in Council pursuant to the Colonial Fortifications Act, 1877, to vest in the Governor of the Dominion of New Zealand the fortifications, works, buildings and land hereafter specified being situate in the said Dominion and held in trust for the defence thereof and the care and disposal of the said fortifications, works, buildings and land together with all estate and interest therein.

AND WHEREAS the said representation was laid before both Houses of Parliament and lay for not less than forty days on the Table of both Houses before it was submitted to His Majesty,

P.C. 321—L. & M.—6-8-09.

NOW, THEREFORE, His Majesty doth order by and with the advice of the Privy Council and in pursuance of the powers vested in Him by the Colonial Fortifications Act, 1877, as follows:—

(1) The several fortifications, works, buildings and land enumerated in the Schedule hereunder written and the care and disposal thereof and the freehold thereof shall be and the same are hereby vested in the Governor of the Dominion of New Zealand in fee simple for the public purposes of the said Dominion.

(2) This Order may be cited as the New Zealand Fortifications Order of 1909.

ALMERIC FITZROY.

SCHEDULE.

MOUNT COOK, CITY OF WELLINGTON.

All that parcel of land situate at Mount Cook in the City of Wellington, containing by admeasurement thirteen acres (13a. 0r. 0p.), more or less; bounded towards the North-east by Buckle Street, 631 links; towards the East by Banks Terrace and Tasman Street, 1,300 links; towards the South by section No. 715, 417 links; again towards the East by sections Nos. 715, 716 and 717, 732 links; again towards the South by sections Nos. 717, 710 and 711, 627 links; and towards the North-west by the abutment of Hankey Street and by sections Nos. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89 and 90, 2,078 links; be all the aforesaid linkages more or less.

SECTIONS NOS. 226 AND 233, CITY OF WELLINGTON.

All that parcel of land containing by admeasurement two acres (2a. 0r. 0p.), more or less; being sections numbered 226 and 233 on the plan of the City of Wellington; bounded towards the North-east by sections Nos. 227 and 234, 1003.7 links; towards the South-east by Tory Street, 199 links; towards the South-west by Buckle Street, 1003.7 links; and towards the North-west by Taranaki Street, 199 links; be all the aforesaid linkages more or less.

London: Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office
By LOVE & MALCOMSON, LTD., Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C. 1909.

P.C. 821

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