For God, Country, and Empire?

New Zealand and Irish Boys in Elite Secondary Education, 1914-1918

Charlotte Bennett, Wolfson College, University of Oxford

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Short Abstract

This thesis compares adolescent engagement with the First World War in Ireland and New Zealand between 1914 and 1918. Twenty-five elite boys' secondary schools are used as case studies, including Catholic and Protestant institutions. This approach not only captures a common adolescent cohort, but also brings transnational connections to the fore; Catholics comprised approximately 14 percent of New Zealand's population, at least nine-tenths of whom were of Irish descent. In addition to differentiating student behaviour from adult-articulated expectations, boys' responses to the war are juxtaposed against those of their teachers. Using school periodicals, newspapers, and memoirs, this thesis partially recovers the neglected history of adolescent wartime experiences in two under-researched regions of the British Empire. It also elucidates the ways in which hostilities disrupted age-specific concerns and practices in elite school settings.

Age was critical in shaping how male non-combatants were impacted by, and reacted to, the conflict. This argument is substantiated by in-depth analyses of several related themes, including 'war enthusiasm', death, dissent, and cultural 're-mobilization'. While the First World War was near-uniformly identified as a crucial event, staff responses were mediated by longstanding orientations and responsibilities. Teachers prioritised institutional concerns such as state funding and school status throughout. Irish and New Zealand adolescents also engaged with hostilities on their own terms; 'boy culture' and age-related interests provided a constant baseline against which external interventions into daily life were evaluated. These cross-national similarities were modulated by immediate contexts. Coercive measures implemented by the state did not always receive popular support, contributing to new political trajectories and visions of the future within particular communities. National parameters also had the final say as to when students could legally enlist. This intersection of age and place ultimately proved pivotal in determining civilian reactions to major global developments during the 1910s.

Long Abstract

The interplay between the First World War and education preoccupied school authorities in belligerent countries throughout the 1910s. Despite such contemporary attention, youth engagement with hostilities remains uncertain and under-studied a full century later. This thesis addresses this scholarly gap with specific reference to 25 boys' secondary colleges in the wider British Empire. Using school periodicals, newspapers, and memoirs alongside other forms of archival material, this research partially recovers the neglected history of adolescent wartime experiences in two under-researched regions – Ireland and New Zealand. It also elucidates how the conflict disrupted age-related practices in elite school settings, juxtaposing staff and student responses in the process. This multi-layered comparative framework not only challenges implicit exceptionalist assumptions by investigating whether local incidents or developments were truly unique, but also facilitates new insights into the transnational parallels and connections that shaped civilian experience during this global event. In addition to its war-specific findings, this research contributes to the foundations of further work on the histories of childhood and education in Ireland, New Zealand, and beyond.

The overarching contention of this thesis is that age was critical in shaping how male non-combatants were both impacted by, and reacted to, the conflict. It is substantiated by in-depth analyses of several related themes, including 'war enthusiasm' and self-mobilisation. While the outbreak of hostilities was near-uniformly identified as a crucial event, responses were mediated by longstanding orientations and responsibilities. Religious and socio-political affiliations were a substantive and consistent source of influence on elite educators; Catholic and Protestant New Zealand schools construed the war in imperial terms, drawing on constitutional ties and shared cultural affinities to affirm regional support for British intervention. Similar sentiments were expressed in Irish Protestant circles, especially those

linked to the Ulster Unionist cause. In Ireland, however, divergence occurred alongside denominational affiliation. Elite Catholic commentary was less concordant with John Redmond's favourable stance on Irish overseas involvement than has previously been assumed. Here, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, youth were by no means exposed to an impassioned 'total war' discourse. Official addresses were inflected by pre-war priorities, especially institutional matters. It is evident that contention surrounding state funding for denominational establishments persisted throughout the 1910s. Concerns about governmental backing and interference proved similarly important in New Zealand; agitation about the lack of Catholic scholarships continued and increased state requirements attracted sustained commentary. This thesis refines scholarly understandings of governmental legislation and school policies at a time of war.

Student responses were also selective. Numerous parallels can be identified in the war talk espoused by teachers and their pupils between 1914 and 1918. Pro-British and 'Greater British' frameworks were readily deployed by those attending New Zealand and Irish Protestant institutions, with such language notably absent from nationalist Catholic colleges. Pupils openly praised Belgian Fund carnivals and other war effort activities promoted by their schools. Yet, while adult surveillance shaped student commentary on the conflict and associated events – especially that published in official school periodicals – shared cultural and socio-economic backgrounds also proved influential. The war's infiltration into student slang and schoolyard conversations demonstrates genuine youth investment in overseas developments. Nonetheless, student behaviour did not always converge with institutional expectations. Although many reiterated the conflict's importance in writing, immediate concerns took precedence. Adolescents embraced and perpetuated the existence of a transnational 'boys' culture' at elite schools in Ireland and New Zealand. Militarised masculinities, school loyalty, sporting success, and more mundane matters like

good food and holidays were commonly held in high regard. Ultimately, the conflict drew the strongest responses when it interfered with these age-specific interests.

Reactions in New Zealand and Irish schools to the on-going war shifted over time alongside transformative encounters with death and dissent. This thesis confirms the 1915 Gallipoli campaign's definitive impact on the New Zealand home front, constituting the moment wherein the conflict became 'real' for most citizens. Prestigious colleges and wider communities alike were permeated by a 'culture of sacrifice' consolidated by comparatively high losses suffered across the conflict as a whole. Yet, while Ireland was not uniformly transformed by any single military event, specific institutions were hit harder than others. Prestigious Irish and New Zealand boys' schools endured lengthy casualty lists due to their traditional production of 'officer material'. Elite educators responded to alumni fatalities in similar ways, drawing on denominational ideologies and 'public school' rituals to comfort grieving students. Divergent fatality patterns resulted in consolatory narratives appearing at a slightly later stage in New Zealand than Ireland, as the British Expeditionary Force had lost personnel on European battlefields within weeks. Nevertheless, teaching staff in both countries deployed supportive and inclusive narratives recognising the wartime death of all old boys, at least at first.

Students did not engage with school fatalities on the same terms. College friends and heroes were mourned in particular, confirming the importance of relational proximity in mediating reactions to individual losses. Personal connections varied with age. Teachers and headmasters with long records of service may have recalled fallen old boys from years past, but this was not the case for those who only recently started their secondary education. The likelihood of pupils being emotionally affected by institutional deaths grew as the decade progressed, with older Irish boys proving especially vulnerable; there, boys could enter military training straight from school. In New Zealand, current students were more likely to

remember former staff members who died on the battlefield as opposed to alumni who had joined up after several years in the work force. These internal variations undercut a one-measure-fits-all approach. Elite pupils did draw on school commemorative practices to come to terms with their grief, but they also extended and supplemented them where deemed appropriate. Painful losses were recognised in boy culture, giving rise to personalised memorials in school settings. Reference points that resonated with behavioural ideals were also used to validate soldier deaths; students appear to have deployed Anzac mythology and Ulster Unionist narratives focussing on the 36th Division far more readily than teacher counterparts.

This thesis highlights the importance of place as well as age, especially in its exploration of 'dissent'. Advanced nationalist views were held by relatively few in 1916, with insurgent activity restricted mostly to Dublin during the Easter Rising. Elite Catholic institutions found themselves in a difficult position, with Clongowes Wood College amongst those with old boys fighting on both sides. Teaching religious neither wholly praised nor condemned this event, but Britain's brutal reaction proved crucial in consolidating nationalist support for the rebels. School stances were informed by resultant changes in political thought, with Catholic colleges facing increased pressure to make their allegiances clear. Despite traditional assumptions of steadfast middle-class loyalty to the Home Rule cause, elite Catholic magazines published material sympathetic to the advanced nationalist cause in following years. Protestant establishments, on the other hand, consistently denounced any form of dissent, rejecting the Rising and popular shifts towards Sinn Féin outright. Protestant students largely agreed with their teachers' outlook on the situation, continuing to endorse the state and its international activities. Until the very end, Protestant adolescents participated in a wide range of war effort and military training endeavours. In

addition to altering nationalist trajectories more broadly, the Rising decisively split elite educational understandings of appropriate wartime behaviour in Ireland.

Irish political developments affected specific overseas communities. Catholics comprised just over 14 percent of New Zealand's total population in 1916, at least nine-tenths of whom were of Irish descent. Several secondary institutions even had direct links with Dublin; the founding rector of St. Patrick's College in Wellington – Dr. Felix Watters – had since returned to Ireland and was fatally wounded on May 1 after visiting a presbytery on Haddington Road. His old college was shocked by the news, but empathy was still expressed for the rebels' cause and those affected by martial law. New Zealand Catholics had long backed Irish Home Rule and they continued to do so in the Rising's wake despite the possibility of this support being mistaken for advanced nationalist leanings. This event coincided with the introduction of conscription, which brought questions of loyalty to the fore. The Marist Brothers attracted vehement criticism for their opposition to attempts to forcibly enlist teaching religious and ecclesiastical students from November 1916. Staff and students alike refuted accusations of disloyalty, pointing towards substantial alumni contributions to military forces. Yet, these protests aside, Catholics became ever more grouped with others perceived to hold traitorous views, falling victim to an outburst of sectarianism. Elite Catholic institutions were not completely ostracised by their Protestant counterparts, but they were still tarred by public suspicion. While recent studies of a unified New Zealand society at war hold significant merit, this thesis asserts that some groups and their institutions were subject to greater pressure than previously thought.

National contexts were particularly important during war's final years. Irish Catholic experiences deviated from patterns of cultural 're-mobilization' observed by historian John Horne elsewhere in Europe. School communities like that at Castleknock rejected British attempts to bolster Irish involvement, contributing instead to anti-conscription protests that

peaked in April 1918. Elite Catholic colleges had largely ignored voluntary war effort activities from the outset and, by 1918, even their conditional support for overseas military service had been eroded. Rather than confirming or restoring limited pro-war leanings in elite Catholic circles, coercive measures implemented by the state appear to have weakened them further. The situation proved entirely different in New Zealand. There, prestigious colleges embraced remobilisation rhetoric, reiterating the war's importance and advocating greater participation in temporary war work. Such a stand reflects the selective use of coercive mechanisms, generally condoned by the New Zealand population, as well as the socio-economic positioning of these establishments. At the same time, however, it would have perhaps been difficult for elite schools to choose otherwise. The nation's culture of sacrifice translated into a cohesive set of expectations that was near impossible to defy without facing public ostracism. Staff and students inhabited physical communities as well as imagined ones, and it was the former that had to be confronted on a daily basis.

State boundaries also played a considerable role in determining citizen behaviour. Despite the importance placed on heroic expressions of manliness within elite boys' culture, national parameters had the final say as to when students could legally enlist. Irish adolescents could sign up with the regular army at 18 years, but New Zealanders were unable to do so until the age of 20. Perceptions of state legitimacy furthermore shaped enthusiasm for official military activity. Quibbles with the conscription of teaching religious aside, Catholic boys in New Zealand continued to respect the national government and its war effort. Like their Protestant counterparts, many eagerly pursued supplementary training measures such as Barracks camps, seeing enrolment with the NZEF as their ultimate goal. Martial masculinity also continued to underpin adolescent engagement with combat roles in Ireland but, by 1918, this concept was directed towards two different ends. Soldiers were only glorified as long as they fought for a legitimate cause. While Protestant boys continued

to venerate the United Kingdom and British endeavours, the conscription crisis discredited war service for many Catholic nationalists. Boys like Kevin Barry now preferred other forms of military action that supported an alternative state, specifically an independent Ireland.

This thesis furthermore illuminates youth politicisation at both the centre and periphery of Empire. Irish Catholic students actively grappled with new definitions of patriotism and advanced nationalist perspectives after the Rising; whether Ireland would represent itself at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference proved a burning topic of conservation. Protestant establishments, by contrast, had their own hopes for the post-war world. Loyalist activities seen to promote the maintenance of a United Kingdom continued to be affirmed, with Irish moves towards separatism utterly derided across the country. Students at such schools were deeply invested in a peaceful settlement that took unionist preferences into account. Local political currents also inflected adolescent visions of the future in New Zealand. There, secondary boys contemplated changes in popular politics such as growing support for Labour. They also proposed solutions to problems simultaneously discussed at the level of high politics, namely New Zealand's position and status in the British Empire. Such engagement not only extended public awareness of these issues at the time, but also likely had significant outcomes for both countries as a whole. Some post-war expectations, especially those endorsed by Catholics, were rather radical, and elite boys were trained to become national and political actors in their own right. Across the board it is clear that these adolescents were far from passive products of their wartime education.

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List of Abbreviations

AGSC	*Auckland Grammar School Chronicle*
AJHR	*Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives*
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
BHSM	*Boys' High School Magazine*
BW	*Blue and White*
C.G.S.	*Cork Grammar School Magazine*
C.U.S.	Catholic University School
CAI	Coleraine Academical Institution
CC	*College Chronicle*
CHA	Catholic Headmasters' Association
DATI	Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland
DORA	Defence of the Realm Acts
DORR	Defence of the Realm Regulations
FCA	Foyle College Archives
Fianna	Na Fianna Éireann
GPO	General Post Office
HMC	Headmasters' Conference
IAOS	Irish Agricultural Organisation Society
ICA	Irish Citizen Army
INAAVDF	Irish National Aid Association and Volunteer Dependants' Fund
IPP	Irish Parliamentary Party
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
IT	*Irish Times*
IV	Irish Volunteers
JHCY	*Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*
KC	*King's Collegian*

MA	*Mungret Annual*
MSSC	Mungret College Social Study Club
NL	Navy League
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NWAC	National War Aims Committee
NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force
NZH	*New Zealand Herald*
NZJH	*New Zealand Journal of History*
NZPF	New Zealand Police Force
OHSM	*Otago High School Magazine*
OST	*Our School Times*
OTC	Officer Training Corps
PPA	Protestant Political Association
RBAI	Royal Belfast Academical Institution
Register	*Christ's College Register*
SCCA	St. Columba's College Archives
SHC	*Students' Magazine/S.H.C.: The School Chronicle of the Sacred Heart College, Auckland SHC*
SN	*School News*
TIJHS	*The International Journal of the History of Sport*
UCDA	University College Dublin Archives
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force
WC	*Wanganui Collegian*
WCQ	*Wesley College Quarterly*

Introduction

> What do Schoolboys really think about the war? Those who are still in the School have seen the boys from the Upper Forms go off to join the army, whether by enlisting in the ranks or by getting temporary commissions, or by entering Woolwich or Sandhurst. They joined with great eagerness at the beginning and they go on joining with equal eagerness as they reach the age for service. To these the war is truly "The Great Adventure," and to those who remain behind there is a glamour about their departure. This is as it should be, and those now approaching the age are in their turn looking forward to follow them. But what about the boys in the Middle and Lower Forms of the school? The war appears likely to be over before they can be old enough to serve, and it has been going on so long that to many of them it must seem as if it has always been going on. The war is now in its fourth year and to schoolboys, especially the younger ones, three years is a long time. What then do they think about it?[1]

Children of all ages were heavily involved in key global crises that shaped the British Empire during the early twentieth century. The First World War not only infiltrated the lives of adults in affected regions but those of younger citizens as well. 'Home front' societies, tangibly affected by hostilities, rapidly emerged in regions as disparate as Ireland and New Zealand. Children were among the targets of sustained cultural mobilisation efforts; war discourses saturated primary school contexts whilst toys and games were permeated by patriotic ideals. Adolescents, bridging contemporaneous categories of childhood and adulthood, were not exempt from broader patterns.[2] Indeed, male adolescents in particular faced a barrage of shifting expectations as the conflict continued to dominate the 1910s and this cohort edged towards military enlistment. Yet, although age has been identified as a significant category of analysis within First World War studies, published work on children and youth during this period overwhelmingly focuses on continental Europe, Britain, Australia, and Canada. This literature is also dominated by national approaches, with few

[1] *Erasmian*, XIV/4 (Oct. 1917), p. 118.
[2] This project uses the terms 'older children', adolescents, and youth interchangeably.

scholars examining more than one geographic region.[3] Remarkably little research has systematically explored interconnections between adolescence and the Great War transnationally.

This thesis addresses these historiographical gaps to discover how youth engaged with hostilities in Ireland and New Zealand. Informed by the comparative turn in First World War studies and multi-site analyses such as Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert's edited collection on capital cities, elite secondary colleges for boys are used as case studies set within their respective national contexts.[4] The Irish and New Zealand secondary school systems reflected key socio-cultural divisions evident in each society yet also contained comparable student groups whose similarities can be used as the basis for fruitful juxtaposition.[5] A multi-layered comparative framework has been deployed: Catholic and Protestant institutions are examined for both countries, with student responses to the First World War set alongside those of overseas contemporaries. The reactions of educational authorities associated with these establishments are simultaneously considered. This approach not only contextualises adolescent behaviour during this period – illuminating the explicit and implicit expectations to which youth were subjected – but also brings age-related distinctions to the fore. Staff members and students based at the same school tended to have similar family backgrounds, resulting in shared religious and political affiliations as well as similar socio-economic status. It is reasonable to assume that they would respond to any

[3] Manon Pignot, 'Bibliographic Essays – Children', in Jay Winter (ed), *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume III: Civil Society* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 645-8.
[4] Heather Jones, 'As the Centenary Approaches: The Regeneration of First World War Historiography', *Historical Journal*, 56/3 (2013), pp. 857-78; Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert (eds), *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919* (Cambridge, 1997) and *Capital Cities at War, Volume 2: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 2007).
[5] This project differentiates between post-primary education provided at technical schools, vocational schools, and the upper levels at district high schools (which catered to both primary and secondary students), as opposed to secondary (intermediate) schools. The latter institutions have been termed 'secondary schools', a subset of which are the focus of this research. See: Howard Lee, 'The New Zealand District High School: A Case Study of the Conservative Politics of Rural Education', *Education Research & Perspectives*, 32/1 (2005), pp. 12-51.

wider political shifts in the same manner. Any wartime divergences or differences of opinion, therefore, likely arose from generational variation and/or specific interests and responsibilities linked to life stage. Using school periodicals, newspapers, and memoirs alongside other forms of archival material, this study answers the question posed by an anonymous contributor to the October 1917 edition of High School Dublin's magazine – what did schoolboys actually think of the war? Specifically, this research examines how the conflict disrupted institutional concerns and accepted age-norms as expressed in elite secondary-level schools and the responses of Irish and New Zealand male students to such interventions. It points to some of the transnational variables – including age-specific factors – that shaped adolescent experiences of war across the British Empire.

National Contexts and Parallels

The First World War occurred during a critical juncture in modern Irish history. The wider period of 1913 to 1923 'saw a polarisation and realignment of national and political identities that has lasted to the present', with the Third Home Rule Crisis and subsequent events reflecting a matrix of socio-political schisms.[6] Ireland had a total population of approximately 4.4 million, 74 percent of whom were Roman Catholic and generally supported the introduction of national self-government in the form of Home Rule.[7] The Protestant minority – predominantly based in northern Ulster– tended to lean towards Unionism, preferring that Ireland remain a constituent part of the United Kingdom to protect against Catholic nationalist domination and affirm an Irish-British identity centred on allegiance to the British Crown and Empire.[8] The introduction of a third Home Rule Bill in

[6] John Horne, 'Our war, our history', in John Horne (ed), *Our War: Ireland and the Great War* (Dublin, 2008), p. 14.
[7] L. P. Curtis, Jr., 'Ireland in 1914', in W. E. Vaughan (ed), *Ireland under the Union, II: 1870-1921* (Oxford, 2010), p. 145.
[8] Richard English and Graham Walker, 'Introduction', in Richard English and Graham Walker (eds), *Unionism in Modern Ireland: New Perspectives on Politics and Culture* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. ix-x;

April 1912 and its likely passage through Parliament consequently ignited strong feelings.[9] Ulster Unionists created a volunteer army to resist devolved parliamentary governance, establishing the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in January 1913.[10] The UVF had enrolled approximately 110,000 men by mid-1914.[11] Irish nationalists formed their own army in turn, inaugurating the Irish Volunteers (IV) in November 1913. Membership increased rapidly after receiving support from the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP), peaking at 191,000 that September.[12]

Britain's declaration of war against Germany on 4 August 1914 helped to prevent civil war in Ireland. The 1914 Government of Ireland Act reached the statue books, but its implementation was deferred 'for the duration'.[13] At least initially, the Irish participation in the British war effort was backed by both camps. An easy marriage was made between Unionist ideology and an 'imperial' war-effort, while sympathy for the plight of small (Catholic) nations like Belgium stoked nationalist support.[14] Pre-war tensions, however, did not disappear. Politicians endorsed British war aims to achieve antithetical goals; while IPP leader John Redmond hoped that nationalist backing would guarantee Home Rule, Edward Carson saw the conflict as an opportunity to prove communal loyalty to Britain and achieve

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Thomas Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland: World War One and Partition* (London, 1998), pp. 3-18. See also: Alvin Jackson, 'Irish unionism, 1870-1922', in D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds), *Defenders of the Union: A survey of British and Irish unionism since 1801* (London, 2001), p. 115ff.

[9] Matthew Kelly, 'Home Rule and its Enemies', in Alvin Jackson (ed), *The Oxford Handbook to Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2013), p. 597ff.

[10] Motives for joining were more diverse than official aims, including the perception that the UVF was formed to combat Irish nationalism. See: Timothy Bowman, *Carson's Army: The Ulster Volunteer Force, 1910-22* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 64-9; Jane G. V. McGaughey, *Ulster's Men: Protestant Unionist Masculinities and Militarization in the North of Ireland, 1912-1923* (Montreal, 2012), pp. 55-9.

[11] Bowman, *Carson's Army*, p. 2.

[12] David Fitzpatrick, 'Militarism in Ireland, 1900-1922', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 385-6; Matthew Kelly, 'The Irish Volunteers: A Machiavellian Moment?', in D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds), *The Ulster Crisis: 1885-1921* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 64-85.

[13] David Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands 1912-1939* (Oxford, 1998), p. 52.

[14] See the following for further detail: Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2012).

later legislative concessions.[15] More radical sentiments were also far from eradicated. Redmond's decision to pledge IV support to the Allied war effort split the organisation in two. While most members aligned themselves with Redmond to become the National Volunteers, a small group of radical members left to form the new Irish Volunteers.[16]

Underlying divisions became particularly apparent during 1916 as general war-weariness started to set in and separatist discontent manifested in revolutionary action. In April, a small group of radical associates led a violent uprising almost entirely confined to Dublin. Although public responses to the Easter Rising were initially mixed, the British response to this event was widely perceived as unduly harsh.[17] The execution and imprisonment of key figures initially threw advanced nationalist groups into disarray. Nevertheless, a consolidated political movement emerged by the autumn of 1917 with separatists quickly appropriating the Sinn Féin party name.[18] Republicanism's rise at the expense of constitutional nationalism was facilitated by British attempts to enforce conscription in 1918, contributing to Sinn Féin's decisive victory in the United Kingdom's December election.[19] Far from resolving political differences, the First World War had simply inflamed them. Two further struggles followed the Armistice – the War of Independence (1919-1921) and the Irish Civil War (1922-1923).[20]

The wartime situation was very different in New Zealand, though perhaps not quite as different as one might imagine. Although both countries automatically became engaged upon King George V's declaration of war on 4 August 1914, New Zealand was a self-governing Dominion within the British Empire. The national government was thus able to

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[15] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, pp. 67-75; James McConnel, 'John Redmond and Irish Catholic Loyalism', *English Historical Review*, CXXV/512 (2010), pp. 109-110.
[16] R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London, 1988), pp. 472-3.
[17] Fearghal McGarry, *The Rising: Ireland: Easter 1916* (Oxford, 2010), chs. 4-8.
[18] Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 64-121.
[19] Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998: Politics and War* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 211-12.
[20] Charles Townshend, *The Republic: The Fight for Irish Independence, 1918-1923* (London, 2013).

determine the degree to which it wanted to participate in the war and behave accordingly.[21] Despite an initially unclear general election result in December 1914 and the fact that it had no constitutional obligation to do so, New Zealand became a dedicated partner.[22] The country announced its state of war with the German Empire a mere day after George V, and extensive resources were devoted toward the imperial effort.[23] Volunteer and conscription efforts resulted in approximately ten percent of the total population serving overseas. In the face of significant casualties – 17,000 men killed in all –[24] New Zealand developed a culture similar to their European allies through which citizens 'made sense of the war, and persuaded themselves to continue fighting it.'[25]

Overall unification aside, New Zealand too suffered internal divisions. Non-British minority groups were discriminated against both by the state and more informally.[26] Indigenous support for the conflict also largely varied according to tribal affiliation. Whilst approximately 2,500 Māori served overseas out of a population of 63,000, the majority of recruits came from Te Arawa, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, Whanganui, and North Auckland.[27] Particular tribes, such as Taranaki and Tainui-Waikato, contributed almost none in protest against land confiscations inflicted by the government after the New Zealand Wars

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[21] Ian McGibbon, 'The Shaping of New Zealand's War Effort, August-October 1914', in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War* (Auckland, 2007), p. 50.
[22] Erik Olssen, 'Waging War: The Home Front, 1914-1918', in Judith Binney, Judith Bassett, and Erik Olssen (eds), *The People and the Land/Te Tangata me Te Whenua: An Illustrated History of New Zealand, 1820-1920* (Wellington, 1990), pp. 299-318.
[23] Kate Hunter and Kirstie Ross, *Holding on to Home: New Zealand Stories and Objects of the First World War* (Wellington, 2014), p. 17; Steven Loveridge, 'Introduction: A Small Land in a World War', in Steven Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society at War, 1914-1918* (Wellington, 2016), p. 26.
[24] John Crawford and Ian McGibbon, 'Introduction', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, p. 16.
[25] Leonard V. Smith, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *France and the Great War 1914-1918*, tr. Helen McPhail (New York, 2002), p. xv.
[26] Andrew Francis, *'To Be Truly British We Must Be Anti-German': New Zealand, Enemy Aliens and the Great War Experience, 1914-1919* (Bern, 2012); Judith Bassett, 'Colonial Justice: The Treatment of Dalmatians in New Zealand during the First World War', *NZJH*, 33/2 (1999), pp. 155-179.
[27] Monty Soutar, 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu: A Coming of Age?', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, p. 99.

(*c.*1843-1872).[28] Attempts to force equitable military participation met with resistance. In 1917 the government applied conscription to one electoral district – Western Māori – yet only 74 Māori conscripts had gone to camp out of a total of 552 men called up by 1919.[29] Tensions peaked in what has been termed 'the last shooting in the Anglo-Maori Wars'; a police expedition sent to arrest prophet Rua Kenana at Maungapohatu in 1916 resulted in a gun battle with his followers.[30]

Compulsory military service proved to be a divisive issue more generally in the Antipodes. New Zealand parliamentarians introduced a conscription Bill shortly after Great Britain in May 1916, which became law on 1 August later that year.[31] Opponents to this measure included socialists, pacifists, and some Christian denominations who were in turn denounced by the population at large.[32] Concurrent socio-political developments exacerbated matters, with multi-layered identities further fuelling accusations of treachery. New Zealand Catholics comprised just over 14 percent of the population in 1916, at least nine-tenths of whom were of Irish descent.[33] Despite having expressed substantive support for the war from the outset and supplying 12.4 percent of military volunteers, this group attracted suspicion in the wake of the 1916 Easter Rising.[34] Furthermore, a growing affiliation between working-class Catholics and militant Labour emerged from 1916.[35]

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[28] Franchesca Walker, ''Descendants of a Warrior Race': The Maori Contingent, New Zealand Pioneer Battalion, and Martial Race Myth, 1914-19', *War & Society*, 31/1 (2012), p. 4.
[29] Soutar, 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu', pp. 101-2.
[30] Alan D. Ward, 'The Origins of the Anglo-Maori Wars: A Reconsideration', *NZJH*, 1/2 (1967), pp. 166-7.
[31] Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War* (Auckland, 1988), pp. 86-90.
[32] ibid., esp. chs. 6-7.
[33] 'Section VI. – Religions' in 'Report on the Results of a Census of the Population of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 15th October 1916', http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/digitised-collections/census-collection.aspx (18 June 2014); Donald Harman Akenson, *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand, 1860-1950* (Wellington, 1990), p. 162.
[34] Steven Loveridge, *Calls to Arms: Zealand Society and Commitment to the Great War* (Wellington, 2014), p. 57.
[35] Richard P. Davis, *Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868-1922* (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 190-212; Seán Brosnahan, ''Shaming the Shoneens': The *Green Ray* and the Maoriland Irish Society in Dunedin, 1916-22', in Lyndon Fraser (ed), *A Distant Shore: Irish Migration & New Zealand Settlement* (Dunedin, 2000), pp. 117-34.

These wartime events and trends ultimately resulted in an outburst of sectarianism between 1917 and 1922, best captured in the substantive support given to the anti-Catholic Protestant Political Association formed in 1917 and the prosecution of Bishop James Liston under anti-sedition legislation in 1922.[36] Post-war outcomes may not have included the continued violence experienced in Ireland, but socio-cultural tensions inflamed by the conflict were still felt in New Zealand long after the cessation of hostilities.

Ireland and New Zealand were also characterised by a number of broader commonalities during this period. Whilst the Irish population was approximately four times the size of New Zealand's, there was rough parity in the degree to which both were urbanised. In 1911 42.1 percent of Irish lived in urban or semi-urban areas, while slightly more than 50 percent did so in New Zealand.[37] Both countries were also dependent on agricultural exports.[38] Perhaps the most significant parallels between Ireland and New Zealand, however, were socio-cultural. In addition to the underlying schisms identified earlier, historians such as Stephen Howe have pointed towards the fact that 'the blurred and shifting negotiations of identity and sovereignty between a global Greater Britain and an insular but still compound Britishness' not only shaped Ireland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but also 'Canada and Cardiff, Auckland [i.e. New Zealand] and Aberdeen.'[39] This process of identity-formation in the New Zealand context has been explored in depth by historians such as James Belich and Steven Loveridge, who assert the existence of a Greater, and perhaps even 'Better', British identity during this period.[40]

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[36] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland, 2001), pp. 114-15.
[37] Curtis, 'Ireland in 1914', p. 151; Miles Fairburn, 'The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Society, 1870-1940', *NZJH*, 9/1 (1975), p. 8.
[38] In 1912, wool, meat and dairy produce amounted to 69.72 percent of New Zealand's total exports by value. In 1914, Irish exports of 'farm produce, food, and drink' amounted to approximately 54 percent of the total value of export goods. See: Jim McAloon, 'The New Zealand Economy, 1792-1914', in Giselle Byrnes (ed), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (Melbourne, 2009), pp. 214-15; H. D. Gribbon, 'Economic and Social History, 1850-1921', in Vaughan (ed), *Ireland under the Union*, p. 350.
[39] Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture* (Oxford, 2000), p. 69.
[40] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 76-81, 95-118; Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, ch. 1.

Irish-New Zealand ties and divergences have been the subject of innovative historical research. In addition to the substantive work conducted on Irish migrants in New Zealand, there have been recent efforts to examine these countries with explicit reference to one another.[41] Keith Jeffery, for example, explored similarities and differences in how Northern Ireland and New Zealand perceived each other through a transnational analysis of the imperial rhetoric espoused by political representatives on four interwar diplomatic visits.[42] Helen Robinson took a more deliberately comparative approach in her doctorate on historic commemorations in Northern Ireland and New Zealand.[43] While largely focused on post-1940 developments, her project also examined the origins of the Twelfth of July, Waitangi Day, Remembrance Sunday, and Anzac Day. Robinson illuminated a significant cross-national pattern; past events were more likely to be commemorated when they captured popular values that were seen to be under threat or critically important. Such investigations not only enable the identification of shared cultural experiences across Ireland and New Zealand, but can also test the implicit exceptionalist assumptions which have tended to frame these countries' historical narratives.[44] Comparative and transnational techniques, for example, have been increasingly advocated by Irish historians in order to combat notions of 'national uniqueness'.[45] Multi-national analyses focusing on other events and groups are likely to result in the discovery of similarly valuable insights; dual-country studies such as

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[41] Relevant texts include: Akenson, *Half the World*; Fraser (ed), *Distant Shore*; Brad Patterson (ed), *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts and Perspectives* (Wellington, 2002); Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840* (Manchester, 2011).

[42] Jeffery, 'Distance and Proximity to the Empire: Ulster and New Zealand between the Wars', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36/3 (2008), pp. 453-72.

[43] Robinson, 'Remembering the Past, Thinking of the Present: Historic Commemorations in New Zealand and Northern Ireland, 1940-1990' (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2009).

[44] For a recent discussion of exceptionalism and New Zealand history, see: Miles Fairburn, 'Is There a Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?', in Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (eds), *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts* (Dunedin, 2006), pp. 143-67.

[45] Niall Whelehan, 'Playing with Scales: Transnational History and Modern Ireland', in Niall Whelehan (ed), *Transnational Perspectives on Modern Irish History* (London, 2014), p. 8; Edna Delaney, 'Our Island Story? Towards a Transnational History of Late Modern Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies* XXXVII/148 (2011), pp. 83-105; Angela McCarthy (ed), *Ireland in the World: Comparative, Transnational, and Personal Perspectives* (New York, 2015).

Susan Grayzel's work on French and British gender identities and Alexander Watson's analysis of military morale in Germany and Britain during the First World War, for instance, both elucidated broader trajectories alongside localised particularities.[46]

This research utilises a synchronic comparative approach to explore institutional experiences in wartime Ireland and New Zealand.[47] The existence of numerous parallels across these home front societies addresses fundamental questions of comparability; Ireland and New Zealand are not 'too different to yield meaningful contrasts.'[48] Relevant transnational connections are examined within this framework in recognition of their potential explanatory power concerning any further convergences and divergences ultimately found.[49] Although often seen in opposition, comparative and cross-national perspectives can be fruitfully used alongside one another.[50] The chronological parameters of this project have been limited to 1914 to 1918 to mirror the concurrent participation of these countries within the First World War and the duration of active international hostilities. An overarching 'nation-level' perspective has been adopted to reflect Ireland and New Zealand's legal and political status during this period. Although Ireland was characterised by significant internal divergences that later resulted in partition, it remained a single entity until the Government of Ireland Act 1920.[51] Moreover, a 'nation'-oriented comparison can aid recognition of wider variables that may have mediated youth exposure and responses to

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[46] Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, 1999); Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, 2008).
[47] For further detail about different comparative approaches, see: Stefan Berger, 'Comparative History', in Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore (eds), *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, 2nd edn (London, 2010), pp. 187-205.
[48] Deborah Cohen, 'Comparative History: Buyer Beware', *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute, Washington*, 29 (2001), p. 26.
[49] Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope, and Perspectives of Comparative History', in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York, 2009), pp. 20-1.
[50] Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, 'Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History – Definitions', in Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor (eds), *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York, 2004), p. xiv.
[51] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 503.

the conflict such as enlistment ages. Susan Pederson has aptly argued that this type of approach can take into account the considerable role the state played in shaping citizens' lives, an influence likely to have strengthened even further during periods of 'total war'.[52]

Elite boys' secondary schools and their associated populations will be used as case studies within this broader national framework. This specific focus seeks to minimise the degree of abstraction associated with more overarching analyses, taking into account recent work highlighting the value associated with examining collective units below the level of the nation.[53] While Ireland and New Zealand's secondary education systems, were similar in many ways, they were by no means identical. Structural and geographic differences need to be thoroughly understood to enable full contextualisation of children's experiences in these settings. Such in-depth research is facilitated through the availability of relevant, and reasonably symmetrical, source material for elite secondary institutions in both countries. Unlike industrial and reformatory schools, many maintained private archives and produced school magazines. Work on elite post-primary schools is thus not only valuable in its own right, but also provides a foundation for informed speculation concerning the war-related experiences of youth outside this education system for whom archives are scarce or inaccessible. As recognised by Gabrielle Ashford, historians of modern childhood in Ireland are particularly 'constrained' by national data protection acts.[54]

Comparative research on these institutions can furthermore cast light on the Irish and New Zealand home fronts as a whole. Renowned secondary institutions catered to Catholics

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[52] Pederson, 'Comparative History and Women's History: Explaining Convergence and Divergence', in Cohen and O'Connor (eds), *Comparison and History*, pp. 97-9.
[53] Pierre Purseigle, 'Beyond and Below the Nations: Towards a Comparative History of Local Communities at War', in Jenny Macleod and Pierre Purseigle (eds), *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in First World Studies* (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp. 95-123; idem, 'Wither the Local? Nationalization, Modernization, and the Mobilization of Urban Communities in England and France, *c.* 1900-18', in William Whyte and Oliver Zimmer (eds), *Nationalism and the Reshaping of Urban Communities in Europe, 1848-1914* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 182-203.
[54] Gabrielle Ashford, 'Sources for a Study of Childhood in 18th-Century Ireland', *Irish Archives: Journal of the Irish Society for Archives*, 20 (2013), p. 5.

and Protestants, to Home Rulers and Unionists, and to families who often favoured martial expressions of masculinity. The manner in which the war intersected with denominational affiliations, political preferences, and perceptions of gender roles would not only have impacted on and varied the lived experiences of elite adolescents, for example, but also others who shared these interpretive frameworks. This project will consequently deepen understandings of Irish and New Zealand civilian experiences alongside its specific age-oriented research aims.

Histories of Youth and the War

This thesis is informed by major developments in the field of the history of childhood and youth, generally seen as having originated in the 1960s. Philippe Ariès' seminal book, first published in 1960 and translated into English in 1962, 'opened the floodgates of scholars ready to study children in the past.'[55] In asserting that childhood did not exist as a social construct until the seventeenth century, *Centuries of Childhood* historicised the concept itself; how children were viewed, represented, and treated by others within a given society varied according to time and place.[56] The manner in which children's lives were configured by adult attitudes and institutional structures has since been the subject of a great deal of research, with valuable histories illuminating the multifaceted nature of childhood continuing to be produced.[57] More recent works, however, tend to also be informed by a new historical perspective. Although youth have long been present in related subdisciplines such as the history of class and labour, scholars have identified the emergence of child-centred

[55] Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, 1962); Heidi Morrison, 'What is the global history of childhood?', in Heidi Morrison (ed), *The Global History of Childhood Reader* (Abingdon, 2012), p. 2.
[56] Hugh Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', *American Historical Review*, 103/4 (1998), p. 1197.
[57] See, for example, Paula S. Fass (ed), *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London, 2012).

approaches from the 1990s in particular.[58] Despite the difficulties associated with 'locating the child within the history of childhood', historians now emphasise the need to consider the thoughts, actions, and experiences of young people themselves.[59]

These trends stand alongside an increased recognition of age as a legitimate category of analysis. The inaugural issue of *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* – released in 2008 – urged historians take age seriously in much the same manner as Joan Scott had done three decades earlier with regards to gender, with similar themes explored by Harry Hendricks in 2015.[60] Journal submissions identified age as 'a universal, yet fluid category that illuminates the historical contingencies of agency and power as well as the subjectivity of childhood experience'.[61] Age constantly intersects with, and is modified by, other categories of analysis including class, race, and nationality;[62] children's negotiated interactions with others reflect multi-layered power relations. Rather than rejecting children's capacity for agency, however, this analytical turn has emphasised children as historical actors in their own right.[63] Youth contributed to wider socio-cultural processes just as much as they reacted to them, shaping not only their own lives but also those of people around them.[64] Understandings surrounding children's agency continue to evolve at a rapid

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[58] Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, 'Hidden in Plain View: The History of Children (and Childhood) in the Twenty-First Century', *JHCY*, 1/1 (2008), pp. 43-9; Colin Heywood, '*Centuries of Childhood:* An Anniversary – and an Epitaph?', *JHCY*, 3/3 (2010), pp. 359-60.

[59] Shurlee Swain, 'Locating the Child within the History of Childhood', in Joanne Faulkner and Magdalena Zolkos (eds), *Critical Childhood Studies and the Practice of Interdisciplinarity: Disciplining the Child* (Lanham, 2016), pp. 3-14.

[60] Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91/5 (1986), pp. 1053-75; Harry Hendrick, 'Age as a category of analysis in the history of childhood', in Maria Luddy and James M. Smith (eds), *Children, childhood and Irish society, 1500 to the present* (Dublin, 2014), pp. 389-413.

[61] Laura L. Lovett, 'Age: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *JHCY*, 1/1 (2008), p. 89.

[62] Steven Mintz, 'Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis', *JHCY*, 1/1 (2008), pp. 91-4.

[63] Mary Jo Maynes, 'Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood', *JHCY*, 1/1 (2008), pp. 114-24.

[64] Pertinent works include: Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago, 2005); Katherine Gleadle, 'Playing at Soldiers: British Loyalism and Juvenile Identities during the Napoleonic Wars', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38/3 (2015), pp. 335-48; Siân Pooley, 'Children's Writing and the Popular Press in England 1876-1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 80 (2015), pp. 75-98.

rate, key contributions including agency being considered on a spectrum and the deployment of methodological tools drawn from the History of Emotions.[65]

Calls for analytical vigour, however, are still in the process of being fully addressed. While the relational and chronological nature of age have been recognised as critical conceptual components, works in the field sometimes isolate children from older contemporaries or make little differentiation between or within the cohorts under examination.[66] A reluctance to tie youth experiences to specific ages is understandable in light of the fact that socially constructed parameters between childhood, adolescence, and adulthood were far from stable in the twentieth century.[67] Nevertheless, evading the 'search for clear edges', as advised by one historian, can obscure the implications chronological age had in precise historical moments.[68] Earlier scholarship on state interventions demonstrates the import of externally imposed measures; age-related boundaries, such as those implemented within welfare and juvenile justice systems, transformed the lives of some children.[69] The First World War brought further parameters to the fore that impacted on older boys in particular. Exploratory work by Tim Cook and others has signalled the import of state enlistment ages in determining when adolescents could legally become military

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[65] Kristine Alexander, 'Agency and Emotion Work', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, 7/2 (2015), pp. 120-8; Stephanie Olsen (ed), *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2015); Susan A. Miller, 'Assent as Agency in the Early Years of the Children of the American Revolution', *JHCY*, 9/1 (2016), pp. 48-65; Mona Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap: Caveats for Historians of Children, Youth, and Education', *History of Education*, 45/4 (2016), pp. 446-59.

[66] Leslie Paris, 'Through the Looking Glass: Age, Stages, and Historical Analysis', *JHCY*, 1/1 (2008), pp. 106-13, esp. 108; Laura Tisdall, 'Education, parenting and concepts of childhood in England, c. 1945 to c.1979', *Contemporary British History*, 31/1 (2017), pp. 24-46, esp. 27.

[67] Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada, 1920 to 1950* (Waterloo, 2006).

[68] Simon Sleight, *Young People and the Shaping of Public Space in Melbourne, 1870-1914* (Farnham, Surrey, 2013), p. 43.

[69] Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters: Child Welfare in Twentieth-Century New Zealand* (Auckland, 1998); Sarah-Anne Buckley, *The Cruelty Man: Child Welfare, the NSPCC and the State in Ireland, 1889-1956* (Manchester, 2013).

combatants.[70] Although attention has traditionally been paid to boys who flouted this age stricture, such measures had implications for those who remained at home as well.

Some historians have investigated children and the First World War more broadly. Interest in individual experiences and the conflict's socio-cultural dimensions flourished in earnest from the 1990s, prompting scholars to turn 'the spotlight … on survivors, writers, artists, victims, the wounded, crippled, mutilated veterans, as well as their families, their widows, their orphans.'[71] Schools and juvenile literature reached out to children directly, encouraging them to participate in war effort activities and accept supportive discourses.[72] Recent contributions have expanded these analyses, examining how young people thought and felt about the conflict in addition to the rhetoric aimed at them.[73] Andrew Donson's investigation of the German 'war youth generation' – capturing those born between 1900 and 1908 – is especially noteworthy.[74] It traced the conflict's impact upon educational

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[70] Cook, '"He was determined to go": Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force', *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 41/81 (2008), pp. 41-74; Manon Pignot, 'Entrer en guerre, sortir de l'enfance? "Les ado-combattants" de la Grande Guerre', in Manon Pignot (ed), *L'enfant-soldat. XIXe-XXIe siècle: une approache critique* (Paris, 2012), pp. 69-89; Richard van Emden, *Boy Soldiers of the Great War*, 2nd edn (London, 2012).

[71] Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 6-33, 205.

[72] Relevant European, British, Australian, and Canadian works include: Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, 'Children and the primary schools of France, 1914-1918', in John Horne (ed), *State, society and mobilization in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 39-52; Andrea Fava, 'War, 'national education' and the Italian primary school, 1915-1918', in Horne (ed), *State, society and mobilization*, pp. 53-69; Michael Paris, *Over the Top: The Great War and Juvenile Literature in Britain* (Westport, Connecticut, 2004); Stefan Goebel, 'Schools', in Winter and Robert (eds), *A Cultural History* pp. 188-234; Sonja Müller, 'Toys, Games and Juvenile Literature in Germany and Britain During the First World War. A Comparison', in Heather Jones, Jennifer O'Brien and Christoph Schmidt-Supprian (eds), *Untold War: New Perspectives in First World War* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 233-57; Susan R. Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land: English-Canadian Children and the First World War* (Toronto, 2011); Rosalie Triolo, *Our Schools and the War* (Melbourne, 2012).

[73] Manot Pignot, *Allons enfants de la patrie: Génération Grande Guerre* (Paris, 2012); idem, 'French Boys and Girls in the Great War: Gender and the History of Children's Experiences of the First World War', in Christa Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger, and Birgitta Zaar (eds), *Gender and the First World War* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 163-75; Kristine Alexander, 'An Honour and a Burden: Canadian Girls and the Great War', in Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw (eds), *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service: Women and Girls of Canada and Newfoundland during the First World War* (Vancouver, 2012), pp. 173-94.

[74] Donson, *Youth in the Fatherless Land: Pedagogy, Nationalism, and Authority in Germany, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2010), p. 16. See also: idem, 'Subjective Experience and German Youth in the First World War. The Diaries of Jo Mihaly and Ernst Buchner', in Hans-Heino Ewers (ed.), *Erster Weltkrieg: Kindheit, Jugend und Literatur: Deutschland, Österreich, Osteuropa, England, Belgien und Frankreich* (Frankfurt, 2016), pp. 99-111.

structures, family life, youth labour and leisure activities, as well as the politicising implications of such. Donson explicitly recognised his subjects as historical actors, aptly arguing that 'the war in many ways *widened* youth's agency.'[75] Rosie Kennedy pursued similar topics and themes in her work on Britain, concluding that children there not only absorbed mobilisation messages but also 'appropriated them for use in their own private relationships, fantasy and play'.[76] These studies clearly demonstrate the import of age in shaping wartime encounters within several different societies.

Overview summaries highlight transnational commonalities as well as 'heterogenous characteristics'.[77] But multi-site comparative studies are needed to test extant hypotheses, especially ones that contextualise and scrutinise wartime phenomena across two or more countries. As it stands, such works are few and far between.[78] The overwhelming majority of literature on First World War childhood focusses on single regions. Even an edited collection published in 2016 purporting to be 'first transnational account of childhood in the context of the first global conflict' relied on national approaches to provide chapter content.[79] Pignot has suggested two reasons for this trend. First, collecting sources that cast light on children's experiences is far from straightforward, these being sparse and widely scattered. Secondly, international researchers are hampered by 'the necessity of in-depth knowledge of cultural, educational and familial systems.'[80] Both points are valid but it is likely there are further factors at play. Despite their clear merit, comparative and transnational

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[75] Donson, *Youth*, p. 14.
[76] Kennedy, *The Children's War: Britain, 1914-1918* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 7.
[77] Andrew Donson, 'Children and Youth', *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, doi:10.15463/ie1418.10265 (10 Sept. 2015); Manon Pignot, 'Children', in Winter (ed), *Civil Society* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 29-45, 45.
[78] Sparse examples include: Goebel, 'Schools', pp. 188-234; Catherine Rollet, 'The home and family life', in Winter and Robert (eds), *A Cultural History*, pp. 315-53; Thomas Ekman Jørgensen, 'The purest flame of the revolution: working class youth and left wing radicalism in Germany and Italy during the Great War', *Labor History*, 50/1 (2009), pp. 19-39. Pignot also draws on British as well as French sources in *Allons enfants.*
[79] Lissa Paul, Rosemary Ross Johnston and Emma Short, 'Introduction: Children's Literature and Culture of the First World War', in Lissa Paul, Rosemary Ross Johnston and Emma Short (eds), *Children's Literature and Culture of the First World War* (New York, 2016), p. 6.
[80] Pignot, 'Bibliographic Essays', p. 645.

methodologies are not yet fully appreciated by scholars of childhood.[81] Furthermore, comparative work on specific areas is problematised by a lack of contextual information regarding historic experiences within those spaces more generally.

The history of childhood and youth in Ireland may currently be 'developing rapidly', to quote one recent appraisal, but it is still in a nascent state.[82] Sarah-Anne Buckley and Susannah Riordan have identified how Irish scholarship mirrored international trends. Nevertheless, it was rather late to develop.[83] Although quite a bit has been written on children's literature and adult attempts to cultivate nationalist cultures, youth engagement with both of these phenomena is less well covered.[84] Most work on Irish childhood has concentrated on sources linked to 'education, institutions, the welfare system and the penal system', evading experiences outside of these organisational structures and sometimes even within them.[85] Work on the 1910s period specifically is fragmentary at best. Kate Cowan has cast light on the lives of some Dublin children during the 1913 Lockout, and those caught

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[81] Exceptions to this trend include: David M. Pomfret, *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia* (Stanford, 2015); Olsen (ed), *Childhood, Youth and Emotions*; Simon Sleight and Shirleene Robinson (eds), *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (Basingstoke, 2016); Hugh Morrison and Mary Clare Martin (eds), *Creating Religious Childhoods in Anglo-World and British Colonial Contexts, 1800-1950* (London, 2017); Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver, 2017).

[82] Sarah-Anne Buckley, Marnie Hay and Ríona Nic Congáil, 'Guest Editor's Introduction', *JHCY*, 9/2 (2016), p. 196. Key works include: Luddy and Smith (eds), *Children, childhood and Irish society*; Catherine Cox and Susannah Riordan (eds), *Adolescence in Modern Irish History* (Basingstoke, 2015).

[83] Buckley and Riordan, 'Childhood since 1740', in Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly (eds), *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 328.

[84] Mary Shine Thompson (ed), *Young Irelands: studies in children's literature* (Dublin, 2011); Marnie Hay, 'What Did Advanced Nationalists Tell Irish Children in the Early Twentieth Century?', in Ciara Ní Bhroin and Patricia Kennon (eds), *What do we tell the children? Critical essays on children's literature* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 148-62; Gavin Foster, 'From 'the glorious innocence and intuition of youth' to 'young blackguards' and 'hooligans': the death of Irish revolutionary youth culture', in John Countryman and Kelly Matthews (eds), *The country of the young: Interpretations of youth and childhood in Irish culture* (Dublin, 2013); Janette Condon, 'The Patriotic Children's Treat: Irish Nationalism and Children's Culture at the Twilight of Empire', *Irish Studies Review*, 8/2 (2000), pp. 167-78; Ríona Nic Congáil, '"Fiction, Amusement, Instruction": The Irish Fireside Club and the Educational Ideology of the Gaelic League', *Éire-Ireland*, 44/1-2 (2009), pp. 91-117; idem, 'Young Ireland and *The Nation*: Nationalist Children's Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Éire-Ireland*, 46/3-4 (2011), pp. 37-62; Gail Baylis, 'Boy Culture and Ireland 1916', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 13/3 (2015), pp. 192-208.

[85] Buckley and Riordan, 'Childhood', p. 328. Key examples include: Virginia Crossman, 'Cribbed, Contained and Confined? The Care of Children under the Irish Poor Law', *Éire-Ireland*, 44/1-2 (2009), pp. 37-61; Conor Reidy, *Ireland's 'Moral Hospital': The Irish Borstal System, 1906-1956* (Dublin, 2009); Anne Mac Lellan and Alice Mauger (eds), *Growing Pains: Childhood Illness in Ireland 1750-1950* (Dublin, 2013); Buckley, *Cruelty Man*.

up in or associated with the 1916 Rising have also garnered limited inquiry.[86] Explorations of advanced nationalist activity in these years have made reference to the import of wartime contexts, but insights regarding youth responses to the conflict itself remain sparse.[87]

Ireland's Great War experience had been displaced in public memory and scholarly works due to a preference for more nationalist twentieth-century narratives until relatively recently. But the conflict can no longer be considered 'forgotten'.[88] Soldiers and civilians alike have been studied in a plethora of monographs, edited collections, articles, and theses.[89] Yet, despite this burst of literature, a comprehensive history has not been achieved. Scholars have largely focused on military matters and commemoration for the past twenty years, at the expense of 'systematic, statistical analysis of the social and economic impact of the war in Ireland'.[90] Little has been done thus far on pivotal moments that affected all citizens, such as the 1918 conscription crisis. This thesis not only addresses a critical historiographical gap – how youth perceived and reacted to hostilities – but also enriches understandings of the broader factors and incidents that shaped life on the Irish home front.

New Zealand academics have similarly turned towards the First World War in the past decade. While this event has been seen as 'the most traumatic' in national history, the

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[86] Cowan, '"The children have such freedom, I might say, such possession of the streets": the children of Dublin 1913', in Francis Devine (ed), *A capital in conflict: Dublin city and the 1913 Lockout* (Dublin, 2013), pp. 129-44; Joe Duffy, *Children of the Rising: The untold story of the young lives lost during Easter 1916* (Dublin, 2015); Caoimhe Nic Dháibhéid, 'Schooling the National Orphans: The Education of the Children of the Easter Rising Leaders', *JHCY*, 9/2 (2016), pp. 261-76.

[87] Marnie Hay, 'Scouting for Rebels: *Na Fianna Éireann* and Preparation for the Coming War, 1909-1918' in Paul, Johnston and Short (eds), *Children's Literature*, pp. 268-82.

[88] Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1-2; idem, 'Commemoration and the hazards of Irish politics', in Bart Ziino (ed), *Remembering the First World War* (Abingdon, 2015), pp. 165-85; Ian F. W. Beckett, 'Review Article: War, identity and memory in Ireland', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 36/1 (2009), pp. 63-84, esp. 81ff.

[89] Key works include: David Fitzpatrick (ed), *Ireland and the First World War* (Dublin, 1986); Jeffery, *Ireland*; Adrian Gregory and Senia Pašeta (eds), *Ireland and the Great War: 'A War to Unite Us All?'* (Manchester, 2002); Nuala Johnson, *Ireland, the Great War, and the Geography of Remembrance* (Cambridge, 2003); Horne (ed), *Our War*; John Horne and Edward Madigan (eds), *Towards Commemoration: Ireland in War and Revolution, 1912-1923* (Dublin, 2013); Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front 1914-18 with Particular Reference to the Treatment of Belgian Refugees, Prisoners-of-War, Enemy Aliens and War Casualties' (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2006).

[90] Timothy Bowman, 'Ireland and the First World War', in Jackson (ed), *Oxford Handbook*, pp. 603-60, 606; David Fitzpatrick, 'Irish consequences of the Great War', *Irish Historical Studies*, 39/156 (2015), p. 644ff.

home front was quite rightly deemed 'a black hole of New Zealand historiography'.[91] A succession of books has helped redress this situation.[92] The import of religion, gender, race, minority status, and economic positioning have furthermore been bought to the fore.[93] Here too, however, lacuna exist. Information on civilian attitudes in 1917 and 1918 is rather scarce as most analyses tend to emphasise reactions to earlier developments, including New Zealand's entry into hostilities and the emotional fallout from Gallipoli. Age has also yet to be recognised as a significant differentiating variable. Published work on children and youth specifically is extremely limited, essentially comprising two key articles and book chapters to date.[94]

These brief – albeit valuable – forays into young civilian experiences reflect the state of children's history in New Zealand. Jeanine Graham's investigations of those under 15 years of age stressed the importance of 'cultural and personal values, socio-economic circumstance, exposure to education, authority and indoctrination, and societal expectations' in delineating children's worlds.[95] A significant amount of research has been conducted on shifting notions of childhood and associated policy interventions.[96] This work stands

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[91] Crawford and McGibbon, 'Introduction', pp. 16, 25; Philippa Mein Smith, 'The 'NZ' in Anzac: different remembrance and meaning', *First World War Studies*, 7/2 (2016), pp. 193-211. One notable exception to this 2007 claim is: Baker, *King and Country*.

[92] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*; Hunter and Ross, *Holding on*.

[93] Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*; Damien Fenton with Caroline Lord, Gavin McLean and Tim Shoebridge, *New Zealand and the First World War, 1914-1919* (Auckland, 2013); David Monger, Sarah Murray and Katie Pickles (eds), *Endurance and the First World War: Experiences and Legacies in New Zealand and Australia* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014); Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*.

[94] Jeanine Graham, 'Young New Zealanders and the Great War: exploring the impact and legacy of the First World War, 1914-2014', *Paedagogica Historica*, 44/4 (2008), pp. 429-44; Charlotte Bennett, '"Now the war is over, we have something else to worry us": New Zealand Children's Responses to Crises, 1914-1918', *JHCY*, 7/1 (2014), pp. 19-41; idem, '"What with the War [and] the Epidemic, Times are Altogether Troublesome": Agency and Endurance in Adolescent Writings', in Monger, Murray and Pickles (eds), *Endurance*, pp. 86-102; Jeanine Graham, 'Enduring Mystery: New Zealand Children and the Great War', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, pp. 297-309. Relevant unpublished texts include: Deborah Challinor, 'Children and War: A Study of the Impact of the First World War on New Zealand Children' (MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1993); Charlotte Bennett, '"Now the war is over, we have something else to worry us": New Zealand Children's Responses to Crises, 1914-1918' (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2012).

[95] Graham, 'Enduring Mystery', p. 299.

[96] Jeanine Graham, 'Editorial Introduction', *NZJH*, 40/1 (2006), pp. 1-6; Mary McDougall Gordon, 'Australia and New Zealand', in Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner (eds), *Children in Historical and Comparative Perspective: An International Handbook and Research Guide* (Westport, Connecticut, 1991),

alongside other analyses that have sought to find 'the youth of the past' through means such as oral histories.[97] A range of sources have furthermore been used to cast light on regionalised experiences, with child-focussed religious studies having a particularly strong presence in current historiography.[98] Children's active engagement with print culture has also attracted some attention.[99] As in Ireland, however, there is still much yet to be known. Full-length publications focussing on children's experiences and agency are extremely rare.[100] Historians have started to unveil a distinct set of adolescent practices and concerns, but the first sustained examination of this topic covering the early twentieth century was only published in 2017.[101] This thesis builds upon extant studies to produce more nuanced understandings of the range of age-contingent experiences that occurred during the First World War. In-depth explorations of the New Zealand context – in addition to being important in their own right – have wider implications. Children from this period had multiple overseas connections, and investigating their priorities and affiliations can

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pp. 97-146. Key works include: Margaret Tennant, *Children's Health, The Nation's Wealth: A History of Children's Health Camps* (Wellington, 1994); Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters: Child Welfare in Twentieth-Century New Zealand* (Auckland, 1998); Linda Bryder, *A Voice for Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare, 1907-2000* (Auckland, 2003).

[97] Jeanine Graham, 'Towards a history of New Zealand Childhoods', *Historical Review: Bay of Plenty Journal of History* 48 (2000), pp. 89-102, 91.

[98] Sally Maclean, 'Nga Tamariki o te rohe o Waikato: Maori Children's Lives in the Waikato Region, 1850-1900 (MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1990); Rosemary Goodyear, 'Black Boots and Pinafores: Childhood in Otago 1900-1920' (MA thesis, University of Otago, 1992); Geoffrey Troughton, 'Religion, Churches and Childhood in New Zealand, c.1900–1940', *NZJH,* 40/1 (2006), pp. 39-56; Hugh Morrison, '"Little vessels" or "little soldiers": New Zealand Protestant children, foreign missions, religious pedagogy and empire, *c*.1880s-1930s', *Paedagogica Historica,* 47/3 (2011), pp. 303-21; idem, 'Situating Pākehā children and protestant Christianity in New Zealand's religious history', *Stimulus: The New Zealand Journal of Christian Thought and Practice,* 23/1 (2016), pp. 27-36; Grace Bateman, 'Signs and graces: children's experiences of confirmation in New Zealand, 1920s-1950s', in Morrison and Martin (eds), *Creating Religious Childhoods*, pp. 201-21.

[99] Shirley Williams, 'Children's Voices: insights into the history of New Zealand childhood through an examination of children's pages in New Zealand newspapers and magazines in the 1930s' (MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1998); Molly Holt, 'Children's Writing in New Zealand Newspapers, 1930s and 1980s' (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2000); Anna Gilderdale, 'Social Print: Shaping Community and Identity through Youth Correspondence Pages, New Zealand, 1886-1920' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2016).

[100] David Veart, *Hello Girls and Boys! A New Zealand Toy Story* (Auckland, 2014). For a valuable article collection, see: *NZJH*, 40/1 (2006).

[101] Chris Brickell, *Teenagers: The Rise of Youth Culture in New Zealand* (Auckland, 2017).

simultaneously address international questions. Childhood in the Irish diaspora more generally, after all, has been identified as a severely under-researched area to date.[102]

Elite Schools in Secondary Education

Post-primary education was not the norm in First World War Ireland and New Zealand. While primary schooling was both free and compulsory, secondary education was not.[103] By 1911, only six percent of the Irish school-going population attended secondary or 'superior' schools, most of whom dropped out before completion. These students tended to be between thirteen and nineteen years of age and, in 1916, 4,332 girls and 6,644 boys gave notice of their intention to sit for Intermediate Education Board exams.[104] Access to higher learning opportunities was thus restricted by the ability to pay tuition fees and whether or not families could afford their children remaining outside the paid workforce.

Secondary education in New Zealand was similarly reserved for the middle and upper classes. The period between 1890 and 1903 had been characterised by 'genuine demand' for post-primary education, culminating in the introduction of a free place scheme in 1902.[105] Endowed secondary schools – those established with public funds or land grants – were directed to offer free places in proportion to net endowment income and admit all

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[102] Buckley, Hay and Nic Congáil, 'Guest Editor's Introduction', p. 197.

[103] The Irish Education Act 1892 abolished fees in national schools and required children between the ages of six and fourteen to attend school at least 75 days a year. The 1877 Education Act in New Zealand made primary education free for all children between five and fifteen years, with attendance compulsory for those between seven and thirteen years for at least half the time schools were open. By the First World War, children could leave school either upon reaching the standard of exception or the legal leaving age, which were standard 6 and fourteen years respectively. See Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1970), p. 344; Roger Openshaw, Greg Lee, and Howard Lee, *Challenging the Myths: Rethinking New Zealand's Educational History* (Palmerston North, 1993), p. 86; Colin McGeorge, 'Childhood's Sole Serious Business: The Long Haul to Full School Attendance', *NZJH*, 40/1 (2006), p. 30.

[104] John Coolahan, *Irish Education: History and Structure* (Dublin, 1981), p. 55; *Parliamentary Papers* (1917-18), Cd 8630, Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for the year 1916, p. 3.

[105] Ian McLaren, 'The Politics of Secondary Education in Victorian New Zealand', in Roger Openshaw and David McKenzie (eds), *Reinterpreting the Educational Past: Essays in the History of New Zealand Education* (Wellington, 1987), pp. 64-81. See also: David McKenzie, Howard Lee, and Greg Lee, *Scholars or Dollars? Selected Historical Case Studies of Opportunity Costs in New Zealand Education* (Palmerston North, 1996), pp. 99-114.

pupils who met Education Department requirements in return for state grants.[106] These regulations were slightly modified before their statutory implementation in the 1903 Secondary Schools Act, allowing boards to develop their own scholarship schemes if preferred.[107] State intervention aside, however, only 37% of primary school leavers went on to secondary education by 1917.[108] These students, like their Irish counterparts, were largely between the ages of thirteen and twenty, however New Zealand pupils were split rather more evenly in terms of gender. The 1916 census recorded a total of 9,122 boys compared to 9,160 girls as attending secondary schools.[109]

A range of post-primary institutions were available in Ireland. Long-standing contentions between the Catholic hierarchy and government officials had resulted in indirect state funding for secondary schools. The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 established a payment-by-results scheme that effectively, albeit not technically, supported denominational schooling through monetary awards based on examination results. Catholic religious orders, most notably the Christian Brothers, were responsible for the vast majority of secondary education.[110] The smaller Protestant sector of the population was well provided for by a series of older endowed institutions – including the Erasmus Trust Schools and the Royal Grammar schools –[111] and more recent establishments founded by private initiatives.

New Zealand secondary schools also varied in terms of their foundation histories and religious affiliations. These institutions can be separated into two categories: those that were state assisted through denationalized public land endowment, and private or church

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[106] 'Secondary and Technical Education – Provision for Scholarships', *NZH* (15 Dec. 1902), p. 5.
[107] Ian Cumming and Alan Cumming, *History of State Education in New Zealand 1840-1975* (Wellington, 1978), p. 150.
[108] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 130-31.
[109] These numbers include all students of all ages in the categories 'Secondary school – Public' and 'Secondary school – Private'. See: 'Section VII – Education' in 'Report on the Results of a Census … 1916'.
[110] Senia Pašeta, *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879-1922* (Cork, 1999), pp. 29-30, 37.
[111] The endowments associated with many of these institutions were redistributed by 1914 under the Educational Endowments' Commission established in 1885. See: T. J. McElligott, *Secondary Education in Ireland 1870-1921* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1981), pp. 56-60.

supported schools.[112] Irish Catholic insistence on full autonomy over the education of their laity extended to the Antipodes, and this resulted in the establishment of a separate school system which received minimal state aid until 1975.[113] Although Roman Catholic schools comprised just 180 of the 321 private primary and secondary schools that existed in 1914, they taught almost 75 percent of privately educated students.[114] Some other Christian denominations maintained independent secondary schools, however the majority of post-primary students attended state-assisted 'public' schools.[115]

There were no clear correlations between particular education providers and the post-primary curricula they taught. Prominent Irish Protestant secondary institutions for girls explicitly set out to mirror the education provided in their male equivalents, which included Latin and mathematics, and this pattern was gradually adopted in Catholic girls' schools from the 1880s.[116] A common 'academic' curriculum also existed more generally across Catholic and Protestant secondary schools due to the payment-by-results system; higher results fees were granted for, and encouraged the prevalence of, traditional 'grammar school' subjects such as English and Classics until 1902.[117] Similarities likewise permeated New Zealand secondary curricula. District high schools proved remarkably resilient to governmental encouragement that they adopt a more 'practical' agricultural syllabus, and thus their curriculum remained indistinguishable from that taught in urban secondary schools.[118] Increased differentiation, however, did occur between boys' and girls' colleges

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[112] Gregory Lee and Howard Lee, 'Schooling in New Zealand', in Craig Campbell and Geoffrey Sherington (eds), *Going to School in Oceania* (Westport, Connecticut, 2007), p. 140. [133-91]
[113] Akenson, *Half the World*, pp. 159-90.
[114] 'Section VII – Education' in 'Report on the Results of a Census … 1916'.
[115] In 1916, 14,969 students were recorded as attending public secondary schools, whilst 3,313 attended private secondary schools. See: ibid.
[116] Deirdre Raftery, 'The Academic Formation of the Fin De Siecle Female: Schooling for Girls in Late Nineteenth Century Ireland', *Irish Educational Studies*, 20/1 (2001), pp. 321-34; Judith Harford, 'The Admission of Women to the National University of Ireland', *Education Research and Perspectives*, 35/2 (2008), pp. 44-56; Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh, 'A Quiet Revolution: Women and Second-Level Education in Ireland, 1878-1930', *New Hibernia Review*, 13/2 (2009), pp. 36-51.
[117] Coolahan, *Irish Education*, pp. 66-7.
[118] Lee, 'New Zealand District'.

during the war.[119] Generally speaking, secondary school curricula reflected the socio-political aspirations of Irish and New Zealand middle-class families.

Socio-cultural perceptions regarding the relative standing of schools cut across various divisions within the secondary system. C. S. Andrews, born in Dublin in 1901, observed significant links between the secondary institutions attended by Irish Catholic children in the early twentieth century and their class status; the children from what were sometimes disparagingly referred to as 'Castle Catholic' families were educated at the best Jesuit schools such as Clongowes Wood College or at Mount Anville Convent, run by the Sacred Heart nuns, if they had not otherwise been sent overseas. The Jesuit Belvedere College, the Holy Ghost St Mary's school, and the Marist Catholic University School were attended by boys from the Catholic 'middle middle class', while their sisters were sent to the Sacred Heart and Loreto Convents in Dublin. Lower-middle class families comprised Andrews' third socio-economic tier; their children were largely taught by the Christian Brothers or the Dominican nuns.[120]

Irish Protestant schools were subjected to similar differentiation. Longevity and institutional histories aside, many endowed schools were not considered to have particularly high status. Up to three times as many Protestants as Catholics went overseas to be educated during the nineteenth century, and this pattern resulted in the relative underdevelopment of elite Protestant schooling; St Columba's College in Dublin has consequently been identified as the only 'recognisably elite' Protestant institution for boys.[121] Nonetheless, a number of well-regarded schools which catered for the 'prosperous classes' did exist. These included: Campbell College; the Belfast Royal Academical Institution; the High School in Dublin

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[119] Sandra Coney, 'Educating Girls for Their 'Real Life's Work', in Sandra Coney (ed), *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote* (Auckland, 1993), p. 203.
[120] C. S. Andrews, *Dublin Made Me* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 4-7.
[121] Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 12-13.

established under the Erasmus Smith Trust; the Portora and Armagh Royal schools; and the Cork Grammar School.[122] The most notable girls' schools were Alexandra College and Victoria College.[123]

Particular secondary schools in New Zealand were likewise viewed as more prestigious than others. The Anglican Christ's College and Wanganui Collegiate held the highest status amongst boys' schools, although older state secondary schools such as Auckland Grammar School were also considered 'elite' by 1914.[124] The most prominent Catholic boys' school was St. Patrick's College in Wellington, run by the Marist Fathers.[125] Similarly recognised girls' schools operated during the war period, including Nelson College for Girls and the Anglican Diocesan High School in Auckland.[126] The Society of the Sacred Heart and the Dominican Sisters were responsible for the education of Catholic middle and upper class girls.[127] Te Aute and St Stephens Native School, and Hukarere Girls' School and Queen Victoria School, were seen as the leading boys' and girls' Māori secondary schools.[128]

Such hierarchical definitions can be used to categorise particular secondary institutions and their students into identifiable, and thus comparable, cohorts. Whilst post-

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[122] *Parliamentary Papers* (1905), Cd. 2546, Report of Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, Board of Education, on Intermediate Education in Ireland, p. 4.
[123] Judith Harford, 'The Admission of Women to the National University of Ireland', *Education Research and Perspectives*, 35/2 (2008), p. 47; Gerard Fealy and Judith Harford, ''Nervous Energy and Administrative Ability': The Early Lady Principals and Lady Superintendents in Ireland', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 39/3 (2007), p. 275.
[124] Greg Ryan, 'Cricket and the Moral Curriculum of the New Zealand Elite Secondary Schools c1860-c1920', *Sports Historian*, 19/2 (1999), pp. 61-79; J. H. Murdoch, *The High Schools of New Zealand: A Critical Survey* (Wellington, 1943), p. 47.
[125] Michael King, *God's Farthest Outpost: A History of Catholics in New Zealand* (Auckland, 1997), pp. 101-3.
[126] Ruth Fry, 'Girls' Secondary Education', in Sandra Coney (ed), *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote* (Auckland, 1993), pp. 200-1; Horace William Sayers, 'Education, Special Aspects – Private Schools', in A. H. McLintock (ed), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1966), http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/education-special-aspects-private-schools (6 June 2014).
[127] Jenny Collins, 'Schooling for Faith, Citizenship and Social Mobility: Catholic Secondary Education in New Zealand, 1924-1944', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 37/2 (2005), pp. 157-72.
[128] Kay Morris Matthews and Kuni Jenkins, 'Whose Country Is It Anyway? The Construction of a New Identity through Schooling for Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *History of Education*, 28/3 (1999), pp. 339-50.

primary schooling was the preserve of wealthier Irish and New Zealand families more generally, further differentiation existed within these educational systems. High-status establishments that catered particularly to the 'upper-middle' and genteel classes can be considered as constituting 'elite' schools in both contexts. Indeed, headmasters at these schools often identified them as being a category apart. Whilst Campbell College was the only Irish school to be represented on the 1914 Headmasters' Conference (HMC) list, many others, including Clongowes, considered themselves 'public schools'.[129] Similar claims were made in the Antipodes; Headmaster Charles Major at Kings' College, for example, sought parity with 'public schools such as Winchester, Clifton, … [and] Harrow', while St. Patricks' College in Wellington explicitly sought to offer local Catholics 'the advantages of the great Public Schools of Europe'.[130]

The concept of 'public schooling' originated in Britain and has been the subject of a great deal of research since the 1940s.[131] This categorisation first emerged in the early nineteenth century, often being applied to prestigious establishments that catered to the upper classes despite the charitable terms of their original endowments.[132] Public schools – both those recognised by the 1868 Public Schools Act and self-identified as such through measures like the HMC –[133] shared a number of common features by 1900 which even

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[129] Anthony Seldon and David Walsh, *Public Schools and the Great War: The Generation Lost* (Barnsley, 2013), p. 67; *Clongownian*, VII/1 (June 1914), p. 14.
[130] 'King's College Re-Union', *New Zealand Herald* (30 June 1913), p. 5; Michael Fitzsimons, *Sectare Fidem: Celebrating 125 years – St. Patrick's College, Wellington, New Zealand's oldest Catholic boys' college 1885-2010* (Wellington 2010), p. 11.
[131] Edward C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780-1860: An Examination of the Relationship between Contemporary Ideas and the Evolution of an English Institution* (London, 1938); idem, *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860: The Relationship between Contemporary Ideas and the Evolution of an English Institution* (London, 1941). For an overview of historiographical trends, see: Gary McCulloch, 'The history of secondary education in *History of Education*', 41/1 (2012), pp. 25-39.
[132] T. W. Bamford, *Rise of the Public Schools: A Study of Boys' Public Boarding Schools in England and Wales from 1837 to the Present Day* (London, 1967), pp. ix-xi, 6-7, 164-8.
[133] The 1868 Act arose out of the Clarendon Commission, which investigated Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Charterhouse, St Paul's, and Merchant Taylors'. The last two were excluded from the Act. See: Colin Shrosbree, *Public schools and private education: The Clarendon Commission, 1861-64, and the Public Schools Act* (Manchester, 1988). For information about other endowed grammar schools and the subsequent Taunton Commission, see: David Allsobrook, *Schools for the shires: The reform of middle-class education in mid-Victorian England* (Manchester, 1967), esp. chs. 8-10; Bamford, *Rise of the*

extended to architectural forms.[134] Centred on a classical curriculum, these fee-paying institutions had a 'self-declared responsibility for producing national leaders.'[135] Appropriate character training was deemed critical, with historians of masculinity emphasising the import placed on 'manliness' and related ideologies such as imperialism and athleticism.[136] According to David Newsome and Norman Vance, notions of manliness 'passed from moral earnestness into vigorous 'muscular Christianity', games mania, [and] Grecian aestheticism' before culminating in a 'recruiting campaign' from the turn of the century.[137] This pedagogical trajectory was substantiated through a series of structural reforms, resulting in the emergence of an identifiable public school 'system', to use J. R. de S. Honey's terminology.[138] Core elements included compulsory team sports, prefect and house organisational structures, and cadet corps. Many offered boarding options for an additional fee, with sub-cultures perpetuated through unique college uniforms, colours, mottos, and magazines.[139]

This model had international implications. J. A. Mangan's work on the 'imperial diffusion' of public school ethos and teaching practices proved instrumental to educational historiography, constituting 'a significant contribution to the understanding of this

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Public Schools, pp. 182-3. For the HMC, see: Alicia C. Percival, *The Origins of the Headmasters' Conference* (London, 1969).

[134] William Whyte, 'Building a public school community 1860-1910', *History of Education*, 32/6 (2003), pp. 601-26.

[135] Rupert Wilkinson, *The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition: A Comparative Study in the making of Rulers* (London, 1964), pp. vii, 64-79.

[136] Key works include: John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, 1999) esp. ch. 5; J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: The emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology* (Cambridge, 1981); idem, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (London, 1998), pp. 58-70.

[137] Norman Vance, 'The Ideal of Manliness', in Brian Simon and Ian Bradley (eds), *The Victorian Public School* (Dublin, 1975), pp. 115-28, 128; David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London, 1961). See also: Geoffery Best, 'Militarism and the Victorian Public School', in Simon and Bradley (eds), *Victorian*, pp. 129-46; J. A. Mangan, 'Duty unto Death: English Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of the New Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed), *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport* (London, 1996), pp. 10-38.

[138] J. R. de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe: The development of the Public School* (London, 1977), p. 104ff.

[139] Mangan, *Athleticism*, ch. 7. See also: Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, *The Public School Phenomenon, 597-1977* (London, 1977), chs. 5-6.

quintessentially English version of cultural imperialism.'[140] Elite British institutions not only sent alumni into the Empire to act as leaders, administrators, and servicemen, but were themselves also replicated in various colonial settings.[141] Researchers have highlighted how certain behavioural expectations and codes of conduct were transplanted in elite Australian, Canadian, and southern African schools.[142] In addition to shaping educational practices, athleticism and militarism furthermore influenced masculine ideals construed at a national level.[143] As Martin Crotty has recognised, such developments ultimately had devastating consequences in the First World War.[144] Anthony Seldon and David Walsh have recently sketched out the imperial nature of the public-school system during this period in *Public Schools and the Great War* although detailed discussion of Dominion experiences was limited to a single chapter.[145]

Historians have also considered some of the interconnections between British public schooling and Irish secondary education. Nineteenth-century elite Irish colleges were not deemed to be the same calibre as those in England, resulting in children from wealthy families being sent overseas for their studies.[146] Nevertheless, these education systems were

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[140] J. A. Mangan, 'Eton in India: The Imperial Diffusion of a Victorian Educational Elite', *History of Education*, 7/2 (1978), pp. 105-18; Gary McCulloch, 'Empires and Education: The British Empire', in Robert Cowen and Andreas M. Kazamias (eds), *International Handbook of Comparative Education* (Dordrecht and London, 2009), p. 170.
[141] Mangan, *Games Ethic*; idem (ed), *Benefits Bestowed? Education and British Imperialism* (Manchester, 1988).
[142] Geoffrey Sherington and Mark Connellan, 'Socialisation, imperialism and war: ideology and ethnicity in Australian corporate schools 1880-1918', in Mangan (ed), *Benefits Bestowed?*, pp. 132-49; David W. Brown, 'Social Darwinism, Private Schooling and Sport in Victorian and Edwardian Canada', in J. A. Mangan (ed), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914* (London, 1988), pp. 215-30; John Lambert, ''Munition Factories … Turning Out a Constant Supply of Living Material': White South African Elite Boys' Schools and the First World War', *South African Historical Journal*, 51 (2004), pp. 67-86.
[143] Martin Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle-Class Masculinity 1870-1920* (Melbourne, 2001), chs. 2 and 3; Robert Morrell, *From Boys to Gentlemen: Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal, 1880-1920* (Pretoria, 2001), ch. 3; Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Oxford, 2001).
[144] Martin Crotty, 'Naive Militarism: Australia's World War I Generation', in Martin Crotty and David Andrew Roberts (eds), *Great Mistakes of Australian History* (Sydney, 2006), pp. 108-22.
[145] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, ch. 3.
[146] Kieran Flanagan, 'The shaping of Irish Anglican secondary schools, 1854-1878', *History of Education*, 13/1 (1984), pp. 27-43; O'Neill, *Catholics*.

far from separate, with Ciaran O'Neill and others having observed how prestigious Irish institutions 'imitated the trends and mores of English public schools'.[147] Recent investigations of the place of Empire in Irish education, for example, have signalled the extent to which imperial pursuits were encouraged by teaching religious (teaching staff who were also members of religious orders) and Protestant masters alike.[148] These commonalities, however, did not arise from straightforward mimicry nor a desire to conform to overseas standards. Cork Grammar School apparently drew ever-closer to the public-school model for its own reasons which included wider threats to Irish Protestant economic privileges and standing more generally.[149] Work on elite Catholic education also stresses the import of local agendas and concerns, most notably the desire to consolidate a growing Catholic middle class and the production of leaders who would ultimately govern a Home Rule Ireland.[150]

Despite elite education's relevance to multiple fields of inquiry – including class, gender, and socio-political identities – hardly any in-depth studies exist. This is especially the case for the early twentieth century, with O'Neill's definitive book drawing to a close in 1900. Most works covering this time period tend to take the form of institutional histories that 'cloud the central issues' by primarily focussing on school successes.[151] Notable exceptions do exist, such as Elaine Sisson's cultural history of St Enda's school, but even these can only cast limited light on the nature of elite schooling more generally.[152] Matters

[147] O'Neill, *Catholics*, p. 205; Colm Hickey, 'The Evolution of Athleticism in Elite Irish Schools 1878-1914. Beyond the Finn/Cronin Debate', *TIJHS*, 30/12 (2013), pp. 1394-417.
[148] Timothy G. McMahon, 'Irish Jesuit education and imperial ideals', in David Dickson, Justyna Pyz and Christopher Shepard (eds), *Irish Classrooms and British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education* (Dublin, 2012), pp. 111-23; Justyna Pyz, 'St Columba's College: an Irish school in the age of empire', in Dickson, Pyz and Shepard (eds), *Irish Classrooms*, pp. 124-33; Keith Haines, 'Days so good in themselves: Campbell College and the lure of empire', in Dickson, Pyz and Shepard (eds), *Irish Classrooms*, pp. 134-48.
[149] Ian d'Alton, 'Educating for Ireland? The Urban Protestant Elite and the Early Years of Cork Grammar School, 1880-1914', *Éire-Ireland*, 46/3 (2011), pp. 201-26.
[150] Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, ch. 2.
[151] O'Neill, *Catholics*, p. 24.
[152] Elaine Sisson, *Pearse's Patriots: St Enda's and the Cult of Boyhood* (Cork, 2004).

are not helped by the fact that Ireland's history of secondary education itself is underdeveloped.[153] Survey texts such as those penned by John Coolahan and T. J. McElligott outline broader structural developments, but social histories capturing staff and student experiences overwhelmingly focus on the years after independence was achieved.[154]

The story of elite education has also been partially explored in the New Zealand context, overview works having sketched out the foundations and transnational underpinnings of secondary schools established in the nineteenth century.[155] More recently, Gary McCulloch's 1988 investigation of Auckland Grammar School nuanced Mangan's 'imperial diffusion' theory, arguing that these educational ideals were 'mediated and adapted by their colonial interpreters.' While profiting from its perceived association with the English public schooling system, this institution sought to produce a middle-class professional elite relevant to the New Zealand context as opposed to traditional political leaders.[156] Sports historian Greg Ryan recognised deviations from the public school model in his work on New Zealand cricketing culture, including the fact that many local colleges were state-supported and nominally secular. Nevertheless, Ryan still found that the English 'athletic ideal was successfully replicated' in prestigious boys' schools, operating until the 1920s at the very least.[157] Imperial orientations and traditional notions of gentlemanly behaviour continued to hold sway in following decades. Informed by recent work on Antipodean participation in imperial scholarly networks, Daniel F. Millar's 2015 thesis

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[153] Ciaran O'Neill, 'Literacy and Education', in Biagini and Daly (eds), *Cambridge Social History*, p. 254.
[154] For example, see: Tom O'Donoghue and Judith Harford, *Secondary School Education in Ireland: History, Memories and Life Stories, 1922-1967* (Basingstoke, 2015).
[155] A. G. Butchers, *The Education System: A Concise History of the New Zealand Education System* (Auckland, 1932); Murdoch, *High Schools*, ch. 1; Allan Cumming, 'The English Connection: The Foundations of Secondary Education in Auckland, New Zealand', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 15/1 (1983), pp. 35-45.
[156] Gary McCulloch, 'Imperial and colonial designs': The case of Auckland Grammar School', *History of Education*, 17/4 (1988), pp. 257-67, 267.
[157] Greg Ryan, *The Making of New Zealand Cricket, 1832-1914* (London, 2004), pp. 106, 123.

signalled the importance of attending an 'elite' school for New Zealanders who joined the British Colonial Service between 1920 and 1970.[158]

Brief glimpses in school histories aside, little is known about lived experiences during the 1910s.[159] This state of affairs has most probably arisen from perceptions of an egalitarian trend within New Zealand education provision. As late as the 1970s, 'Liberal historical accounts' perpetuated a narrative wherein the state had progressively enlarged access to education in order to achieve equality of opportunity.[160] The introduction of free places, therefore, apparently heralded the end of 'elite' secondary education outside a few private establishments. Revisionist works challenged such interpretations, prompting deeper debates concerning the nature of history writing in the field.[161] Ian McLaren unveiled the multifaceted debates surrounding post-primary school legislation in Victorian New Zealand, with ongoing tensions between key stake holders identified by Roger Openshaw, Greg Lee, and Howard Lee.[162] In-depth studies on Otago Boys' have furthermore questioned the extent to which free places transformed student populations; although numbers certainly increased, the school's 'occupational support base had [already] been slowly widening over the previous forty years'.[163] Nevertheless, claims to elite status still proved to be powerful determinants of institutional behaviour, and Otago Boys' 'continued to expect that its sons

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[158] Daniel F. Millar, 'Empire Men: New Zealanders in the British Colonial Service, c. 1920-1970' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2015), ch. 2; Tamson Pietsch, *Empire of scholars: Universities, networks and the British academic world, 1850-1939* (Manchester, 2013).

[159] Examples include: Rory Sweetman, *'Above the City': A History of Otago Boys' High School 1863-2013* (Dunedin, 2013), pp. 190-7; Don Hamilton, *College! A History of Christ's College* (Christchurch, 1996), pp. 274-89.

[160] Alison Jones, James Marshall, Kay Morris Matthews, Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Myths and Realities: Schooling in New Zealand*, 2nd edn (Palmerston North, 1995), p. 33.

[161] J. D. S. McKenzie, 'Ideology and history of education in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 19/1 (1984), pp. 2-9; Roy Shuker, *The One Best System? A Revisionist History of State Schooling in New Zealand* (Palmerston North, 1987); Gary McCulloch, *Education in the Forming of New Zealand Society* (Palmerston North, 1986); N. D. Daglish, Gary McCulloch, Pavla Miller, and Roy Shuker, 'Forum: A "One Best System" in New Zealand?', *History of Education Quarterly*, 29/2 (1989), pp. 261-77; Gary McCulloch, *The Struggle for the History of Education* (London, 2011), pp. 18-24.

[162] McLaren, 'Politics', pp. 64-81; Openshaw, Lee and Lee, *Challenging the Myths*, esp. ch. 8.

[163] Howard Baldwin, ''Educating the Elite?': Otago Boys' High School Fathers and Sons, 1863-1903', in Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (eds), *Class, Gender and the Vote: historical perspectives from New Zealand* (Dunedin, 2005), pp. 117-28, 121.

would be leaders in their community.'[164] This thesis extends these fragmentary contributions to fill in key gaps, recognising elite schools as a discrete sector that operated within New Zealand's post-primary system during the second decade of the twentieth century.

This project examines 25 elite Irish and New Zealand boys' schools that produced school magazines in the First World War period.[165] Catholic and Protestant establishments from both countries are included within this subset, with advanced nationalist schools such as St. Enda's and Māori secondary colleges excluded due to the lack of comparable source material. Specific information regarding these case studies – including name of institution, religious affiliation, geographic location, name of headmaster, and title of school magazine – is included in Appendices One and Two. This focus on boys in particular brings to the fore historic developments in the intersection of age, gender, and class. Before the outbreak of hostilities, students attending elite secondary colleges had rarely been subject to age strictures imposed by the state, such as juvenile delinquency legislation or compulsory school attendance measures. Their socio-economic status had largely shielded them from these broader delineations separating out 'child' and 'adult' responsibilities. The universal imposition of military enlistment ages, however, impacted all in society, but especially adolescent boys who faced the prospect of being called up. This age-contingent determinant of wartime experience did not affect girls to the same extent.

Methodological Approaches and Source Base

Through its focus on boys' secondary schools, this doctoral research illuminates the complex relationship between adolescence and war in two ways. First, it partially recovers the neglected history of how youth interpreted and engaged with the First World War in

[164] Dorothy Page, Howard Lee and Tom Brooking, 'Schooling for a Gendered Future: Gender, Education and Opportunity', in Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law (eds), *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939* (Auckland, 2003), pp. 114-15.
[165] Wesley College was coeducational during this period.

Ireland and New Zealand. Secondly, it elucidates the ways in which the conflict disrupted age-specific interests, norms, and expectations experienced within elite educational settings. These research goals are interconnected, with staff responses providing a useful baseline against which those of their younger counterparts can be juxtaposed. Furthermore, children's thoughts, behaviour, and responses to specific events cannot be understood without reference to both the forces that shaped their lives and the contexts within which they lived. As Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner have aptly argued, 'Childhood without children is by definition impossible, and children have no meaningful existence outside of childhood. Each must be examined with a continual awareness of the other, not as separate, dualistic categories.'[166] A dual methodological approach has been used to capture both dimensions of institutional experience. These comprised a 'bottom-up' analytical focus that recognised children as historical actors, and a 'top-down' structural approach to highlight institutional concerns and priorities.

One oft-quoted difficulty amongst scholars of youth and childhood is the lack of accessible material produced by children themselves, identified by Peter N. Stearns as constituting the 'granddaddy issue' in the field.[167] Historians concerned with lived experiences, as opposed to adult characterisations or interpretations of such, have suggested ways of overcoming 'uneven archival landscape[s]', such as reading against the grain and scrutinising silences in order to identify power dynamics at play.[168] This project draws on these strategies in addition to using multiple evidence types to fully address research aims: formal, semi-formal, and informal. 'Formal' evidence was produced by adults who sought

[166] Hawes and Hiner, 'Hidden', p. 46.
[167] Peter N. Stearns, 'Challenges in the History of Childhood,' *JHCY*, 1/1 (2008), p. 35.
[168] Kristine Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, 4/1 (2012), pp. 132-45, 135; Kjersti Ericsson, 'Children's Agency: The Struggles of the Powerless', in Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain (eds), *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse of Children in 'Care': International Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 42-54. See also: Johanna Sköld and Kaisa Vehkalahti, 'Marginalized children: methodological and ethical issues in the history of education and childhood', *History of Education*, 45/4 (2016), pp. 403-10.

to construct and govern childhood through a series of formalised hierarchical structures, including school establishments. Such material signals external war-related pressures experienced at an institutional level, how educational authorities themselves responded to these disruptions, and the attempts of teachers and principals to socialise older children accordingly. 'Semi-formal' sources, by contrast, were only partially shaped by adult authorities, and include those created by children themselves within formal contexts. 'Informal' material was that least affected by adults at the time under review, and often consists of personal reflections on children's own experiences. All three evidence types are present in a significant amount of material relating to the First World War period that, as yet, has largely been marginalised or underutilised by New Zealand and Irish historians.

School magazines constitute the core contemporary source for this research, comprising both 'semi-formal' and 'formal' evidence. They incorporated pieces written by students and were often edited by older pupils themselves. Although identifying exact authorship can be problematic, student submissions included editorials, commentaries on classroom and extracurricular activities, and fictional stories. Such contributions stood alongside messages from principals and headmasters, letters from old boys and girls, and transcripts of speeches given by educational authorities which had been directed towards pupils in assemblies. Due to their production within highly supervised environments, the content and structure of these magazines was subjected to teacher approval. Some magazines faced tighter editorial controls than others, especially when teachers themselves adopted this role. This was common at Catholic schools. In such cases, adult authorities wrote the opening remarks and set the tone for these journals, and student material deemed inappropriate was more likely to have been omitted from final publication. Like their Australian equivalents from the same period, one of the primary functions of Irish and New Zealand school

magazines was 'to represent youth to themselves, and to a range of audiences within and outside schools'.[169]

These documents contain valuable material which reflects both how adults sought to shape children's experiences and, to some extent, children's experiences themselves. As Jeff Dann rightly recognised in his own work on elite periodicals, 'it would seem highly unlikely that the magazines would portray life in a way that varied too widely from the experiences, interests and beliefs of the majority of the magazines' primary target audience, the past and present pupils of the school and their parents.'[170] Furthermore, while the underlying purpose of these sources may have been to depict and enforce particular childhoods, they often preserved material outside these narratives that was more 'informal' in nature. Examples of this 'embalmed evidence' – akin to that identified in British newspaper coverage of nineteenth-century Māori –[171] arose from contradictions that occurred both within the rhetoric associated with different spheres of childhood, and also between the formal doctrine directed at youth and children's own priorities and concerns. Ideal portrayals of children during the war could refer to competing narratives or dissenting behaviour, whilst children's voices could break through inconsistent editorial controls. Careful analysis of this submerged information, which appears to diverge from wider textual patterns and discursive trends, can cast light upon how elite children actually perceived and responded to the conflict in Ireland and New Zealand.

Children themselves used school magazines to shape their own experiences and perpetuate peer cultures. Recent work on Irish and British university settings has signalled

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[169] Craig Campbell, 'Representations of youth in school magazines 1895 – 1940: An exploration of texts, their discursive boundaries and their contributions to youth history, in *Old Boundaries and New Frontiers in Histories of Education: Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Conference, 7-10 December 1997* (2 vols., Newcastle, Australia, 1998), ii, pp. 378-98, 380.
[170] Dann, 'The Representation of British Sports in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Elite Irish School Publications', *Media History*, 17/2 (2011), p. 138.
[171] James Belich, *The Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict: The Maori, the British, and the New Zealand Wars* (Montreal, 1989), pp. 311-35.

the importance of periodicals in formulating student identities, even if the number of pupils directly involved in the publishing process were relatively few. Notions of masculinity and one's place in the world were both captured and negotiated in these collective documents.[172] Similar processes operated at secondary schools. William Weaver has argued that Victorian schoolboys at Eton and Rugby helped define who they were through their writings, with constructions of ''who we are' and 'who we are not'' likewise developing further afield from 1916 onwards.[173] Students were probably less able to 'subvert textually the dominant discourses around them' in published school magazines than their handwritten counterparts studied elsewhere.[174] Nevertheless, this source type still reflects core student values and behavioural expectations, in addition to signalling shared understandings regarding gender and class.

This project will also draw on other forms of contemporary evidence. Newspapers regularly covered formal institutional events such as prizegivings and several schools retained wartime reports and registers developed by internal educational authorities. Children's own writings also cast further light on wartime experiences. While school essays and diaries were shaped by pedagogical expectations, these fragmented sources nevertheless provide more direct evidence of how older youth encountered and engaged with the conflict on a day-to-day basis.

Autobiographies comprise the predominant form of retrospective material for this research. Constituting first-hand accounts of individuals' life narratives, published and

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[172] Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington, Indiana, 2005), p. 12ff; Laura Kelly, 'Irish medical student culture and the performance of masculinity, *c.*1880-1930', *History of Education*, 46/1 (2017), pp. 39-57.
[173] William N. Weaver, '"A School-Boy's Story": Writing the Victorian Public Schoolboy Subject', *Victorian Studies*, 46/3 (2004), pp. 455-87; Helen Proctor, 'An aristocracy of talent? Describing self and other at an early twentieth-century high school', *History of Education*, 38/2 (2009), pp. 247-61, 253.
[174] Jenny Holt, 'The Textual Formations of Adolescence in Turn-of-the-Century Youth Periodicals: The *Boys' Own Paper* and Eton College Ephemeral Magazines', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 35/1 (2002), pp. 63-88; Catherine Sloan, '"Periodicals of an objectionable character": Peers and Periodicals at Croydon Friends' School, 1826-1875', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 50/4 (2017), pp. 769-86.

unpublished memoirs contain comments on folklore, friendships, and play that extended beyond adult-controlled environments. Memoirs can also illuminate personal motivations and individual perceptions that may have prompted particular adolescent actions. As Mary Jo Maynes pithily noted, at the 'centres [of life stories] are accounts of what people have done during their lives set in the context of their evolving understandings of why they have done so, and with what consequences.'[175] Wartime memoirs cannot be treated as unproblematic 'social data banks.' These documents, as is the case for the autobiographical genre more generally, were shaped by memory loss, authorial intention and motivations, and historically-situated understandings regarding appropriate content and structure.[176] While writers draw on personal memories to craft their autobiographies, these are filtered through perceived life narratives and reinterpreted with the benefit of hindsight. Recollections of childhood experiences, whilst relatively shielded from adult mediation at the time under reflection, are still influenced by adult priorities and understandings – those of the author themselves at the time of writing. Life writings furthermore tend to reflect narrative frameworks and cultural understandings prevalent at the moment of construction. Descriptions of key historical moments or highly politicised contexts are particularly susceptible to collective memories; Alistair Thomson's work on oral histories, for example, found that Australian veterans' recollections of the First World War were significantly marked by revisionary processes resulting from the extraordinary amount of public memory-making surrounding this event.[177]

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[175] Maynes, 'Age as a Category', p. 119.
[176] idem, 'The Contours of Childhood: Demography, Strategy, and Mythology of Childhood in French and German Lower-Class Autobiographies', in John R. Gillis, Louise A. Tilly, and David Levine (eds), *The European Experience of Declining Fertility, 1850-1970: The Quiet Revolution* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992), pp. 101-24, 107. See also: Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L. Pierce, and Barbara Laslett, *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History* (Ithaca, 2008).
[177] Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne, 1994).

Despite their inherent complications, life narratives can still be fruitfully used for historical research. Close attention has been paid to both the internal consistency of these texts and the wider socio-cultural contexts within which they were produced. Authorial intent as articulated in prefaces and introductions has also been taken into consideration. Wherever possible, personal recollections have been corroborated with other sources pertaining to adolescents' lived experiences, such as the official school sources and contemporaneous children's writings listed above, and through comparison with analogous ex-pupil memoirs. This approach draws on that conducted by Michael C. Coleman in his work on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American and Irish elementary education.[178]

Thesis Structure

This thesis examines the war chronologically, embracing the fact that 'the younger generation's relation to the conflict was not immutable between 1914 and 1918'.[179] It is divided into three parts, each of which contain two chapters. This overall structure reflects the project's dual methodological approach. The first, third, and fifth chapters focus on how the conflict intersected and disrupted extant institutional discourses, socio-cultural understandings, and adult expectations directed towards children within elite educational contexts. The second, fourth, and sixth chapters scrutinise student engagement with and responses to these war-related interventions. All six chapters contain roughly equal subsections that examine experiences in Irish and New Zealand elite schools respectively. This separation facilitates a balanced juxtaposition, ensuring that each country receives equal analytical attention and that national particularities are fully addressed.

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[178] Coleman, 'Seeking the Voices of American Indian and Irish Schoolchildren (1820s-1920s): Autobiographical Reminiscence as Historical Source', *Ethnohistory*, 59/1 (2012), pp. 1-25.
[179] Pignot, 'Children', p. 30.

Part One concentrates on the period between 1913 and the end of 1915, ascertaining how pre-war affiliations and priorities inflected staff and student reactions in subsequent years. The extent to which elite educational responses to the conflict's outbreak could be considered extensive or 'enthusiastic' is addressed, with the political, religious, and cultural identities engendering more positive responses identified. Of particular interest is the extent to which institutional and student concerns shifted in light of early wartime circumstances. Both chapters set the scene for the project as a whole, providing greater detail about core educational developments, structures, and hierarchies. Chapter two postulates the existence of a transnational elite 'boys' culture', highlighting prominent aspects of school life such as friendship groups and compulsory sporting activities.

Part Two explores wartime developments tied to death and dissent. It focuses on mid-1915 to 1917, although earlier Irish casualties are considered. Chapter three examines how schools explained mass fatalities to their student cohorts using denomination-specific frameworks and rituals, and how these deaths impacted on understandings of the war itself. The intersection of Gallipoli and the Somme with other key events, particularly the 1916 Easter Rising and introduction of conscription in New Zealand, are explored in detail. Chapter four emphasises the role of geographic and relational proximity in determining adolescent engagement with soldier injuries and fatalities. Extant relationships between youth and dissent, including adolescent ties with politicised minorities and students' own capacity for dissenting behaviour, are also uncovered.

Part Three turns towards the end of hostilities, analysing the late-war intensification of social pressures as well as civilian expectations for the future between 1917 and 1918. It continues to trace themes of dissent, discussing at length the 1918 Irish conscription crisis and increasing support for Sinn Féin. Antipodean parallels are made with regards to the local interplay between politics and sectarianism. Chapter five tests notions of war weariness and

John Horne's concept of cultural 're-mobilization' in Irish and New Zealand schools. Chapter six focuses on the cumulative effects of wartime militarisation and politicisation on youth understandings and behaviour. The natural end point to this thesis is the November Armistice, the celebrations for which were disrupted in both New Zealand and Ireland by the 1918-1919 influenza pandemic.

Part 1: Turning towards War

On 4 August 1914 Irish and New Zealand teachers and secondary students found themselves part of an Empire at war. Within weeks, Ireland and New Zealand bid farewell to military contingents bound for the Continent and German Samoa respectively. Although neither country was under any constitutional obligation to do so, both engaged in fervent recruitment measures. These sacrifices and others, including fundraising efforts and an increased cost of living, were justified through localised 'war cultures', defined as sets of representations which invested the conflict with meaning and motivated belligerents to keep fighting.[1] While recent scholarship has rightly questioned the extent to which the war was met by uniform enthusiasm – with many societies in Europe and the Antipodes instead greeting this event with varied or mixed emotions –[2] popular feeling in Ireland and New Zealand largely favoured national involvement by the end of the year.[3]

Underlying conceptualisations of the Great War, however, were neither homogenous nor cohesive. Advanced Irish nationalists viewed the outbreak of hostilities and local recruitment with horror, while organisations opposing compulsory military training in New Zealand, such as the National Peace Council, kept a low public profile but refused to relinquish their anti-militarist stance.[4] More widely adopted views also varied according to pre-war allegiances, mentalities, and experiences. James Loughlin situated the 36th (Ulster) Division within a wider narrative of Ulster Unionism and British national identity, identifying this formation as a 'political demonstration of a community's commitment to

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[1] Winter and Prost, *Great War*, pp. 163-6.
[2] Hew Strachan, *The First World War, Volume I: To Arms* (Oxford, 2001), ch. 2; Adrian Gregory, 'British 'War Enthusiasm' in 1914: a Reassessment', in Gail Braydon (ed), *Evidence, History and the Great War: Historians and the Impact of 1914-18* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 67-85; Grant Mansfield, ''Unbounded Enthusiasm': Australian Historians and the Outbreak of the Great War', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 53/3 (2007), pp. 360-74.
[3] Baker, *King and Country*; Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*; Gregory and Pašeta (eds), *'Unite Us All'?* (Manchester, 2002); Pennell, *Kingdom United*.
[4] Ben Novick, *Conceiving Revolution: Irish Nationalist Propaganda During the First World War* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 51-64; Megan Hutching, 'The Moloch of War: New Zealand Women Who Opposed the War', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, pp. 85-95.

King and country'.[5] Constitutional nationalists similarly interpreted Ireland's wartime role through 'the conflicting tropes of identity [which existed] on the island', with German atrocities against Belgian clergy and the desire to guarantee the implementation of Home Rule proving powerful motivators.[6] Disparate understandings may have prompted common support, but discursive consolidation was far from achieved. Multifaceted and overlapping meanings likewise characterised the New Zealand context, recently explored by Steven Loveridge. Research by Loveridge, Clare O'Neill, and Catriona Pennell explicitly challenges assertions that citizen opinions and decisions were orchestrated by authority figures, contributing to a sizable body of scholarship that seriously considers public consent and participation in cultural mobilisation processes.[7] As stressed by Jay Winter, the power of top-down propaganda resided in 'its synergistic relationship with opinion from below', and even young civilians in highly regulated contexts have been recognised as holding a 'certain degree of autonomy' during the war years.[8]

The following two chapters explore staff and student engagement with wider ideological frameworks between 1913 and late 1915, highlighting the extent to which initial war reactions reflected regional, institutional, and age-specific interests. Although 'war talk' emphasising the importance of patriotic duty emerged in prestigious English-medium institutions throughout the British Empire, teaching staff did not constitute a monolithic entity.[9] Irish and New Zealand educators held a range of religious and political affiliations

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[5] James Loughlin, *Ulster Unionism and British National Identity since 1885* (London, 1995), p. 82.
[6] Johnson, *Ireland*, pp. 13, 33-4.
[7] O'Neill, 'Irish Home Front'; Pennell, 'Presenting the War in Ireland, 1914-1918', in Troy R. E. Paddock (ed), *World War I and Propaganda* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 42-64. War culture, consent, and coercion has prompted particular debate in French historiography, see: Pierre Purseigle, 'A Very French Debate: The 1914-1918 'War Culture'', *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 1/1 (2008), pp. 9-14; Leonard V. Smith, 'The '*Culture De Guerre*' and French Historiography of the Great War of 1914-1918', *History Compass*, 5/6 (2007), pp. 1967-79.
[8] J. M. Winter, 'Propaganda and the Mobilization of Consent', in Hew Strachan (ed), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford, 1998), p. 217; Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, 'French Children as Target for Propaganda', in Hugh Cecil and Peter H. Liddle (eds), *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced* (London, 1996), p. 776.
[9] This thesis defines 'war talk' as all discussions and writings regarding the conflict. It encompasses, but is not limited to, child-directed war discourses, identified by Manon Pignot as those '[i]ntended to explain and

rooted in particular geographic contexts. Whilst their views on external events tended to parallel understandings vocalised by local government representatives and denominational authorities, this was not always the case. Charged with providing the best secondary education available, they had to grapple with administrative pressures avoided by other sectors of the population. Divergence also characterised youth responses to the outbreak of hostilities. Elite secondary pupils may have shared a particular social status, with both their teacher counterparts and educated youth elsewhere in the Empire, but class shaped, rather than wholly determined, adolescent interests. Boys developed their own hierarchies and group cultures. Largely speaking, August 1914 appears to have been less of a decisive moment in these prestigious establishments than previously assumed. The First World War, far from suspending elite educational priorities and practices, merely traversed them.

justify the war in the eyes of the younger generation'. See: Pignot, 'Children', p. 32. For school 'war talk' elsewhere in the British Empire, see: Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, pp. 71-84; Lambert, ''Munition Factories'', pp. 67-86; Martin Crotty, 'Making English Gentlemen from Australian Boys? The Manly Ideal in Two Elite Protestant Schools of Victoria, 1875-1920', *Australian Studies*, 13/1 (1998), pp. 57-8.

Chapter 1: School Positioning and the Outbreak of Hostilities

The outbreak of hostilities in late 1914 has often been identified as a 'national' turning point. Irish scholars have argued that it prevented civil war with tensions between nationalists and unionists temporarily suspended in the wake of a common external threat.[1] Keith Jeffery has even asserted that the First World War constituted 'the single most significant all-Ireland experience of the twentieth century'.[2] Parallel claims have been made in the Antipodes. In 2007, John Crawford and Ian McGibbon proclaimed that the 'Great War was undoubtedly the most traumatic event in New Zealand's history.'[3] Here too, historians have pointed towards wider impacts; hostilities may have resulted in mass casualties but they also contributed to social and political cohesion evident through general commitment to war aims and the establishment of a coalition government in August 1915.[4] Recent efforts have been made to find out how civilians engaged with these developments at an everyday level. Catriona Pennell has conducted an in-depth study into Irish reactions to the war during its first five months, while Graham Hucker has explored responses in the Taranaki region for the same period.[5] Such works have made inroads into academic understandings of lived experiences at this time, but significant gaps remain.

Extant research indicates that heavy 'educational mobilisation' took place within combatant countries such as France, Canada, and Australia during hostilities.[6] Parallel claims have been made with regards to New Zealand although sustained analyses are few and far between. In an overview piece, Roger Openshaw asserted that 'The impact of the

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[1] Fitzpatrick, *Two Irelands*, p. 51; Adrian Gregory and Senia Pašeta, 'Introduction', in Gregory and Pašeta (eds), *'Unite Us All'?*, p. 2.
[2] Jeffery, 'Commemoration', p. 165.
[3] Crawford and McGibbon, 'Introduction', p. 16.
[4] Olssen, 'Waging War', p. 302.
[5] Pennell, *Kingdom United*, ch. 6; Graham Hucker, ''The Great Wave of Enthusiasm': New Zealand Reactions to the First World War in August 1914 – A Reassessment', *NZJH*, 43/1 (2009), pp. 59-75. See also: idem, 'The Rural Home Front: A New Zealand Region and the Great War, 1914-1926' (PhD thesis, Massey University, 2006).
[6] Pignot, 'Children', p. 34.

Great War on the New Zealand education system as a whole was both immediate and urgent.'[7] Staffing pressures stood alongside an increased emphasis on patriotic messages and activities.[8] Literature on Ireland is even sparser but school histories suggest that tangible shifts also took place there. All those connected with Clongowes Wood apparently 'shared fully' in the country's war experience through collegiate ties to serving combatants and chaplains.[9] Conclusions about High School Dublin are somewhat more mixed, with W. J. R. Wallace noting that none of the war's changes were 'very serious'.[10] At the same time, however, this school and others 'could not escape the inevitable consequences of the upheavals taking place around them.'[11] All in all, little is known about how the outbreak of hostilities intersected with secondary schooling more broadly; research focussing on elite establishments has largely been restricted to the nineteenth- and very early twentieth-centuries.[12]

This chapter pursues deeper understandings of early war reactions at prestigious boys' schools, situating these responses within wider chronological and social contexts. It draws on work highlighting the need to combat assumptions inferred from a tight temporal framework of 1914 to 1918. Steven Loveridge has explicitly argued that the war did not mark 'a natural break in the historical process', recognising pre-war cultural continuities.[13] Similar trends have been observed in Ireland and Europe more broadly, with John Horne and others acknowledging that 'the violence that fed directly into the war started in 1912-13' and

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[7] Roger Openshaw, ''We could surely introduce …': The Impact of the Great War on New Zealand Education', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, p. 80.
[8] ibid.; Graham, 'Young New Zealanders', pp. 431-40.
[9] Peter Costello, *Clongowes Wood: A History of Clongowes Wood College 1814-1989* (Dublin, 1989), p. 197.
[10] W. J. R. Wallace, *Faithful to our Trust: A History of the Erasmus Smith Trust and The High School, Dublin* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 2004), p. 163.
[11] ibid., p. 167.
[12] O'Neill, *Catholics*; McLaren, 'Politics', pp. 64-81; Baldwin, ''Educating the Elite?'' (2005), pp. 117-28; Ryan, 'Cricket', pp. 61-79.
[13] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 16ff.

extended beyond 1918.[14] This chapter focuses on extant and emergent institutional priorities during the first half of the 1910s. Of particular interest is the extent to which these were uniform across the Irish and New Zealand elite educational sectors. The conflict brought new considerations to the fore, such as changed labour markets and reworked socio-political orientations. At the same time, it intersected with traditional perceptions of 'public school' status and the desire for these colleges to remain operational by war's end. All in all, it appears that the outbreak of hostilities did not necessarily prove wholly transformative for elite establishments across the entire British Empire.

Ireland

Since the 1990s, Irish historians have increasingly discussed the war with reference to a wider 'decade' of revolution.[15] From 1912, the country underwent significant social and political shifts wherein people acted on 'long-standing structural factors and … tensions'.[16] Key events included the 1913 Dublin lockout when businessmen responded to industrial agitation by locking out employees. Protests in the form of direct action and strikes failed after five months, but violence towards workers, including that exhibited by police, ultimately helped discredit existing social and political hierarchies.[17] These developments overlapped with an even greater crisis. Ulster Unionists used a Solemn League and Covenant to mobilise against Home Rule in 1912, leading to the UVF and the nationalist IV.[18] The possibility of civil war captured the public, dominating newspaper coverage accordingly.

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[14] John Horne, 'Ireland and the Wars After the War, 1917-23', in Horne and Madigan (eds), *Towards Commemoration*, p. 55ff.
[15] Diarmaid Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble: The Irish Revolution 1913-1923* (London, 2015), p. 86. See also: David Fitzpatrick, 'Historians and the Commemoration of Irish Conflicts, 1912-23', in Horne and Madigan (eds), *Towards Commemoration*, pp. 126-33.
[16] Niall Whelehan, 'The Irish Revolution, 1912-23', in Jackson (ed), *Oxford Handbook*, p. 621ff.
[17] Francis Devine, 'Who dared to wear the Red Hand badge? reflections on the 1913 Dublin Lockout', in Devine (ed), *A capital*, pp. 1-26.
[18] David Fitzpatrick, 'Instant history: 1912, 1916, 1918', in Richard S. Grayson and Fearghal McGarry (eds), *Remembering 1916: The Easter Rising, the Somme and the Politics of Memory in Ireland* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 65-85.

Recent work on the United Kingdom in 1914 found that the European situation was not seriously covered by British and Irish newspapers until remarkably late. It was only on 27 July, following the publication of Austria-Hungary's dismissal of Serbia's response to the forty-eight-hour ultimatum in *The Times*, that 'the political crisis in Ireland was eclipsed by the more serious conflict abroad.'[19]

Elite secondary establishments also ignored European developments in favour of immediate preoccupations. Institutional periodicals published in the first half of 1914 emphasised school activities and milestones, including student and alumni accomplishments.[20] Such content reflects editorial perceptions regarding the purpose of school magazines – to record aspects of college life, maintain connections with former students, and 'foster the spirit of the school'.[21] At the same time, these sources affirm the central importance of college matters.

Broader educational issues also concerned college authorities. Ongoing tensions relating to academic qualifications and state funding for secondary education may have received limited historiographical consideration thus far – the 1910s period being covered in only one full-length study to date –[22] but they dominated headmaster reports and prize-giving speeches. The removal of the preparatory examination category from Ireland's payment-by-results scheme in 1913 prompted strong reactions.[23] Protestant commentary tended to engage with parliamentary anxiety about cramming and overwork, previously raised in the Dale and Stephens Report (1904), with Arthur MacFarland approving the change.[24] Thomas Beare also admitted the previous system had 'draw-backs', however he preferred to see it maintained. Apparently, the preparatory examination counteracted the

[19] Pennell, *Kingdom United*, pp. 24, 164.
[20] See, for example, *Clongownian*, VII/1 (1914).
[21] *Belvederian*, IV/3 (Summer 1917), p. 1.
[22] McElligott, *Secondary Education*.
[23] E. Brian Titley, *Church, State, and the Control of Schooling in Ireland, 1900-1944* (Dublin, 1983), p. 34.
[24] *Campbellian*, 3/4 (Dec. 1913), p. 97.

'grave error' of parents keeping their children at primary school until they were 14 or 15 years old.[25] This trend undercut intellectual growth and secondary school income as well. Opposition to the 1913 Intermediate Act was more uniform amongst Catholic educators, albeit for reasons more closely linked to institutional autonomy; some preparatory school funding was now granted on the basis of inspection, an external intervention resisted by the Catholic hierarchy since at least 1909.[26]

Other financial concerns included the 'Birrell Grant', outlined in the Commons in July 1912. Consisting of a £40,000 grant intended to improve the salaries of lay teachers, this proposal responded to growing calls for increased funding similar to that received by England and Scotland.[27] Yet, despite the unity shown by Catholic and Protestant headmasters in 1910 and 1911, positions diverged after award conditions were outlined. The requirement of a set ratio of lay teachers to students (1:40) proved particularly contentious amongst Catholics who rejected the state's right to set such a requirement.[28] Protracted negotiations between the Catholic Headmasters' Association (CHA) and Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary of Ireland, were disclosed to the public by early 1913, evoking criticism from Protestant authorities who lost access to this potential fund for the 1912-1913 financial year. Caustic comments surfaced in newspapers and school addresses throughout 1913 and early 1914 when later negotiations between the CHA and teachers' organisations also broke down;[29] it was only in August 1914 that the required amendment bill passed into law.[30]

Elite educators were also invested in the political concerns of the time. School authorities composed and framed debates on subjects such as Home Rule, sometimes

[25] 'Letters to the Editor: Intermediate Education', *IT* (13 Feb. 1913), p. 5.
[26] McElligott, *Secondary Education*, pp. 83-4; Titley, *Control of Schooling*, p. 34.
[27] McElligott, *Secondary Education*, pp. 105-12.
[28] Titley, *Control of Schooling*, pp. 38-42.
[29] 'Cork Grammar School', *IT* (22 Dec. 1913), p. 3.
[30] Titley, *Control of Schooling*, p. 48.

intervening to guide deliberations.[31] The President of Clongowes, for example, used his casting vote to declare against the motion 'That the misfortunes of Ireland were due to internal dissension rather than to English misrule.'[32] These positions reflected a more general school outlook; Pašeta found that prestigious Catholic institutions 'managed to weave a tacit support for Home Rule and the Irish Cultural Revival into an agenda that was primarily concerned with the production of respectable Catholic gentlemen' following the turn of the twentieth century.[33] By 1914, support for the constitutional nationalist movement had consolidated alongside an expectation that political devolution was imminent; the June *Clongownian* even included a lengthy article advising students about the 'Work for Clongownians in Home Rule Ireland.'[34]

Protestant boys' schools viewed Ireland's political situation less optimistically. Henry Hirsch expressed his hope on 21 July 1914 that 'better times were coming, when these gentlemen, as Sir Edward Carson said, would have returned to the obscurity from which they ought never to have emerged.'[35] Ominous comments were also made at Campbell College three days later; MacFarland 'alluded to the shadow of civil war which had hung over us the past year'.[36] Unlike their Catholic counterparts, neither principal openly discussed Home Rule or its potential implications. It is possible that MacFarland believed concurrent attempts to negotiate Ulster's exclusion would be successful, however he still recognised the political situation as likely to result in an armed struggle.[37]

Public addresses were framed by denominational divisions. Although nationalist developments were alluded to rather than deconstructed, Protestant students were left in no

[31] *MA*, IV/3 (July 1914), p. 184.
[32] *Clongownian*, VII/1 (1914), p. 72.
[33] Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, p. 45.
[34] *Clongownian*, VII/1 (1914), pp. 100-12.
[35] 'Armagh Royal School', *IT* (22 July 1914), p. 9.
[36] *Campbellian*, 3/7 (Dec. 1914), p. 168.
[37] 'Campbell College. Belfast', *IT* (25 July 1914), p. 8.

doubt where they should stand. Hirsch's favourable reference to Carson points towards his support for unionist military action, and MacFarland had shared the stage with two key figures in this potential conflict – school governor Fred Crawford, chief gunrunner for the UVF, and guest of honour Brigadier-General Count Gleichen. Although very friendly with leading Unionists, Gleichen was also in command of the British forces sent to suppress the UVF.[38] Several headmasters from the north explicitly supported Ulster Unionism, with T. G. Houston acting as a delegate to a Presbyterian anti-Home Rule convention and MacFarland permitting Campbell College to be used as a centre for signing the 1912 Solemn League and Covenant.[39] Foyle College's endorsement extended to granting the local UVF city regiment permission to train on school grounds in May 1914. As the ground involved was 'the playing field behind the Boarding House', this decision would have quickly been made public.[40]

Protestant establishments further south were coyer in their stance. Schools like St. Columba's College were well aware that they represented a regional religious minority.[41] Care was taken to avoid contentious remarks, with Thomas Irwin identifying the purpose of Wesley College at the end of 1913 as being to equip students 'for citizenship in 'the greatest Empire under the sun.''[42] Such sentiments were compatible with both continued political union and/or Redmondite notions of devolved Irish authority within a British imperial framework. Nonetheless, it is clear that headmasters were apprehensive about 'the present juncture of affairs', especially its constitutional and social ramifications.[43] Although several

[38] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, pp. 28-9; Bowman, *Carson's Army*, p. 81.
[39] Graham Walker, *A History of the Ulster Unionist Party: Protest, Pragmatism and Pessimism* (Manchester, 2004), p. 34; Keith Haines, *'Chevy' Chase: ... A Real Mr Chips* (Belfast, 2005), p. 105.
[40] Derry, FCA, Minute Book of Governors, 1903-1914, 1 May 1914, p. 549.
[41] This stance became more explicit as the decade progressed; Sir Horace Plunkett asserted in 1916 that 'while St. Columba's was a Protestant school, the part of Ireland from which most of its pupils come is predominantly Roman Catholic, and maintained that one of the essentials in dealing with public affairs was a complete absence of religious controversy or bitterness.' See: *Columban*, XXXVII/2 (July 1916), p. 6.
[42] *WCQ*, XXVI/2 (June 1914), p. 30.
[43] 'High School, Dublin', *IT* (8 Nov. 1913), p. 9.

southern Unionist leaders had stridently opposed the Third Home Rule Bill, relationships with Carson had become strained by autumn of 1913. Matters worsened with ensuing Ulster Unionist demands for permanent partition of the six northern counties, effectively forcing southern Unionists to adopt the role of 'anxious bystanders.'[44]

Unionist variants aside, Protestant educators commonly revered the monarchy. Multiple colleges had direct ties to the British crown, the Royal Schools having been endowed under James I in 1608.[45] Monarchical links also existed for more recently established institutions; St. Columba's College received a Royal charter to become a corporation in 1913, and cadets from Cork Grammar School and Campbell College had attended the London Coronation of George V two years prior.[46] Pride was taken in these affiliations, with students encouraged to respect and admire the current head of state. Boys at Armagh Royal School, for instance, were told that the King was 'a splendid example of what a Christian gentleman … should be'.[47]

The British Empire was another shared reference point. Irish officers were 'predominantly Protestant' during the First World War, drawing on a settler military tradition dating back to the 1600s.[48] Indeed, Nicholas Perry's recent investigation of the (mostly Protestant) Irish landed class found that it was 'one of the most militarized social groups in the British Isles'.[49] Institutions like Foyle College took pride in military legacies, tying old boy achievements to notions of imperial duty and loyalty.[50] Ian d'Alton has persuasively argued that Seale's formation of an OTC (Officer Training Corps) at Cork

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[44] Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, p. 232.
[45] Coolahan, *Irish Education*, p. 57.
[46] G. K White, *A History of St. Columba's College, 1848-1974* (Dublin, 1981), p. 121; d'Alton, 'Educating for Ireland?', p. 224
[47] 'Armagh Royal School', *IT* (5 July 1913), p. 8.
[48] Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery, 'An Irish Military Tradition?', in Bartlett and Jeffery (eds), *A Military History*, pp. 7-10, 18.
[49] Nicholas Perry, 'The Irish Landed Class and the British Army, 1850-1950', *War in History*, 18/3 (2011), p. 314.
[50] 'Foyle College, Londonderry', *IT* (19 Dec. 1914), p. 7.

Grammar was in part a response to the 'cultural dislocation' felt by many southern Protestants by 1910; imperial narratives were deployed to counter a dominant Catholic-based national narrative.[51] Strikingly, all four of Ireland's junior OTCs were based at Protestant establishments.[52] St. Columba's was particularly invested in training future officers, creating an 'Army class' in the 1913-1914 academic year for students intending to sit army entry examinations.[53] These initiatives, although far from uniform, mirrored public school developments in Britain; more than two-thirds of HMC colleges offered explicit preparation for the services by 1900.[54] Imperial loyalties were also demonstrated in more tangible ways. Several colleges recognised Empire Day before it became official in 1916, including Coleraine Academical.[55]

Elite Catholic schools neither revered nor shunned the Empire. Indeed, they had already developed a reputation for producing good candidates for imperial service prior to 1914. A sample of 78 regular officers commissioned between 1896 and 1920 found that Catholics, particularly from Clongowes and Belvedere, comprised 42% of Irish recruits to Britain's military medical services.[56] These numbers reflect a longstanding 'Gaelic or Catholic military tradition' linked to service in European armies until the removal of United Kingdom restrictions on Catholic enlistment in the 1790s.[57] Pursuit of a military career, however, was underpinned by pragmatic reasons in addition to dynastic and/or family tradition. As Ciaran O'Neill has argued with reference to the nineteenth century, the whole purpose of elite Irish Catholic schooling was to 'produce graduates that perform well in

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[51] d'Alton, 'Educating for Ireland?', esp. p. 223.
[52] Junior OTCs at Campbell College, Cork Grammar School, St. Andrew's College, and St. Columba's. See: Steven O'Connor, *Irish Officers in the British Forces, 1922-45* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 9.
[53] *Columban* XXXV/2 (July 1914), p. 5.
[54] C. B. Otley, 'Militarism and Militarization in the Public Schools, 1900-1972', *The British Journal of Sociology* 29/3 (1978), p. 329.
[55] 'Empire Day in Ireland', *IT* (25 May 1914), p. 8. See also: David H. Hume, 'Empire Day in Ireland, 1896-1962', in Keith Jeffery (ed), *An Irish Empire: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 149-68.
[56] O'Connor, *Irish Officers*, p. 88.
[57] Bartlett and Jeffery, 'Irish Military Tradition?', p. 11ff.

society', lifting or at least maintaining their social position as a whole.[58] Whereas separatists saw British imperialism and Irish nationalism as diametrically opposed, prestigious colleges expressed no such qualms, choosing to publish articles about military alumni in their magazines throughout the early 1900s.[59] The British forces, like other overseas positions such as colonial officials and missionaries, simply represented valuable opportunities for old boys to win acclaim for Ireland and Catholicism.[60]

Irish Catholic institutions were shaped by their own networks first and foremost. Male teaching orders pointed to Rome and the mission work conducted by associates. The recognition awarded to religious affiliations reflected their impact upon school life. Clongowes, Castleknock, and Blackrock were simultaneously informed by a common Catholic ethos and particular congregations. New members of staff were recruited within orders, often coming from overseas. Between 1914 and 1917, for example, Castleknock received one new President from the Vincentian order in Australia and appointed two others from the current staff body as three left for Antipodean and London-based positions.[61] These faith-based connections ultimately proved crucial in inflecting school responses to subsequent global events.

Outbreak of hostilities

Historians broadly agree that underlying political tensions did not disappear with the outbreak of hostilities. As recognised by Pašeta and Adrian Gregory, 'There was relief at the avoidance of civil war … [b]ut the unity which emerged in Ireland was suspicious and conditional.'[62] Nationalist and unionist preferences continued to shape Irish understandings

[58] O'Neill, *Catholics*, p. 112.
[59] McMahon, 'Irish Jesuit education', pp. 111-23.
[60] O'Connor, *Irish Officers*, p. 82.
[61] *CC*, XXX (June 1915), p. 7; *CC*, XXXI (June 1916), p. 3; *CC*, XXXII (June 1917), p. 3.
[62] Gregory and Pašeta, 'Introduction', p. 2.

of international affairs, these now being applied to the issue of overseas military involvement. Home Rule and the European War emerged as compatible causes for those who supported Redmond's pledges of Irish support for the Allies.[63] Unionist endorsement was less qualified due to this group's 'psychological integration into British patriotism.'[64] While scholars still contest why Irishmen chose to fight, political interpretations encouraged at least some to enlist.[65] David Fitzpatrick has estimated that 210,000 Irishmen ultimately participated in the United Kingdom's wartime forces.[66] Regional differences informed Catholic/Protestant divisions; Catholic enlistments were in the minority in 1914, and Catholic underrepresentation across the war as a whole was a 'by-product of Ulster's excessive contribution'.[67] Nevertheless, county returns for 1915 indicate that Catholics were more likely to volunteer than Protestants in particular areas.[68]

Initial responses to the conflict have come under close scrutiny. Catriona Pennell examined civilian feeling across Great Britain and Ireland from August 1914, contributing to wider critique of the so-called 'wave of enthusiasm' which apparently swept Europe.[69] Popular support of the war was more considered than jingoistic there too. Pennell recognised the importance of local political tensions in mediating regional experience. Nevertheless, she still argued that 'The Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was much more united in 1914 than has previously been appreciated.'[70] Recent doctoral work has also contested notions of widespread Catholic and/or nationalist disengagement. Clare O'Neill and Niamh

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[63] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, chs. 2-3.
[64] ibid., p. 119.
[65] See: Bowman, 'Ireland and the First World War', pp. 607-11.
[66] Fitzpatrick, 'Militarism in Ireland', p. 388.
[67] Excluding the farming population, Catholics comprised 66 percent of occupied males but only 57 percent of army recruits. David Fitzpatrick, 'The logic of collective sacrifice: Ireland and the British army, 1914-1918', *Historical Journal*, 38/4 (1995), p. 1025.
[68] ibid.
[69] Jay Winter and Antoine Prost trace the origins of this revisionism to Jean-Jacques Becker's work on French war reactions, started in the 1970s**.** See: Winter and Prost, *Great War*, p. 90; Jean-Jacques Becker, *The Great War and the French People*, tr. Arnold Pomerans (Leamington Spa, 1985).
[70] Pennell, *Kingdom United*, pp. 163-97, 197.

Gallagher have emphasised Catholic contributions to voluntary war work, characterising efforts supporting Belgian refugees and the war-wounded as 'nationwide response[s], a putting aside of differences and pulling together as one'.[71] Fionnuala Walsh was more careful in her claims, observing different approaches to the war effort amongst Irishwomen. Still, she noted that support was far more common than 'outright opposition' in 1914 and 1915.[72]

Britain's declaration of war met with a universally strong reaction from elite Irish educators. The conflict was swiftly integrated into official events and publications after the resumption of term in early September. At Coleraine Academical's annual prizegiving, Houston chose to speak 'on a subject which comes closer to our hearts than any other – the mighty contest that is now raging over the greater part of Europe, and the bearing of that contest on our own and all other schools.'[73] Staff editors of Catholic periodicals also construed the war as an event that students could not help but be affected by. The 1915 *Belvederian* proclaimed 'It has influenced us all, consciously or unconsciously', substantiating this sentiment through heavy magazine coverage.[74] The 1915 edition of the *Castleknock Chronicle* created a special section on 'Pastmen and the War', with the *Belvederian* and *Clongownian* furthermore including articles on a range of war topics.[75]

Periodical content reflected institutional connections. Protestant old boys enlisted in high numbers; St. Columba's admitted 880 pupils between 1870 and 1919, at least 385 of

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[71] Clare O'Neill, 'Unity in Adversity: Associational Culture in Ireland during the First World War', in Jennifer Kelly and R. V. Comerford (eds), *Associational Culture in Ireland and Abroad* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 165-78, 170; Niamh Gallagher, 'Irish Civil Society and the Great War, 1914-1918' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2015), esp. pp. 39-91. See also: O'Neill, 'Irish Home Front'.
[72] Fionnuala Walsh, 'The impact of the Great War on women in Ireland 1914 to 1919' (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2016), pp. 268-76, 276.
[73] 'Coleraine Academical Institution', *IT* (17 Sept. 1914), p. 3.
[74] *Belvederian*, IV/1 (Summer 1915), p. 1.
[75] *CC*, XXX (1915), pp. 13-21; *Belvederian*, IV/1 (1915), pp. 15-19, 60-96; *Clongownian*, VII/2 (June 1915), pp. 263-6, 315.

whom served in the Great War.[76] Combatant alumni regularly dwarfed school populations, even at larger institutes. Campbell had 155 students enrolled in 1914, whereas 594 ultimately served overseas.[77] Catholic schools also made prominent contributions to British forces. Clongowes had 268 pupils in 1914, and 604 alumni who had served overseas by war's end.[78] Old boys across the denominational division served at high levels. Eighty-eight percent of Portora Royal alumni who served with the army and survived the war were officers, and one analysis of elite Catholic school rolls of honour found that 73 and 87 percent of those killed in action had been officers.[79]

Renowned Irish colleges paid tribute to combatant old boys for reasons more than a 'natural desire to honour their alumni'.[80] Martial achievements illustrated school success at training leaders and reemphasised military connections, both of which were critical in determining elite school reputations. Informed by what C. B. Otley has termed a 'military celebratory and commemoratory sub-culture', last expressed in the wake of the South African War, renowned British institutions recognised war-related achievements through concrete objects and ''verbal' memento'.[81] Every edition of the Catholic *Stonyhurst Magazine* published between December 1914 and December 1917, for example, opened with transcripts detailing War Office honours conferred on former pupils or a list of recent war distinctions.[82] Across the Irish Sea, assertions of 'public school' status proved equally powerful motivators.

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[76] Patrick Wyse Jackson and Ninian Falkiner, *A Portrait of St Columba's College 1843-2013* (Dublin, 1993), p. 51. 80 students were enrolled in 1914. See: Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 259.
[77] For comparison, Eton College had 1,028 pupils in 1914, and 5,656 old boys ultimately served. See: Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, pp. 256-7.
[78] ibid., p. 256.
[79] Robert Northridge, *Portora and Portorans in the Great War, 1914-18* (Portora, 2014), p. 47; O'Connor, *Irish Officers*, p. 9.
[80] O'Connor, *Irish Officers*, p. 60.
[81] Otley, 'Militarism', pp. 332-4; Peter Donaldson, 'The Commemoration of the South African War (1899-1902) in British Public Schools', *History & Memory*, 25/2 (2013), pp. 32-65.
[82] *The Stonyhurst Magazine*, XIII/197-212 (1914-1917) and XIV/213-214 (1917).

The conflict entered classrooms as well as magazines. E. H. Elliot, a junior student at Royal Belfast Academical Institution (RBAI), wrote on 'The North Sea Victory' and 'Modern Warfare' in his 1914-1915 English Literature class, pictorially representing the 1915 Battle of Dogger Bank and detailing the role of the navy, railways, and aeroplanes in the current conflict. Elliot's compositions were significantly outnumbered by others on subjects as varied as 'The Life of the Eskimos' and 'How Perseus saved Andromeda'.[83] Considering the value placed on student success in the Intermediate Examination results and curricula which predated hostilities, it is understandable that contemporary events were not too heavily integrated into lessons. Nonetheless, some educators still provided additional information outside standard teaching hours in the form of supplementary presentations and slide lectures; the Third Line group at Clongowes sat through a year-long series of conflict-related lantern lectures.[84]

Such findings seemingly confirm a broader conclusion drawn about wartime education – that schools in combatant societies became 'a distribution point par excellence' for messages intended to integrate youth into national processes of cultural and economic mobilisation.[85] This 'transnational constant', suggested by Manon Pignot, does appear to exist;[86] establishments from Australia to Austria all circulated war propaganda.[87] Multiple adult actors have been held responsible for this development. Teacher enthusiasm, for example, resulted in the almost immediate implementation of a 'war pedagogy' across the vast majority of German institutions; new teaching methods and content were introduced

[83] Belfast, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D2585/6/F/2, English literature exercise book of E H, 1914-1915.
[84] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), p. 260.
[85] Pignot, 'Children', p. 33
[86] ibid., p. 32.
[87] Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 241-7; Triolo, *Our Schools*, pp. 37-54, 69-103; John McQuilton, *Rural Australia and the Great War from Tarrawingee to Tangambalanga* (Melbourne, 2001), ch. 8. See also: Fisher, *Boys and Girls*, ch. 1.

which emphasised nationalism, militarism, and patriotism.[88] State authorities also played a role, with ministerial instructions and expectations substantiating staff efforts in France and Italy alike.[89] Across the world, those instrumental in driving wartime mobilisation deemed youth involvement integral to overall success.

Recent research, however, has raised questions about the extent to which even the most patriotic schools transformed into completely war-oriented institutions. Joachim Scholz and Kathrin Berdelmann identified a 'quotidianisation' in German schools prior to their effective collapse due to late-war deprivation. While primary and secondary establishments advocated new pedagogical methods and pro-conflict content at first, enthusiasm swiftly faded after 1914 with schools generally returning to their 'typical pedagogical mode'.[90] Detailed analysis of comparable Irish records reveals that collegiate reactions were also more nuanced than first appear.

The war's prominence in Irish schools reflected its impact on devolution timeframes. Although the Third Home Rule Bill received royal assent on 18 September, its implementation was deferred for the 'duration'. Some Protestant educationalists likely hoped that particular wartime responses would result in legislative amendments, a stance taken by Carson and others. Thomas Hennessey has persuasively argued that Ulster Unionist leaders 'decided that the best and only chance of gaining the British electors' ear after the war was to give vigorous and effective support to the Government'.[91] Timothy Bowman cast doubt on John Stubbs' claim that Ulster Unionists were 'imprisoned by their patriotism', asserting that the UVF's overlap with the 36th Ulster Division has perhaps been overstated.[92]

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[88] Donson, *Youth*, ch. 3.
[89] Audoin-Rouzeau, 'Children', and Fava, 'War, 'national education'', pp. 39-52, 53-69.
[90] Joachim Scholz and Kathrin Berdelmann, 'The quotidianisation of the war in everyday life at German schools during the First World War', *Paedagogica Historica*, 52/1-2 (2016), pp. 92-103. Carolyn Kay asserts that war pedagogy lasted at least until 1916. See Kay, 'War Pedagogy in the German Primary School Classroom During the First World War', *War & Society*, 33/1 (2014), pp. 3-11, esp. 10.
[91] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, p. 68.
[92] John O. Stubbs, 'The Unionists and Ireland, 1914-18', *The Historical Journal*, 33/4 (1990), p. 871; Bowman, *Carson's Army*, ch. 6, esp. pp.172-6.

Nonetheless, while adult enlistment was far from universal – one estimate suggesting it amounted to one-third of peak UVF membership –[93] some schools still saw these military formations as working together for a common purpose – that of King and Country.[94] Other establishments, hitherto restricted by diplomatic concerns, even used the war to validate previously inopportune positions such as Southern Unionism. According to Dr. L. C. Purser, '[t]he South has certainly borne its part splendidly, and Cork Grammar School has shown that it has the true spirit and enthusiasm of the South.'[95] These loyalist emphases were at least partially strategic, but their prevalence and detail also suggest sincerity.

Protestant colleges presented hostilities as having clear-cut causes and obvious outcomes. Within this narrative, British intervention was sanctified and the actions of the Central Powers condemned. German aggression was considered entirely unprovoked. Reflection on the righteous nature of the Allied cause, whilst present from outset, became more explicit over time; Cork Grammar boys were told in December 1915 that the conflict was being fought for 'the sanctity of the plighted world, for the very foundation of truth, honour and morality'.[96] Here, 'formal' war talk was underpinned by a long-standing commitment to the United Kingdom and shared 'British' identity. Proclamations of loyalty to the British Crown proved incessant with headmasters quick to use alumni activities to further illustrate this allegiance. High volunteer numbers were stressed across the board, including at institutions with prior links to the UVF such as RBAI.[97] By integrating themselves into an imperial war narrative, Protestant educators construed Irish support for Britain's declaration of war as being entirely self-evident.

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[93] Fitzpatrick, 'The logic of collective sacrifice', p. 1029.
[94] Wesley College held old boy Edward Carson mostly responsible for 'the magnificent total of 26,768 men' from Ulster who had apparently enlisted by December 1914. See: *WCQ*, XXVI/3 (Dec. 1914), p. 53.
[95] 'School Prize Day', *IT* (24 Dec. 1915), p. 3.
[96] ibid.
[97] *SN*, 25/78 (Dec. 1914), p. 10.

Current students were also encouraged to support Britain and hate her enemies.[98] School periodicals from 1914 and 1915 were littered with detail about fundraising efforts. Money usually spent on academic prizes was donated to projects such as the Public Schools' Base Hospital, while proceeds from sports events went to the Prince of Wales' National Relief Fund.[99] Boy-initiated contributions attracted particular approval, with Robert Dill commending students from Foyle College and Coleraine Academical Institution (CAI) 'for their effort on behalf of the Relief Fund, and the spirit which had prompted the sacrifice' at the 1914 inter-schools swimming races.[100]

Physical education was also tied to the imperial war effort. In his 1917 prizegiving address at Campbell, MacFarland acknowledged that the main purpose of establishing an OTC in 1909 was 'not to train the boys for war, of which there was at that time no immediate prospect.'[101] Similarly, while drill had often featured alongside gymnastics and team sports in pre-war curricula, this type of exercise existed in multiple forms. The 'military connotation' may have been obvious to contemporaries, as Thomas O'Donoghue has argued, but military drill had actually lost ground in Britain between 1904 and 1914 to alternatives such as 'Swedish drill'.[102] Some headmasters may have valued drill exercises and cadet groups more for their ability to teach 'discipline, obedience, and the art of ruling' than military skills but these perceptions changed by late 1914.[103] More overt measures were now necessary, with RBAI and Foyle College both establishing cadet corps to provide 'special training in drill and discipline' by the end of the year.[104]

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[98] 'Foyle College, Londonderry', *IT* (17 Dec. 1915), p. 8.
[99] *Campbellian*, 3/9 (July 1915), p. 194; *SN*, 25/78 (1914), p. 41.
[100] *OST*, VII/1 (Oct. 1914), p. 9.
[101] *Campbellian*, 4/4 (Dec. 1917), p. 79.
[102] Thomas A. O'Donoghue, 'Sport, recreation and physical education: the evolution of a national policy of regeneration in Eire, 1926-48', *British Journal of Sports History*, 3/2 (1986), pp. 218, 219.
[103] *Campbellian*, 4/4 (1917), p. 79. See, for example: *SN*, 25/78 (1914), p. 11.
[104] *SN*, 25/78 (1914), pp. 36-7; 'Foyle College, Londonderry', *IT* (19 Dec. 1914), p. 7.

Elite responses differed along denominational lines although not necessarily in the manner one might expect. Clongowes, Castleknock and Belvedere produced many constitutional nationalists willing to fight overseas – Thomas Kettle being one prominent example –[105] but these Catholic institutions seldom deployed explanatory frameworks associated with the Redmondite position. The exact reasons old boys enlisted, or even why the conflict was significant, were rarely elaborated on. Mungret College adopted an even stricter position on published information. The conflict received cursory mentions in staff contributions; Fr. William Kane's editorial referenced this event only to explain teacher absences and low attendance numbers at the school reunion.[106] Although the military activities and deaths of former students were included in the 'Our Past' and 'Obituary' sections, no attempt was made to distinguish them as a category apart. This stance was pursued for the duration, with war-centric articles absent from all volumes of the *Annual* issued between 1914 and 1919.

Catholic journals also fell silent on other matters. They contain very little evidence of the anti-German or pro-Belgian rhetoric adopted by so many who sympathised with 'little Catholic Belgium'.[107] While Germany's invasion of Belgium was criticised, especially in accounts reflecting on the 'grim reality' behind atrocity stories, it was not used to justify Irish military involvement.[108] Such omissions appear odd considering Hierarchal support given to those displaced by war; the Jesuit Provincial – Fr. T. V. Nolan S.J. – was a member of the voluntary Belgian Refugees Committee (Ireland), a decision likely influenced by his previous studies in Louvain.[109] William Buck has speculated that support in the south of

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[105] Senia Pašeta, 'Thomas Kettle: 'An Irish Soldier in the Army of Europe'?', in Gregory and Pašeta (eds), *'Unite Us All'?*, pp. 8-27.
[106] *MA*, IV/4 (July 1915), pp. 233-6.
[107] William Buck, ''Come and find sanctuary in Eire'. The experiences of Ireland's Belgian refugees during the First World War', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 34/2 (2016), pp. 193-4; Pennell, *Kingdom United*, p. 180.
[108] *Belvederian*, IV/1 (1915), p. 16. See also: *CC*, XXXII (1917), p. 46.
[109] O'Neill, 'Irish Home Front' p. 59; Jérôme aan de Wiel, *The Catholic Church in Ireland 1914-1918: War and Politics* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 25-30.

Ireland was underpinned by 'historical and religious affiliations', and perhaps teaching religious thought it unnecessary to spell out their reasons for helping Catholic compatriots in distress.[110] At the same time, however, this reticence diverges from the emphasis placed on fundraising at Protestant schools.

Catholic schools adopted an ambiguous position on the war effort. While never overtly criticised, it garnered minimal attention; volunteer work continued to be directed towards charities for the poor rather than patriotic collections.[111] This lack of enthusiasm flies in the face of revisionist claims that Catholics 'were more engaged in the war and more supportive of the humanitarian endeavour than has been thought.'[112] It is possible that teaching religious preferred to emphasise more 'manly' expressions of wartime behaviour. Castleknock College, after all, did start a Cadet Corps with 120 students in September 1914 while Clongowes requested permission from the British Government to form a junior OTC in late 1915.[113] Both of these cadet groups, however, received minimal editorial attention with no mention made about how they could possibly contribute to future wartime roles.[114] Rather than being indicative of pro-war sentiment or enthusiasm, these developments probably reflected increased career opportunities. As recognised by Peter Simkins, OTCs remained the 'principal route' to a temporary commission until February 1916 when enormous demand required vast numbers to be commissioned from the ranks.[115]

Conflict-related discussions, and the tenor of secondary colleges more generally, were inflected by staff political leanings. Rev. Edward Cahill and three of his Mungret

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[110] Buck, ''Come and find sanctuary'', p. 194.
[111] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), p. 267; *MA*, IV/4 (1915), pp. 314-5.
[112] Gallagher, 'Irish Civil Society', p. 91.
[113] *CC*, XXX (1915), p. 5; *Clongownian*, VII/3 (June 1916), p. 318.
[114] One exception appears in the 1916 *Clongownian* where Fr. Gerard Corr mentioned Clongowes' failed OTC attempt in a paragraph discussing changes to the college's drill system. See: *Clongownian*, VII/3 (1916), p. 318.
[115] Peter Simkins, 'The Four Armies 1914-1918', in David G. Chandler (ed), *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford, 2003), p. 253.

contemporaries – Frs. William Byrne, John Casey and Bart Coghlan –[116] have retrospectively been identified as advanced nationalists, with Cahill apparently 'promoting attitudes closer to Sinn Féin than to the Irish Party' during his tenure as Rector.[117] Mungret students voiced somewhat controversial opinions under teacher supervision, making critical remarks about Volunteers fighting overseas and potential changes to the Home Rule Bill.[118] One debater proclaimed '[i]t was now time for bolder measures, and bolder measures demand bolder men.'[119] Cahill likely encouraged such sentiments, demonstrating support for the IV movement after its split from the National Volunteers by hosting training exercises. Indeed, that same month, Cahill defied Provincial orders to allow an IV display on school grounds.[120] Student accounts note that this was followed by a lecture on 'Ireland and War'.[121] Whilst invited speaker Mr. M. O'Callaghan 'left the present world-wide conflict severely alone', his analysis of fifteen- to nineteenth-century conflicts concluded that Ireland had received nothing in return from its military alliances with England.[122] O'Callaghan's lecture was undoubtedly informed by his own involvement on the IV Executive Committee, and the revolutionary tone in Limerick more generally.[123]

Anti-Redmondite views shaped war responses in other schools, including those at the very top of the Jesuit educational hierarchy. Clongowes was renowned for its solid association with the Home Rule movement and status as the foremost Catholic college in Ireland, both of which were confirmed by Redmond's attendance at the school's centenary

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[116] *MA* (1974), pp. 22-4.
[117] Louis McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory: A History of the Irish Jesuits* (Dublin, 1991), p. 272.
[118] Although debates that questioned Ireland's involvement and the conflict itself were held in other elite Irish colleges during the war, they did not occur until at least a full year later. A debate on 'Conscription', for example, was held at Castleknock College on 14 November 1915. See: *CC*, XXXI (1916), pp. 92-3.
[119] *MA*, IV/4 (1915), p. 272.
[120] Dublin, Irish Jesuit Archives, SC/MUNG 204, (Letters from Fr. Rector to Fr. Provincial, 1907-1962), Letter from Fr Edward Cahill SJ to Fr Thomas V Nolan SJ, 11 Dec. 1915.
[121] *MA*, IV/5 (Aug. 1916), p. 392.
[122] ibid., p. 377.
[123] Ruán O'Donnell (ed), *Limerick's Fighting Story 1916-21: Told by the Men Who Made It* (Cork, 2009), p. 228. See also: John O'Callaghan, *Revolutionary Limerick: The Republican Campaign for Independence in Limerick, 1913-21* (Dublin, 2010).

celebrations in June 1914.[124] Yet, despite this reputation, Nicholas Tomkin observed in December 1914 that Masters and (staff) Prefects had been 'giving expression to their opinions on the burning topics of the hour, such as recruiting – volunteers joining the army – Redmond's policy – atrocities by Germans or other nations'. These discussions with students and alumni had resulted in parental reports of 'Anti-English – Pro-German views being held in the College'.[125] The Holy Ghost Fathers at Blackrock College also tolerated, and possibly even admired, republican sympathies held by past and present pupils.[126] Advanced nationalist beliefs were evidently not restricted to the Christian Brothers schools that catered to so many, nor overtly republican colleges like Padraig Pearse's St. Enda's, at least by late 1914.[127]

The number of Catholic teachers who held views in opposition to the war, however, should not be overstated. F. X. Martin's analysis of the 1915-1924 volumes of the *Belvederian* explicitly countered claims that Belvedere was a 'seed-bed for leaders who were soon to lead the nation to a new Ireland.' While Martin stressed that there is no evidence Jesuit authorities attempted to impose a particular political policy on the magazine, the overall sentiment in both 1915 and 1916 was 'one of admiration for the heroes in British uniform.'[128] Indeed, many teaching religious directly contributed to overseas military involvement. Thirty-two Irish Jesuits and eleven Irish-born Jesuits of the English Province served as military chaplains, with most pursuing these positions rather than being appointed by their Provincial.[129] As was the case for all war personnel, motivations varied significantly.

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[124] McRedmond, *Greater Glory*, p. 272.
[125] Clane, Co. Kildare, Clongowes Wood College Archives, CWC-SCH-305, 'Notice to be Read by Order of the Rector', Notice penned by Very Rev. Nicholas J. Tomkin, 5 Dec. 1914.
[126] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 67.
[127] For more about the radical reputation of the Christian Brothers, see: Barry M. Coldrey, *Faith and Fatherland: The Christian Brothers and the Development of Irish Nationalism, 1838-1921* (Dublin, 1988), esp. chs. 5, 12-13. For St Enda's, see: Sisson, *Pearse's Patriots*.
[128] F. X. Martin, 'Did Belvedere Change, 1916-1922?', in John Bowman and Ronan O'Donoghue (eds), *Portraits: Belvedere College Dublin 1832-1982* (Dublin, 1982), pp. 49-62, esp. 49, 56.
[129] Two Irish Jesuits were members of other Provinces at the time of the war (Lyon and Belgium), and two others born outside of Ireland. See: Oliver P. Rafferty, 'Introduction', in Damien Burke (ed), *Irish Jesuit*

In addition to 'the general call of patriotism', Jane Leonard's investigation of wartime Catholic chaplaincy recognised the role of 'less exalted enticements' such as an impressive uniform and the rank of officer.[130] Nonetheless, there is evidence to suggest that several were personally invested in the conflict. Frs. William Gwynn and John Fitzgibbon both volunteered following the death of their brothers, with others seeking to provide support and spiritual comfort to Catholic troops overseas.[131]

Prestigious colleges furthermore sought to reconcile political tensions, where these existed, with the lived reality of Irish participation in the war. Tomkin was extremely displeased with the reports he had received, issuing a proclamation to all members of staff that 'it is my express wish and order that all above and kindred subjects should be avoided in our dealings with the boys whether in class, recreation, or private talks, and that the utmost prudence be used in our dealings with other externs'. He stressed the 'serious harm' that could result from 'remarks passed by us even in joke', noting that 'complaints in some cases [had been] accompanied by the expression of intention to withdraw boys at Xmas'.[132] These threats were not without substance; many middle-class parents removed their children from St. Enda's in autumn 1914 due to concerns about Pearse's political beliefs now the country was at war.[133] Controversial stances not only risked school reputations and thus the ire of college boards or congregational leaders, but also prosecution under the Defence of the Realm Acts (DORA). DORA, first given royal assent on 8 August 1914, was revised and extended multiple times throughout the war. In essence, this legislation enabled the state to produce Defence of the Realm Regulations (DORR), giving the military special powers to

Chaplains in the First World War (Dublin, 2014), pp. 9-16; Damien Burke, 'Appendices', in Burke (ed), *Irish Jesuit*, pp. 117-18.

[130] Jane Leonard, 'The Catholic Chaplaincy', in Fitzpatrick (ed), *Ireland and the First World War*, pp. 7-8.

[131] Damien Burke, 'Irish Jesuit Chaplains in the First World War', *Studies*, 104/414 (2015), pp. 167-75.

[132] CWC-SCH-305, 5 Dec. 1914.

[133] Pennell, *Kingdom United*, p. 188. The school's attendance lists had reduced following the schools' relocation to Rathfarnham in 1910 and continued to do so from 1912, which Elaine Sisson has attributed to Pearse's increased involvement with politics outside of school life. See: Sisson, *Pearse's Patriots*, pp. 153-4.

secure 'the public safety and defence of the realm'.[134] DORR restricted multiple facets of life, with work by Donal Ó Drisceoil and Ben Novick highlighting how quickly censorship was imposed on Irish communications.[135] Taking such factors into consideration, the confinement of elite Catholic commentary to 'safe' war topics, as termed by F. X. Martin, potentially reflected a deliberate strategy just as much as comparatively low levels of dissident sentiment.[136]

Managing public perceptions was not the only challenge encountered. Young masters at public schools across Britain quickly volunteered for overseas service, a pattern replicated at Irish Protestant institutions.[137] By December 1914, three masters had left St. Columba's, including Captain Aplin who had commanded the OTC.[138] Catholic masters also assumed military positions. The actual impact of early staff enlistment upon efficient delivery of school curricula should not, however, be overestimated. Teaching orders had the authority to decline chaplaincy applications, with the Irish Jesuits doing so on several occasions due to 'illness, age or unsuitability on other grounds'.[139] While Protestant schools had no such religious controls over staff, they had access to a wider pool of viable replacements. Staff also left schools for a number of other reasons during this period such as religious reassignments or the lure of a better position elsewhere. Enmeshed as they were in international clerical networks and Britain's imperial project, elite Irish schools were well versed in responding both to staff resignations and changes in personnel.

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[134] As cited in Donal Ó Drisceoil, 'Keeping Loyalty within bounds? British media control in Ireland, 1914-1919', *Irish Historical Studies*, 38/149 (May 2012), p. 54.
[135] ibid., pp. 52-69; Ben Novick, 'Postal Censorship in Ireland, 1914-16', *Irish Historical Studies*, 31/123 (1999), pp. 343-56. See also: William Murphy, *Political Imprisonment and the Irish, 1912-1921* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 35-9.
[136] Martin, 'Did Belvedere Change', p. 53.
[137] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 93.
[138] *Columban*, XXXV/3 (Dec. 1914), pp. 1-2.
[139] Burke, 'Irish Jesuit Chaplains', p. 168.

Overall, the conflict had a muted impact upon day-to-day life during its first years. Irwin alluded to this discrepancy between all-important war talk and actual experience at Wesley College in his 1914 annual report:

> It is a matter of no small importance, and a cause of much thanksgiving, that to us, in Ireland, during the last four or five months, school-life has been so normal – notwithstanding the fact that the nation has been passing through the most terrible war in all its history.[140]

Similar comments appeared a year and half later in the *Belvederian*.[141] This state of affairs was partially due to the efforts of College heads themselves. Several Protestant establishments chose to reduce the size of school events or even cancel them entirely, but this was far from uniform.[142] Shielded from the upheaval, dislocation, and stress faced by those closer to the front line, Irish educators had greater control over institutional responses to the conflict than some of their European counterparts.[143]

Academic syllabi also remained intact. Educational authorities, particularly those associated with Catholic denominations, had long asserted complete control over curricula content and, if they had wished, could have easily followed the example of their European counterparts. Stefan Goebel's work on wartime schools in capital cities found that 'many a teacher in Paris or Berlin readily sacrificed pre-war educational standards to the exigencies of the war effort', effectively breaking down school curricula.[144] While pedagogical changes in Britain were less radical, Rosie Kennedy has highlighted how the war permeated schools and existing curricula.[145] It was used not only to engage students in their lessons, but also to give them 'a sense of national identity and their place at the heart of a great empire under

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[140] *WCQ*, XXVI/4 (June 1915), p. 7.
[141] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (Summer 1916), p. 1.
[142] *Erasmian*, XII/3 (June 1915), p. 58; *Campbellian*, 3/10 (Dec. 1915), p. 209; *Columban*, XXXVI/2 (July 1915), p. 1.
[143] For more on frontline civilian experiences, see: Tammy M. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York, 2010), ch. 4.
[144] Goebel, 'Schools', p. 200.
[145] ibid., pp. 202-3; Kennedy, *Children's War*, ch. 5.

threat.'[146] Even these more limited adaptations, however, were evidently deemed unnecessary in Ireland; mobilisation rhetoric, where espoused, was tangential rather than fundamental to classroom learning.

While staff concerns did shift somewhat from late 1914 – most notably with the tabling of Home Rule – institutional matters continued to be paramount. Although the 1914 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act passed into law immediately after the war's outbreak, the bill itself was ambiguously phrased. Catholic representatives pursued further negotiations which, although ultimately unsuccessful, delayed the distribution of Birrell's grant until March 1915.[147] Protestant authorities criticised these delays and the inadequate size of the grant itself in wartime addresses.[148] Ireland may have been embroiled in a global crisis, but the main priority for school boards, committees, and head teachers remained the maintenance of their educational establishments. Like their German counterparts, Irish schools 'remained schools, with their unique concerns' between 1914 and 1918.[149]

New Zealand

New Zealand also experienced transformation during the early twentieth century. The extent to which settler New Zealand was 'born modern' has attracted debate, but internal shifts were nevertheless underway from the late 1800s and continued throughout the 1910s.[150] The country was becoming increasingly urbanised and interconnected through transport and communication systems. Expansions in state control and bureaucracy stood alongside significant social change.[151] James Belich has argued that New Zealand underwent

[146] Kennedy, *Children's War*, p. 129.
[147] Titley, *Control of Schooling*, pp. 48-9.
[148] 'High School, Dublin', *IT* (7 Nov. 1914), p. 11; 'Wesley College, Dublin', *IT* (19 Dec. 1914), p. 7.
[149] Scholz and Berdelmann, 'Quotidianisation of the war', p. 101.
[150] Nicholas Brown, 'Born Modern: Antipodean Variations on a Theme', *Historical Journal*, 48/4 (2005), pp. 1139-54; Caroline Daley, 'Modernity, Consumption, and Leisure', in Byrnes (ed), *New Oxford History*, pp. 423-45.
[151] Erik Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd edn (Auckland, 1992), pp. 254-84.

a 'Great Tightening' wherein civil society became more integrated and homogenised. Political, religious, and cultural efforts to harmonise New Zealand and erase non-conformities, however, did not go unchallenged.[152] Here too, underlying tensions were at play. Class realignments resulted in deteriorating industrial relations which culminated in the Great Strike of 1913.[153] Between October 1913 and January 1914, approximately 14,000 to 16,000 trade unionists – largely affiliated with United Federation of Labour – protested against the state's arbitration system in a series of group strikes. Official responses were swift, with the Strike crushed through the use of 'special' constables to supplement regular police and military forces, strikebreakers, and the arrest of key labour leaders.[154]

Institutional concerns intersected 'modernising' trends, most particularly democratisation and the expansion of the secondary education system. As Ian McLaren and others have demonstrated, elite schools did not exactly embrace moves towards free place legislation.[155] Agitation aside, exceptions from the final schedule of 'Existing Endowed Secondary Schools' covered by the 1903 Act were few and far between.[156] Five establishments refused to accept free place pupils until compelled to do so by financial necessity or the 1914 Education Act. These included Auckland Grammar School, Wellington College, and Christchurch Boys'.[157] This resistance was tied to the desire to maintain institutional autonomy and exclusivity; headmasters and boards no longer had the authority to admit pupils as they deemed fit. Significant numbers took advantage of the scheme, with male secondary enrolments increasing by 41 percent between 1903 and 1912.[158] In 1914,

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[152] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, chs. 4-7.
[153] Jim McAloon, 'The making of the New Zealand ruling class', in Melanie Nolan (ed), *Revolution: The 1913 Great Strike in New Zealand* (Canterbury, 2005), pp. 217-36.
[154] Melanie Nolan, '1913 in retrospect: a laboratory or a battleground of democracy?', in Nolan (ed), *Revolution*, pp. 21-40.
[155] McLaren, 'Politics', pp. 64-81; Openshaw, Lee, and Lee, *Challenging the Myths*, ch. 6.
[156] These included Christ's College and Wanganui Collegiate who were ultimately excluded due to public resistance to state funding for denomination education. See: Ian McLaren, 'Secondary Schools in the New Zealand Social Order, 1840-1903' (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965), pp. 368-70.
[157] ibid., p. 380.
[158] Lee and Lee, 'Schooling in New Zealand', p. 158.

free place holders constituted 84 percent of those enrolled at secondary institutions reporting to the Minister of Education.[159]

Diminished control fuelled concerns about academic prestige and status. Even headmasters of establishments that acquiesced to 1902-1903 regulations relatively early expressed reservations with the system at a later date. W. H. Morrell, Rector of Otago Boys' High School, and H. L. Fowler, principal of Nelson College, both recommended that free place entrants start secondary school at a younger age at hearings for the 1912 Cohen Education Commission.[160] Similar criticisms were made by J. W. Tibbs, who regretted the increase in age for junior candidates.[161] At the Auckland Grammar prizegiving later that year he noted that many were 'educationally speaking, so ill-favored that it was hard to know where to begin in order to teach them the elements of secondary knowledge.'[162]

Headmasters of private Catholic schools were also preoccupied with questions surrounding government intervention. As recognised by Rory Sweetman, the pursuit of religious educational aims 'reached a peak in the immediate pre-war years.'[163] The New Zealand Catholic hierarchy had long pressed for governmental aid for their separate school system, which had its roots in church institutions established from the 1850s and was spurred on by the introduction of compulsory secular primary education under the 1877 Education Act.[164] This Act removed all financial support for denominational schools, and was indicative of a more general rule of thumb later applied to secondary education. In 1912, David Kennedy, Rector of St. Patrick's College, voiced his outrage regarding the inability of students to hold free places or scholarships at Catholic institutions, despite their eligibility

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[159] *AJHR* (1915), E-06, Education: Secondary Education, p. 4.
[160] *AJHR* (1912), E-12, Education Commission, pp. 239, 642. For more information about the Commission, see: Cumming and Cumming, *History of State Education*, pp. 181-8.
[161] ibid., p. 143.
[162] 'Free Place Pupils', *Hawera & Normanby Star* (24 Dec. 1912), p. 5.
[163] Rory Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue, 1912-1922' (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1990), p. 45.
[164] Hugh Laracy, 'Paranoid Popery: Bishop Moran and Catholic Education in New Zealand', *NZJH*, 10/1 (1976), pp. 51-62; Collins, 'Schooling for Faith', pp. 157-72.

to compete for both under the 1910 Education Amendment Act.[165] He accused the government of passing 'oppressive legislature', arguing that New Zealand Catholics were currently 'deprived of their rightful share of the public moneys voted for education because they cannot conscientiously divorce religion and education.'[166] Calls for change were substantiated by further inconsistences in government policy; state scholarships were tenable at Christ's College and Wanganui Collegiate – both of which were Anglican – and government grants and scholarships were a key source of funding for Māori denominational boarding colleges.[167]

The denominational funding issue often stood alongside an interest in Irish affairs. In addition to being modelled on Irish-Catholic precepts that stressed the need for schooling to be under complete Catholic control, the local system drew upon a significant number of Irish-born teaching staff from the 1880s.[168] Direct ties diminished somewhat in the following decades with recruits increasingly obtained locally but transnational connections did not disappear. Whilst Kennedy was the first New Zealand-born priest of the Society of Mary, his mother was Irish and he studied at St Mary's College in Dundalk.[169] Such affiliations encouraged similar positions on Irish politics. Work by Seán Brosnahan and others has found that '[a]lthough the Irish campaign for constitutional change through Home Rule retained controversial overtones, it had become an increasingly acceptable cause.'[170] Shared cultural traditions were also apparent; secondary colleges commonly participated in St. Patrick's Day celebrations, and the 'hit of the programme' for Sacred Heart College's 1913 break-up

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[165] *AJHR* (1912), E-12, pp. 607-10.
[166] ibid., pp. 607, 609.
[167] McKenzie, Lee, and Lee, *Scholars or Dollars?*, pp. 150-1.
[168] Akenson, *Half the World*, pp. 159-90; Collins, 'Schooling for Faith', p. 158.
[169] Hugh Laracy, 'Les Pères Maristes and New Zealand: The Irish Connection', *Journal de la Société des océanistes*, 105/2 (1997), pp. 187-97; Hugh Laracy, 'Kennedy, David', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3k8/kennedy-david (17 Sept. 2015).
[170] Brosnahan, ''Shaming'', p. 118; Rory Sweetman, ''The Importance of Being Irish': Hibernianism in New Zealand, 1869-1969', in Fraser (ed), *Distant Shore*, pp. 135-54; Rory Sweetman, 'Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week? Antipodean Irish Catholic Responses to the 1916 Rising', in Ruán O'Donnell (ed), *The Impact of the 1916 Rising: Among the Nations* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 71-90.

concert was a Māori-language version of 'God Save Ireland,' a famous nationalist song.[171] It is important to note that these affinities did not preclude imperial sentiments; as identified elsewhere, the 'notion of the Irish 'Other' who existed extensively outside … a common Britishness should not be exaggerated'.[172] The ultimate result was a multifaceted allegiance to several constituent components within the United Kingdom.

Protestant schools, by contrast, oriented themselves towards Britain alone, a relationship often embodied in imperial loyalty leagues. Although John Griffiths found that these leagues – and indeed the Empire itself – encountered general apathy in Antipodean cities, the middle- and upper-class classes tended to be more enthusiastic.[173] Individual backgrounds and institutional aspirations to a certain social status likely encouraged headmasters like Frank Milner and A. Polson of Napier Boys' High School to heartily approve of them. The Navy League (NL), for example, was praised for its illumination of British history and inculcation of the 'sane ideas of patriotism and Imperialism'.[174] This organisation, established in London in 1895, publicised the need for a strong navy and advocating appropriate state funding for such. Similar sentiments were circulated at Empire Day events.[175] In welcoming the NL Otago Branch honorary secretary at Otago Boys' on 24 June, Morrell proclaimed '[o]ur house was the Empire; all its parts, all its citizens must and would help to keep it in safety and in honour.'[176]

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[171] 'Local and General News', *NZH* (18 Mar. 1911), p. 6; *SHC*, V/10 (Dec. 1915), pp. 102-3; *SHC*, III/8 (Dec. 1913), p. 46.
[172] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 57.
[173] John Griffiths, 'The Branch Life of Empire: Imperial Loyalty Leagues in Antipodean Cities – Comparisons and Contrasts with the British Model', *Britain and the World*, 7/1 (2014), pp. 56-84; John Griffiths, *Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities, 1880-1939* (Basingstoke, 2014), ch. 7.
[174] *AJHR* (1912), E-12, pp. 232, 726.
[175] Empire Day tended to be commemorated in the form of writing competitions rather than celebrations on the day itself which fell into demise after 1910. See: Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, 'The City and Imperial Propaganda: A Comparative Study of Empire Day in England, Australia, and New Zealand c. 1903-1914', *Journal of Urban History*, 42/2 (2016), pp. 377-95.
[176] *OHSM*, XXX/2 (Aug. 1914), p. 84.

Transnational affiliations aside, Catholic and Protestant colleges were united in an imperial system of defence. From 1909, it was compulsory for all boys aged between 14 and 18 years to train as senior cadets before transitioning to the Territorials.[177] Most renowned establishments had instituted cadet units before drill and rifle training became mandatory, reflecting the broader spread of a 'militarist ideology of manliness' which featured so heavily in British public schools at the time.[178] St. Patrick's College, for example, had founded a cadet corps as early as 1903.[179] Martial training was not promoted by all, with compulsory measures condemned by the Freedom League and other anti-militarist groups.[180] Generally speaking, however, defence reforms 'found and tapped popular sentiments.'[181] They also heightened teacher awareness of New Zealand's possible involvement in an overseas war. Cadet groups across the country, including those at prestigious institutions, were inspected by General Sir Ian Hamilton, the Inspector General of Overseas Forces, during his review of New Zealand's Defence Forces between April and June 1914.[182]

Outbreak of hostilities

Early wartime reactions in New Zealand have attracted some scholarly attention. Ian McGibbon has traced the military history behind significant manpower contributions;[183] the New Zealand government offered Britain an Expeditionary Force on 31 July before a state of war even existed.[184] This and subsequent decisions were grounded in 'a bedrock of self-interest'. State officials supported the imperial effort because they saw New Zealand's own

[177] Ian McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand 1840-1915* (Wellington, 1991), p. 187.
[178] Crotty, *Making the Australian Male*, p. 224; Mangan, 'Duty unto Death', pp. 10-38.
[179] Fitzsimons, *Sectare Fidem*, p. 25.
[180] David Grant, 'Pacifists in New Zealand during World War One', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, p. 222ff.
[181] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 121.
[182] Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand soldier in the First World War 1914-1918* (Auckland, 2015), p. 29; *AJHR* (1914), H-19A, Defence Forces of New Zealand, p. 1.
[183] McGibbon, *Path to Gallipoli*.
[184] Richard Kay, 'In Pursuit of Victory: British-New Zealand Relations During the First World War' (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2001), pp. 20-1ff.

diplomatic and economic security as being directly threatened.[185] The experiences of ordinary persons have also been investigated. Civilians living in the Taranaki region, like their counterparts in Ireland, had mixed responses to the outbreak of war. While some men did eagerly volunteer to serve overseas, Graham Hucker has also identified 'a variety of less than enthusiastic reactions' which included panic buying and expressions of fear regarding potential casualty numbers.[186]

Individual emotions aside, general feeling consolidated behind the war. Loveridge has persuasively argued the importance of wider sentiments and social beliefs surrounding British identity, anti-alienism, and gender roles. All were mobilised and adapted for war.[187] Extant research demonstrates that these interpretive frameworks informed messages directed towards schoolchildren, particularly those in primary education. Imperial content 'sharply increased' in the *New Zealand School Journal* after hostilities begun, this being a monthly publication issued by the Department of Education whose use in state primary schools was compulsory from 1914.[188] As noted earlier, patriotic and militaristic themes had also long been present in secondary establishments.[189] The following subsection explores the extent to which the war decisively altered elite institutional discourses and school operations.

King George V's declaration of war occurred towards the end of the second academic term and formal war talk permeated state and private establishments from the outset. Most headmasters took their role as wartime educators particularly seriously, teacher commentary standing alongside informative presentations given by external military, loyalty league, and religious authorities.[190] Milner's report for the 1914 academic year decreed that '[i]t is the

[185] McGibbon, 'The shaping', pp. 49-68, 51.
[186] Hucker, ''Great Wave'' pp. 59-75, 71.
[187] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*.
[188] Openshaw, ''We could surely'', p. 81; E. P. Malone, 'The New Zealand *School Journal* and the Imperial Ideology', *NZJH* 7/2 (1973), pp. 12-27, 13.
[189] See also: Stephen Carruthers, 'Duty to serve? The role of Secondary Schools in preparing New Zealand Soldiers for enlistment in the First World War' (MA thesis, Massey University, 2015).
[190] *OHSM*, XXXI/3 (Dec. 1915), p. 130; *Waitakian*, IX/2 (Sept. 1914), p. 106; *KC*, XIV/1 (May 1915), pp. 22-3; *KC*, XIV/2 (Sept. 1915), p. 13; *Nelsonian*, XXXI/3 (Dec. 1915), p. 166.

primary duty of every teacher to bring home vividly to the imagination of the young the grandeur of our Empire and the meaning of its ideals.' While recognising the role of the school NL branch in helping disseminate such knowledge, Milner also stressed the importance of English history lessons.[191] Here the war was not necessarily considered tangential to core curriculum content; the entire student population at Wanganui Collegiate sat a general knowledge examination on the topic in November 1915.[192] Considering such efforts, it is possible that the conflict had a greater presence in New Zealand schools than those located in Ireland.

Alumni connections were used to pique student interest in distant battlefronts. Firth and other headmasters wrote to former pupils in the field, and returning correspondence was regularly published in school periodicals.[193] Old boys also sent back war-related ephemera. Boys at Otago Boys' encountered a German Standard displayed in their school Hall in early 1915, obtained by Captain R. W. Wilkinson following the successful capture of German Samoa on 29 August.[194] Items from further afield, including German bayonets and Turkish rife bullets, later joined school war collections.

The need for Antipodean military involvement was constantly reiterated. The December 1914 *Otago High School Magazine* (*OHSM*) contained an article from 'an old boy' who addressed what 'our School' and 'our nation … had to do with the quarrel between Germany and France'. He proclaimed:

> England is fighting for righteousness, truth, and honour; she is fighting for right and might against wrong and might. Of all the neutral nations there is not one but knows 'our quarrel just,' not one but knows full well that, England defeated, the trade and commerce of the world must be at a standstill.[195]

[191] *Waitakian*, IX/3 (Dec. 1914), p. 261.
[192] *WC*, 99 (Dec. 1915), p. 9.
[193] James Elliott, *Firth of Wellington* (Auckland, 1937), p. 172; *AGSC*, III/1 (Second Term 1915), pp. 32-4.
[194] *OHSM*, XXXI/1 (May 1915), pp. 7-8; McGibbon, 'The shaping', pp. 63-5.
[195] *OHSM*, XXX/3 (Dec. 1914), p. 165.

Commercial explanations were especially relevant in elite contexts, with historians having identified the importance of class in underpinning pro-war responses; wealthy Christchurch inhabitants who backed hostilities had substantive financial and familial links with Britain.[196] Elite women dominated the leadership of pro-Empire organisations like the Victoria League which 'came into their own' during the war.[197] Although the extent to which New Zealand actually faced direct military threat remains debatable, imperial ties underpinned the sense of urgency injected into wartime addresses.[198] Any danger faced on overseas battlefields was extrapolated to the home front more generally.

Such war talk furthermore reflected a 'Greater British' mentality common across white settler Dominions more broadly during this period.[199] New Zealand's psychological connection with the United Kingdom, identified by Belich as having strengthened from the 1880s through a process of economic recolonization, resulted in overlapping national and imperial identities.[200] This blurred state of affairs is evident in the *OHSM* article quoted above; 'our nation' likely meant Britain rather than New Zealand, the latter generally differentiated instead as 'our country'.[201] With many seeing the United Kingdom as 'Home' and New Zealand as 'a distinct region of a global British order', the war rapidly became 'our' war through shared cultural sentiments and affinities.[202] New Zealand was a junior partner in an imperial effort, fighting for the same reasons validated by Protestant Irish

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[196] Gwen Parsons, 'Debating the War: The Discourses of War in the Christchurch Community', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, pp. 550-68.
[197] Katie Pickles, 'A Link in 'The Great Chain of Empire Friendship': The Victoria League in New Zealand', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 33/1 (2005), pp. 29-50, 37. See also: Rachel Patrick, 'An Unbroken Connection? New Zealand Families, Duty, and the First World War' (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2014).
[198] *Nelsonian*, XXXI/3 (1915), p. 200.
[199] See: James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld* (Oxford, 2009), esp. ch. 15.
[200] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, ch. 2.
[201] These definitions underpinned *Our Nation's Story*, a primary school textbook heavily used from the late 1920s to the 1940s. See: Colin McGeorge, 'What was 'Our Nation's Story'? New Zealand Primary School History Textbooks between the Wars', *History of Education Review* 28/2 (1999), pp. 46-59.
[202] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 47.

schools. Any future victory would not only be for Great Britain and her Allies but also 'the principles of freedom and justice for which they stand.'[203]

Unlike their Irish counterparts, New Zealand Catholic schools also nailed their colours to the mast. Old boy military activities garnered approval at St. Patrick's because they 'answered the call of the Empire in its hour of need' with local participation in an international war similarly endorsed at Sacred Heart.[204] Early war talk was not wholly identical – Benedict XV's opposition to hostilities, for example, was well known –[205] but a number of parallels did exist across denominations. This clearly articulated sense of purpose echoed wider Catholic feeling. Hugh Laracy and Rory Sweetman found that the Catholic Church 'went to war with gusto', with the *New Zealand Tablet* observing in August 1914 a 'unanimity of feeling and sentiment throughout every portion of the Empire in regard to the Mother Country's action and attitude'.[206]

Catholic educators saw no contradiction in simultaneously upholding the cause of King and country, and Irish nationalism. The ratification of the Home Rule Bill received a jubilant response from the 1914 edition of the *Blue and White* (*BW*), and a mix of war-related and Irish items featured at the 1915 Sacred Heart annual concert.[207] Yet, while Irish and New Zealand identities were far from mutually exclusive – two of the country's most prominent politicians, William Massey and Joseph Ward, were of Irish Protestant and Catholic descent respectively –[208] local circumstances influenced the vehemence with which assertions of loyalty were made. As early as May 1915, New Zealand Catholics were accused of not doing

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[203] *OHSM*, XXXI/2 (Aug. 1915), p. 65.
[204] *BW*, VII/I (Dec. 1914), p. 6; *SHC*, V/10 (Dec. 1915), p. 96.
[205] *SHC*, III/9 (Dec. 1914), pp. 5-6.
[206] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', p. 85; Allan Davidson, 'New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, pp. 447-66. *Tablet* quote cited in Hugh Laracy, 'Priests, People and Patriotism: New Zealand Catholics and War, 1914-1918', *Australasian Catholic Record*, 70/1 (1993), p. 17.
[207] *BW*, VII/1 (1914), p. 84. These included the song 'My Irish Home, Sweet Home' and a recitation titled 'Sing, Belgians, Sing'. See: *SHC*, V/10 (1915), p. 107.
[208] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 57.

their fair share.[209] Although initial tensions did not necessarily have an ethno-cultural dimension, this increasingly proved to be the case. Despite advising a student correspondent (probably Percy Adamson) that '[i]t is quite unnecessary to remark what Irishmen, Sons of Erin and other people are doing at the various war theatres … [as t]heir deeds speak [for themselves]', Gondringer captioned a collection of war-related photographs 'AN IRISH-COLONIAL SOLDIER FAMILY. COLONEL MALONE AND HIS FOUR SONS.'[210] Institutional emphasis on sizable war-effort contributions may have been prompted, at least partially, by an early desire to deflect criticism.

Elite teachers were well aware of the war's import in shaping school reputations. New Zealand headmasters used alumni activities to reaffirm socio-political leanings, educational ethos, and social status. Milner attributed Waitaki Boys' military record to the 'public-spirited lessons' received by past and current students.[211] School enlistment numbers quickly acquired a competitive element with higher totals deemed a type of patriotic evidence which had international, as well as local, implications. Justice Denniston, guest speaker at a prizegiving, explicitly considered Christ's College to be a 'public school of the Empire' on par with English models such as Eton. This elite categorisation had been confirmed by the fact that 'practically every boy of the College who could possibly do so, had not hesitated to offer his services, and his life for his country'.[212]

Catholic and Protestant students alike were encouraged to follow in alumni footsteps. Gondringer, for example, captioned an image of St Patricks' school cadets with the title 'The Future Guardians of Our Shores.'[213] This assumed transition from cadet to combatant was facilitated by militaristic infrastructure now used to claim exceptional loyalty in cases where

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[209] Peter Lineham, 'First World War Religion', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, pp. 467-92, esp. 487-8.
[210] *BW*, VII/2 (Dec. 1915), pp. 135, np.
[211] *Waitakian*, IX/3 (1914), p. 255.
[212] 'Christ's College', *Press* (20 Dec. 1915), p. 2.
[213] *BW*, VII/1 (1914), p. 38.

it predated 1909 legislation.[214] Yet, despite their well-established support for military service, elite schools were quick to discourage illegal activity. While British (and Irish) adolescents could join the regular army at 18 years of age, New Zealanders were only eligible to enlist in the Expeditionary Force at twenty.[215] H. Fowler cautioned those at Nelson College that 'young fellows' under the age of 21 'could not stand the strain of war, and were likely to break down'. Rather than signing up illegally, students were encouraged to help the war effort in other ways, such as by easing labour shortages on farms.[216]

Boys' schools aligned themselves with the Allies in addition to Britain's imperial cause. Staff members spearheaded outpourings of financial support for Belgium with German activities there and elsewhere denounced, including the bombardment of Scarborough, Whitby and Hartlepool.[217] These themes echoed child-directed war talk elsewhere; educators from France, Russia, and Germany all defamed and encouraged hatred of the enemy.[218] Although other members of the Central Powers were also vilified, recent research has highlighted the extent to which anti-German feeling permeated the home front.[219] Inside and outside schools, a 'truly British anti-Germanism' emerged wherein constructions of Germany were juxtaposed against idealised perceptions of Britishness and New Zealand identity.[220] Milner, for instance, contrasted the positive patriotism engendered by 'loyal' organisations such as the NL with 'the bitter Anglophobia and the bellicose propaganda of the German Navy League' in late 1914.[221] Similarly critical comments were

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[214] See, for example: *KC*, XIII/3 (Dec. 1914), pp. 65-6.
[215] James Allen, Minister of Defence, confirmed in Parliament on 11 August 1914 that 'nobody under twenty years of age was to be taken' for the Expeditionary Force. The later 1916 Military Service Act enshrined military age as 'any age not less than twenty years and less than forty-six years'. See: *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 169 (1914), p. 502; Military Service Act, *New Zealand Statues*, no. 8, section 2 (1916). For British regular army requirements, see: van Emden, *Boy Soldiers*, p. 24.
[216] *Nelsonian*, XXXI/3 (1915), p. 205.
[217] *BHSM*, 51 (Summer 1915), p. 10.
[218] Pignot, 'French Boys and Girls', p. 65; Pignot, 'Children', p. 33; Donson, *Youth*, p. 82ff.
[219] Francis, *'To Be Truly'*.
[220] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 93.
[221] *Waitakian*, IX/3 (1914), p. 255.

made about the German education system at Otago Boys' where savage war tactics were attributed to a lack of training in self-control or fair-dealing.[222]

Teacher engagement with anti-German sentiment, while substantive, was not entirely indiscriminate. Students were encouraged to hate military leaders and figures but German citizens were rarely demonised. In an old boys' address published in the *BHSM,* Bevan-Brown held Germany solely responsible for starting the war but he chose to condemn 'the Prussian military spirit, not the Germans themselves.'[223] Similar attempts at differentiation occurred in other forms of youth-directed war talk. Rev. James Aitken, editor of a Presbyterian children's magazine titled *The Break of Day*, distinguished between the German populace and 'all the barbarism and all the treachery' committed by the state.[224] Promoting feelings of empathy rather than hatred, he even invited readers to pray for their German counterparts.[225] While Aitken's editorials were undoubtedly influenced by personal religious beliefs, pragmatism potentially also played a role. Although George V's Prussian lineage could be successfully glossed over in the classroom, other Anglo-German connections proved somewhat more difficult to hide.

People from German-speaking Europe had settled in New Zealand throughout the nineteenth century, constituting the second-largest migrant group after those from the United Kingdom.[226] Total estimates vary from 5,000 to 20,000 for the period between 1840 and 1914, with numbers declining in the 1880s and 1890s, and ceasing entirely with the war's outbreak.[227] 'Enemy aliens' encountered significant backlash, ranging from official internment to informal bullying, and some colleges may have deemed it prudent to try to

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[222] *OHSM*, XXXII/1 (Apr. 1916), p. 22.
[223] *BHSM*, 50 (Winter 1914), p. 22.
[224] *Break of Day*, VIII/2 (Mar. 1916), p. 2.
[225] *Break of Day*, VI/8 (Sept. 1914), p. 2.
[226] James N. Bade, 'Introduction', in James N. Bade (ed), *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-Speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland, 1993), pp. 37-9, esp. 37.
[227] Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich, *Keeping a Low Profile: An Oral History of German Immigration to New Zealand* (Wellington, 2002), pp. 15-16; Marian Minson, 'Trends in German Immigration to New Zealand', in Bade (ed), *German Connection*, p. 45.

quieten such feeling within their walls.[228] Student populations were subject to variation, with a student 'in whose veins flowed German blood' enrolled at St. Patrick's in 1916.[229] Not all secondary schools, however, advocated tolerance or acceptance. King's College sought to evade potential difficulties through a policy of exclusion, the board resolving in early 1915 'That it is inadvisable to accept boys of German name (without special investigation).' It has been suggested that the school's later dismissal of Herr Kreutzer, Music tutor until April 1916, was connected to his German name.[230]

The outbreak of hostilities resulted in new burdens for New Zealand colleges; Jeanine Graham and others have pointed towards the 'practical consequences of wartime volunteering.'[231] Enlistment practices affected Catholic and Protestant institutions alike, albeit the latter to a greater extent. Headmasters strove to present these developments as positively as possible. Major promised that 'work of the staff was rearranged in such a way that the boys suffered little' and Morrell considered staff enlistment further proof of his school's loyalty to the cause.[232] Yet, while recruitment was somewhat difficult for schools with exacting standards – Latter, for example, insisted on a certain proportion of British-trained teachers –[233] departing staff appear to have been readily replaced, at least during the first few years of hostilities.

Matters were complicated by the 1914 Education Act, given assent on 5 November. Despite the successful maintenance of pre-war staff levels, teacher numbers at some state

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[228] Bassett, 'Colonial Justice', pp. 155-79; 'Graham, 'Young New Zealanders', pp. 440-1; Jean King, 'Anti-German Hysteria During World War I', in James N. Bade (ed), *Out of the Shadow of War: The German Connection with New Zealand in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 19-24.
[229] A. J. Lysaght, 'War Years at College, 1915-1919', in J. P. Kavanagh (ed), *St. Patrick's College, 1885-1935: The Record of Fifty Years* (Wellington, 1935), p. 77.
[230] Bruce Hamilton, *O Floreat Semper …: The History of King's College, 1896-1995* (Auckland, 1995), p. 66.
[231] Graham, 'Young New Zealanders', p. 437; Openshaw, ''We could surely'', pp. 80-1.
[232] *KC*, 13/3 (1914), p. 63; *OHSM*, XXXI/3 (1915), p. 131.
[233] Bruce Hamilton and Don Hamilton, *Never a Footstep Back: A History of Wanganui Collegiate School, 1854-2002* (Wanganui, 2003), p. 198; Andrew Sangster, *Pathway to Establishment: The History of Wanganui Collegiate School* (Wanganui, 1985), p. 68.

schools were no longer deemed sufficient with the new requirement of one for every 25 pupils causing a 'great deal of concern' due to the enlistment of many potential masters. Although Otago Boys' 'hoped that so far the difficulty had been overcome' in 1915, a staff increase proved impossible at Auckland Grammar that same year.[234] An exemption was negotiated until 1916, with additional amendments made to ease the pressures encountered by schools more generally, but Auckland Grammar continued to have difficulties meeting requirements throughout the conflict.[235] Other dimensions of the Act also caused controversy. The chairman at Wellington College resigned in protest at additional infringements on institutional autonomy including the subjection of curricula to Education Department regulations.[236] Wanganui Collegiate likewise disputed growing state control, falling amok of new external inspection and registration requirements for leaving certificates.[237]

Catholic educators were amongst those who found wartime legislation most difficult. State funding continued to be fiercely advocated by teaching religious and the New Zealand branch of the Catholic Federation, fully active by mid-1913.[238] The 1914 Act was initially considered a step forward as regional Education Boards no longer had the authority to decide where state scholarships could be held. This apparent concession garnered approval at Sacred Heart and St. Patrick's alike, although Kennedy criticised the restriction of leaving certificates to registered institutions, preventing Catholic eligibility for free university education.[239] Matters came to a head with the Council of Education's declaration against both state scholarships and free places at private schools, and an unfavourable ministerial

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[234] *OHSM*, XXXII/1 (1916), p. 20.
[235] 'Annual Prize-Giving', *NZH* (17 Dec. 1915), p. 4; K. A. Trembath, *Ad Augusta: A Centennial History of Auckland Grammar School, 1869-1969* (Auckland, 1969), pp. 168-9; Cumming and Cumming, *History of State Education*, p. 203.
[236] A. W. Beasley, *The Light Accepted: 125 Years of Wellington College* (Wellington, 1992), pp. 70-2.
[237] Hamilton and Hamilton, *Never a Footstep*, p. 198; Sangster, *Pathway to Establishment*, pp. 69-70.
[238] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', pp. 56-8, 95-100.
[239] *SHC*, III/9 (1914), p. 39; 'The Education Act – Roman Catholic Grievance', *Dominion* (15 Dec. 1915), p. 3.

response to the Catholic Federation's August 1916 deputation.[240] While some scholarships were held at private institutes after 1914, including Sacred Heart and St. Patrick's, discord remained.[241] H. McDonald was refused the boarding allowance usually provided for National scholarship winners in 1915, and Brother Benigus spoke strongly against 'the disabilities under which the Catholic secondary schools suffered in relation to scholarships' at Sacred Heart the following year.[242] The lack of capitation grants remained a point of contention; the claim 'most strongly pressed' by an early 1916 deputation led by Archbishop O'Shea and Bishop Cleary was that free places should be tenable at denominational schools.[243]

Although some have argued that the war had a 'profound impact upon the New Zealand education system at all levels', its initial effects on prestigious boys' schools appear to have been neither uniform nor devastating.[244] Patriotic addresses and activities became a regular feature of school life, but core structures and curricula remained intact. Staffing and funding issues did come to the fore, but these largely tapped into existing gripes with the state rather than constituting 'new' crises in their own right. As in Ireland, New Zealand elite educators strove to maintain the integrity of their colleges above all. Latter captured such sentiment in an address at the end of 1915, noting that 'During the War the right motto for the school at any rate is 'Business as usual.''[245]

Concluding Comments

[240] 'Education Policy', *Dominion* (25 Nov. 1915), p. 9.; 'No Change – National System of Education', *Evening Post* (1 Sept. 1916), p. 3.
[241] 'Scholarships in Private Schools', *Evening Post* (18 May 1918), p. 8.
[242] 'Marist Brothers' School', *Wanganui Herald* (21 Dec. 1916), p. 8; 'Sacred Heart College', *Auckland Star* (15 Dec. 1916), p. 7.
[243] 'Wellington Notes', *Ashburton Guardian* (21 Jan. 1916), p. 7.
[244] Openshaw, ''We could surely'', p. 90.
[245] 'Annual Prize-Giving', *Wanganui Chronicle* (18 Dec. 1915), p. 6.

Elite boys' colleges across Ireland and New Zealand had long aspired to 'public school' status, seeking to produce future leaders for their respective nations throughout the 1910s. This common reference point facilitated strong investment in matters related to social standing and authority. Irish establishments demanded increased government funding to further their own educational goals. At the same time, however, they remained protective of their existing position within society. Catholic authorities, for example, resisted overtures thought to infringe upon religious control of lay schooling, as they had done in earlier decades. Antipodean school boards and teaching religious were also deeply concerned with preserving institutional autonomy against state incursions. While the vast majority of state colleges had grudgingly accepted the 'free place' system, further requirements including external inspection and registration engendered resentment. Catholic schools there too did not hesitate to protest against government decisions seen to disadvantage the communities they served, namely the lack of scholarship opportunities for Catholic boys in pursuit of post-primary education. Despite cumulative departmental advances on secondary schooling more generally, prestigious colleges continued to hold themselves apart from the state. In both Ireland and New Zealand, a discrete elite sector was clearly at play.

Broader similarities aside, elite education in neither country was entirely uniform. Renowned schools had a range of affiliations. Irish and New Zealand Catholic colleges all looked towards Rome, but their teaching staff were enmeshed in particular religious networks such as the Jesuit and Marist orders. Geographic jurisdiction nevertheless overlapped, with Wellington's St. Patrick's tied to Irish seminaries from the start. Transnational cultural and political sympathies also permeated New Zealand Catholic institutions, leading to general support for the Irish nationalist cause. These leanings were not shared by Protestant counterparts. In Ireland, schools such as St. Columba's revered the

British monarchy above all. New Zealand Protestant establishments likewise looked towards the metropole as opposed to any other overseas entity.

These pre-war orientations proved critical in determining subsequent responses to the outbreak of hostilities. Religious and socio-political affiliations were a substantive and consistent source of influence on institutional interpretations of events. Irish Protestant headmasters, especially those in the north of Ireland, stressed the importance of political unity and support for the United Kingdom, whilst those in the Antipodes promoted the imperial sentiments endorsed by prominent colonial leaders through loyalty leagues and other means. Despite the physical distance between these two regions and their slightly different political emphases, the content and colour of Protestant wartime messages proved remarkably similar. The same pattern existed across denominations in New Zealand, where Catholics saw minimal disjuncture between their Irish heritage and current imperial allegiances. Ireland was not characterised by such accord; elite Catholic teaching staff commented on the conflict in an extremely selective manner and close examination of teacher-edited school periodicals demonstrates that the views communicated through them were perhaps less Redmondite than has previously been assumed. Although outright criticism was steadily avoided – except perhaps at Mungret – youth were by no means exposed to an impassioned 'total war' discourse.

Such findings question extant understandings of early-war Ireland and New Zealand. Pennell's assertion that Ireland and Great Britain were relatively 'united' in 1914 holds less well in the elite educational context.[246] While Protestant schools did willingly go to war, Catholic enthusiasm for overseas military endeavours and fundraising activities was muted from the outset. Support for hostilities in New Zealand was also far from absolute. Work by Loveridge and others ably captured the pro-war feeling and auxiliary themes that circulated

[246] Pennell, *Kingdom United*.

the Antipodean home front in 1914-15, including anti-alienism and martial masculinity.[247] These had a presence in schools, but colleges were still not entirely subsumed by the war effort. As in Germany and Australia, hostilities did not erase the administrative demands and social expectations associated with day-to-day operations. In New Zealand and Ireland too, practical concerns and institutional aspirations remained paramount, war or no war.

[247] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*; Francis, *'To Be Truly'*.

Chapter 2: Pupil Responses and the Outbreak of War

Like their adult contemporaries, Irish and New Zealand adolescents were confronted by war in late 1914. Catriona Pennell's overview study of Great Britain and Ireland explored youth engagement with wider anti-German sentiment when describing attacks on local shops.[1] Examinations of Irish women in wartime have also indicated the patriotic work carried out by girls at Alexandra College, as well as child involvement in the collection of sphagnum moss for hospital bandages.[2] Child-centric examples are likewise included in Graham Hucker's work on New Zealand; young people in the Taranaki region actively contributed to fundraising endeavours for Belgian refugees from late 1914.[3] Many appear to have 'gone to war' with gusto, a suggestion affirmed by Jeanine Graham in her more focussed investigation of those under 15 years of age.[4] Yet, by and large, children's experiences have tended to be folded into general accounts rather than being considered in their own right. Adolescent responses have rarely been distinguished from those of other cohorts, giving rise to the impression that younger and older citizens engaged with the outbreak of hostilities on similar terms. This assumption requires further scrutiny in light of recent work recognising the importance of age and the multifaceted nature of children's agency as expressed in past societies; children often had their own reasons for acting the way they did, even when their outward behaviour appeared compliant.[5]

Historians have begun to untangle the factors underpinning youth participation in overseas 'war cultures'. Sarah Glassford recently highlighted the sheer scale of unpaid labour associated with organisations such as the Canadian Red Cross. The wartime implementation of Red Cross branches at school meant that child members may have been

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[1] Pennell, *Kingdom United*, p. 172.
[2] Eileen Reilly, 'Women and voluntary war work', in Gregory and Pašeta (eds), *'Unite Us All'?*, pp. 49-72. See also: Walsh, 'The impact'.
[3] Hucker, 'Rural Home Front', pp. 61-2.
[4] Graham, 'Young New Zealanders', pp. 429-44.
[5] Miller, 'Assent as Agency', pp. 48-65; Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap', pp. 446-59.

'voluntold' to join up just as much as they volunteered.[6] This is not to say that those involved were unwilling – Glassford having acknowledged 'young people's own enthusiasm and interest in the war situation' elsewhere –[7] but the situation was evidently far from straightforward. Multifaceted motivations have also been identified in Europe. Patriotism mixed with guilt in France where girls felt unable to ever fully compensate for the sacrifices soldiers made in protecting them.[8] Seemingly acquiescent behaviour could also be downright subversive; some German children participated in agricultural activities and collection drives to steal goods for themselves and/or the black market.[9] Much has been made of the contributions made by British public schools during the First World War, especially in the form of military personnel.[10] Nevertheless, the extent to which pupils at similar institutions elsewhere in the globe whole-heartedly supported war endeavours from the outset remains unclear.

This chapter explores the importance of school environments in shaping student priorities throughout the early-to-mid 1910s. It posits the existence of a transnational boys' culture which operated within elite institutions at both ends of the Empire. Despite being situated within different socio-political landscapes, Irish and New Zealand students interacted with surrounding contexts in remarkably similar ways. Matters touching on key areas of interest littered 'boy talk' articulated in supervised and uncontrolled settings. Pupils valued militarised masculinities, institutional loyalty, sporting success, and other school matters. Older boys also engaged with wider political shifts and developments, evident

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[6] Sarah Glassford, ''Voluntold': Child Labour in the Canadian Red Cross, 1899-1970' (unpublished paper, delivered 25 June 2015, Society for the History of Children and Youth Conference, University of British Columbia).
[7] idem, 'Bearing the Burdens of Their Elders: English-Canadian Children's First World War Red Cross Work and Its Legacies', *Études Canadiennes/Canadian Studies*, 80 (2016), pp. 129-50. See also: idem, *Mobilizing Mercy: A History of the Canadian Red Cross* (Montreal, 2017), ch. 3.
[8] Pignot, 'French Boys and Girls', pp. 163-75.
[9] Donson, *Youth*, p. 112.
[10] Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public School Ethos* (London, 1987); Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*.

especially in Ireland. Adolescent concerns often coalesced with, or at least did not seriously disrupt, those of their teacher counterparts. In periods of stress, however, this did not necessarily prove to always be the case. Chapter one demonstrated how institutional reactions to the outbreak of hostilities were moderated by pre-war concerns and affiliations. This discussion is extended though an exploration of how boys responded to the conflict in turn.

Boy Culture

Most historiography on elite education had focussed on institutional efforts to teach students certain ideals. To quote Martin Crotty, 'Few … have considered the lived experience of masculinity or the reception of ideology; how young men actually responded and reacted to their schooling and the messages presented to them in the process.'[11] Nonetheless, glimpses of this process have been captured. J. A. Mangan and others have pointed towards a 'hierarchal boy culture based on games ability', with Victorian reforms arising from internal negotiations as well as headmaster initiative.[12] While compulsory games were seen as a way to instil discipline, they were also a concession to student interests.[13] Rob Boddice has recently extended this argument with reference to mid-nineteenth century Eton, Harrow and Winchester; here, 'Christian muscularity' was apparently introduced more by the boys than the masters themselves.[14] Evidence of youth engagement with hegemonic constructs has also been found outside Britain for a later period. Robert Morrell's work on white secondary schools in Natal, for instance, asserts that boys

[11] Martin Crotty, 'Pointing the Way – Antipodean Responses to J.A. Mangan's *Athleticism* and Related Studies: Scotch College, Melbourne, in the Inter-War Years', *TIJHS*, 20/4 (2003), pp. 64-81, 66.
[12] Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 112-13.
[13] Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, pp. 104-5; J. A. Mangan, 'Athleticism: A Case Study of the Evolution of an Educational Ideology', in Simon and Bradley (eds), *Victorian*, pp. 150-2.
[14] Rob Boddice, 'In loco parentis? Public-school authority, cricket and manly character, 1855-62', *Gender and Education*, 21/2 (2009), pp. 159-72.

'actively contributed to the creation of masculinity', exercising power through bullying and initiation rites while revering physical strength, loyalty, team-work, and bravery. While students did create informal groups with the capacity to challenge hierarchal practices – these being one-on-one friendships, small friendship groups and gangs – such groups usually shored up institutional codes of behaviour.[15] It seems reasonable to assert that while student experiences were shaped by formal processes, they were impacted at least as much by other adolescents.

The following chapter pursues this line of inquiry, drawing on notions of semi-autonomous 'youth', 'children's', and 'peer' cultures proposed elsewhere. Sociologists and social historians have considered these conceptual frameworks since the 1940s, resulting in a plethora of definitions and approaches.[16] Broadly speaking, these cultures are now seen in the plural and as encapsulating 'the expressive and meaning-making activities that are an integral part of children's everyday lives.'[17] These include youth relationships, commercial consumption patterns, and folklore and slang. They can be variously 'adversarial' and/or 'adaptive'.[18] William A. Corsaro's work on peer culture shows that while children seek autonomy through their actions and expressions, they also 'creatively appropriate information from adult culture'.[19] This process of 'interpretative reproduction' means that youth did not simply internalise adult culture but instead negotiate with and extend it through

[15] Robert Morrell, 'Boys, Gangs, and the Making of Masculinity in the White Secondary Schools of Natal, 1880-1930', *Masculinities*, 2/2 (1994), pp. 56-82, 57; idem, *From Boys to Gentlemen*, ch. 3.
[16] William A. Corsaro, 'Peer Culture', *Oxford Bibliographies – Childhood Studies*, doi: 10.1093/OBO/9780199791231-0010 (27 Feb. 2017); Michael Brake, *The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada* (London, 1985); Oded Heilbronner, 'From a Culture for Youth to a Culture of Youth: Recent Trends in the Historiography of Western Youth Cultures', *Contemporary European History*, 17/4 (2008), pp. 575-91. For an analytical case study highlighting this interplay, see: Selina Todd, 'Flappers and Factory Lads: Youth and Youth Culture in Interwar Britain', *History Compass*, 4/4 (2006), pp. 715-30.
[17] Steven Mintz, 'The Changing Face of Children's Culture', in Paula S. Fass and Michael Grossberg (eds), *Reinventing Childhood after World War II* (Philadelphia, 2012), pp. 38-50, 39.
[18] idem, 'Why the History of Childhood Matters', *JHCY*, 5/1 (2012), p. 22.
[19] William A. Corsaro, 'Peer Culture', in Jens Qvortrup, William A. Corsaro and Michael-Sebastian Honig (eds), *Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies* (Basingstoke, 2011), p. 301.

their own peer cultures.[20] Preadolescents and adolescents tend to be more self-reflective regarding this two-way dynamic, recognising how their creations engaged with wider cultural forms.[21]

Work by E. Anthony Rotundo and Simon Sleight has explored how young people 'colonized and crafted' outdoor spaces in nineteenth-century America and Melbourne, engaging in play activities not always deemed appropriate by older contemporaries.[22] Adult intervention eventually brought an end to both of these cultural forms, through the expansion of schooling and efforts to police public space respectively.[23] Crotty has asserted that a similar fate befell Australian youth, especially those who attended elite schools. By the very early twentieth century, 'Adult culture appears to have successfully suffocated most resistant 'boy culture'', with adolescents enlisted in support of national/imperial concerns.[24] This conclusion, however, is probably an overstatement. While tightened control and intensified ideologies had consequences, they were unlikely to have displaced independent expression altogether. Youthful rituals and norms, after all, were practised in other structured settings like elite universities at this time.[25] Indeed, as recognised by Joe Austin and Michael Nevin Willard, schools may be powerful socialising institutions but they also provide 'an arena for shared experiences and/or the creation of shared codes'.[26]

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[20] idem, *The Sociology of Childhood*, 4th edn (Thousand Oaks, California, 2015), esp. chs. 2 and 6.
[21] ibid., ch. 9. See also: William A. Corsaro and Donna Eder, 'Children's Peer Cultures', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16 (1990), pp. 197-220.
[22] Sleight, *Young People*, pp. 13, 49-86; E. Anthony Rotundo, 'Boy Culture: Middle-Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America', in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (eds), *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 15-36.
[23] Rotundo, 'Boy Culture', pp. 33-6; Sleight, *Young People*, pp. 82-6.
[24] Crotty, *Making the Australian Male*, pp. 222-7, 226.
[25] See Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*; Kelly, 'Irish medical student culture', pp. 39-57.
[26] Joe Austin and Michael Nevin Willard, 'Introduction: Angels of History, Demons of Culture', in Joe Austin and Michael Nevin Willard (eds), *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, 1998), p. 8.

Ireland

Elite students in pre-war Ireland were preoccupied with their own concerns. Full-time education not only absorbed a vast number of hours most weeks of the year – more if one happened to be a boarder – but also underpinned this cohort's very identity. Despite the general 'discovery' of adolescence as a distinct transitional phase in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – most commonly tied to psychologist Granville Stanley Hall's 1904 publication on the topic –[27] delineations between childhood and adulthood were far from universal. Indeed, Mary E. Daly has recently argued that most young Irish men and women only had access to an adolescent life-cycle 'space' in the 1960s due to 'economic growth, an extension of schooling and the development of a more urban, non-industrial society'.[28] By virtue of their privileged position, male secondary students were able to defer taking on responsibilities expected of their less privileged counterparts, such as paid labour, while they prepared for future independence.[29] Enrolment at secondary school resulted in decidedly different expectations, such as achieving high results in public examinations.

Student engagement with examinations varied according to ability, personal ambition, and sensitivity to pressure both from above and one's peers. Some institutions applauded academic achievement more than others but, as in Britain, it generally attracted scorn.[30] Jealous reactions from fellow students aside, it is likely that the brightest still took pride in having their successes posted up at school, with the best recorded in newspapers.

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[27] John Demos and Virginia Demos, 'Adolescence in Historical Perspective', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 31/4 (1969), pp. 632-8; Joseph F. Kett, 'Reflections on the history of adolescence in America', *History of the Family*, 8/3 (2003), pp. 355-73.

[28] Mary E. Daly, 'The Emergence of an Irish Adolescence: 1920s to 1970s', in Cox and Riordan (eds), *Adolescence*, pp. 199-215, 199.

[29] For an overview of North American, European, and Australian discussions on the intersections between 'modern adolescence' and secondary education, see: Craig Campbell, 'Modern Adolescence and Secondary Schooling: An Historiographical Review', *Forum of Education*, 50/1 (1995), pp. 12-27. More recent explorations of the British context include: Melanie Tebbutt, *Making Youth: A History of Youth in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke, 2016), esp. ch. 1.

[30] Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 103-10; idem, 'Happy Warriors in Waiting? Wykehamists and the Great War – Stereotypes, Complexities and Contradictions', *TIJHS*, 28/3-4 (2011), pp. 458-91.

Nonetheless, the process itself was rarely enjoyed with the termination of the Intermediate Examinations always coming 'as a relief' to staff and students alike.[31] Internal evaluations could likewise prompt a flurry of anxious activity, especially at institutions with rigorous assessment policies. Junior and senior pupils at Belvedere, for instance, sat weekly exams which formed the basis for parental reports.[32]

Sports were judged to be more important than schoolwork with student culture reflecting the growth of athleticism from the late Victorian period. While originating in Britain, this educational ideology also informed elite schooling in both Ireland and Australasia.[33] Athleticism, as defined by Mangan, revered physical exercise for its alleged ability to inculcate 'physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the ability to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to both command and obey'.[34] Although the extent to which boys engaged with these pedagogical justifications is unclear, rugby and cricket nonetheless enjoyed a cult-like status. Soccer had been played at Clongowes and Castleknock up to the early 1900s but rugby became '*the* game of the middle classes across Ireland' shortly thereafter.[35] Other sports supplemented rugby and cricket, including swimming, tennis, hockey, and golf. Hurling was played at Mungret College in the pre-war years, although this was far from common with elite Catholic approval of Gaelic games limited until after 1922.[36]

Prominent players were highly admired for their athletic prowess. Indeed, the 1915 *Castleknock Chronicle* observed that 'to the boy-mind everything else is only of secondary importance' with far greater interest directed at new students likely to excel in rugby than at

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[31] *Erasmian*, XI/3 (June 1914), p. 149.
[32] *Belvederian*, III/3 (Summer 1914), p. 303.
[33] Geoffrey Sherington, R.C. Petersen and Ian Brice, *Learning to Lead: A history of girls' and boys' corporate secondary schools in Australia* (Sydney, 1987), pp. 51-3; Hickey, 'Evolution of Athleticism', pp. 1394-417.
[34] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 9.
[35] Paul Rouse, *Sport and Ireland: A History* (Oxford, 2015), p. 216.
[36] *MA*, IV/3 (1914), pp. 221-2; O'Neill, *Catholics*, p. 53.

science examinations.[37] Detail regarding inter-school matches and internal fixtures filled Irish school magazines with total sports coverage comparable to that identified in British periodicals – up to 70 percent.[38] Provincial competitions drew particular attention, with Campbell College bemoaning the loss of the Ulster Schools' [Rugby] Cup following a hard-fought semi-final match against Foyle College on 7 March 1914.[39] In addition to being enjoyed for their own sake, these events promoted solidarity in the face of rivalry; as in Britain and Australia, school loyalties were displayed and cultivated through institutional colours and songs.[40]

Further collective identities emerged within schools. Few Irish establishments were structured around the English public school 'house system' prior to the war – Campbell being a key exception –[41] but internal divisions still existed. Where boarding was available but not compulsory, a line was drawn between students who lived on-site and those who did not. Boarders tended to come from wealthier families that could afford the higher fees associated with lodging and full-time care; fees at Campbell, for example, were 60 guineas in 1914, as compared to the 12 guineas (excluding incidentals) charged for day pupils at RBAI.[42] These students not only spent more time together, but could also attain special privileges due to the number of hours spent on school grounds. Such distinctions manifested themselves in contempt towards day boys when they constituted a numerical minority. Henry Alfred Cronne, student at Campbell between 1917 and 1922, remembered that the 'Daydogs' arrived after breakfast, and William Monk Gibbon's first memory of St. Columba's in 1909 was witnessing another day-boarder in tears after being teased with lighted matches.[43]

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[37] *CC*, XXX (1915), p. 54.
[38] Dann, 'The representation', p. 136.
[39] *Campbellian*, 3/5 (Apr. 1914), pp. 109, 117-8.
[40] Sherington, Petersen and Brice, *Learning to Lead*, pp. 53-4; Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 151.
[41] Keith Haines, *Neither Rogues nor Fools: A History of Campbell College and Campbellians* (Belfast, 1993), pp. 79-80.
[42] 'Campbell College', *IT* (22 Aug. 1914), p. 9; *SN*, 25/78 (1914), p. 4.
[43] Belfast, Campbell College Archives, (H. A. Crone, 'Campbell College 1917-21: The End of an Era', Apr. 1978), Memoir, p. 14; Monk Gibbon, *Inglorious Soldier* (London, 1968), p. 4.

Student hierarchies were vertical as well as horizontal. Age-related differentiation of power was regularly formalised through prefect systems wherein chosen pupils, usually from the Sixth and Upper Fifth Forms, were granted special authority over the rest – including the right to discipline – to ensure general obedience to school rules. A few Protestant institutions also adopted the tradition of 'fagging' where younger boys ran errands for their elders. R. A. B. Stone, prefect at St. Columba's, recorded in March 1919 that he had caned a student for talking during morning prep, and that Howard Grubb, who had been fagging for him, was ill.[44] Associated with the so-called 'Arnoldian' reform of English public schools, both practices were considered crucial leadership tools that taught boys how to govern others.[45] Jesuit students were shielded from the use and abuse of student prefects due to different character-training models; pupils were grouped into distinct cohorts subject to adult supervision at all times to overcome boys' 'propensity for evil … [when] left to themselves'.[46] Nonetheless, here too, those in the lower 'Lines' (school levels) were at the bottom of the pecking order.

Adolescent interests were not confined to the school gates. External events like the Larne gun-running incident evoked wry commentary at Belvedere. P. O'Connor noted on 5 May 1914:

> For the past few days, on an average of once per hour, the hoarse yells of the 'Stop Press' sellers have reached us in our sequestered class-rooms. One-half the people of Ireland seem to be gun-running whilst the other half sell stop presses.[47]

Such observations reflect the importance attributed to military developments and paradigms more generally. David Fitzpatrick has stressed how admiration for 'the cult of discipline, training and mastery of arms' was widespread across Ireland, overcoming political divisions

[44] Dublin, SCCA, (Recollections and Mar. 1919 diary of R. A. B. Stone), Diary, pp. 1, 4.
[45] Paul Nash, 'Training an Elite: The prefect-fagging system in the English Public School', *History of Education Quarterly*, 1/1 (1961), pp. 14-21.
[46] Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 147.
[47] *Belvederian*, III/3 (1914), p. 332.

even as it manifested in distinctly different organisations and visions.[48] While dating this phenomenon back to the Second South African War and right through until 1922, Fitzpatrick notes that 1913 and 1914 saw 'an extraordinary outburst of mimetic militarism'.[49] These years also coalesce with Jane McGaughey's identification of 1912 as a crucial turning point in how Ulster Protestant manliness was perceived; from then on, paramilitary organisation and Ulster's propaganda campaign operated in earnest.[50]

This interest was potentially driven by boyish enthusiasm rather than the stated aims of paramilitary groups, or what they may have represented. 'Playing at soldiers' had long been popular across the United Kingdom, with recent work asserting that the main appeal of youth groups like the *Na Fianna Éireann* resided in their uniforms, military training, and access to guns.[51] As in Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, however, the lines between 'play' and 'reality' proved porous in terms of youthful identity construction.[52] The attention paid to UVF and IV activities was underpinned by a deeper investment in political shifts, especially among older adolescents. A philosophy-level pupil at Mungret College directly connected the two when reflecting on the 1914 summer holidays; 'Everyone had seen each in his own town or village the drill-ing and arming of the Volunteers, and was naturally reminded of the past when the fight for freedom was so arduously fought.'[53]

More sustained political discussion emerged in school debates, with Protestant boys at Campbell College contesting the topic 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right' that same year.[54] This moot carried by a considerable majority, indicating strong student support for Ulster Unionism. Catholic students, by contrast, preferred other constitutional outcomes, as

[48] Fitzpatrick, 'Militarism in Ireland, 1900-1922', p. 382.
[49] ibid., p. 383.
[50] McGaughey, *Ulster's Men*, pp. 17-18, 41-62.
[51] McGarry, *Rising*, p. 32.
[52] Gleadle, 'Playing at Soldiers', pp. 335-48.
[53] *MA*, IV/4 (1915), p. 312.
[54] *Campbellian*, 3/4 (1913), pp. 102-3.

suggested by Edward Coyne's response to a moot on the formation of a National Volunteer Force at Clongowes. Fellow pupil Alban O'Kelly reported that Coyne 'dwelt lengthily upon the ignominy of having our towns garrisoned by English soldiers who served no greater purpose than that of ornamenting His Majesty's barracks.'[55] General enthusiasm for nationalist developments was also expressed at Jesuit schools on later occasions such as the passing of the Third Home Rule Bill.[56] Yet, interest in Irish domestic affairs aside, students paid little attention to concurrent European tensions. Instead, adolescent writings from mid-1914 tended to focus on more immediate concerns, such as the upcoming vacation.

Outbreak of hostilities

British public schools had a crucial role in wartime. These institutions sought to produce future leaders for the nation, inculcating imperial and patriotic loyalties whilst also providing the training deemed necessary to teach boys how to command others. Work by Peter Parker and others has emphasised the martial nature of this 'hidden curriculum', linking it to the successful production of large numbers of volunteers and dedicated officers during the conflict.[57] Broad trends aside, questions have been raised about the extent to which elite school responses to the war were entirely uniform. Mangan has argued that there was limited engagement with 'bellicose militancy' at Winchester College before and after the First World War, highlighting the existence of 'less enthusiastic sober warriors' amongst British alumni.[58] Chapter one likewise indicates differentiation in how prestigious Irish and New Zealand establishments engaged with the outbreak of hostilities. It is entirely possible that student reactions to the war were similarly multifaceted.

[55] *Clongownian*, VII/1 (1914), p. 71.
[56] ibid., p. 93; *MA*, IV/3 (1914), p. 217.
[57] Parker, *Old Lie*; Paul Methven; ''Children ardent for some desperate glory': Public Schools and First World War Volunteering' (M.Phil. thesis, Cardiff University, 2013); Kennedy, *Children's War*, p. 90.
[58] Mangan, 'Happy Warriors', pp. 472, 486.

Irish students learned of the war's outbreak while away from school. Secondary schools had closed their doors for summer following the completion of Intermediate Examinations on 24 June, with the last end-of-year events held in late July.[59] Many were startled at how quickly international relations had deteriorated. In his September 1914 editorial, G. K. Carpenter noted: 'Little did anyone think as we separated for the holidays, that in a few short weeks the nations of Europe were destined to find themselves engaged in a struggle, as titanic as that which was waged with Napoleon, just a century ago.'[60] Some readily admitted not understanding the conflict's underlying causes or the consequences of British intervention. Initial incomprehension was swiftly remedied in following weeks with an onslaught of information regarding the destruction in Belgium and France. Indeed, the *Columban* student editor reflected later that year that an early August poster of *The Times* had proved striking with its message of war but at the time it had meant relatively little.[61]

A small number of secondary pupils had been kept informed through their military training. St. Columba's and Campbell had both sent cadets to a large OTC camp at Mytchett Farm in Aldershot. This event began in late July and was attended by a number of English public schools, with parallel camps held at Tidworth Pennings (Andover) and Hagley Park (Rugeley).[62] Magazine accounts suggest limited cadet engagement with overseas developments on the way to camp with an unusual atmosphere only being detected on arrival.[63] Nonetheless, field operations and leisure activities proceeded as usual. It was not until 1 August that rumours that the camp might break up 'on account of the war' began, becoming increasingly prevalent the following day. Yet, despite these rumours and Germany's mobilisation against Russia, the *Campbellian* recorded that 'most of us thought

[59] 'Intermediate Examinations', *IT* (17 June 1914), p. 5.
[60] *Erasmian*, XI/4 (Sept. 1914), p. 179.
[61] *Columban*, XXXV/3 (1914), p. 1.
[62] Alan R. Haig-Brown, *The O.T.C. And the Great War* (London, 1915), pp. 39, 71.
[63] *Columban*, XXXV/3 (1914), p. 13.

that the camp would be carried on.'[64] On 3 August, Germany declared war on France and cadets were told to strike camp early. Columbans reached Kingstown on the same day as George V declared war.[65] Although it is unclear exactly how Irish cadets viewed the outbreak of war, students at St. Columba's and Campbell regretted that the camp 'did not last the full time', a sentiment likewise expressed by their English counterparts at Shrewsbury School.[66] From the very outset, war jostled with student concerns and priorities, and pupils did not always view the outcome favourably.

Irish youth absorbed war-related information throughout the summer months. A former old boy, almost certainly K. K. O'Connor, recalled that 'During August, 1914, the news from the Front in France was terrible and it was in a chastened mood that St. Columba's re-assembled for the September term.'[67] O'Connor's awareness of overseas developments was probably fuelled by an interest in army affairs; his position as Platoon Sergeant in the school OTC had taken him to Aldershot, and the Senior Prefect had passed his Certificate 'A' examination earlier that year.[68] More generally, adolescent engagement with relevant newspaper articles may have also been encouraged by the lack of a viable alternative. Although secondary students greatly looked forward to holidays, boredom was at some point inevitable.

Indeed, most had little choice but to pay at least some attention to the conflict. Younger as well as older youth were exposed to incessant war talk in their surrounding environments. George Buchanan, a ten-year-old pupil at Larne Grammar School, heard of

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[64] *Campbellian*, 3/7 (1914), p. 166.
[65] *Columban*, XXXV/3 (1914), p. 13.
[66] ibid., p. 2; Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 30.
[67] Dublin, SCCA, 11-4-1, (Recollections and Memoirs, 1907-14), 'Memories of St. Columba's 1907-1914 and of Wardens Parker, Gwynn and Blackburn', p. 9. Although this memoir was unsigned, K. K. O'Connor was the only student that began in 1907 and departed in December 1914. See: Old Columban Society, *College of S. Columba: The Register, from 1843 to 1926,* 6th edn (Dublin, 1926), p. 119; *Columban*, XXXV/3 (1914), p. 2.
[68] *Columban*, XXXV/1 (Apr. 1914), p. 4. O'Connor later entered the Indian Army. See: *Columban*, XXXVI/3 (Dec. 1915), p. 2.

Britain's declaration against Germany from a newspaper his father read aloud at breakfast. His memoir traces the growing anxiety expressed by neighbours regarding the German advance inside and outside his home.[69] Tangible shifts indicating the emergence of a home front society were furthermore observed; food prices rose during the first weeks, with Buchanan noting that 'The farmers expect to do well', and Ireland experienced a rapid mobilization and exodus of most of the 30,000-40,000 British soldiers stationed there by 22 August.[70]

Despite these economic and military shifts, elite adolescent activities were not suspended. Fifteen-year-old James Hogan had attended Ring Irish College before his final term at Clongowes College. While he later recalled that a 'party of us rowed out to a [British] cruiser in Dungarvan Bay', there is no indication that he abandoned the Gaelic summer camp despite it coinciding with 'the very outbreak of the war'.[71] Previously innocuous decisions, however, could now have serious consequences. A. Stevenson, pupil at Foyle College, was apprehended by 'the powers that be' on Malin Head for attempting to take a snapshot of the wireless station during the height of the German spy scare. Reponses to this new climate of suspicion undoubtedly varied, with fellow students responding to news about Stevenson with surprised amusement despite recognising the severity of the situation. In the end, Stevenson made a delayed return to school, only being released after accidentally injuring himself.[72]

Conflict-centric conversations continued following the resumption of term.[73] While historians of education have tended to focus on top-down narratives – Rosalie Triolo's work on schools in wartime Australia constituting one such example –[74] it is clear that youth

[69] George Buchanan, *Green Seacoast* (London, 1959), pp. 46-7.
[70] ibid., p. 47; Pennell, *Kingdom United*, pp. 166-9.
[71] James Hogan, 'Memoir, 1913-1927', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin (ed), *James Hogan: Revolutionary, Historian, Political Scientist* (Dublin, 2001), p. 186.
[72] *OST*, VII/I (1914), p. 3.
[73] *SN*, 25/78 (1914), p. 5.
[74] Triolo, *Our Schools*.

disseminated their own interpretations alongside those articulated by adult authorities. The November 1914 *C.A.I.* even asserted that the conflict was 'a subject which is occupying the minds of almost everybody at the present time. Even the 'schoolboy' never tires of speaking and thinking of the terrible realities of war.'[75] While such claims were certainly overstatements, Catholic and Protestant students did take available opportunities to express their views. As with pre-war political movements, issues pertaining to Irish military commitments, conscription, and German actions were fiercely debated.[76]

The war's domestic implications were also considered. The *Columban* editor deliberately described Ireland as 'peaceful' in December 1914, alluding to the now suspended threat of civil war; ''Peaceful' seems a peculiar epithet to apply to a 'most disthressful counthry,' [sic] but in point of fact Ireland and Mexico are now, comparatively speaking, two of the most peaceful countries in the world.'[77] Mention of the Home Rule Bill was tactfully avoided, mirroring general disapproval of this measure in Protestant unionist circles.[78] Catholic pupils, by contrast, saw matters in different terms. A Gaelic-language contribution to the June 1915 *Belvederian*, for example, claimed that the much-desired Bill had only passed because of the Volunteer movement and the fact that 'the English had no choice but to grant it, because of the war.'[79] According to Donal Donnelly, army recruiting efforts in Ireland would have been entirely unsuccessful without it.[80]

Political preferences aside, Protestant and Catholic boys expressed common enthusiasm for war-related activities. Clongowes' application for an OTC unit was driven by students themselves, with homemade posters advertising the endeavour displayed around

[75] *C.A.I.*, XV/3 (Nov. 1914), p. 3.
[76] *MA*, IV/4 (1915), p. 270.
[77] *Columban*, XXXV/3 (1914), p. 1.
[78] The audience at a Foyle College debate on whether the Bill would prove beneficial to Ireland 'was clearly against the motion.' See: *OST*, VII/3 (Apr. 1915), p. 96.
[79] *Belvederian*, IV/1 (1915), p. 122.
[80] ibid., pp. 121-3.

the school and Lower Line Captain Eugene McQuaid reportedly acting like a Recruiting Sergeant, writing down the names of all those interested.[81] Support for the British Army and its training endeavours was wholly compatible with Redmondite nationalism. Nevertheless, adolescent motivations sometimes evaded politics entirely, tapping instead into the glamour and excitement associated with notions of the 'soldier hero'.[82] Michael and Eamonn Hogan, the first of whom was still at Clongowes at the time, tried to enlist underage at the end of 1915. According to James Hogan, neither of them did so 'caring a straw for the Cause but in search of adventure.'[83] These alternative vectors of engagement echo some of the less idealistic factors identified as underpinning Irish recruitment more generally; while David Fitzpatrick has persuasively argued that loyalty to friends, families, and fraternities was the most prominent factor in determining enlistment, he also identified the role of adventure and 'subsidised international tourism'.[84]

Continental battles and lines of defence proved another area of interest for older cohorts. L. O'Dwyer, D. McGrath and M. McSharry noted on 9 September 1914 that 'The Germans retreat from the Marne. Great excitement! Senior Grade strongly asserts that it was the presence of F. F---l and P. K---y on the committee that did it.'[85] While this comment on Allied success at the battle of the Marne was made in jest – F. Farrell and P. Kearney had just been elected to Belvedere's football committee – it nonetheless signals the attention some paid to early campaigns on the Western Front. James Thompson reflected on similar debates at Castleknock a month later, observing that crowds gathered daily at the porch to read the latest war news and criticise commander decisions. Here too, discussants came from

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[81] *Clongownian*, VII/3 (1916), pp. 318, 396
[82] Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 5-6; Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994).
[83] Hogan, 'Memoir', p. 187.
[84] Fitzpatrick, 'The logic of collective sacrifice', pp. 1017-30; David Fitzpatrick, 'Home front and everyday life', in Horne (ed), *Our War*, pp. 134-5, 134.
[85] *Belvederian*, IV/1 (1915), p. 124.

the higher forms; Thompson was himself a senior student, and he noted that student commentary on war events tended to be followed by 'tirade[s]… against those hard-hearted relatives who refused to allow them to go and try to interfere with the free passage of the Kaiser's bullets.'[86] Those closer to the age of enlistment appear, from the very outset, to have had a greater investment in military specifics than their younger counterparts at secondary schools.

Secondary students more generally tended to focus on the war's immediate – rather than future – impacts. Although schools with OTCs and cadet troops had long been exposed to men in uniform, institutional connections with Britain's armed forces increased. Hogan later noted that his last academic year at Clongowes, 1914-1915, proved 'altogether British in tone … [with] constant visits from officers and sergeants in the Curragh'.[87] In addition to official dignitaries, schools hosted alumni visiting in a more informal manner before deployment or during leave.[88] Student attention to these visits not only signals the amount of time spent in school environments, but also a sense of ownership over these geographical spaces. Minor incursions represented exciting novelties, as was the case in Britain where war-related objects such as toys and games provided ready entertainment;[89] Irish diarists frequently noted occasions where aeroplanes flew over their college with the appearance of a British airship in Dublin causing '[g]reat excitement' in 1916.[90] Any imposition on key spheres of interest, however, resulted in more ambivalent responses.

Alterations to staff and student populations evoked particular commentary. The loss of Mr. Willis to the 14th Battalion Royal Irish Rifles was recognised at a large event at Coleraine Academical wherein G. Walker spoke on behalf of the boys. He expressed

[86] *CC*, XXX (1915), p. 30.
[87] Hogan, 'Memoir', p. 187.
[88] *CC*, XXX (1915), p. 5; *SN*, 25/79 (Mar. 1915), p. 6; *SN*, 26/81 (Dec. 1915), p. 7.
[89] Kennedy, *Children's War*, ch. 3.
[90] *MA*, IV/4 (1915), p. 324; *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 133.

admiration for Willis's decision to 'go and fight the enemies of his country' alongside his 'regret at the prospect of losing for an indefinite time one whose face had become so familiar to them'.[91] Yet, although well-loved teachers were certainly missed, the exodus of older boys made a greater impression. As Ireland's age of enlistment was 18 years, pupils in the uppermost grades were eligible for military service. As these adolescents held prominent sports and leadership positions, their enlistment could disrupt age-related hierarchies inherent in elite colleges. The departure of R. L. Rice, popular Captain of the House, from Clongowes was regretted not only by his immediate classmates but also cricket enthusiasts and the school more generally.[92] Current pupils – especially those at Protestant institutions – stressed the absolute necessity of old boy military contributions, but friendships were still interrupted, sports teams disrupted, and younger peers left behind.

Unusual arrivals also drew attention. Germany's rapid invasion of Belgium prompted the exodus of more than one million people, approximately 250,000 of whom spent time in the United Kingdom.[93] Irish fundraising efforts began immediately, spearheaded by Heléne Fowle and Edward White, and the Local Government Board appointed an official Belgian Refugees Committee to assist that based in London by October 1914.[94] The first group of refugees was welcomed in Dublin on 20 October, with more than 3,000 entering Ireland in total.[95] Children were amongst those who had fled and, as in England, steps were taken to ensure their education was not neglected.[96] Several major Catholic secondary institutions taught Belgian boys free of charge, including Clongowes, Belvedere, and Mungret.[97] These

[91] *C.A.I.*, XV/3 (1914), p. 14.
[92] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), p. 252.
[93] Tony Kushner, 'Local Heroes: Belgian Refugees in Britain During the First World War', *Immigrants & Minorities,* 18/1 (1999), pp. 2, 4.
[94] O'Neill, 'Irish Home Front', pp. 54-60.
[95] Buck, ''Come and find sanctuary'', pp. 192, 196.
[96] For further detail: Kevin Myers, 'The Hidden History of Refugee Schooling in Britain: The Case of the Belgians, 1914-18', *History of Education,* 30/2 (2001), pp. 153-62.
[97] Others included Roscrea and Rockwell Colleges. See *Parliamentary Papers* (1915), Cd. 8016, Annual Report of the Local Government Board for Ireland, p. 401.

students tended to cause somewhat of a stir; diarists at Mungret noted on 8 February 1915 that '[t]he House startled by the announcement, 'The Belgian is come.' We found on investigation it was Mr. W. Van de Putte, who joined the Philosophy class.'[98]

Initial fascination with these newcomers was piqued by contemporary war talk. Students were very aware of stories about the Belgian invasion, which were well-circulated in newspapers and other forms of public discourse if not in their own schools. As much recent work has recognised, even factual information about German activities was shaped by British propagandists and the popular press in ways designed to cultivate support for the war.[99] O'Neill may have slightly overstated her case when asserting that the Belgian plight prompted massive 'self-mobilisation of Irish civil society in a humanitarian cause', but many adolescents did pity those affected by an undeniably brutal invasion.[100] Nonetheless, not all initial face-to-face encounters may have been entirely sympathetic or benign. Brian Walsh and Gerald Breen, members of the Poetry and Rhetoric classes, observed on 19 November 1914 that '[g]reat interest was centred in the arrival of two Belgians from Liège, and who, greatly to the chagrin of the Third Line, were hale and hearty, lacked no limbs, and were human beings.'[101] Although this jibe was probably prompted by a longstanding tradition of teasing pupils younger than oneself, it is entirely possible that some students were, however briefly, disappointed that reality did not live up to the hype.

Wider war narratives also inflected student writings. School magazines provided an ideal forum for adolescent commentary and engagement, one eagerly grasped by Protestant pupils with editorship positions. J. L. Millar and I. P. Graham proclaimed in December 1914, for example, that the nation was fighting for its existence.[102] Such alarmist rhetoric was

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[98] *MA*, IV/4 (1915), p. 325.
[99] See especially John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven, 2001).
[100] O'Neill, 'Irish Home Front', p. 53.
[101] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), p. 250.
[102] *Campbellian*, 3/7 (1914), p. 149.

underpinned by explanatory frameworks validated by educational authorities. While Foyle College students were told that the Empire faced perilous circumstances, they were simultaneously reassured that 'we have entered the war with clean hands, and in the spirit that is bound to win.'[103] Allusions to German violation of Belgian neutrality and the apparent need to uphold British freedom and honour were made to substantiate these claims. Patriotic poems and writings supplemented emotional editorials, including that penned by fourteen-year-old W. Stewart commemorating the bravery of soldiers under fire.[104] Such romanticised and often naïve depictions of war reflected a wider literary trend also identified at prestigious Australian colleges by Martin Crotty.[105]

School publications contributed to the public face of elite institutions and pupils who wished to maintain authorship privileges needed to take care to avoid potentially controversial stances. This stratagem was probably deployed somewhat more heavily from late 1914 with a new batch of editors having to manage Ireland's sharply changed political situation. Expectations increased over time, with those involved in the production of *Our School Times* (*OST*) recognising in June 1915 that:

> In an earlier stage of the War a school editor might conceivably have begun by announcing his fixed intention to 'steer clear of the war.' Now it is scarcely within the bounds of decorum to discharge thus lightly a catastrophe that with ever-increasing violence sweeps a continent, and levies daily its heavy human toll.[106]

War coverage evidently could not be marginalised from Protestant magazines, even if students wished that to be the case.

Staff scrutiny, however, cannot entirely discount the authenticity of published sentiments. Elite families chose to send their offspring to institutions with similar social status, religious affiliations, and socio-political leanings to their own. The use of terms such

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[103] *OST*, VII/1 (1914), pp. 1-2.
[104] *OST*, VII/3 (1915), p. 94.
[105] Crotty, 'Naive Militarism', esp. pp. 108-9.
[106] *OST*, VII/4 (June 1915), p. 101.

as 'we', 'our', and 'us' demonstrates that editors included themselves – either consciously or unconsciously – as participants in an imperial war effort. G. K. Carpenter urged all boys in the upper classes at High School, Dublin to join the college rifle club, proclaiming that 'It is our duty as members and citizens of our great empire to do all in our power to help our land in her hour of need.'[107] This editorial stood alongside a rapidly increased membership, resulting in the club having to confine its activities to those in and above Form 4.[108] As noted earlier, student enthusiasm for military training may not have been fuelled by 'patriotic' reasons alone. Yet, unlike their Catholic counterparts, Protestant boys constantly framed their relationship to the war in this way, substantiating claims of 'a longing to be up and doing something' for Britain and her Allies though voluntary contributions to charities such as the Prince of Wales' National Relief Fund.[109] Similarities in student and teacher war talk thus appear to have been facilitated through shared discursive spaces, rather than being created by them.

Student speech and 'boy talk' was even influenced by overseas hostilities. Military terms such as 'goose step' and shrapnel entered adolescent lexicons, with battlefront knowledge quickly deployed in descriptions of surrounding environments. Preparation for renovation work on the Castleknock chapel, for example, was compared to German trenches on 20 October 1914 despite 'digging in' only emerging as a deliberate war strategy in mid-September.[110] The conflict emerged as a common cultural reference point that students used to characterise their own school experiences. Many war references were humorous, with the conflict inserted into longstanding quips. Mungret students considered staff prohibitions against nuts – a foodstuff banned by several Catholic schools in October due to their connection with pagan Halloween – tantamount to a 'blockade', while those regretting the

[107] *Erasmian*, XI/4 (1914), p. 179.
[108] ibid., p. 181.
[109] *OST*, VII/1 (1914), p. 2.
[110] *CC*, XXX (1915), p. 32; Adrian Gregory, *A War of Peoples 1914-1919* (Oxford, 2014), p. 36.

end of the Easter Vacation expressed a hope that Castleknock would be destroyed in a Zeppelin raid.[111] War jokes indicated that overseas developments were not always seen as sacrosanct and the often ordinary nature of pupil priorities.

Despite the outbreak of hostilities, school life largely progressed as normal. Classes, sports, extracurricular activities, and vacations all continued. O'Connor recalled that students entering St Columba's in the last term of 1914 'were not conscious of any serious changes'.[112] School staff influenced this state of affairs through constraints on war-related curricula and activities but adolescent engagement was not solely determined by the preferences of their adult counterparts. Avid interest in the conflict did not entirely replace extant concerns, with adolescent authors regularly admitting as such in their writings. Examination and sports results continued to attract attention, with Mack justifying a lengthy digression about the latter in his March 1915 editorial as 'the Cup matches, we regret to confess, loom more largely on our small school horizon than the war'.[113] Older students may have kept a somewhat closer eye on overseas events but supervised and uncontrolled boy talk still focussed on the war's localised impacts on school environments.

New Zealand

Adolescent concerns in New Zealand were remarkably similar to those of their Irish counterparts. Leading secondary institutions in both countries drew heavily on the late-Victorian public school model, including its hierarchical structures and emphasis on sports.[114] The prefect system, invested as it was with the power of corporal punishment, was not always appreciated by younger or unruly pupils. St. Patrick's student R. J. Barrett expressed mixed feelings on the subject at a mock banquet held by the Middle Debating

[111] *MA*, IV/5 (1916), p. 391; *CC*, XXX (1915), p. 36.
[112] SCCA, 11-4-1, 'Memories of St. Columba's 1907-1914', p. 10.
[113] *Erasmian*, XII/2 (Mar. 1915), p. 32.
[114] Ryan, 'Cricket', pp. 61-79.

Society. Speaking as one 'who may have worried the prefects', Barrett advocated 'show[ing] some signs of regret.'[115] Adolescent leaders regularly held prominent team positions which further supplemented their authority from a student perspective. Some at Christchurch Boys' even saw the senior monitor – 'usually also a member of the fifteen or first eleven' – as effectively outranking junior masters despite this not officially being the case.[116]

Rugby assumed paramount status at Antipodean private and state establishments.[117] W. Dove asserted at a 1913 sports dinner that 'so great a hold has this game on the sons of King's [College], that it becomes almost our second nature to play it with a will, and always come out at or near the top of the tree.'[118] As recognised by Greg Ryan, cricket also played a significant role in elite institutions which had developed a broadly similar athletic ideology by 1914, ultimately helping sustain middle-class domination of the sport after 1870.[119] Pupil enthusiasm for both games reflected their seasonal nature; E. J. Clifford and N. M. Richmond observed that interest in cricket began to wane in April when it was replaced with the 'football spirit.'[120]

Educational activities absorbed a significant amount of time and energy. Although institutional funding was not tied to secondary results, New Zealand too was a credentialed society.[121] Scholastic achievements were deemed critical determinants of future success; in addition to securing free places and further secondary education, qualifications such as the Junior Civil Service – later the Public Service Entrance – examination facilitated valuable

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[115] *BW*, VII/2 (1915), p. 135.
[116] *WC*, 93 (Dec. 1913), p. 3; C. E. Beeby, *The Biography of an Idea* (Wellington, 1992), p. 15.
[117] Jock Phillips, 'The Hard Man: Rugby and the Formation of Male Identity in New Zealand', in John Nauright and Timothy J. L. Chandler (eds), *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity* (London, 1996), pp. 84-5.
[118] *KC*, XII/3 (Dec. 1913), p. 51.
[119] Ryan, *Making of New Zealand Cricket*, ch. 5.
[120] *Nelsonian*, XXX/1 (May 1914), p. 19.
[121] David McKenzie, 'The Growth of Credentialling in New Zealand, 1878-1900', in David McKenzie (ed), *Education and Social Structure: Essays in the History of New Zealand Education* (Dunedin, 1982), pp. 54-84.

work opportunities.[122] While headmasters tended to emphasise the importance of character-building over test results, the latter was still taken seriously. Scholarship accomplishments peppered end-of-year reports, including that presented at Otago Boys' in December 1913.[123] Examination preparation thus occupied a great deal of attention, especially in the months leading up to November and December.[124]

Classroom learning and compulsory sports training were supplemented by a range of extracurricular activities. Games like soccer and tennis were eagerly played at Otago Boys' and Wellington College, with other options available for those less inclined towards physical activity.[125] Milner boasted in 1913 that Waitaki provided:

> a large number of school institutions, viz., Orchestra, Brass Band, Glee Club, Dramatic Club, Camera Club, Chess Club, Navy League, Debating Society, Christian Union, etc., [which] caters for all sorts of aptitudes and tastes, and draws out the latent talents of the boys.[126]

Religious sodalities were prominent at Catholic institutions, such as Sacred Heart's Confraternity of the Children of Mary and the St. Vincent de Paul Society at St. Patrick's.[127] In addition to encouraging the pursuit of personal interests for educational purposes, these organisations promoted sociability amongst like-minded individuals. Hobbies that were somewhat less structured also garnered favour amongst those like Eric Baume who preferred drawing and flute-playing to studying.[128]

Peer relationships proved crucial in shaping youth experiences. L. C. L Averill recalled that his arrival as a boarder at Christ's College in February 1910 was not as traumatic as it could have been. Having been a day attendant for two years, he already knew the names

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[122] Openshaw, Lee, and Lee, *Challenging the Myths*, pp. 192-214; Jane Latchem, 'A Generation of Promise: The 1908 Junior National Scholarship Candidates – Education, Occupation, and the First World War', *Journal of New Zealand Studies,* 18 (2014), pp. 66-84.
[123] 'School Vacations', *Otago Daily Times* (12 Dec. 1913), p. 8.
[124] *BW*, VI/1 (Dec. 1913), p. 32; *BHSM*, 48 (Winter 1913), p. 1.
[125] Sweetman, *'Above the City'*, pp. 185-6; *Wellingtonian*, XXIII/1 (Apr. 1914), p. 35.
[126] 'Waitaki High Schools', *Oamaru Mail* (11 Dec. 1913), p. 8.
[127] *BW*, VI/1 (1913), p. 22; *SHC*, III/8 (Dec. 1913), p. 31.
[128] Eric Baume, *I Lived These Years* (London, 1941), p. 45.

of most of his peers and went on to develop life-long friendships with other twelve- to fourteen-year-olds placed in the same dormitory.[129] Many thrived in their stratified environments, actively contributing to the perpetuation of student hierarchies. New students underwent a settling in period that often included initiation rites such as 'ceremonial ducking[s]'.[130] Respect for one's superiors was necessary to be accepted by the wider student body, with disputes arising at Wanganui Collegiate in 1913 over the appropriate length of back-of-coat splits for those of lower status.[131] Strict conformity was not always required. C. E. Beeby and his academically-minded friends were accepted as 'swots' with others 'remarkably tolerant' of their relative lack of involvement in sports.[132] Nonetheless, individual experiences did vary and deviation only allowed up to a certain point; Beeby remembered that '[t]hose actively disloyal to rugby were in a different category' which included a soccer enthusiast who was bullied.[133]

As John Tosh has observed with reference to late Victorian Britain, elite establishments 'were ruled by peer-group pressure with a vengeance.'[134] Threats often translated to outright aggression, reflecting the integral nature of fighting to schooling experiences identified elsewhere.[135] Patterns of informal yet codified violence shaped several institutions like St. Patrick's where schoolyard fights were supervised in the gym by older boys and spectators paid a donation to the College charity.[136] Boyish acceptance of, and enthusiasm for, using one's fists was likely facilitated by the growth of militarism more

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[129] L. C. L. Averill, *First Generation New Zealander* (Christchurch, 1981), pp. 14-15.
[130] E. M. Blaiklock, *Between the Valley and the Sea: A West Auckland Boyhood* (Palmerston North, 1979), p. 66.
[131] *WC*, 142 (Mar. 1933), p. 26.
[132] Beeby, *Biography*, pp. 28-9.
[133] ibid., p. 29.
[134] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on gender, family and empire* (Harlow, 2005), p. 112.
[135] Jacob Middleton, 'The Cock of the School: A Cultural History of Playground Violence in Britain, 1880-1940', *Journal of British Studies,* 52 (2013), pp. 887-907.
[136] These fights were technically illicit with A. J. Lysaght recalling that Father O'Reilly used to break them up. See: Fitzsimons, *Sectare Fidem*, p. 50; Lysaght, 'War Years at College', p. 79.

generally. Links between violence and sports proved especially strong at early-twentieth-century Australian and New Zealand 'public schools' alike.[137]

Despite the inward-looking nature of school environments, New Zealand students also engaged with domestic and international developments. Mr. A. L. Whitehead presided over a 1913 Christchurch Boys' Debating society meeting which took the form of an Anti-Militarist meeting. Speakers assumed tongue-in-cheek personas, such as W. R. 'Coward' Lascelles, and were shouted down by 'shrieks, yells, and cat-calls, which culminated in the singing of Rule Brittania [sic] by practically the whole audience.'[138] Governmental legislation had integrated state interests into school contexts and, although this was contested by some in the 1910s, elite adolescent boys rarely appeared as antagonists.[139] Compulsory military training was even fiercely defended by J. H. Parr in a 1914 editorial not least because it had raised his awareness of 'menaces to our national safety' such as a potential 'Yellow invasion'.[140] Student support for New Zealand's defence policy was underpinned by imperial political leanings shared with elite adult contemporaries. It furthermore reflected the interests of boys themselves; military service, after all, was seen to be a brave endeavour.

Outbreak of hostilities

Initial responses to the First World War were far from homogenous. Several secondary pupils viewed conflict-related developments with trepidation, echoing some of the less-than-positive reactions identified by Hucker in Taranaki.[141] Prefect H. E. Crosse, for example, announced in the August 1914 *Wanganui Collegian* (*WC*):

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[137] Martin Crotty, 'The Making of the Man: Australian Public Schoolboy Sporting Violence 1850-1914', *TIJHS*, 20/3 (2003), pp. 1-16.
[138] *BHSM*, 48 (1913), p. 24.
[139] R. L. Weitzel, 'Pacifists and Anti-Militarists in New Zealand, 1909-1914', *NZJH*, 7/2 (1973), pp. 128-47; David Grant, 'Where Were the Peacemongers? Pacifists in New Zealand During World War One', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, pp. 220-34.
[140] *Waitakian*, IX/1 (May 1914), p. 7.
[141] Hucker, ''Great Wave'', pp. 59-75; idem, 'Rural Home Front', pp. 29-48.

> As we go to press the news of the most appalling war in the world's history reaches us. Of course it seems impossible to foretell what will be the final outcome of it; we can only hope Englishmen will show the same courage that has placed England in her unique position, and kept her there for the past centuries.[142]

Yet, although a sombre tone often accompanied news of Britain's declaration against Germany, a large number of adolescents viewed this event as cause for celebration. Spontaneous crowds formed on Wednesday 5 August and the days following the Governor-General's proclamation, and most of the frantic exuberance and noise has been ascribed to 'boys and youths' rather than adults.[143] Elite secondary boys were likely to have been particularly involved in the excitement due to their class status; Adrian Gregory found that the 'most vocally patriotic element of crowds [in Britain] appear to have been middle-class male youths.'[144]

The outbreak of hostilities during term time was disruptive. While staff members contributed to this situation through their conflict-related addresses, it is unlikely they encouraged the boisterous behaviour which occurred. In September, one of the teaching religious at St. Patrick's observed 'a spirit of unrest amongst the boys, due in great part to the general unrest aroused from engagement in the war'.[145] Student zeal infiltrated schoolyard settings, where it jostled with, possibly even dominated, more mixed sentiments. Ecstatic responses characterised Nelson College, where newspapers were 'bought and devoured' every day, the French and Russian national anthems sung 'with tremendous enthusiasm', and a patriotic demonstration held before the end of August.[146] Most appear to have been more captivated by the war than routine school matters during its early stages, the former deemed more interesting due to the rapid changes it occasioned.

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[142] *WC*, 95 (Aug. 1914), p. 16.
[143] McGibbon, 'The shaping', pp. 50-1; Paul Baker, 'New Zealanders, the Great War, and Conscription' (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1986), pp. 12-5.
[144] Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 27.
[145] Extract from 'School Diary 1910-1935', cited in Fitzsimons, *Sectare Fidem*, p. 62.
[146] *Nelsonian*, XXX/2 (Sept. 1914), p. 77.

Some shifts would have been particularly startling. While compulsory training had already been normalised, New Zealand did not experience the same level of military activity as Ireland between 1913 and 1914. Widespread paramilitary exercises were an unknown phenomenon. As a result, Averill found the September holidays 'rather over-shadowed by the preparations for the departure of the N.Z.E.F. [New Zealand Expeditionary Force] to take part in the N.Z. war effort.' On the train journey home to Auckland, he encountered a group of third-year students from Otago University who were heading to the Medical Corps' encampment.[147]

Adolescent engrossment was also fuelled by personal interests. Adventure stories had long constituted a core component of boys' periodical culture with magazines increasingly turning against Germany in the Edwardian era.[148] Indeed, Beeby attributed his arrival at Christchurch High School 'full of military fervour' to a 'background of reading in *Chums*, where Britain emerged each year victorious over a new dastardly enemy, Russian, German or Japanese.'[149] The conflict may have appeared to some as a real-life manifestation of these narratives. Compulsory military training facilitated widespread involvement in official farewell events. Although some found activities such as street lining tiring, they could also be exhilarating. As speculated in the May 1915 *Wellingtonian*, enthusiasm was likely maintained through its appeal to 'the spirit of romance in every boy to see these ocean-going boats equipped for war, not peace' and a sense of active participation 'in one of those events which make a nation great'.[150]

Archival evidence indicates strong student support for the war effort. In contrast to Ireland, schoolboy contributions in New Zealand spanned denominational affiliation.

[147] Averill, *First Generation*, p. 26.
[148] Andrew Francis, ''Willingly to War': British and imperial boys' story papers 1905-1914', *Notes, Books, Authors*, 10 (2007).
[149] Beeby, *Biography*, p. 17.
[150] *Wellingtonian*, XXIV/1 (May 1915), pp. 25-6.

Award-winners at St. Patricks and Waitaki Boys' alike 'willingly' gave up their prizes for the Belgian Relief Fund.[151] Teachers applauded such pro-war activity, providing an incentive for youth seeking adult approval. The opportunity to avoid regular school commitments in lieu of more exciting alternatives likely played a role too, with students at Nelson Boys' 'busily engaged in preparing for a Patriotic Fete' during the 1915 second academic term.[152] Nevertheless, as was the case overseas, 'the massive and ubiquitous nature of war discourse also led to autonomous forms of mobilization'.[153] A great many decided to forgo their pocket money for patriotic purposes, choosing to sacrifice treats at the school tuck shop for a higher cause.[154]

Positive engagement was also evident in classrooms and assembly halls. All the studies at Wanganui Collegiate contained war maps of the fronts and, while these were probably supplied by staff members, Joblin recalled that 'the interest of the School as a whole was intense.'[155] Many appear to have paid close attention to teacher presentations, with pro-British content garnering distinct approval.[156] This patriotic spirit was often transferred to other school institutions such as the NL and debating clubs. Topics subjected to fierce discussion included current international relations and the need for conscription in Britain and New Zealand. General student support for military involvement, both voluntary and compulsory, proved influential. Seniors at St. Patrick's were amongst those who considered the United States' military position in 1915, with the outcome of this debate at least partially attributed to its timing. Occurring a week after the torpedoing of *RMS Lusitania*, 'the audience was not in the humour to listen to arguments in favour of America's neutrality.'[157]

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[151] 'St. Patrick's College', *Evening Post* (11 Dec. 1914), p. 4; *Waitakian*, IX/3 (1914), p. 254.
[152] *Nelsonian*, XXXI/2 (Sept. 1915), p. 84. Similar motivations existed in Germany, see: Donson, *Youth*, pp. 112-13.
[153] Manon Pignot, 'The Great War Generation: French Children's Private Experiences of the First World War', in Ewers (ed), *Erster Weltkrieg*, p. 292.
[154] *Nelsonian*, XXXI/2 (1915), p. 86; *Register*, LXXXVIII (Apr. 1915), p. 154; *KC*, 13/3 (1914), pp. 18-19.
[155] *WC*, 142 (1933), p. 26.
[156] *Waitakian*, X/1 (May 1915), p. 18.
[157] *BW*, VII/2 (1915), p. 17.

Some sought to extend their knowledge beyond that formally provided by teachers. New Zealand youth had long read national and local forms of written media, particularly those with popular children's columns such as the *Otago Witness*.[158] Newspapers emerged as valuable, albeit censored, tools to keep oneself informed about key wartime developments.[159] John Dove, day boy at King's College, noted in his 1914 diary that the morning paper on 16 November had told him of Earl Roberts' death in France, but that there had been 'No fresh war news' in an entry ten days later.[160] Boarders, who had fewer opportunities to venture off school grounds to access family or personal copies of periodicals, took advantage of library subscriptions.[161] School editors were especially driven in their search for additional sources of information, with Milliken, Brown and Billcliff considering it their 'primary duty' to draw attention to Old Boys who left for overseas service.[162] Dove and others had brothers in the armed forces, and former pupils of beloved teachers proved similarly curious about their combatant activities. The *WC* reprinted extracts from Mr. Butterworth's letters until his death and a lack of updated information about Mr. Stuckey prompted significant anxiety at King's College in mid-1915.[163] Personal connections endowed war material, and the event itself, with particular poignancy.

As in Ireland, pupils engaged with hostilities on their own terms. War slang infiltrated uncontrolled boy talk and informal exchanges where it was used to serve inter-group rivalries. Reports of a 'war' between Forms III.C and IV.A. at Auckland Grammar,

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[158] Twelve-year-old James Beattie, for example, was amongst those reading newspapers in 1893, and the 1911 census recorded that 82.34 percent of European New Zealand boys and 83.35 percent of girls between 5 and 15 years of age were able to read and write. See: Tony Ballantyne, 'Thinking Local: Knowledge, Sociability and Community in Gore's Intellectual Life, 1875-1914', *NZJH*, 44/2 (2010), pp. 146-7; Table V, 'Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand', 1911, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1911-census/1911-results-census.html (3 Jan. 2016).
[159] Ian F. Grant, 'War a Daily Reminder, But Life Goes On: Newspapers during the First World War', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, pp. 127-41.
[160] Auckland, King's College Archives, (William W Dove Collection), John Dove School Diary, 1914.
[161] *Waitakian*, IX/3 (1914), p. 196; *Waitakian*, X/1 (1915), p. 29.
[162] *BHSM*, 50 (1914), p. 5.
[163] *WC*, 98 (Aug. 1915), p. 4; *WC*, 99 (1915), p. 5; *KC*, 14/2 (1915), p. 15.

for example, jokingly noted that several boys received the Iron Cross 'for bravery and valour during the conflict.'[164] Curricular content also emerged as a source of humour with students teasing one another for unfortunate mistakes made in the classroom; D. Bird took delight in a peer asserting that the German army used 'exasperating gases'.[165] Many students redeployed adult war talk to make it more relevant to everyday experience. Nonetheless, even the most flippant allusions reflected a desire to invest adolescent lives with some of the excitement and/or significance attributed to international events. While comedic references undoubtedly signal continuing youth priorities – particularly the importance of students' time at school – they stood alongside more sustained and serious responses.

Adolescent writings turned towards the conflict after August 1914, some works prompted by competitions with pre-war antecedents. The League of Empire and other imperial organisations held writing contests as part of their outreach programmes, with schools such as Otago Boys' having adopted the NL's essay scheme in prior years.[166] Waitaki Boys' enjoyed particular success during this period as Baume won a first prize and gold medal in the 1916 National Service League's essay competition on 'How You Mean to Help the Empire', open to all pupils under 20 years in secondary schools across the Dominions.[167] Although pupils had relatively little choice in responding to teacher-requested war assignments, several composed additional pieces on the subject. Sixth-former R. Francis, for example, pondered 'How shall I serve thee, Britain mine, The sea-girt isle that gave me birth?' in a piece titled 'A Briton's Service' at Auckland Grammar.[168] These works supplemented school periodical submissions, which constituted the main public forum on the meanings and importance of war.

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[164] *AGSC*, III/1 (1915), p. 53.
[165] ibid., p. 55.
[166] *AJHR* (1912), E-12, p. 236.
[167] K. C. McDonald, *A History of Waitaki Boys' High School, 1883-1958* (Christchurch, 1958), p. 193; 'News of the Day', *Colonist* (1 Feb. 1917), p. 4.
[168] *AGSC*, II/2 (Third Term 1914), p. 19; *BHSM*, 52 (Winter 1915), p. 26.

Student editorials were, generally speaking, at least as fervent as those produced by their teachers. Parr saw the war like an octopus suspended over Europe with its tentacles 'busy the globe over dragging countless thousands of humanity's best and bravest into an insatiable maw.' Although derisive of 'hysterical demonstrations of loyalty and devotion', he applauded the 'true patriotism' demonstrated by Britain and those regions pledged to the 'Motherland'.[169] The necessity of aiding Britain, with its direct ramifications for elite boys' colleges, was equally stressed at Sacred Heart and St. Patrick's.[170] As detailed earlier, enmeshed national and imperial identities were common, and most young Catholics saw these affiliations as personally relevant. While the overwhelming majority were of Irish descent, there were generational shifts in how 'Irishness' was sensed over time.[171] In 1916, New Zealand-born Catholics significantly outnumbered those who had migrated from overseas. Irish-born youth – both Catholic and Protestant – only constituted 3% of those aged between 10 and 14 years inclusive, and 4.3% of those between 15 and 19 years inclusive.[172] By comparison, Catholic youth comprised 13.88% of those between 10 and 14 years, and 14.29% of those between 15 and 19.[173]

The high regard awarded to serving alumni was furthermore underpinned by student sub-cultures. A key contributor to elite individual and group identities was the substantive amount of pride taken in their school;[174] adolescents believed strongly in institutional fidelity and upholding the values instilled through their education. Students as well as teachers drew parallels between alumni and imperial ties with their concomitant expectations of dutiful

[169] *Waitakian*, IX/2 (1914), pp. 91, 92.
[170] *SHC*, V/10 (1915), p. 69.
[171] Donald Harman Akenson, however, argues that this was still a significant determinant of behaviour for at least two or three generations. See: 'No Petty People: Pakeha History and the Historiography of the Irish Diaspora', in Fraser (ed), *Distant Shore*, p. 18.
[172] Percentages obtained from data published in chapter 33, 'Report on the Results of a Census … 1916'.
[173] This percentage includes 'Roman Catholics', 'Greek Catholics', and 'Other Catholics'. Numbers obtained from chapter 39, ibid.
[174] Mangan, *Athleticism*, esp. chs. 7-8.

devotion.[175] Enthusiasm for events that cast their schools in a positive light, especially when compared to other renowned establishments, were transferred from local successes on the rugby field to a more global context. Such loyal, yet competitive, sentiments continued throughout 1915. A. V. Hill, for example, saw the conflict as an opportunity for 'King's Old Boys to add laurels to the name of their School', and was proud that this had been taken by so many.[176]

New Zealand's military allegiances contoured wartime responses more broadly. Although Antipodean adolescents did not encounter Belgian refugees directly, their cause was readily adopted. Pupils attended relief events for the 'oppressed and starving', participating in tableaus and enjoying activities such as 'Kill the Kaiser' booths.[177] The anti-German sentiment underpinning such entertainments often made an explicit appearance elsewhere. Germanic allusions developed into slurs, obliquely recognised in the *S.H.C.* magazine that same year; authors of the Sacred Heart 'Tennis Notes' noted that they were going to say that Brother Albert had exercised a 'mailed fist' in his control over the court 'but that sounds too Hunnish'.[178] Some magazine editors and contributors not only attributed the war's origins to the German Empire but also demonised it in the process.[179]

Conceptualisations of the enemy, however, did vary. H. Sadlier articulated a more sympathetic view in the May 1915 *Nelsonian*, deeming it 'safe to assign all these outrages to merely the overpowering dominance of the Prussian Military Party, which has cowed the German people into submission.'[180] Differentiation also occurred in terms of how adolescents behaved on the home front. Although some participated in riots against local Germans – 'young men and boys' proved instrumental in the controversial Wanganui riots

[175] *Nelsonian*, XXX/2 (1914), p. 71.
[176] *KC*, 14/2 (1915), p. 6.
[177] *Waitakian*, X/1 (1915), p. 17.
[178] *SHC*, V/10 (1915), p. 66.
[179] *Timaruvian*, IX/2 (Dec. 1914), p. 7; *Waitakian*, IX/3 (1914), pp. 163-5.
[180] *Nelsonian*, XXXI/1 (May 1915), p. 6.

against 'German-owned' businesses following the *Lusitania* disaster –[181] others did not. Actual face-to-face encounters with those of German descent could cause youth to reconsider extremist preconceptions fuelled by propaganda, a process similarly identified amongst French children who witnessed defeated German prisoners of war.[182] Montague Holcroft, for example, sought to protect schoolfellow Ernst Siegfried Lund from the bullying that increasingly marred New Zealand communities by giving him a nickname without any Germanic connotations – 'Marcus Aurelius'.[183] Friendship and camaraderie played an important role in undercutting prejudice, and the schoolyard at St. Patrick's appears to have been largely exempt from wider patterns of anti-alienism despite the attendance of pupils with German blood.[184]

Other wartime discourses were also adapted. Many students reacted strongly to the military enlistment of beloved staff members with their departure couched in the same patriotic language deployed by headmasters and senior teachers. Nevertheless, it is clear that this state of affairs was not entirely appreciated, prompting the emergence of somewhat less staunch accounts. Commentators at St. Patrick's observed that:

> One of the ways in which the war affected us [since August] was that we lost the services of Father Segrief. A chaplain was needed within 24 hours and Father Segrief volunteered at once for the service. Thus the Advance [Samoan] Guard gained an ideal chaplain and we lost a teacher, who was loved not only by his form but by the whole school.[185]

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[181] 'Anti-German Demonstration – Big Disturbance at Wanganui', *Press* (1 May 1915), p. 8. For more information about this and similar incidents, see: Francis, *'To Be Truly'*, pp. 93-5, 99-100; King, 'Anti-German Hysteria', pp. 19-24.
[182] Manon Pignot, 'The Impact of the Great War on French Children: An Intimate History of Mobilization, Family Life and Mourning' (unpublished paper, delivered 18 Feb. 2014, Modern European History Seminar, University of Oxford).
[183] M. H. Holcroft, *The Way of a Writer* (Whatamongo Bay, 1984), pp. 45-6.
[184] Lysaght, 'War Years at College', p. 77.
[185] *BW*, VII/1 (1914), p. 86.

Mixed responses likewise accompanied alterations in the student population.[186] It is entirely possible that adolescent discontent was expressed even more fervently in less supervised contexts.

School records suggest the first few years of hostilities had a greater impact on hierarchical structures in New Zealand than in Ireland. New Zealand students may have been ineligible for military service because of the country's higher enlistment age but the war provided alternative working opportunities. In 1915, Fowler ascribed a 'falling-off' at Nelson College, particularly in the boarding department, to boys 'being taken away from school to make up the shortage of men in business and on the land.'[187] Consistent departures from St. Patrick's manifested themselves in a 'double list' of prefects, with similar pressures felt at King's College where the allure of authoritative positions was flaunted in a vain attempt to encourage older students to stay until 18 or 19 years of age.[188] Pupils that remained did assume further powers such as disciplinary responsibilities but these war developments only affected those in the higher forms.[189] Younger secondary students largely maintained their position towards the bottom of the totem pole. As one third-former wryly observed in his late 1914 reflection on the power wielded by the Upper Sixth, 'there is no way out of it but to wait for another three or four years, until we too become the 'oppressors of the weak.''[190]

The war's implications for secondary students were not constant or evenly distributed. While the conflict did 'come home' on a number of occasions in 1914 and 1915, it was largely experienced from afar. Relatively few were affected by early military milestones, one key exception being preparatory Samoan pupils at Sacred Heart who found

[186] *Wellingtonian*, XXIV/1 (1915), p. 5.
[187] 'Nelson College', *Colonist* (16 Dec. 1915), p. 2.
[188] Lysaght, 'War Years at College', p. 76; *KC*, XIV/3 (Dec. 1915), pp. 8-9.
[189] Trembath, *Ad Augusta*, p. 188.
[190] *AGSC*, II/2 (1914), p. 45.

'a change when they return[ed] home for their holidays. No more Kaiser!'[191] Adolescent writers recognised the disjuncture between the totalising rhetoric and actual reality of New Zealand's home front. The fact that key martial zones were literally on the other side of the world from Antipodean colleges not only undercut the reach of more disruptive war elements, but also made it 'very difficult for us here in New Zealand to realize that we are at war.'[192] Indeed, this 'out of sight, out of mind' mentality likely prompted the intensity with which teachers reiterated the conflict's relevance and importance, sometimes to limited effect. After an initial bout of enthusiasm, interest abated as most returned to their normal routine. Written reports submitted by year groups to school magazines tended to focus on school events rather than overseas developments throughout this period, and 'quite a few' boys at Wanganui did poorly on a 'war exam' that tested military knowledge in late 1915.[193] Ultimately, student engagement was most substantive when the conflict intersected with adolescent-defined interests.

Concluding Comments

Throughout the 1910s, boys imbued the spaces they inhabited with their own priorities and codes of behaviour. Irish and New Zealand college environments, broadly modelled on the English public school system, provided similar contexts for a shared set of practices. Core concerns mirrored those identified in early-twentieth-century Britain and southern Africa, providing further evidence of a transnational elite culture heavily invested in institutional activities and structures. Pupils at both the centre and periphery of Empire valued militarised masculinities, worshipping the 'soldier hero' who fought nobly to defend their wider community and/or country. Principles of self-sacrifice, bravery, and duty were

[191] *SHC*, 3/9 (1914), p. 38.
[192] *BHSM*, 51 (1915), p. 1.
[193] *WC*, 99 (1915), p. 1.

sacrosanct. Sporting success and collective expressions of loyalty were also applauded, as were more mundane matters such as good food and holidays. Age-related hierarchies were established through friendship groups of various sizes, with boundaries reinforced through peer pressure.

Initial responses to the outbreak of hostilities were broadly positive. Headmasters discussed overseas developments at length in formal addresses, with this theme readily taken up by adolescents in school activities and conversations held amongst themselves. As was the case overseas, New Zealand and Irish Protestant boys were key contributors to local war efforts. Yet, while some themes in teacher-articulated war talk resonated due to common denominational and cultural backgrounds, not all found purchase with their audience. Pro-British explanations for national intervention may have permeated magazine contributions in New Zealand, but Irish Catholic students appear to have been more enthusiastic about military dimensions of the conflict than their teachers anticipated. Complaints about controversial staff views at Clongowes and cadet disappointment at the sudden ending of the OTC camp at Aldershot point to both autonomy and dissent among the ranks. Inside and outside the classroom, students variously drew upon, contributed to, and marginalised wider narratives concerning this event as they saw fit.

Longstanding interests determined adolescent engagement with the war throughout late 1914 and 1915. The conflict drew the greatest attention, especially from younger cohorts, when it touched upon internal school matters. Face-to-face encounters with those directly affected by military developments, such as enlisted teachers and older schoolfellows, evoked a range of responses, with the introduction of Belgian refugees proving somewhat disruptive at Irish colleges. Wartime adjustments to school contexts in almost all cases were evaluated according to student preferences; several Antipodeans viewed anti-German sentiment in schoolyards with suspicion, preferring to uphold unwritten

rules of peer loyalty and friendship. From the very outset, it is clear that Irish and New Zealand adolescents were far from passive actors in their wartime settings.

Specific national particularities contributed to Irish and New Zealand student responses to the war at this time. While the outbreak of hostilities was readily identified as a significant international moment, 1914 and 1915 had limited tangible ramifications for those associated with prestigious secondary schools. Unlike their counterparts in Belgium and north-eastern France, New Zealand and Irish citizens did not experience the deprivation and uncertainty associated with occupation. At most, they only witnessed these devastating consequences though brief encounters – written and physical – with the displaced. The conflict consequently comprised a distant event that could be marginalised in favour of other interests, namely those associated with elite children's culture. This situation would not last. As explored in subsequent chapters, mass fatalities, increasing economic pressures, and shifting socio-political allegiances – especially the intersection between Catholicism and (advanced) Irish nationalism – quickly took their toll.

Part 2: As the Conflict Lengthens: Managing Death and Dissent

Once it was underway, Ireland and New Zealand became increasingly invested in the war. These two countries contributed more than 310,000 combatants, a great many of whom died in the pursuit of Allied victory.[1] Between 27,000 and 35,000 Irish soldiers were killed during hostilities out of a total population of 4.4 million.[2] This proportion of loss was lower than that for the United Kingdom as a whole, being about 7 for every 1,000 people as opposed to 16 per 1,000.[3] New Zealand lost 16,697 men who served overseas with the NZEF, constituting a per capita death rate of approximately 1.5 per cent for a country with 1.1 million people.[4] These fatalities proved devastating at both an individual and communal level. Extant historiography offers conceptualisations of 'circles of mourning' which help to provide insight into collective experiences of mass death in mainland Europe and Great Britain.[5] Like their elite counterparts elsewhere, Irish and New Zealand youth witnessed widespread losses and grief in multiple social spheres.

Local developments at home compounded the emotional disruption occasioned by mass bereavement. The 1916 Easter Rising contributed to growing dissatisfaction with frameworks that had supported Irish participation in the conflict thus far. Spearheaded by a small group of people who saw England's difficulty as Ireland's opportunity, this episode not only helped discredit Redmond's party but it also impacted on nationalist communities further afield.[6] Despite the Rising's importance, it was by no means the only factor influencing public opinion; others included personal disillusionment and war weariness. In-

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[1] Horne, 'Our war', p. 5; Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 12.
[2] Horne, 'Our war', pp. 6, 12.
[3] ibid., p. 12; J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (London, 1985), p. 75.
[4] When servicemen in New Zealand and those who died after discharge from war-related causes up until 1923 are included, these figures rise to 18,166 and 1.6 respectively. See: Crawford and McGibbon, 'Introduction', pp. 16-17; Loveridge, 'Introduction', pp. 28-9.
[5] Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War* (London, 2002), pp. 204-12.
[6] Fitzpatrick, *Two Irelands*, p. 63. Fearghal McGarry, ''A Land Beyond the Wave': Transnational Perspectives on Easter 1916', in Whelehan (ed), *Transnational Perspectives*, pp. 165-88.

depth analyses of voluntary enlistment numbers led Keith Jeffery to speculate, for example, that the progressive decline in Irish recruits 'may say as much about contemporary attitudes to the war throughout the British Isles as it does about political circumstances in Ireland.'[7] Similar questions concerning the interplay between dissent and international hostilities exist in the Antipodes. Australia was divided by two conscription plebiscites; although their failure in 1916 and 1917 cannot solely be attributed to the local Catholic hierarchy or Irish nationalism, sectarian and political tensions were prominent.[8] Rory Sweetman and others have suggested that Irish connections and conscription proved no less contentious across the Tasman Sea even if they did play out differently.[9]

The following two chapters explore how prestigious boys' schools navigated home front experiences of death and dissent. Focussing on the period between late 1914 and mid-1917, they examine collegiate reactions to the British Expeditionary Force's (BEF) initial European efforts, the Gallipoli Campaign and later battles on the Western Front, the 1916 Rising, and the introduction of conscription in New Zealand. Rather than shying away from wartime challenges, elite teachers and students actively engaged with them. While Ireland and New Zealand encountered lengthy casualty lists at different times, educational authorities in both regions drew on denominational practices to comfort the bereaved. Social status intersected with religious and political affiliations to produce 'death' narratives that coalesced with elite explanations for the war. Students received these messages on similar terms, endorsing commemorative forms that recognised institutional losses. Perceived relevance also dictated responses to insurrectionist activity, the Easter Rising attracting the greatest attention from those close to Dublin and New Zealand Catholics. Collegiate

[7] Keith Jeffrey, 'The Irish military tradition and the British Empire', in Jeffery (ed), *Irish Empire*, p. 100.
[8] Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds: Immigrants, Politics, and Society in the United States and Australia, 1815-1922* (Madison, Wisconsin, 2008), pp. 174-7; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney, 1986), pp. 271-9.
[9] Sweetman, 'Who Fears', pp. 71-90; Brosnahan, ''Shaming'', 117-34.

responses to major events, however, were not unaffected by their fallout. Despite the importance of extant political leanings and transnational connections, wartime stances were increasingly inflected by socio-political shifts prompted by the conflict itself.

Chapter 3: Schools, Death, and Dissent

Elite Irish and New Zealand institutions encountered death at unprecedented levels during the Great War. News of overseas fatalities permeated the home front, with obituaries circulated by bereaved families, community groups, and institutions. The scale of New Zealand's bloodletting has been identified as helping define national history. Memorials transformed the physical landscape, with lethal campaigns such as that conducted on the Gallipoli peninsula (25 April 1915 – 9 January 1916) contributing to the formation of collective identities such as 'dominionism' which merged national and imperial allegiances.[1] Historians have also pointed towards shared experiences of loss in Ireland, albeit far less frequently. Work on West Belfast highlighted the death of unionists and nationalists alike on the Somme and at Messines.[2] Catholics and Protestants also fought and died together at Gallipoli as part of the 10th (Irish) Division.[3] Political and religious differences, however, did exist, especially with regards to how key battles – and even the war itself – were interpreted. 1 July 1916 became a metamorphic moment for Ulster Unionists in particular, with Nuala Johnson's investigation of the 1919 peace parades similarly finding that 'remembrance of the dead had at once a unifying and disintegrating effect on public consciousness.'[4] All in all, it appears that war fatalities were not necessarily a formative or cohesive experience for the Irish population as a whole.

The mid-war period was also marked by discontent. King George V's declaration of war may have met with general consent but not all saw unconditional support as being in their best interest. Acts of defiance have attracted particular attention in Ireland, with the 1916 Easter Rising 'traditionally understood to be the key event of the Irish revolution'. It

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[1] Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington, 1990), ch. 3; Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 116-18.
[2] Richard Grayson, *Belfast Boys: How Unionists and Nationalists Fought and Died Together in the First World War* (London, 2009).
[3] Philip Orr, *Field of Bones: An Irish Division at Gallipoli* (Dublin, 2006), ch. 7.
[4] Johnson, *Ireland*, ch. 3, esp. p. 58.

not only reshaped the nationalist movement by bringing separatist thought to the fore but also has been seen as having 'precipitated' the War of Independence.[5] Personal experiences during the Rising continue to attract attention today.[6] Yet, despite the valuable insights recently provided by Charles Townshend, Fearghal McGarry, Roy Foster and others, scholarly gaps remain.[7] Dissent appeared elsewhere in the Empire; the Rising and associated nationalist developments reverberated in areas with large numbers of Irish immigrants.[8] Britain's decision to introduce conscription also sparked debates about how Dominion nations should respond to continued calls for soldiers.[9] New Zealand has largely been construed as a country unified by war, but it was by no means exempt from anxiety about civilian loyalties.[10] Prestigious institutions in Ireland and New Zealand were not entirely isolated from wider tensions, even if these did shape surrounding environments to varying degrees.

This chapter juxtaposes elite school responses to regional experiences of death and dissent from late 1914. The extent to which Irish and New Zealand educators treated the Easter Rising, Gallipoli, and other major campaigns as 'transformative' is considered, testing understandings of so-called national 'turning points' on these two home fronts. Denominational and political differences within Ireland and New Zealand are also explored; events in Dublin may not have significantly impacted New Zealand Protestant schools, but this was not the case for their Catholic counterparts. At the same time, this chapter examines

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[5] Whelehan, 'Irish Revolution', p. 624.
[6] For an overview of recent socio-cultural, economic, and gendered developments in the field, see: Ferriter, *A Nation*, chs. 9-10.
[7] Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London, 2005); McGarry, *Rising*; R. F. Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland 1890-1923* (London, 2015), ch. 7; Senia Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women, 1900-1918* (Cambridge, 2013), ch. 8; Lucy McDiarmid, *At Home in the Revolution: What Women Said and Did in 1916* (Dublin, 2015).
[8] Deidre McMahon, 'Ireland, the Empire, and the Commonwealth', in Kevin Kenny (ed), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 202-3.
[9] Mark Sheftall, *Altered Memories of the Great War: Divergent Narratives of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada* (London, 2009), ch. 4.
[10] Baker, *King and Country*.

school-specific responses to wider wartime developments. Renowned boys' secondary colleges across the British Empire were hit especially hard by cumulative losses as they had long generated officer material. Encounters with dissent proved similarly heightened. Quarrels about government support and intervention aside, these schools were closely tied to the 'establishment' through their main objective – the production of future social and political leaders. Any brush with scandal could prove devastating for a college's reputation and status. Elite educators were required not only to navigate the fallout from more broadly shared episodes of death and dissent, but also the particular institutional problems these posed.

Death and Schools

Ireland

In recent years, death has been recognised as having dominated perceptions of the First World War. Daniel Todman has traced the rise of a British 'myth of universal bereavement', pointing to the role played by familial memory and heritage culture.[11] The actual basis for this myth has also received critical attention. Work by Adrian Gregory highlighted the 'essential localism' that underpinned casualty lists – their chronological impact varying alongside socio-economic and regional enlistment patterns –[12] with the total scale of losses appearing less extreme when compared to that suffered by other combatant nations such as Serbia.[13] Similar caveats need to be applied to the Irish case; military losses were proportionally smaller than those incurred by Australia, identified by John Horne as perhaps the most comparable case considering its Dominion status and the fact that conscription was never implemented in Australia too.[14] Statistically-grounded analyses help

[11] Daniel Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (London, 2005), ch. 2.
[12] Gregory, *Last Great War*, p. 123ff.
[13] Jay Winter, 'Demography', in John Horne (ed), *A Companion to World War I* (Chichester, 2010), p. 251.
[14] Australian losses amounted to approximately 12 per 1,000 people. See: Horne, 'Our war', p. 12.

illuminate the exact contours of personal bereavement. Nevertheless, it would be unreasonable to suggest wartime fatalities had no significant impact. Even relatively few losses could have wider social import, especially when the scale of death itself had no precedent in modern memory; Ireland's death toll from the Second Anglo-Boer War had amounted to just over 1,800 men.[15]

Research on individual responses to Irish war fatalities is relatively limited. Tara Doyle's MPhil dissertation is one of the few works that emphasised the lived experience of bereavement. Protestant and Catholic families used newspaper notices to recognise and remember the dead, drawing on religious and emotive sentiments when penning these pieces. Condolence letters, memorials, commemorative items such as scrapbooks, and personal belongings also became integral to the mourning process.[16] Personal bereavement, however, could still result in profound disillusionment. The fact that several Irish families pursued specific information about how loved ones died and where they were laid to rest indicates that not all were entirely satisfied with abstract sentiments contextualising and/or explaining their loss.[17]

Most scholarship has tended to focus on how the dead were commemorated in the post-war world. Keith Jeffery has challenged assumptions that Irish war losses were erased from public memory from the outset due to their incompatibility with broader nationalist narratives. Nevertheless, he did recognise a period of disengagement from the 1940s onwards, deeming Ireland's declaration of neutrality in the Second World War to be a 'watershed' moment.[18] Combatant fatalities were also subject to intense politicisation in

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[15] Luke Diver, 'Ireland's South African War 1899-1902', *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies*, 42/1 (2014), p. 8.
[16] Tara Doyle, ''Tell her gently' – death and bereavement in Irish families during the First World War' (M.Phil. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2010).
[17] Catherine Switzer, *Unionists and Great War Commemoration in the north of Ireland 1914-1939* (Dublin, 2007), ch. 10.
[18] Jeffery, 'Commemoration', pp. 165-85, 168. See also: idem, 'Irish Varieties of Great War Commemoration', in Horne and Madigan (eds), *Towards Commemoration*, pp. 117-25.

Ulster. Ulster Unionists mobilised war experiences in support of continued union with Britain, exploiting their contribution 'to the full' between 1919 and 1921.[19] Military actions during the Battle of the Somme continued to shape Ulster Loyalist identity after partition, inflecting Northern Irish understandings of the past even today.[20] Glimpses into the meanings attached to these events at the time do exist; Catherine Switzer's investigation of contemporary newspaper coverage identified three themes surrounding the 36th (Ulster) Division's advance on 1 July 1916. These included an emphasis on personal grief and pride, Ulster's patriotic commitment to a United Kingdom, and the fulfilment of Orange Williamite traditions.[21] The extent to which elite educational institutions contributed to these remembrance practices and interpretations, or even how they processed war deaths more generally, remains largely unknown.

Irish institutions were devastated by war almost immediately. Irishmen comprised a significant proportion of the original BEF that embarked for France on 9 August; Tom Johnstone estimated that the initial Irish contingent numbered no less than 15,000, including Artillery, Engineers, and Medical and Logistic Services, out of a total of around 81,000 servicemen.[22] These troops were supplemented by men from the Special Reserve battalions and overseas returned units, including the 1st Connaught Rangers in the 3rd Lahore Division which arrived in France in October. Within three months of the outbreak of hostilities, approximately 40,000 Irishmen were serving, or had served, on the Western Front.[23] Tragically, the BEF suffered huge losses between the Battle of the Mons and the First Battle

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[19] James Loughlin, 'Mobilising the sacred dead: Ulster unionism, the Great War and the politics of remembrance', in Gregory and Pašeta (eds), *'Unite Us All'?*, pp. 133-54, 137.
[20] Jonathan Evershed, 'Ghosts of the Somme: the state of Ulster Loyalism, memory work and the 'other' 1916', in Grayson and McGarry (eds), *Remembering 1916*, pp. 241-59; Guy Beiner, 'Between Trauma and Triumphalism: The Easter Rising, the Somme, and the Crux of Deep Memory in Modern Ireland', *Journal of British Studies*, 46/2 (2007), pp. 379-84; B. Graham and P. Shirlow, 'The Battle of the Somme in Ulster memory and identity', *Political Geography*, 21/7 (2002), pp. 881-904.
[21] Switzer, *Unionists*, pp. 28-9.
[22] Tom Johnstone, *Orange, Green and Khaki: The Story of the Irish Regiments* (Dublin, 1992), p. 6; Pennell, *Kingdom United*, p. 119.
[23] Johnstone, *Orange, Green*, p. 6.

of Ypres, the latter event constituting its 'epic last stand'.[24] By the end of 1914, one-third of the original force had been killed.[25] Schools across the country were notified of old boy losses from the start of September at the latest, with the death of Major R. T. Roper at La Bassée in October reported in the *Erasmian*.[26]

Returning casualties and Belgian refugees further demonstrated the conflict's perilous nature. The first convoy, carrying 726 men injured in France and Belgium, arrived at Queenstown (now Cobh) in late October 1914. The *Oxfordshire* returned with a further 650 patients within the week and, between October 1914 and February 1919, forty-six hospital ships carrying a total of 19,255 injured docked at the Dublin North Wall Port.[27] As highlighted in Deborah Cohen's work on British and German disability provisions for veterans, injured and recovering combatants brought the tragedy of war home in an striking manner.[28] Interaction with those supported by such measures was not restricted to medical experts or hospital volunteers, face-to-face encounters occurring on college grounds as well as in the wider community. The Warden invited some wounded 'Tommies' to a rugby match at St. Columba's on 21 November 1914, and alumni visits to their former schools during convalescence became increasingly common.[29] As in Britain, 'Mass-mutilation was there for all to see.'[30]

First-hand accounts also filtered into schools via newspapers and direct submissions. Although soldiers often tried to protect loved ones from the brutality of war, school magazines printed frank, even gruesome, letters alongside evasive or carefully-

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[24] Gregory, *War of Peoples*, p. 42.
[25] Tim Travers, 'The Army and the Challenge of War 1914-1918', in Chandler (ed), *Oxford History of the British Army*, p. 219.
[26] Pennell, *Kingdom United*, p. 176; *Erasmian*, VII/1 (Dec. 1914), pp. 206-7.
[27] O'Neill, 'Irish Home Front', pp. 113, 121-2.
[28] Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkeley, 2001). See also: Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago, 1996), ch. 1; Marjorie Gehrhardt, *The Men with Broken Faces: Gueules Cassées of the First World War* (Oxford, 2015).
[29] *Columban*, XXXV/3 (1914), p. 3; *Campbellian*, 4/2 (Apr. 1917), p. 26.
[30] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 35.

written ones. Some correspondents even encouraged readers to conjure up the pain of described events: 'just imagine doing your duty with your arm blown off, in most awful agony, knowing that you had only a few minutes more to live.'[31] Teacher editors and supervisors evidently did not see the need to shield older students from graphic violence, likely reflecting a broader pattern of youth 'habituation to the codes of violence' observed in European schools at this time.[32] This emotionally-wrought coverage, sustained through ongoing old boy involvement, continued to be printed in Protestant periodicals until the end of hostilities.

College magazines catalogued the final moments of alumni. Obituaries came thick and fast, reflecting early Irish involvement on the Western Front and the fact these institutions had long catered to a social elite. British officers, largely recruited from the middle and upper classes, experienced much higher casualty rates than men in the ranks.[33] Although combatant tributes were heavily informed by broader newspaper coverage – the *Clongownian* quoted from the *Irish Times* (*IT*), *Ulster Gazette*, *Cork Examiner*, and the *Daily Mail* –[34] editors reshaped and expanded extracts to emphasise information deemed significant. Captain J. H. Brennan's obituary referenced the date he started at St. Columba's (1885), commenting that no one would feel his death more than his colleagues on the old boys' committee.[35] School connections to the battlefield were emphasised, reflecting the multiple spheres – scholastic, military, and civilian – impacted by soldier deaths. As in France, immediate family members constituted an 'inner circle of mourners' but those who

[31] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), p. 209.
[32] Pignot, 'Children', p. 41.
[33] Jay Winter calculated that 14 percent of the officer corps as opposed to 6 percent of the rank and file were killed in the first year of hostilities. This discrepancy continued throughout the war albeit at a lower level. Peter Martin found a similarly high fatality rate amongst serving Irish nobles – 27 percent. See: Winter, 'Britain's 'Lost Generation' of the First World War', *Population Studies*, 31/3 (Nov. 1977), p. 458; Peter Martin, '*Dulce et Decorum:* Irish nobles and the Great War, 1914-19', in Gregory and Pašeta (eds) *'Unite Us All?'*, p. 39.
[34] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), pp. 191-9.
[35] *Columban*, XXXV/3 (1914), p. 5.

held more emotionally distant relationships with the deceased also experienced degrees of bereavement.[36] The production and publication of detailed obituaries not only provided staff members with an opportunity to commiserate individual losses, but also enabled them to situate schools within broader communities of mourning.

Most early fatalities were older graduates. Although there was a significant response to calls for volunteers in 1914, the six divisions comprising Kitchener's 'First New Army' – the 9th (Scottish) to 14th (Light) Divisions –[37] were still in training until May-July 1915.[38] Unlike their English counterparts, most elite Irish schools could not provide shortcut opportunities for commissioned positions due to their lack of OTC units.[39] Most Irishmen who died in the first months of war had thus entered the regular army some time ago. All but one of the eight Clongownian old boys killed before the end of May 1915, for instance, had departed by 1903, the other having done so in 1909.[40] Nineteen-year-old Lieut. Francis W. Lynch was one of the few exceptions to this rule. Having joined the OTC at Trinity College after leaving Belvedere in 1913, Lynch applied for a commission in the Special Reserve upon Britain's declaration of war. He died near Ypres on 26 April 1915.[41]

Colleges responded strongly to alumni deaths, despite the number of years since their departure. Although Gerald L. E. Sherlock had completed his secondary education in 1900, the *Clongownian* recorded that 'his death on August 25th [1914] brought home in a more striking way to us in Clongowes the realities of the terrible conflict.'[42] Staff investment in alumni outcomes was often based on more than distant memories as old boys' organisations

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[36] Smith, Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker, *France and the Great War*, pp. 69-71, 70. See also: Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995), ch. 2.
[37] Simkins, 'Four Armies', p. 242.
[38] 'Appendix I: Infantry Divisions of the British Army, 1914-18', in Ian F. W. Beckett and Keith Simpson (eds), *A nation in arms: A social study of the British army in the First World War* (Manchester, 1985).
[39] During the war's early stages, OTC cadets were directly commissioned from British schools. 11,000 cadets were commissioned and another 9,017 went into the ranks between August 1914 and March 1915. See the following for more details: Otley, 'Militarism', pp. 330-1.
[40] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), pp. 192-9.
[41] *Belvederian*, IV/1 (1915), pp. 68-9.
[42] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), p. 195.

and widespread magazine dispersal encouraged continued contact. College-alumni relationships undoubtedly varied in terms of their emotional significance but personal connections did exist. Several soldiers corresponded with teacher mentors throughout their military service, including Trooper R. C. Wallace who wrote to Headmaster MacFarland in 1915 about his experiences in German South West Africa.[43] Tragically, such exchanges often came an abrupt end with Wallace himself killed on 31 May 1916.[44]

Staff sought to help school communities make sense of the onslaught. While Catholic establishments took refuge in discursive ambiguity, RBAI and other such colleges pointed to 'a great cause' which coalesced with the reasons given for the war itself – the protection of domestic and international liberties against German aggression.[45] Death was depicted as the peak expression of patriotic duty and masculine courage, a theme that strengthened over time. Variations of the phrase 'for King and country' littered Protestant war talk, with 'country' variously representing Ireland (firmly situated within the United Kingdom and, in turn, the British Empire) or the United Kingdom itself (which included Ireland but could also be understood as centring on England).[46] Geographic specificity was generally avoided, pre-empting a later pattern observed elsewhere in northern Irish post-war memorial inscriptions. This vagueness allowed listeners to insert whichever national construct they personally deemed most relevant into the equation, while also reflecting the overlapping identities many Irish Protestants held throughout the conflict. The importance of responding to 'the call', even if it resulted in death, was used to counter disillusionment prompted by ever-increasing fatality numbers.[47]

[43] *Campbellian*, 3/9 (1915), pp. 200-3.
[44] *Campbellian,* 3/12 (July 1916), p. 251.
[45] *SN*, 25/78 (1914), p. 10.
[46] ibid., p. 24.
[47] *OST*, VIII/2 (Jan. 1916), p. 59.

Religious frameworks were also used to assure audiences that both they and the fallen were in God's hands. Circumstances prevented the fulfilment of a 'good Christian death' that took place at home and included pious farewells to one's family with the understanding they would be reunited in heaven.[48] This Victorian ideal was in decline by 1914, but it still proved influential.[49] Protestant educators tended to address wartime deaths in the abstract. The Primate of All Ireland, for instance, told boys at Portora Royal School that soldiers had not only laid down their lives for God and country, but that their very activities were Christian in nature; 'when the call of duty came that which was of God in man arose […] they did their duty without flinching'.[50] Jesuit schools, by contrast, provided precise detail regarding soldiers' spiritual preparedness for death. The deceased were described as 'devout' and 'excellent' Catholics, with Lieut. Gerald Charles Moran noted as having an Irish Catholic nurse and priest with him at the end.[51] Where final rites were impossible, readers were told that men who had died instantaneously were 'well prepared to meet it.'[52]

Denominational differences extended to the rituals used to remember the dead. In accordance with Catholic beliefs concerning purgatory and absolution, Clongowes and Castleknock held Solemn Requiem Masses 'for the repose of the souls of those past students who had fallen in the war.'[53] Concern for those still in the line of fire was formally expressed through bi-weekly masses.[54] These events served multiple purposes, not the least of which was to publicly assure families of institutional support and sympathy. The 1916 *College Chronicle* (*CC*) contained a lengthy message from the staff promising parents and friends of combatants 'lasting remembrance in their prayers'.[55] Such sentiments were repeated the

[48] Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford, 1996), esp. pp. 2-3.
[49] ibid., ch. 18; idem, *Death in War and Peace: Loss and Grief in England, 1914-1970* (Oxford, 2010), chs. 1-2.
[50] 'Speech Day at Portora', *IT* (23 Dec. 1915), p. 3.
[51] *Clongownian*, VII/2 (1915), pp. 196, 198, 199.
[52] *MA*, IV/5 (1916), p. 408.
[53] *CC*, XXXI (1916), p. 3.
[54] *Clowngownian*, VII/2 (1915), p. 208; *Clongownian*, VII/3 (1916), p. 344.
[55] *CC*, XXXI (1916), p. 4.

following year, possibly to rebut perceptions that institutional support was waning.[56] Protestant establishments understandably chose to commemorate war sacrifices in other ways. When the roll of honour was read out at school assemblies, students were expected to stand in respect.[57] Several headmasters also promised permanent memorial records after the fighting was over.[58]

The meanings associated with wartime death shifted as the conflict progressed. This was especially the case in Ulster. Jane McGaughey has argued that the First World War was the most significant early-twentieth-century event in terms of local identity construction. The 36th Division's first major military engagement at the Somme quickly became a 'cultural touchstone' embodying Unionist ideology and mythology.[59] After initially taking the Schwaben Redoubt on 1 July 1916, the Division was forced to withdraw its position, suffering more than 5,000 casualties.[60] Unionist newspapers applauded participant bravery and martyrdom, their tone likely inflected by accounts emphasising continuity with loyalist Ulster Protestant traditions.[61] Orange sashes and lilies had apparently been worn by some in recognition of the anniversary of the 1690 Battle of the Boyne, with men led into battle by the cry of 'No Surrender'.[62]

References to the Somme occasionally made an appearance at school events. In July 1916, the Primate instructed students at Armagh Royal that 'when they thought of the charge which Ulster-men made on the 1st July they would try and remember and imitate their heroism.' Such comments, however, were few and far between, with Ulster teachers appearing to prefer more inclusive narratives; at the same event, Headmaster Hirsch merely

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[56] *CC*, XXXII (1917), p. 3.
[57] See, for example, 'Foyle College, Londonderry', *IT* (17 Dec. 1915), p. 8; *Columban*, XXXVII/2 (1916), p. 6.
[58] 'Foyle College, Londonderry', *IT* (19 Dec. 1914), p. 7; *Erasmian*, XV/1 (Dec. 1917), p. 11.
[59] McGaughey, *Ulster's Men*, p. 88ff.
[60] Peter Hart, *The Somme* (London, 2005), p. 162.
[61] Loughlin, *Ulster Unionism*, pp. 83-4.
[62] Jeffery, *Ireland*, p. 56.

observed 'Like most of the Protestant schools in Ireland, their [war] losses had been very heavy'. [63] The 36th Division may have had strong regional links, drawing heavily although not exclusively from former UVF units, but it only received formal approval for its formation on 28 October 1914.[64] Protestant men consequently fought and died in other volunteer regiments as well as in Britain's regular army. By the end of 1916, Portora's roll of honour included men who had served with the Cameron Highlanders, Connaught Rangers, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, Leinster Regiment, and Canadian military forces, amongst others.[65] Establishments invested in displaying the full extent of their military sacrifice would have been reluctant to limit discussions to 1 July 1916 alone. In addition to possibly offending bereaved members in the wider school community, such an approach would diminish opportunities to signal institutional loyalty to empire and, in so doing, their elite status.

Elite Ulster schools did highlight war fatalities incurred by particular groups, but differentiation occurred along religious rather than regimental lines; Colin Cousins has noted elsewhere that Hirsch's comment disingenuously suggested lesser Catholic sacrifice.[66] This preference for broader interpretive frameworks reflects the diversity observed elsewhere in Unionist responses to July 1916; while the Somme rapidly acquired a particular 'web of memory', its initial commemoration was far from unified even in Ulster itself.[67] Such ambivalence towards 36th Division exceptionalism was far from uniform, as discussed in chapter four. Nonetheless, institutional reluctance to engage with this narrative – at least at the outset – undercuts earlier assumptions regarding its all-consuming importance at the time.

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[63] 'Armagh Royal School', *IT* (28 July 1916), p. 6.
[64] Timothy Bowman, *Irish Regiments in the Great War: Discipline and Morale* (Manchester, 2003), pp. 65-8.
[65] Northridge, *Portora*, pp. 39-42.
[66] Colin Cousins, *Armagh and the Great War* (Dublin, 2011), p. 96.
[67] Commemorative consolidation was only achieved by 1918. See: Switzer, *Unionists*, pp. 37, 95.

Catholic schools had their own military connections linking them to certain events. The 1915 Gallipoli Campaign, for example, resulted in the loss of just over 2,000 men who had served with the 10th (Irish) Division, including old Belvederians William M'Garry, John Dunn, and Kevin O'Duffy.[68] This volunteer division had been the first to be raised, comprising Irish Catholic and Protestant recruits alike.[69] Heavy press coverage of the August Offensives shaped the public imagination, even leading to a terrace at Croke Park becoming known as 'Hill 60'.[70] Yet, despite wider interest, Gallipoli received little recognition at school. Students at Clongowes listened to a presentation on the subject in December 1915, but it was given by a Chaplain with the Australian Expeditionary Force who understandably emphasised the courage shown by his own men at the Dardanelles.[71] Catholic Irishmen also fought in the 1916 Somme Offensive, including Thomas Kettle who died with the 16th (Irish) Division.[72] This Division was largely associated with the Irish Parliamentary Party, although its overlap with the Irish National Volunteers was less prominent than that between the 36th (Ulster) Division and the UVF.[73] While Kettle's death attracted lengthy obituaries in both 1917 and 1918 *Clongownian*, the Somme itself garnered little discussion in school magazines.[74] Ratcheting death tolls received sincere condolences that identified the deceased as men of character but did not necessarily glorify their actions or associated battles. Approval tended to be directed towards those who had won military honours rather than any cause they – or the dead – may have fought for.[75]

By and large, the meanings associated with wartime death appear to have been reasonably consistent from the outset. School rhetoric, in some places, was inflected by

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[68] Johnstone, *Orange, Green*, p. 152; *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), pp. 58-65.
[69] Orr, *Field of Bones*, ch. 2.
[70] Rouse, *Sport and Ireland*, p. 275. See also: ibid., ch. 7.
[71] *CC*, XXXI (1916), p. 76.
[72] For more information about Kettle see: Pašeta, 'Thomas Kettle', pp. 8-27.
[73] Bowman, *Irish Regiments*, p. 67.
[74] *Clongownian*, VIII/1 (June 1917), pp. 24-5; *Clongownian*, VIII/2 (June 1918), pp. 148-50.
[75] *Belvederian*, VI/2 (1916), p. 1.

regionalised bereavement resulting from particular battles, but none appear to have turned the tide. No single overseas event was publicly elevated above the rest; although commemorative events were held in Ulster in the years following the Somme, these barely featured in college periodicals.[76] Yet while mass fatalities may not have transformed Irish discourses, they were important. Battlefront deaths devastated schools across the country, necessitating the deployment of denominational rituals to comfort the bereaved. Ultimately, this engagement is indicative of a wider pattern in elite establishments elsewhere facing similar, and sometimes even greater, loss.

New Zealand

New Zealand accounts of the First World War emphasise death far more heavily than their Irish counterparts. Much has been made of overall statistics, giving rise to assertions that this conflict 'was undoubtedly the most traumatic event in New Zealand's history'.[77] Steven Loveridge has quite rightly critiqued the 'apocryphal claim' that the country had a higher per capita death rate than any other, pointing to those suffered by France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary respectively.[78] Nevertheless, numbers were still significant. The need to endow these with meaning and purpose gave rise to a 'cult of 18,000 Kiwi Christs' which strengthened in the 1920s. Commemorations of this mass sacrifice centred on 25 April, also known as 'Anzac Day'.[79] This day recognised the first landing of New Zealand troops at Gallipoli in 1915 and the devastating losses incurred thereafter. Although scholarly work has produced more nuanced interpretations of the meanings surrounding this military event, it is still seen in popular memory as the birthplace of a unique New Zealand identity.[80]

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[76] Switzer, *Unionists*, pp. 93-101.
[77] Crawford and McGibbon, 'Introduction', p. 16.
[78] Loveridge, 'Introduction', pp. 28-9, 323.
[79] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 116ff.
[80] Gwen Parsons, 'Challenging Enduring Home Front Myths: Jingoistic Civilians and Neglected Soldiers', in Monger, Murray and Pickles (eds), *Endurance*, p. 72, n. 23. Parallel narratives exist in the Australian context

Individual bereavements proved similarly striking. Communities across the British Empire were forced to grieve absent bodies, military authorities having banned any repatriation of the dead from war zones in April 1915.[81] Those in the Antipodes, however, faced unparalleled geographical restraints. Even after hostilities ended, most would be unable to visit the final resting place of loved ones located up to 12,000 miles away. This prompted 'a more overt search for links with the bodies and graves of the dead'.[82] In addition to pursuing information about fallen relatives and imagining death rituals being fulfilled by surviving soldiers on the battlefield, Australians developed personalised memorials including record books.[83] Historians have observed parallel practices in New Zealand. Families such as the Stewarts in Dunedin used condolence letters, memorial services, and albums to cope with the death of a son or brother.[84] Tragically, private loss often jostled with mass sacrifice. Official efforts aside, it was not always possible to return a soldier's personal effects. Some individualised epitaph requests for headstones later constructed by the Imperial War Graves Commission also did not eventuate.[85] Such national particularities likely mediated institutional encounters with death as well.

Unlike Ireland, New Zealand suffered relatively few deaths in the first months of hostilities. The Samoa Advance Party captured German Samoa almost entirely without incident on 29 August 1914, and the Main Expeditionary Body was diverted from Europe to Egypt after the Ottoman Empire's entry into the war in November. Of the 41 fatalities in

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which, although far from uncontested, continue to hold sway, see: Thomson, *Anzac Memories*; Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds with Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi, *What's Wrong with ANZAC?: The Militarisation of Australian History* (Sydney, 2010); Joan Beaumont, 'Commemoration in Australia: A memory orgy?', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 50/3 (2015), pp. 536-44.

[81] Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-1984*, 2nd edn (London, 1985), p. 14.

[82] Bart Ziino, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Crawley, Western Australia, 2007), p. 7.

[83] ibid., ch. 1; Pat Jalland, *Australian Ways of Death: A Social and Cultural history, 1840-1918* (Melbourne, 2002), pp. 313-14, 317-19.

[84] Patrick, 'Unbroken Connection?', ch. 4; Sandy Callister, 'Picturing Loss: Family, photographs and the Great War', *The Round Table*, 96/393 (2007), pp. 663-78.

[85] Hunter and Ross, *Holding on*, pp. 224-5.

New Zealand's armed forces between 4 August and 24 April, 37 were caused by illness or accident; the first combat-related death was Private William Ham on 5 February at the Suez Canal.[86] Several other New Zealanders died in the line of fire whilst participating in the British Expeditionary Force and other armies. Elite colleges were amongst those communities affected, although the scale of bereavement remained limited at this stage. By December 1914, Wanganui Collegiate had lost two old boys in France.[87]

The eight-month-long Gallipoli Campaign decisively altered New Zealand's wartime experience. A series of Allied naval attacks on the Dardanelles was followed by an amphibious invasion of the Gallipoli peninsula, the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) initially landing at the later-named Anzac Cove following navigational errors. Although newspaper coverage was limited at first, receiving 'only brief mention' in April 1915, Allied activities were reported as a success.[88] Some schools deemed the news worthy of celebration; Nelson College abandoned its examinations after hearing of the 'message from the Secretary of State for the Colonies congratulating the Dominion on the gallantry displayed by the New Zealand Troops' on 29 April.[89] A less optimistic picture, however, swiftly began to develop. Casualty reports first appeared on 3 May, with official lists from the Defence Department following from 5 May.[90] Families clamoured for accurate information in response to notification delays of more than four or five weeks, their efforts fuelled by private cables and letters home.[91] By mid-1915, casualties at Anzac Cove were at least double those published in New Zealand. Attempts to overcome a quickly established stalemate resulted in further carnage, particularly at the Battle for Chunuk Bair (6-10

[86] Numbers obtained from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and death particulars from associated personnel files captured on the Auckland Museum Cenotaph Database. *Commonwealth War Graves Commission*, https://www.cwgc.org/find/find-war-dead/ (19 Jan. 2016); *Auckland Museum Online Cenotaph*, http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph (19 Jan. 2016).
[87] Hamilton and Hamilton, *Never a Footstep*, p. 177.
[88] Grant, 'War a Daily Reminder', p. 131.
[89] *Nelsonian*, XXXI/1 (1915), pp. 16-17.
[90] Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story* (Auckland, 1984), p. 149ff.
[91] 'War Questions in Parliament', *Poverty Bay Herald* (26 June 1915), p. 7.

August). New Zealand troops remained on the peninsula until 20 December 1915, only a few weeks before Allied evacuation was completed entirely.[92] Total casualty numbers amounted to almost 8,000, including 2,779 killed.[93]

Significant historiographical attention has been paid to military operations at Gallipoli and, more recently, to their ideological and personal import.[94] Scott Worthy has criticised straightforward connections made between Anzac and nationalism, developed perhaps most extensively by Christopher Pugsley and Keith Sinclair in the 1980s.[95] Worthy's analysis of early Gallipoli commemorations downplayed any decisive shift, noting how regional and imperial emphases stood alongside those purporting nationhood. Indeed, newspaper coverage from the time asserted that the campaign 'confirmed New Zealand's place in the imperial family'.[96] Emotional responses on the home front have also begun to be investigated in depth. In 2007, Kate Hunter questioned the extent to which some communities suffered a particularly intense period of bereavement as a result of the campaign, at least when compared to the later and greater losses experienced on the Western Front.[97] Hunter's scepticism is supported by new research undertaken by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and the New Zealand Defence Force; the total number of NZEF personnel who served at Gallipoli has been revised to at least 16,000.[98] This figure reduced the fatality rate to approximately one in six, rather than the oft-quoted one in four.

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[92] Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, pp. 150-1, 343.
[93] Richard Stowers, *Bloody Gallipoli: the New Zealanders' story* (Auckland, 2005), p. 14.
[94] William Mark Sheehan, ''They Shall Not Grow Old': Australian, British and New Zealand History Writing on Gallipoli 1915-96' (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1997); Jenny Macleod, *Reconsidering Gallipoli* (Manchester, 2004), esp. ch. 6.
[95] Scott Worthy, 'A Debt of Honour: New Zealanders' First Anzac Days', *NZJH*, 36/2 (2002), p. 198, n. 4; Pugsley, *Gallipoli*; Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Wellington, 1986).
[96] Worthy, 'Debt of Honour', p. 189.
[97] Kathryn Hunter, ''Sleep on dear Ernie, your battles are o'er': A Glimpse of a Mourning Community, Invercargill, New Zealand, 1914-1925', *War in History*, 14/1 (2007), p. 38.
[98] 'Enumerating New Zealand Expeditionary Force Service on Gallipoli', Interim Report for the Working Group, Ministry for Culture and Heritage and New Zealand Defence Force (March 2016), http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/downloads/pdf/public-docs/2016/enumerating-nzef-service-interim-report-march2016.pdf (14 Apr. 2016).

The exact magnitude of loss, however, appears to have mattered little at the time. Rev. Gondringer's 1915 editorial in the *BW* expressed horror at the scale and suddenness of suffering; 'The month of May ushered in for New Zealand that long succession of casualty lists, which since then have come out as regularly as avalanches rush down a mountain side'.[99] Educational authorities had been aware of the war's lethal implications from the outset but it was not until 1915 that the conflict itself began to be depicted differently. At the 1914 Waitaki Boys' prize-giving, Rector Milner focussed on the need for New Zealand to contribute and the imperial patriotism of so many former pupils.[100] The next year, he emphasised 'the last full measure of devotion' shown by 35 old boys who had since given their lives.[101] After Gallipoli, death and war were no longer separate topics – they had since fused.

Transnational mourning rituals structured college responses. St. Patrick's and Sacred Heart used Catholic practices to recognise war fatalities, holding requiem masses from 1915 and encouraging prayers be said for the souls of the fallen.[102] In addition to any intercessory purpose, teaching religious deemed these ceremonies helpful in consoling the bereaved. Religious services also took place in Protestant schools, albeit for those in mortal peril rather than the dead themselves.[103] Fatalities were furthermore commemorated through non-denominational observances. Gondringer placed a mark by those killed, wounded, and missing on a prominent list of combatant old boys, with such rolls of honour commonly displayed elsewhere.[104] As in Ireland, several headmasters hung up photographs of the deceased and had the 'Last Post' played after names were read out at formal events.[105]

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[99] *BW*, VII/2 (1915), p. 131.
[100] *Waitakian*, IX/3 (1914), p. 255.
[101] *Waitakian*, XI/1 (Apr. 1916), p. 88.
[102] *BW*, VII/2 (1915), p. 132; *SHC*, V/10 (1915), p. 103; *BW*, VIII/1 (Dec. 1916), p. 6.
[103] *KC*, XIV/3 (1915), p. 17.
[104] *BW*, VII/2 (1915), p. 117; *Register*, LXXXIX (Aug. 1915), p. 198.
[105] *Wellingtonian*, XXV/1 (May 1916), p. 8; Trembath, *Ad Augusta*, p. 180; *BHSM*, 56 (Aug. 1917), p. 41.

These commonalities were prompted by an awareness of what was being done at other elite institutions, especially in England. The *Register* recorded that students at Christ's College stood up and offered prayers for the Allies every Wednesday and Saturday while a bell tolled for half a minute. 'In doing this we are following the example of all the large public schools of the Empire.'[106] Perceived institutional parity with establishments such as Eton not only facilitated high collegiate death rates –[107] partially prompted by shared militaristic values – but also how these were managed and interpreted during the war itself.

Gallipoli loomed large in memorial practices with 25 April swiftly transformed into a day of solemn recognition in New Zealand, Australia, and Britain.[108] Christian symbols and themes featured heavily at school-specific commemorations as well as municipal remembrances previously examined by Worthy.[109] At one such event, Beaven-Brown asserted 'Christ is being crucified afresh in this war, and all who suffer in it have had their share in His Crucifixion.' These parallels were extended to resurrection; deaths on the peninsula were made both for a higher purpose and the greater good.[110] 'Patri-passionism' – the equation of Christ's passion with the 'ultimate sacrifice' made by soldiers –[111] was profoundly heretical in its purest form, but New Zealand authorities appear to have had less difficulty stretching doctrinal precepts than their British counterparts.[112] Indeed, Allan Davidson has argued that local church usage of 'supreme sacrifice' rhetoric ultimately allowed their own message to be 'co-opted' and secularised. Unintended consequences aside, theological invocations imbued commemorative services with meaning. John Milnes

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[106] *Register*, LXXXVIII (1915), p. 154.
[107] Christ's College, Christchurch, and King's College, Auckland, suffered fatality rates of 20% and 18.2% respectively. Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 261.
[108] Jenny Macleod, *Gallipoli: Great Battles* (Oxford, 2015), chs. 4-6.
[109] *WC*, 101 (Aug. 1916), p. 10; Worthy, 'Debt of Honour', p. 191.
[110] *BHSM*, 53 (Summer 1916), p. 33.
[111] Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory: Armistice Day, 1919-1946* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 34-5, 186. See also: Gregory, *Last Great War*, ch. 5.
[112] Davidson, 'New Zealand Churches', esp. pp. 455-7; Dickon John Milnes, 'The Church Militant: Dunedin Churches and Society During World War One' (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2015), pp. 103, 110-118.

has highlighted the continued resonance and ubiquity of Christian beliefs in wartime Dunedin, extending recent critiques that 'Historians have too often assumed the role of religion in society can be discerned only in the actions of committed churchgoers and moral activists.'[113] Religious interpretations of war deaths likely held even greater import for elite educators considering their denominational identities and pastoral responsibilities.

Imperial and school-centric identities were also stressed in remembrance addresses, further undercutting simplistic notions that the Dardanelles resulted in a 'new national feeling'.[114] Nonetheless, sacrificial narratives were supplemented by an emphasis on the campaign's significance for the country as a whole. Elite schools deemed this event a formative shared experience. Despite considerable post-1915 losses, Anzac Day continued to be commemorated with references to Gallipoli standing alongside, and sometimes even overshadowing, discussions concerning later Sinai-Palestine and Western Front campaigns. An accolade to alumni 'crusaders', published in 1917, proclaimed that 'They have charged up the slopes of Gallipoli, they have surmounted the walls of Gaza, they have carried the fortresses of Pozieres, Messines and Bellevue Ridge.'[115]

Institutional interpretations of war deaths converged across denominational divisions. Multifarious motivations were submerged into a broader narrative that sought to become more than the sum of its parts. This imperial-heroic rhetoric, widely promulgated throughout New Zealand, did not go unchallenged. Bereaved families sought to preserve the individuality of fallen loved ones through newspaper 'biographicals' stressing civilian values and ties.[116] Memorial prizes were likely donated for similar reasons, with the parents

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[113] Milnes, 'Church Militant', esp. ch. 1; Tobias Harper, ''Amen, Amen!' Christianity, Society and Visions of the Future in 1920s New Zealand', *NZJH*, 42/2 (2008), p. 136.
[114] Maureen Sharpe, 'Anzac Day in New Zealand: 1916 to 1939', *NZJH*, 15/2 (1981), p. 99. See, for example, *Nelsonian,* XXXII/2 (1916), p. 159.
[115] *SHC*, VII/12 (Dec. 1917), p. 100.
[116] Kathryn Hunter, ''Sleep on dear Ernie, your battles are o'er': A Glimpse of a Mourning Community, Invercargill, New Zealand, 1914-1925', *War in History*, 14/1 (2007), p. 39.

of Lieutenant Leslie Beauchamp indicating they would offer a scholarship to Waitaki Boys' shortly after his death.[117] Yet, whatever the original intent, formal discussion of this award and seven others at the 1916 prize giving was limited to the names of the deceased and a brief thanks. Beauchamp was probably genuinely considered one of Waitaki's fallen heroes considering the value placed on imperial loyalty and duty even before the war. Pragmatism nevertheless contributed to the use of somewhat generic descriptors; the Board of Governors decided to refuse further memorial plaque offers 'in view of the rapidly-lengthening casualty list'.[118]

Cumulative fatalities put pressure on staff responsible for communicating grim news to school communities. Teachers largely conformed to the repressive emotional communities which characterised boys' public schools, particularly the proverbial 'stiff upper lip'.[119] On occasion, however, the war pushed them too far. Blaiklock later recorded that Tibbs' voice would break when naming Auckland Grammar old boys killed in action as 1917 'decimated their ranks'.[120] According to Commonwealth War Graves Commission records, 5,540 died in 1917 with the highest one-day death toll – 846 – on 12 October.[121] Constant losses proved especially difficult for masters who viewed their students as 'foster-sons'. One such man was Firth who personally wrote to almost all who served overseas.[122]

High levels of emotional strain were not unique. Prestigious colleges throughout the Empire were vulnerable to wartime fatalities due to their officer connections and military

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[117] *Waitakian*, XI/1 (1916), p. 88.
[118] *Waitakian*, XI/2 (Oct. 1916), p. 249.
[119] Barbara Rosenwein has identified social communities as also constituting 'emotional communities'. Members within these groups, including school communities, 'adhere[d] to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions.' See: Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006), p. 2.
[120] Blaiklock, *Between the Valley*, p. 64. Tibbs had to read out his son's own death in 1918. See: Trembath, *Ad Augusta*, p. 178.
[121] *Commonwealth War Graves Commission.* See also: Matthew Wright, *Shattered Glory: The New Zealand Experience at Gallipoli and the Western Front* (Auckland, 2010), pp. 236-46.
[122] Elliott, *Firth*, p. 172. 1,658 of the 2,836 boys who passed through Wellington College between 1890 and 1912 served overseas. 226 were killed and a further 350 wounded. See: Beasley, *Light Accepted*, p. 78.

traditions, with British public schools identified as 'places surrounded by and associated with death'.[123] A critical difference between Irish and New Zealand colleges, however, was the overall scale of death on their respective home fronts. New Zealand suffered a much higher per capita death rate than Ireland, this being approximately 0.15 per cent as opposed to 0.07 per cent.[124] As a result, New Zealand staff (and students) would have likely been exposed to more fatalities outside of school settings than their Irish counterparts, compounding individual experiences of loss.

New Zealand's substantive bereavements have been tied to broader socio-cultural developments. Steven Loveridge has traced the emergence of a 'culture of sacrifice' which endowed fatalities with higher meaning.[125] This culture not only provided emotional tools to help New Zealanders cope with the costs of war, but also glorified particular responses. According to Loveridge, it manifested in three main ways: the manner in which deaths were publicly treated and engaged with; discussions surrounding appropriate behaviour in light of military losses; and an increased acceptance of equalising measures.[126] Veneration of the dead became paramount with calls made for civilians to prove themselves worthy of their sacrifice. Similar reactions appeared elsewhere; Adrian Gregory has identified Britain as being characterised by an 'economy of sacrifice'.[127] Deaths on the battlefield necessitated equivalent offerings on the home front and, as the burden of war increased, so did the idea that this would be best met by all paying an equal price. In New Zealand, notions of a 'blood tax', to use Gregory's term, appear remarkably strong.[128] Some women even felt that there should be a 'tax in sons', pressuring those eligible to fight to ensure bereavement was evenly

[123] Rosalind Kennedy, 'The Children's War: British children's experience of the Great War' (PhD thesis, Goldsmiths College, University of London, 2006), p. 96.
[124] Crawford and McGibbon, 'Introduction', p. 16.
[125] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, ch. 6.
[126] ibid., p. 208ff.
[127] Gregory, *Last Great War*, ch. 4.
[128] ibid., p. 117.

spread.[129] Popular commitment to the 'equality of sacrifice' concept has been attributed to several factors, including the integrated state of New Zealand society, egalitarian beliefs, and the fact that 'a fair section of the home-front population' had loved ones serving overseas by late 1915.[130] Here, mass fatalities proved fundamental in informing perceptions of those deemed as not doing their fair share, especially from 1916 onwards.

Colleges were imbued by all three expressions of this 'culture of sacrifice', further confirming its significance as a home front phenomenon. The reasons men fought and died were constantly reiterated. Current students were also charged with upholding old boy legacies, being told to prepare themselves 'to undertake in future the work of those who had gone out to fight for us, but could never return.'[131] The moral betterment of society, the need for which was highlighted by and facilitated through wartime sacrifice, was seen as fundamental to a victorious post-war world.[132] In 1917, pupils at Kings' College were told that they should 'strive after high ideals, eager to make this country of ours a purer, a nobler, a brighter, a happier, and more pleasant land to live in.'[133] Student responsibilities, however, were not limited to future endeavours. School communities could help bring hostilities to their rightful conclusion by embracing additional sacrifice and encouraging others to do so as well.

Dissent and Schools

Ireland

Irish dissent provoked commentary from early in the war. Dr Starkie, Resident Commissioner of National Education for Ireland, highlighted competing modes of thought

[129] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 100.
[130] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, pp. 231-2, 232.
[131] *OHSM*, XXXII/2 (Oct. 1916), p. 79.
[132] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, pp. 222-5.
[133] *KC*, XVI/2 (Sept. 1917), p. 25.

in a prizegiving address at Wesley College, Dublin. Whilst sympathising with those who advocated patriotism be taught in schools, he deemed such a project unworkable because two possibilities existed: imperialism and the 'principles of 'Sinn Fein''.[134] Although Starkie did not explicitly link nationalist feeling with lower levels of support for the war effort, he was undoubtedly aware that political affiliations undercut commitment at some institutions. This lack of cohesion was subsequently exacerbated by wartime insurgency.

The 1916 Easter Rising is widely identified as a pivotal event.[135] The Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) supreme council condoned a wartime insurrection in September 1914, with the subsequent rising instigated by a select group of IRB strategists created at the end of May 1915. Seven individuals comprised the 'military council', including James Connolly of the Irish Citizen Army (ICA) who joined in January the following year.[136] More people became aware of the council's plans from early 1916 but few knew any specific details. Efforts were made to minimise opposition from moderate colleagues but Eoin MacNeill managed to issue countermands against planned Irish Volunteer manoeuvres on Easter Sunday, 23 April.[137] While the exact impact of MacNeill's actions has been contested, the subsequent rebellion was largely limited to Dublin.[138] On Monday approximately 700 Volunteers, ICA members, and revolutionary associates seized and fortified prominent buildings across the city centre, including the General Post Office (GPO) where the 'Proclamation of the Irish Republic' was read. Total numbers swelled to 1,500 by the week's end.[139] Only 400 British soldiers were on hand to counter the rebels but

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[134] 'Wesley College, Dublin', *IT* (18 Dec. 1915), p. 7.
[135] Richard English, *Irish Freedom: The History of Nationalism in Ireland* (London, 2006), p. 260ff; F. S. L. Lyons, 'The rising and after', in Vaughan (ed), *Ireland under the Union* , pp. 207-23; Fearghal McGarry, '1916 and Irish Republicanism: between Myth and History', in Horne and Madigan (eds), *Towards Commemoration*, p. 46.
[136] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, pp. 94-5.
[137] McGarry, *Rising: Ireland: Easter 1916* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 111-119.
[138] ibid., ch. 6; Townshend, *Easter 1916*, pp. 141-3. As recognised by Ferriter, however, rebel efforts outside of Dublin should not be 'entirely dismissed' as they were enough to justify the imposition of martial law across Ireland on the Wednesday. See: Ferriter, *A Nation*, p. 156.
[139] Ferriter, *A Nation*, pp. 154-6.

the military response was 'prompt and effective'. Reinforcements rapidly arrived, outnumbering insurgents as early as Tuesday.[140] Martial law was declared that same day with troop movements substantiated by artillery bombardment.[141] By the time the last rebel outposts collapsed on Sunday 30 April, 450 people had been killed and some 2,600 wounded. Civilians constituted more than half of the dead.[142]

Irish historians have long scrutinised the Rising's exact causes and outcomes. Recent research has reiterated the importance of situating this event within a wider context. Foster deliberately looked back to the 'pre-revolutionary period' in his examination of the revolutionary generation, with the Ulster Crisis and the First World War identified as key factors in determining Ireland's political trajectory by Diarmaid Ferriter and David Fitzpatrick.[143] These broader reference points have been endorsed by Niall Whelehan and others, although McGarry has cautioned that 'it would be a mistake to exaggerate the radicalization of this generation or the inevitability of its consequences.'[144] Scholars generally agree that the rebellion and ensuing policy decisions reshaped Ireland's political context but lived experiences of this process merit further investigation. The Rising, after all, was a performance of 'instant history' from the outset, with additional meanings later acquired through remembrance and commemorative processes.[145] The following subsection traces elite college engagement with the Rising and its political fallout in subsequent months, recognising denominational differences where these occurred.

Renowned boys' schools were bastions of privilege, known for their conservative views and cautious positions on provocative matters.[146] This reputation aside, several

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[140] McGarry, *Rising*, pp. 166-8, 166.
[141] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, pp. 187, 191.
[142] McGarry, *Rising*, pp. 188, 247.
[143] Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. xvii; Ferriter, *A Nation*, chs. 12-13; Fitzpatrick, 'Irish consequences', pp. 643-58. See also: Gabriel Doherty and Dermot Keogh (eds), *1916: The Long Revolution* (Cork, 2007).
[144] McGarry, *Rising*, p. 42.
[145] Fitzpatrick, 'Instant history', pp. 65-85.
[146] Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, p. 45; O'Neill, *Catholics*, p. 45.

Catholic colleges were implicated in the Rising with secular staff taking up arms. Francis Fahy, for example, was both a Captain with the IV and a longstanding master at Castleknock in 1916. Acting as commander at Four Courts, subsequent incarceration did not result in loss of faith from his employers.[147] Fahy returned to Castleknock after his release in June 1917, remaining in post until 1921 when his presence prompted a raid from Crown Forces.[148] Such cases, although few and far between, further challenge perceptions of exclusive institutional links with political dissent. As Foster recently recognised, the 'leading players' of the 1916 Easter Rising had 'more varied educational backgrounds than might be inferred from the recurrent motif of some time spent with the Christian Brothers.'[149]

Other establishments had less controversial connections to events in Dublin. The religious community at Clongowes supported Maynooth College through its 'bread famine', also sending cyclists with provisions to the 'beleaguered Fathers in Gardiner Street.'[150] Schools based in the city centre faced the greatest disruption and potential danger. Belvedere College on Great Denmark Street suffered property damage after its grounds were broken into, and High School, Dublin on Harcourt Street was used by military authorities as an emergency hospital.[151] Charitable efforts, even those conducted after the rebels surrendered, were not without risk; Rev. Felix Watters, president of Catholic University School (C.U.S.) located on Lower Leeson Street, was fatally wounded on 1 May after visiting the presbytery of a deceased priest.[152]

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[147] James H. Murphy, ''A Brake on the Irish Wheel' in Empire and Erin', in James H. Murphy (ed), *Nos Autem: Castleknock College and its Contribution* (Dublin, 1996), p. 108.
[148] *CC*, XXXIII (June 1918), p. 1; Diarmaid Ferriter and Lawrence William White, 'Francis Patrick ('Frank') Fahy', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a2988 (20 Jan. 2016); Dublin, Bureau of Military History, W.S.807 (Witness: Patrick J Doyle, Parish Priest, Nass, 1952), Gearoid O'Sullivan, 'An Anthology of Fugitive Memories', p. 10, http://www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0807.pdf (20 Jan. 2016).
[149] Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. 42.
[150] *Clongownian*, VII/3 (1916), p. 391.
[151] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 154; *Erasmian*, XIII/3 (June 1916), p. 66.
[152] Donal Kerr, 'Death of the President 1916', in *C.U.S., 1867-1967: A Centenary Record* (Dublin, 1967), pp. 86-91.

Formal responses were retrospective from the outset, delayed by late school openings due to railway service disruptions and the imposition of martial law. Rev. Blackburn referred to these obstructions at a St. Columba's event in June, alluding to the 'un-settled state of Ireland' in his introduction for distinguished guest Major-General Sandbach, commander of the 59th (2nd North Midland) Division sent from England to help quell the Rising.[153] Yet, despite being directly affected by the rebellion, public commentary was relatively limited at Protestant schools. One notable exception occurred at Armagh where Hirsch criticised the government at length, especially 'their Irish rule, or want of rule, which precipitated the rebellion, the results of which were not over yet.' Issue seems to have been taken with state tolerance of extreme nationalism thus far in addition to Home Rule policy more generally.[154] Such vehemence was unusual, most probably for diplomatic reasons linked to the anti-sedition legislation Hirsch himself mentioned. Nonetheless, it is likely that distaste for the rebellion and other nationalist activities was common across the elite Protestant sector. Alumni involved in this event had generally acted in conjunction with British forces; even a Guinness Brewery clerk and a St. John's Ambulance Brigade worker could 'rightly be counted as giving their lives for their country'.[155]

Catholic colleges offered more extensive commentary, although they too treaded carefully. The *Belvederian* noted:

> While the rebellion is too important an event to pass by without notice, it is one on which we are unwilling to dwell … considerable time must elapse before the true facts about it come to light, and … it is not our function to discuss a question about which widely divergent views will be held by our readers.[156]

Editorial staff evidently saw discretion as the best policy, albeit for slightly different reasons than Protestant educators. The Rising was an illegal act, and Clongowes, Belvedere, and

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[153] 'St. Columba's College', *IT* (10 June 1916), p. 6; A. E. Sandbach, 'Fifty-Ninth Division, 1915-1918', in E. U. Bradbridge (ed), *59th Division, 1915-1918* (Chesterfield, 1928), pp. 9-12.
[154] 'Armagh Royal School', *IT* (28 June 1916), p. 6.
[155] *Erasmian*, XIV/1 (Dec. 1916), p. 12; *Erasmian*, XIII/3 (1916), p. 68.
[156] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 5.

Mungret had all produced revolutionary alumni. These included Frank Fahy, now at Castleknock.[157] Denominational affiliations aside, college authorities were well aware that the Rising evoked strong feeling long after it ended.

Irish interpretations of the Rising shifted in the wake of Britain's response. Father Patrick Doyle, Rector of Knockbeg College in Carlow, was initially outraged by 'this disturbance of civic life and of College discipline', but he invited Gearóid O'Sullivan, newly released from Frongoch internment camp, to take up an Irish teaching position by Christmas.[158] Doyle's changed attitude mirrored a broader trend. Revolutionary action in Easter week had faced resistance from local Dubliners, including those irritated and frightened by military developments.[159] Immediate reactions varied significantly – first-hand accounts record sightseeing and looting practices, growing admiration for the determination shown by dissidents, and demonstrations of outright hostility after the rebels surrendered –[160] but a more cohesive view developed in following weeks. Martial law was imposed for six months and 3,500 people, many of whom were uninvolved in the Rising, were arrested with over 2,500 interned in Britain.[161] Most controversially, the seven signatories of the Proclamation were tried under DORA regulations and then executed along with eight others between 3 and 12 May, followed by Roger Casement on 3 August.[162] Charles Townshend has noted that there is not enough evidence to discern whether public opinion transformed 'from hostility to sympathy' or if it simply 'crystallised'.[163] Either way, it is clear that many condemned military proceedings and re-evaluated the character and actions of rebel leaders.

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[157] Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. 39.
[158] Bureau of Military History, W.S.807, pp. 1, 4.
[159] McGarry, *Rising*, pp. 142-4, 196-200.
[160] ibid., pp. 144-8, 201-3, 252-4.
[161] ibid., pp. 264-5.
[162] Foster, *Vivid Faces*, p. 246.
[163] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, pp. 307-8.

Opinion expressed within school walls reflected longstanding loyalties. Protestant teachers may have kept relatively quiet but some allowed their students to write about the rebellion in vitriolic terms. The July 1916 *Columban* proclaimed that 'the most potent argument cannot excuse this wanton insurrection', expressing hope that Ireland would be 'purged of the despicable fosterings of such a creed … which has done its best to remove the freedom and liberty which we now enjoy'. The editor concluded his tirade with 'God save the King!'[164] Here and elsewhere, the measures chosen to suppress the Rising were deemed necessary; revolutionary views had to be eradicated.

Political affiliations were also brought to the fore at Mungret College. While the Rising was not given explicit approval, neither were insurrectionists blamed for their actions. 'Our Past' notes made reference to the injuries sustained by old boy Lieut. George Malone while serving with the 3rd Royal Irish Regiment, but no causal explanation was made aside from the fact that he had been 'severely wounded in Dublin'.[165] Cahill's allegiances drew suspicion from religious superiors who decided against extending his term of office as Rector. Jesuit accounts have taken care to stress that this was not because 'his own political views were condemned by higher authorities but that any political views at all should be aired by any priest holding public office in the Society.'[166] Although this could well be true, Cahill's transfer to Galway in the summer of 1916 seems exceptionally well timed, especially considering earlier accusations that he sympathised with advanced nationalist thought. Tellingly, Cahill was replaced by Fr. James Corboy, a colleague he had previously denigrated as having 'very one sided' political views. Corboy alone had opposed Cahill's invitation to the IV in late 1914, and appears to have been a more conservative choice for Rector.[167]

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[164] *Columban*, XXXVII/2 (1916), pp. 1-2.
[165] *MA*, IV/5 (1916), p. 386; Max Caulfield, *The Easter Rebellion* (Dublin, 1995), ch. 9.
[166] *MA* (1974), p. 22.
[167] Irish Jesuit Archives, SC/MUNG 204, Cahill to Nolan, 11 Dec. 1915.

Despite the supposed need for neutrality, Catholic colleges found themselves under pressure to make their position clear. War-related content continued to permeate school magazines, evoking exasperation from some readers. Rev. Thomas Ryan recognised divergent sympathies amongst Belvedere alumni in his 1917 editorial;[168] 'There are in the pages that follow reflections of the views of such opposite parties whose sympathies are represented by the motto, 'Help to win the war,' and those whose doctrine is 'Ireland above all.'' Ryan expressed confidence that old boys would see past their differences due to a common school experience and, as these views were only conveyed 'indirectly', that the *Belvederian* remained non-political at its core.[169] Nonetheless, the inclusion of any subversive material at all – such as accolades for Joseph Mary Plunkett or a Gaelic-language account from an imprisoned rebel –[170] indicates college engagement with revolutionary views. Growing discontent with British actions, facilitated by inaccurate perceptions of the strong religious faith and piety shown by executed rebels, stood alongside developments in the official Catholic position; an earlier proposal to condemn the Rising was rejected at a Hierarchal meeting in June 1916.[171] Tensions were exacerbated by renewed partition proposals vigorously opposed by local bishops and growing war-weariness.[172] Considering the fact that the majority of the Catholic hierarchy were also hostile towards the IPP itself by late summer 1916, this state of affairs is perhaps unsurprising.[173]

The Rising ultimately prompted a decisive split in college discourses. Catholic establishments became less sympathetic towards Redmondite war interpretations but Protestant views remained unchanged. Pro-imperial themes continued to circulate at official

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[168] Dublin, Irish Jesuit Archives, *Catalogus Provinciae Hiberniae*, 1912-1917.
[169] *Belvederian*, IV/3 (1917), p. 1.
[170] ibid., pp. 2-7; *CC*, XXXIII (1918), pp. 37-40.
[171] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 281.
[172] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, pp. 142-3; David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2015), p. 446.
[173] Dermot Keogh, 'The Catholic Church, the Holy See and the 1916 Rising', in Doherty and Keogh (eds), *1916*, p. 305.

events, underpinning declarations of institutional support for Britain's war effort. 'Empire Day' was commemorated for the ninth time in 1917 at Campbell College with a fundraising concert for the Public Schools' Base Hospital held that same day.[174] Revulsion at those turning against Irish participation in the conflict likely strengthened teachers' commitment to international hostilities, but it did not alter its basic premise. R. T. Martin, Chairman at RBAI, for example, remarked bitterly in December 1916 that some in Ireland refused to fully contribute to imperial military efforts and fight for 'the cause of humanity and the British Empire.'[175] Later moves towards Irish conscription strengthened oppositional war narratives even further, as discussed in chapter five.

New Zealand

Mid-war New Zealand has generally been considered a cohesive unit bound together by loss. Nevertheless, scholars have pointed towards concurrent social divisions, including those linked to family heritage and denominational affiliation. P. J. Gibbons identified xenophobia as being 'The other side of jingo-patriotism', noting that attacks were made on New Zealanders with Germanic backgrounds, Waitako Māori, Labour leaders, Quakers, and the Catholic Irish.[176] While Hugh Laracy argued that anti-Catholic 'allegations of shirking and disloyalty' were simply part of a longer 'campaign of sectarian hostility', most academics point towards a heightened 'othering' process prompted by more immediate developments.[177] These include expressions of advanced nationalism in Ireland and Antipodean-Irish reactions to conscription.[178] School histories often allude to wider discontent, with Tony Waters asserting that Dunedin headmasters refused to participate in

[174] *Campbellian*, 4/3 (July 1917), pp. 43, 46.
[175] *SN*, 27/84 (Dec. 1916), p. 18.
[176] P. J. Gibbons, 'The Climate of Opinion', in Rice (ed), *Oxford History*, 2nd edn, p. 319.
[177] Laracy, 'Priests, People', p. 15.
[178] Olssen, 'Waging War', p. 306; Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 114.

the 1917 Caledonian Games if the Christian Brothers High School was involved.[179] The extent to which elite Catholic secondary colleges became wartime targets themselves is currently unclear.

The Easter Rising struck a chord in regions that had experienced large-scale Irish migration. Historian Malcolm Campbell has found that major American and Australian newspapers largely condemned this revolutionary action, although Irish-Americans and Catholic Australians alike were outraged by British reprisals.[180] New Zealanders expressed similar interest in this chain of events. News of the Rising broke in local papers on 26 April 1916 with a statement made that same day by Prime Minister Massey who hoped the 'outbreak will be put down with a strong hand, and that Casement and the other traitors who have been acting with him will receive the full punishment which traitors deserve.'[181] While early reports were dependent on brief cable transmissions, editorial assessments proved indignant from the outset. Major points of contention included the scale of violence and destruction in Dublin, apparent German involvement, and the treachery demonstrated by rebel leaders.[182] Intriguingly, prominent papers like Auckland's *New Zealand Herald* (*NZH*) gave little comment on later outcomes despite publishing details of the May executions and the negative reactions these garnered overseas.[183] Largely speaking, the mainstream press saw Britain's martial response as entirely justified.

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[179] Tony Waters, *Confortare: A history of Sacred Heart College, Auckland 1903-2003* (Auckland, 2003), p. 48.
[180] Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds*, pp. 168-173. See also Campbell, 'Emigrant Responses to War and Revolution, 1914-21: Irish Opinion in the United States and Australia', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32/125 (2000), pp. 75-92.
[181] Brad Patterson, ''We stand for the Protestant religion, the (Protestant) King and the Empire': The Rise of the Protestant Political Association in World War One', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, p. 241; 'Riots in Dublin', *Otago Daily Times* (27 Apr. 1916), p. 5.
[182] Sweetman, 'Who Fears', pp. 74-5.
[183] See, for example, 'English Newspapers on the Executions', *NZH* (8 May 1916), p. 5; 'Analysis of Death Sentences on Rebels', *NZH* (13 May 1916), p. 7; 'Fate of Irish Rebels' and 'American's Motion', *NZH* (15 May 1916), p. 6.

Elite educational opinion varied significantly. Although information about the rebellion was widespread, Protestant teachers commented on it even less than their counterparts in Ireland. A letter sent from former headmaster J. W. Joynt to Nelson College constitutes one of the few adult-authored reflections captured in school periodicals from the time: 'The whole episode has been shocking and deplorable, and has recreated a really formidable physical force party, who are a source of danger, not so much to the Unionist Loyalists, as to the National Parliamentary Party.'[184] This lack of public discussion may reflect longstanding efforts to evade controversial topics, with Beeby having believed that teachers at Christchurch Boys' took steps to prevent any 'ideas with overt social or political implications for our day ever creeping into a session'.[185] Joynt's comments were relatively uncontentious considering their audience, coalescing with those circulating New Zealand's public sphere. More likely, most educators simply considered the war as having greater relevance for students. News of the Rising, after all, arrived just after the first Anzac Day commemorations.

Catholic establishments engaged with this event much more deeply. Large segments of the community were invested in Irish political developments – generally favouring Home Rule over radical alternatives – and some institutions retained direct links with Dublin through migratory connections. Prior to taking up a position at C.U.S., Dr. Felix Watters had been the founding rector of St. Patrick's College. His death in the rebellion's aftermath shocked his former college, with the *BW* asserting that the brief cable they received 'stabbed our very souls with anguish.' Watters' fatal injuries necessitated overt discussion of the Rising. The destruction caused by this 'terrible insurrection' was implicitly denounced, but sympathy was still expressed for the rebels' cause:

> The tears came that Ireland should once more have dashed from her bleeding lips the cup of freedom, that from within her borders there had risen misguided, if brave,

[184] *Nelsonian*, XXXII/2 (1916), pp. 191-2.
[185] Beeby, *Biography*, p. 25.

> high-souled, visionaries who had, stirred by sense of what they felt to be grievous, galling wrong, striven in one brief, bloody hour to win for the island of their love and of their dreams the place that centuries of noble efforts had all but won for the Niobe of nations.[186]

Gondringer's words, written at the end of the year, echoed wider Catholic sentiment. In line with Australia, Catholic New Zealanders first condemned the rebellion but, by late 1916, criticism was more firmly directed towards British policy even if rebel actions did not garner clear approval.[187] Even limited expressions of empathy, however, were not seen kindly by the Protestant majority.

Catholic New Zealanders fell victim to increased scrutiny from 1916**.** While accusations of half-hearted commitment to the war had circulated for at least a year, the Rising coincided with further events that brought questions of allegiance to the fore. The New Zealand government decided to adopt conscription shortly after Great Britain, introducing the Military Service Act in parliament on 24 May and passing it into law on 1 August.[188] This step was by no means required; Australia, a fellow Dominion-state, decided against implementing such a measure after two contentious referendums.[189] Although generally supported, New Zealand conscription was opposed by a mixture of socialists, pacifists, and Christians.[190] Catholics became ever more grouped with other 'traitors' in the public imagination, especially as reports of Australian Archbishop Mannix's opposition to conscription filtered across the Tasman.[191] Collectively, these wartime developments prompted an outburst of sectarianism reflected in the widespread support given to Reverend Howard Leslie Elliott's Protestant Political Association (PPA), formally launched in July 1917.[192]

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[186] *BW*, VIII/1 (1916), p. 11.
[187] Sweetman, 'Who Fears', pp. 71-90; O'Farrell, *Irish in Australia*, pp. 259-70.
[188] Baker, *King and Country*, pp. 86, 90.
[189] Sheftall, *Altered Memories*, pp. 109-19.
[190] Baker, *King and Country*, chs. 5-7.
[191] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', pp. 107-8, 133.
[192] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 114-5; Patterson, ''We stand'', pp. 235-51.

Protestant schools contributed to this repressive atmosphere. Notions of the 'shirker' gained further ground after Gallipoli.[193] Male shirkers failed to demonstrate 'dutiful masculinity' through their reluctance to adequately support the war effort via overseas service.[194] Teachers and other authorities deployed this antitype to highlight acceptable forms of adolescent as well as adult behaviour. After deriding those 'willing to shelter behind the backs of the men who had gone … [without] lifting a hand themselves in their country's defence', Bishop Julius heartily approved of current student commitment to their studies; 'There were not many shirkers in Christ's College'.[195] Attempts to 'shame' shirkers into enlisting, however, ultimately proved ineffective; by 1916, 69 per cent of men eligible for military service had still not volunteered.[196] Conscription became increasingly viewed as a legitimate option to ensure equal sacrifice.[197]

Elite educators clung onto the prestige associated with voluntary enlistment, considered by Rector W. Thomas and others as embodying true loyalty and duty.[198] Nonetheless, they too turned towards more positive interpretations of conscription, identifying it as a wartime necessity.[199] Protestant headmasters probably sympathised with pro-conscription agitators who thought teaching religious were not pulling their weight; by this stage, most boys' colleges faced severe staff shortages due to constant recruitment practices. Yet state and private Protestant establishments never explicitly pointed the finger at their Catholic counterparts, nor were extant ties cut. Wellington College continued to play football and cricket matches against St. Patrick's, with games similarly held between Sacred

[193] Steven Loveridge, ''Soldiers and Shirkers': Modernity and New Zealand Masculinity during the Great War', *NZJH*, 47/1 (2013), pp. 59-79.
[194] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 146.
[195] 'Christ's College', *Press* (20 Dec. 1915), p. 2.
[196] Ian McGibbon, 'First World War', in Ian McGibbon (ed), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland, 2000), p. 174.
[197] Baker, *King and Country*, pp. 46-52; Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, pp. 155-6, 231-8.
[198] *Timaruvian*, XI/1 (Dec. 1916), p. 43.
[199] *Wellingtonian*, XXVII/1 (June 1918), p. 10.

Heart and prominent Auckland colleges.[200] This lack of ostracism is intriguing, suggesting that Catholic New Zealanders were not uniformly discredited by contemporary political events. At least some sectors of the population seem to have used indicators other than religion – such as class – to assess institutional allegiances.

Religious brothers, including those at Sacred Heart College, bore the brunt of public outrage. As P. S. O'Connor observed in the 1960s, 'Never before or after … were the Marist Brothers the household phrase they became in 1917.'[201] Clerical conscription had ramifications for all major churches but the conscription of theological students and religious teachers was essentially a Catholic issue. Whereas many theological colleges had closed due to student enlistment, Catholic seminaries remained open.[202] Furthermore, the recruitment of Marist and Christian Brothers would significantly diminish those available to educate the younger flock.[203] Defence Minister James Allen's promises to exempt necessary school staff, and his inconsistent attempts to do so via non-binding certificates and instructions to Military Service Boards, evoked resentment on all sides.[204] The Sacred Heart Old Boys' Association passed a unanimous resolution asserting 'That conscription of Clergy and Marist Brothers is contrary to justice utility.'[205] In turn, the limited action that was taken prompted accusations of preferential treatment and Catholic disloyalty.[206] Wider commentary on the 1917 Expeditionary Forces Amendment Bill, which proposed the exemption of all teachers, was

[200] *BW*, VIII/2 (Dec. 1917), pp. 20, 22-3, 107-9; *BW*, VI/1 (Dec. 1918), pp. 33-4, 51; *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), pp. 44-8, 73; *SHC*, VII/13 (Dec. 1918), pp. 36, 49-54.
[201] P. S. O'Connor, 'Storm Over the Clergy – New Zealand 1917', *Journal of Religious History*, 4/2 (1966), p. 129.
[202] Laracy, 'Priests, People', p. 16.
[203] 62 Marist Brothers and 5 Christian Brothers were engaged as primary and secondary teachers in 1917, at least 35 of whom were of military age. See: Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', p. 128; Baker, *King and Country*, p. 124.
[204] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', pp. 111-28.
[205] Waters, *Confortare*, p. 47.
[206] Patterson, ''We stand'', pp. 246-7; Hugh Laracy, 'Priests, People', p. 16.

construed in similar terms. After facing palpable opposition, it was officially dropped on 30 October.[207]

Wartime tensions were intensified by other Catholic causes such as government funding for denominational education. A branch of the Catholic Federation was established at Sacred Heart in June 1916 with Federation leaders visiting the college prior to their Auckland Convention the following February.[208] Such open endorsement ran counter to hierarchal advice; while the Federation had enjoyed strong support from church leaders earlier in the decade, Metropolitan Archbishop Redwood and Archbishop O'Shea recommended discussions of the 'education question' be exercised cautiously by 1917.[209] Catholic authorities also persevered in voicing their opinion on Irish nationalism. Alongside its motion against clerical conscription, the Old Boys' Union at Sacred Heart resolved 'That it was essential, in view of England's declared solicitude for the rights of small nations, that an ample measure of autonomy should be conceded to Ireland'.[210] This was not a new position – Home Rule having been applauded earlier in the decade – but its reiteration after the Rising appears to have been mistaken for pro-separatism.

Catholic colleges defended themselves against charges of disloyalty and educational subversion. Rev. Br. Basil denounced advocates of religious conscription as 'more anti-Catholic than British'.[211] Instead of seeking equal sacrifice, they actually wanted to destroy the Catholic education system. Ulterior motives were also suggested in a student editorial approved by Rev Br. Ligouri which held up alumni enlistment as proof Marist Brothers did not inculcate unpatriotic sentiment.[212] St Patrick's avoided being tarred by exactly the same brush as it was run by the priestly Marist Fathers rather than Brothers. Nonetheless, staff

[207] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', pp. 127-131; Baker, *King and Country*, pp. 129-30.
[208] *SHC*, VI/11 (Dec. 1916), pp. 35-8; *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), pp. 109-10.
[209] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', pp. 140-2.
[210] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 104.
[211] ibid., p. 87.
[212] ibid., pp. 17-18.

here too asserted their total dedication to King and Country. Gondringer designated the 1917 *BW* a deluxe war edition, ensuring that the 'noble answer Patricians have made to their country's call' was recorded for posterity.[213] Both establishments deliberately inserted themselves into narratives of voluntary commitment heavily circulated at other prestigious boys' schools.

Patriotic proclamations were somewhat calculated considering the current climate but they were not without substance. As recognised by Archbishop O'Shea in mid-1917, nearly every Catholic family in New Zealand had sent loved ones to the front.[214] The prevalence and detail of loyalist emphases in school magazines suggests sincere institutional investment in a global war effort with Catholic support deemed entirely compatible with other causes challenging state authority. In this, middle-class educationalists followed the example of local leaders who sought to demonstrate that Irish nationalist views could be reconciled with 'effusive protestations of loyalty to Empire'; Bishop Cleary of Auckland, for example, highlighted his commitment to the cause via a three-month stint as military chaplain in Flanders during 1916-17.[215] Although these claims were not readily accepted – Cleary's own position being undermined by the more radical James Kelly, editor of the *New Zealand Tablet* from February 1917 –[216] they continued to be articulated. Catholic school reactions to Irish political developments were definitively shaped by institutional status and socio-economic positioning, a theme further discussed in chapter four. Despite numerous denominational differences, elite boys' colleges in New Zealand appear to have shared a mutual conviction in the war's importance throughout 1916 and 1917.

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[213] *BW*, VIII/2 (1917), p. 5.
[214] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', p. 155.
[215] ibid., pp. 110, 163.
[216] Rory Sweetman, ''How to behave among Protestants': Varieties of Irish Catholic Leadership in Colonial New Zealand', in Patterson (ed), *Irish in New Zealand*, pp. 94-9.

Concluding Comments

By mid-1917, elite Irish and New Zealand institutions had been forced to endure intense emotional and ideological pressures. Headmasters at both ends of the British Empire grappled with lengthy death lists, a state of affairs facilitated by a common officer heritage and military tradition. This transnational experience was effectively managed across the board. Pre-war denominational practices and English public school activities provided shared structures readily deployed to comfort the bereaved. Having suffered casualties within weeks, Irishmen presented the conflict as a lethal event almost from its very onset. Alumni sacrifices attracted universal respect even if the meanings attributed to military losses differed; Protestant staff emphasised the importance of King and Country whereas the teaching religious tended to avoid specific motivations which could potentially offend nationalist audiences. Religious divisions were less apparent in New Zealand where elite teachers of both faiths circulated imperial-heroic rhetoric informed by wider pro-British leanings.

Ireland and New Zealand more generally were affected by war deaths to different extents. Research has identified the emergence of battle-specific bereavement patterns in Ireland, particularly relating to the 1916 Somme Offensive, but it appears that even Ulster Unionist headmasters preferred more inclusive narratives when addressing the fallen. The Gallipoli Campaign, by contrast, overshadowed the New Zealand home front as a whole. Although it did not create a unique identity separate from Britain – a perception rightly challenged elsewhere – this event constituted a reference point for communities across the country. Providing the ultimate example of common sacrifice for the greater good, Anzac fatalities needed to be venerated and vindicated. Overall death rates were also different. New Zealand suffered much higher losses in proportion to its population than Ireland, with these bereavements transforming wartime experiences at a national level. This chapter confirms

the existence of an Antipodean 'culture of sacrifice' which vilified dissent in all possible forms. Even the most prestigious institutions were subject to insistent calls to 'do their bit' so that victory could be achieved.

Expressions of dissent occurred and resonated in specific places. Although elite involvement in the 1916 Easter Rising was rather limited, Irish Catholic colleges were placed in a difficult position; several had old boys fighting on both sides and Britain's response fragmented nationalist opinion. Ever mindful of school reputations, teaching religious neither praised nor condemned this event outright. School positions solidified with the growth of Sinn Féin. Within a year of the Rising, diminished support for the war effort had become an acceptable position in prestigious Jesuit establishments. Protestant colleges, however, were horrified by these political shifts with approved editorials explicitly rejecting advanced nationalism. Jeffery's suggestion that war weariness as much as local politics undercut military enlistment numbers may very well stand.[217] Nonetheless, it was dissent rather than death that prompted elite collegiate discourses in Ireland to diverge, with the Rising ultimately acting as a crucial 'turning point'.

Longstanding affiliations continued to mediate institutional engagement with the war, but the context within which these operated had definitively changed. In New Zealand, sectarian tensions were stoked by continued demands for denominational funding, contention regarding religious conscription, and Irish agitation against British rule. Support for any of these causes was considered proof of disloyalty. Elite Catholic schools refuted accusations directed against them, highlighting alumni contributions to New Zealand's war effort. Yet, despite their imperial allegiances, Catholic secondary schools still found themselves under siege. In Ireland, the elite educational sector was also split by increased Catholic moves towards advanced nationalism. Local experiences of death and dissent had

[217] Jeffrey, 'Irish military tradition', p. 100.

resulted in highly charged socio-political environments which prestigious institutions now had to negotiate.

Chapter 4: Students, Death, and Dissent

Combatant losses hovered over adolescents throughout the First World War. Although direct interaction with the fallen tended to be limited to battlefront regions – young children later providing the 'best information' for the location of unmarked graves in France –[1] Irish and New Zealand youth still encountered death in their own communities. Overseas research, however, suggests that not all fatalities were seen equally. Drawing on the French and British contexts, Manon Pignot asserted that being orphaned by the war 'constituted an impassable fracture within the juvenile group, [and was] an essential marker for that generation.'[2] Kristine Alexander confirmed that paternal deaths proved 'traumatic' for Canadian girls.[3] Less is known about bereavements outside the home, but it seems that some also had greater resonance than others. Colin Cousins has suggested that the deaths of old school friends stood alongside those of relatives in terms of their impact on Armagh-based schools, while Rosalie Triolo speculated that teacher losses were important to Australian children as they were 'often [the] most significant adult males beyond their families'.[4] These evocative claims need to be explored further; evidence for both is extremely sparse.

Irish youth were exposed to losses on their own soil as well as those overseas. The 1916 Easter Rising resulted in approximately 250 civilian fatalities and the death of more than 130 British soldiers and policemen.[5] Children were caught up in lethal crossfires, some through their direct participation in the rebellion itself.[6] Work on the Fianna and other youth groups has signalled the important place children held in the advanced nationalist movement, being identified as future assets who could potentially become martyrs for the cause.[7] It is

[1] Longworth, *Unending Vigil*, p. 4.
[2] Pignot, 'Children', p. 37.
[3] Alexander, 'An Honour', p. 185.
[4] Cousins, *Armagh*, p. 93; Triolo, *Our Schools*, p. 225.
[5] Fitzpatrick, *Two Irelands*, p. 61.
[6] Duffy, *Children*.
[7] For example, see: Hay, 'Scouting for Rebels', pp. 268-82.

far less clear, however, how children themselves saw the Easter Rising and its fallout, especially those without ties to the radical IV. Work investigating adolescent interpretations further afield is rarer still. While New Zealand Catholic responses to Irish political developments have attracted some academic attention, it is entirely possible that youth perspectives diverged from those of community leaders.[8]

This chapter addresses these scholarly gaps, illuminating youth experiences of major local and international shifts between late 1914 and 1917. Like their adult counterparts, Irish and New Zealand boys lived within environments transformed by instances of death and dissent. The 1915 Gallipoli Campaign and the introduction of conscription in 1916 not only shaped encounters with the conflict at school but also those on the New Zealand home front more broadly. The Easter Rising and major battles on the Western Front such as the 1916 Somme Offensive proved similarly influential in Ireland. Yet, although elite colleges responded to and framed definitive events in certain ways, their pupils did not always follow suit. Boys may have deployed the denominational frameworks teachers used to explain combat fatalities, but particular losses struck a deeper chord than others. Students drew on their own networks to find personally-relevant narratives and coping mechanisms. Controversial matters likewise provoked more exuberant reactions than educational authorities seem to have expected or desired. National 'turning points' aside, boyish interests continued to mediate adolescent behaviour throughout the mid-war period.

Students and Death

Ireland

Questions surround youth engagement with war fatalities both in and beyond Ireland. As Andrew Donson recently recognised, historiographical accounts of children in war do

[8] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism'.

'touch on' death and suffering but these experiences 'only get a small amount of attention'.[9] The limited work that does exist suggests that children responded to wartime loss in various ways. Despite asserting that paternal death was pivotal in differentiating children's experiences, Pignot has acknowledged that even these bereavements were not uniformly painful. She identified the existence of 'diminished' and 'glorious' bereavements – wherein fallen fathers were not missed or feelings of proud sacrifice outweighed those of sorrow – which stood alongside more tragic cases.[10] Reactions to the death of strangers also ranged in their emotional intensity. Children, especially those living in occupied territories, became inured to violence over time although not all responded well to this 'normalization'.[11] One fourteen-year-old girl in Germany was devastated by constant encounters with war-related injuries and fatalities, crying over the unknown owner of a captured Belgian helmet given to her by an uncle. She attempted suicide in 1916, motivated by the belief that her self-sacrifice would prompt God to bring an end to hostilities.[12] Children evidently did not always react in a manner deemed appropriate by adult contemporaries.

Scholars have alluded to some of the potential variables underpinning this spectrum of responses. 'Diminished' familial losses presuppose the importance of one personally knowing and caring about the dead. Face-to-face exposure to the lived reality of war seems to have also prompted the reconsideration of more abstract understandings about what hostilities entailed. Work on Antipodean children and early-twentieth-century global crises corroborates these suggestions, although further research is needed to test their ubiquity; one investigation juxtaposing experiences during the First World War and the 1918 influenza pandemic highlighted the significance of relational and geographic proximity to events.[13]

[9] Donson, 'Subjective Experience', p. 110.
[10] Pignot, 'Children', p. 38.
[11] idem, 'Great War Generation', pp. 294-5, 298-301.
[12] Donson, 'Subjective Experience', pp. 99-111, esp. 110.
[13] Bennett, '"Now the war is over"' (2014), pp. 19-41.

Wider ambiguity aside, it is clear that children were only able to respond to wartime losses once they were made aware of them. As demonstrated in chapter three, the speed with which this occurred was far from universal.

Irish students witnessed the tragedy of war within weeks. The first casualty lists coincided with their return to school in the autumn, paralleling the speed with which French youth were plunged into communities of mourning; there, children integrated veiled figures draped in black into early-war drawings, capturing the visual impact of heavy losses upon their everyday lives.[14] Irish pupils similarly observed the infiltration of mourning rituals into educational spaces. R. A. B. Stone was struck by alterations to the soundscape at St. Columba's, recalling decades later how the Warden would toll the chapel bell as soon as he had heard news of a fallen old boy, one day ringing it both in the morning and later on during evening prep.[15] It is entirely possible that parallel developments at Catholic schools proved less disruptive; the use of 'central requirements of the faith' such as intercessory prayer for those in purgatory constituted an extension – rather than a revision – of longstanding civilian practices.[16] Here too, however, students were exposed to additional commemorative practices, including a 'Mass for the dead' at Clongowes College that Stephen Rynne recorded in his personal diary.[17]

Several adolescents supported the introduction of further commemorative forms. In April 1917, pupils backed a proposal to display photographs of the dead in the Large Schoolroom at Foyle College, suggesting that gold lettered boards listing their names also be hung in every single classroom.[18] Boys appear to have highly valued visual memorials

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[14] Manon Pignot, Expériences enfantines du deuil pendant et après la Grande Guerre', *Histoire@Politique*, 3 (2007), https://www.cairn.info/revue-histoire-politique-2007-3-page-7.htm.
[15] Dublin, SCCA, (Recollections and Mar. 1919 diary of R. A. B. Stone), 1963 Memoir, p. 5.
[16] Gregory, *Last Great War*, p. 185.
[17] Dublin, NLI, MS.28,929 (Stephen Rynne and Alice Curtayne Papers, 1910-1979), i, (Miscellaneous notes and memorabilia concerning Stephen Rynne's childhood and youth, and the Rynne family), Diary, 6 Mar. 1915, p. 73.
[18] *OST*, IX/2 (Apr. 1917), pp. 33-4.

that recognised individual sacrifice despite numbers necessitating 'more communal effort[s] to deal with death'.[19] J. Cowser and his fellow editors deeply regretted their inability to publish portraits of deceased alumni in a 1916 magazine volume, noting 'We attempt through photographic reproductions to do, to all Instonians who have fallen since our last issue, what honour is in our power at present.'[20] Chosen titles included 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori' and 'Our Gallery of Heroes'.[21] This practice of amalgamating portrait photographs within various framing structures was a widespread phenomenon, its popularity reflected in an Imperial War Museum collection initiative started in 1917.[22]

Protestant pupils were particularly involved in teacher-approved efforts that publicly recognised and remembered the dead. Appropriate notices and accurate service lists were deemed an immediate priority, with the *Wesley College Quarterly* (*WCQ*) promptly printing an obituary for Major R. Roper in December 1914 surrounded by a black border.[23] Although headmasters were keenly aware that alumni sacrifices – epitomising imperial duty and manly character – reflected well on alma mater, students were more forthcoming in admitting the competitive dimension inherent in this data collection. *OST*, for example, assured readers that there had been an 'assiduous' search for alumni names linked to the military, stressing 'Naturally we have no wish to take rank below other schools, undeservedly, in the matter of enlistment.'[24] Magazine editors took care to avoid expressing the hunt for fatalities in similarly crude terms, but such searches were almost certainly driven by similar motives, at least at first. As B. Bushaway observed in England, 'the transition of a roll of service into a roll of honour simply required the passage of time'.[25]

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[19] Sandy Callister, *The Face of War: New Zealand's Great War Photography* (Auckland, 2008), p. 79.
[20] *SN*, 27/84 (1916), p. 9.
[21] *OST*, VIII/1 (Oct. 1915), np; *WCQ*, XXVI/7 (Dec. 1916), np.
[22] Catherine Moriarty, ''Though in a Picture Only': Portrait Photography and the Commemoration of the First World War', in Braybon (ed), *Evidence, History*, pp. 30-47, esp. 37-40.
[23] *WCQ,* XXVI/3 (Dec. 1914), p. 53.
[24] *OST*, VII/3 (1915), p. 70.
[25] Bob Bushaway, 'Name Upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance', in Roy Porter (ed), *Myths of the English* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 139.

Student-edited magazines contained sustained commentary on the grimmer facets of war. One Church of Ireland boy drew on his classical education to construe the conflict in almost apocalyptic terms: 'The war cloud … has rolled up muttering and ominous, and darkened the face of Europe with its heavy pall. Wherever it has passed, as if raining the dragon's teeth of Cadmus of old, armed men have sprung up intent on each other's slaughter.'[26] Older pupils balanced this extremely emotive rhetoric, common in the first few months of hostilities, with statements attesting to the war's ultimate importance. In October 1914, for example, Protestant pupils in Londonderry told each other to stay cheerful despite lengthy casualty lists and find courage in 'our brave men … upholding British honour in defence of British freedom.'[27] These interpretations held relatively steady in following years, following a similar editorial pattern observed in elite white South African boys' schools;[28] as late as 1917, readers were still being informed that alumni had died for their country, their King, and a higher cause.[29]

Broader discursive patterns, while significant, mask internal variation. Adolescent writers may have expressed uniform sentiments on the surface but this research substantiates historiographical claims that some deaths resonated more than others. As in France, paternal fatalities appear to have been especially poignant. Stone remembered stumbling upon 'a small new boy [Charles Birch] crying his heart out in the high school schoolroom' after hearing his father's ship had been torpedoed crossing the Irish Sea.[30] Birch evidently took this loss to heart, his raw expression of grief contrasting with less engaged responses observed elsewhere. Work by Rosie Kennedy has pointed to cases where public school boys mourned their fathers and brothers in an emotionally-distant manner, largely focussing on

[26] *Columban*, XXXV/3 (1914), p. 1.
[27] *OST*, VII/1 (1914), p. 2.
[28] These schools were 'overwhelmingly' Protestant in nature. See: Lambert, ''Munition Factories'', p. 77.
[29] *Campbellian*, 4/3 (1917), pp. 41-2.
[30] SCCA, (R. A. B. Stone), 1963 Memoir, p. 6.

the social status conferred through direct links to 'fallen heroes'.[31] Birch's attempt to hide his tears suggests that in Ireland, like Britain, elite students continued to uphold cultural expectations of staunch behaviour in the face of personal pain. Birch's loss also marked him out from his peers in other ways; parental death constituted a key 'differential' experience as most fathers survived the conflict.[32] Combatant armies were overwhelmingly composed of young men unlikely to have children old enough to attend secondary school, war losses mirroring this age structure.[33] Furthermore, Captain William Birch was a somewhat unusual war fatality, acting as a merchant marine on the *HMS Leinster* rather than being a military combatant.[34]

Significant bereavements were also not limited to familial losses. Select alumni were explicitly mourned, students choosing to elevate their deaths above others suffered by school communities. A list of fallen combatants published at Foyle College, for example, noted that 'Especial sorrow is attached to the death of the last-named, Alfie Williams, for not only was he the last to leave school – he was, in fact, a member of the Victorious Cup team – but also his brother, Charlie, had already paid the supreme price.'[35] This reference to the Ulster Schools' Rugby tournament – which Williams helped win the previous year – signals the enduring respect awarded to high-profile individuals, their reputations cemented by achieving an 'honourable' death. Boy culture aside, this emphasis on school leaders and sportsmen can be further explained by the fact that elite colleges lost their 'most talented' in

[31] Kennedy, *Children's War*, p. 44.
[32] Pignot, 'Children', p. 44.
[33] Jay Winter has estimated that combatants aged between 20 and 24 years of age suffered 70 percent of all military deaths. In England and Wales, 74 percent of men who died on active military service were under the age of 30. See: Winter, 'Demography', p. 251; idem, 'Britain's 'Lost Generation'', p. 452.
[34] For more information see Philip Lecane, *Torpedoed!: the R.M.S. Leinster disaster* (Penzance, 2005).
[35] *OST*, IX/1 (Nov. 1916), p. 2.

disproportionately high numbers.[36] Physically strong young men, after all, proved ideal candidates for military service.

Interpersonal connections proved equally important. Meaningful relationships underpinned student bereavement practices with Williams' death noted because he was well remembered by current pupils. Boys found the loss of recent peers extremely difficult, a state of affairs they themselves recognised. W. H. Thrift's reflection on the war's 'heavy toll' in late 1916 made special reference to the death of 2nd Lieut. C. A. Kinnear, who had been High School Dublin's Honorary Treasurer for the *Erasmian* in 1914-1915. The news was conveyed 'with great regret', Thrift choosing to conclude with lines from Felicia Hemans' poem 'The English Boy' revering the 'faithful dead'.[37] Heightened expressions of grief even appeared in establishments where the war itself was viewed unfavourably, such as at Mungret College where diarists recorded the death of a former teacher in October 1915.[38] Editorial comments and obituaries confirm the role of relational proximity in facilitating adolescent engagement with distant crises.[39] Simply speaking, students were more emotionally invested in soldier outcomes when they personally knew the combatant involved.

The likelihood of boys being emotionally traumatised grew as the conflict progressed. An analysis of 28 'public school' Rolls of Honour, RBAI and the English Catholic Downside School included among them, found constantly high losses after the first year of war. Whereas 7.4 percent of institutional military deaths occurred in 1914, annual averages from 1915 onwards ranged between 20.8 and 25.4 percent.[40] Cumulative fatalities

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[36] This conclusion was drawn in recent research on Eton College alumni. See: Richard Carr and Bradley W. Hart, 'Old Etonians, Great War demographics and the interpretations of British eugenics, c. 1914-1939', *First World War Studies*, 3/2 (2012), pp. 217-39, 220.
[37] *Erasmian,* XIV/1 (1916), p. 3. Heman's complete poem can be found in Charles F. Partingon (ed), *The British Cyclopaedia of Biography* (2 vols., London, 1837), i, p. 936.
[38] *MA*, IV/5 (1916), p. 391.
[39] Bennett, '"Now the war is over"' (2014), pp. 25-6.
[40] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 241.

led to cumulative bereavements with students closest to the age of enlistment placed at greater risk. Older cohorts were more likely to have multiple personal connections with the battlefront with peers joining family members overseas. This disproportionate impact upon 'the older among us still at school' was overtly recognised in school magazines.[41] Bereaved pupils probably appreciated published condolence messages but circulation of this information had darker consequences. As in Australia, institutional membership heightened student concern about loved ones serving overseas as they were regularly exposed to the misfortunes of others.[42] In April 1917, W. L. Duncan identified a 'natural anxiety for friends separated from us and in constant danger' amongst his peers at Campbell College.[43] This atmosphere of fear only strengthened over time.

Notable campaigns drew attention in some circles. Protestant boys in Ulster wrote about the Somme at length, later identified as the single deadliest campaign endured by public schools across the British Empire as a whole.[44] Cowser's December 1916 editorial observed:

> The end of this world-war seems no nearer than at mid-summer; the great Somme offensive, which began on the morning of the first of July, has brought to Ulster and our people much honour and glory, but alas! also unspeakable sadness, and as a School we have had since that date to mourn the loss of many a gallant boy.[45]

Assertions of intense institutional bereavement were not without merit. Local recruiting patterns resulted in regionalised losses, with RBAI alone losing fifteen old boys on the first day of battle.[46] Intriguingly, students chose to revel in rather than recoil at these deaths. Whereas teachers generally avoided battle-specific emphases, adolescent commentary contained two out of three discursive strands identified as having permeated broader

[41] *Columban*, XXXVI/1 (June 1915), p. 1.
[42] Triolo, *Our Schools*, p. 225.
[43] *Campbellian*, 4/2 (1917), p. 25.
[44] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 242.
[45] *SN*, 27/84 (1916), p. 6.
[46] These deaths comprised more than ten percent of total alumni fatalities. See: Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 242.

narratives surrounding the Ulster Division. Expressions of sorrow were intermingled with pride, and the patriotic dead considered a clear demonstration of loyalty and dedication to a United Kingdom.[47] While the former theme was more prominent than the latter, W. L. Duncan still chose to quote an older poem by F. S. Boas when prefacing another written on Ulster and the Somme in December 1916: 'Ulster will strike for England – and England will not forget'.[48]

Engagement with these themes reflects adolescent involvement in particular reading cultures and social networks. Despite spending significant amounts of time in the classroom, students had access to external flows of information, including their families and newspapers. Indeed, Duncan drew Boas' poems straight from the pages of the *Spectator*.[49] Jane McGaughey has traced the ideological foundations that led to the 36th Division's 'deification' in Ulster, these including the cultural legacy of the Battle of the Boyne and pre-war standards of noble behaviour such as the soldier-hero and pro-Union military groups.[50] Narratives pertaining to a glorious advance on 1 July likely held special appeal for a cohort raised on fictional adventure stories and tales of Ulster bravery and defiance. Even though old boys fell fighting with other regiments, these 'other' fatalities received little mention beyond their military particulars. The 36th constituted the main reference point for students describing alumni losses at the Somme.[51]

The Somme offensive attracted minimal commentary from Protestant boys further south. While the Dublin-based editors of the *Erasmian* and *Columban* noted those killed and wounded in 'the British Offensive in France', no great emphasis was placed on either this

[47] Switzer, *Unionists*, pp. 28-9.
[48] *Campbellian*, 4/1 (Dec. 1916), p. 7.
[49] ibid.
[50] McGaughey, *Ulster's Men*, ch. 4.
[51] An *OST* editorial detailed how 'In the recent 'Big Push,' in which the Ulster Division played such a gallant part, Foyle naturally suffered heavily.' Yet, out of the three deaths subsequently recorded, only one had fallen with a battalion associated with this Division. See: *OST*, VII/4 (Aug. 1916), pp. 106-7.

campaign or specific battles within it.[52] Such reticence was probably informed by the Somme's swift acquisition of Unionist connotations, a process well underway by the time these magazines were published in December. Students in Catholic majority areas, like Protestant staff throughout the country, may have been disinclined to promulgate Ulster loyalist rhetoric, even implicitly, considering the current political climate.

Not all exalted war deaths, especially in later years. Like their teachers, Catholic boys left little evidence suggesting that they considered any campaign as a battle apart regardless of the deaths they occasioned. Instead, students appear to have been simply overwhelmed by the scale of bereavement. Two Gaelic-language contributions to the *Belvederian*, both titled 'An Coɡaḋ', stressed the conflict's pitiful consequences; 'now all over Europe, there is almost nothing to be heard, except the exploding sounds of the big guns, the shrill cries and the lamenting of people, who are mourning their friends, who were killed or badly wounded on the field of battle.' Gerard Joyce concluded his 1916 article with a prayer that the war would soon be over, resulting in a lengthy peace.[53] These sentiments were repeated the following year, although Joseph Dungan used a decidedly less optimistic tone, highlighting the fact that there was no clear end in sight.[54] No effort was made to mitigate despair via assertions of honourable military service, signalling disillusionment with compensatory messages circulated by Fr. Gerald Corr and others at this time.[55] General war-weariness undoubtedly influenced matters but specific events seem to have had greater import. Indeed, Joyce made explicit reference to multiple wars in 1916 – one fought largely in Europe, and the 'small war of our own' in Dublin itself.[56] Although Irish blood had been spilt in both, the latter hit much closer to home.

[52] *Erasmian*, XIV/1 (1916), pp. 4-5; *Columban*, XXXVII/3 (Dec. 1916), p. 3.
[53] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 22.
[54] *Belvederian*, IV/3 (1917), p. 8.
[55] For example, see: *Clongownian*, VIII/1 (1917), p. 5.
[56] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 22.

New Zealand

New Zealand adolescents encountered a different chronology of death than their Irish counterparts. Intriguingly, some older youth anticipated fatalities before they were directly experienced including Chaytor who pointed to old boy losses captured in extant Nelson College memorial tablets in September 1914.[57] Here and elsewhere the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) was used as an implicit reference point, setting a precedent for later memorial practices in elite educational settings.[58] Yet, while frank accounts of the Boer War had circulated in college magazines like the *Register* at the time, this conflict was already an abstract concept for secondary students enrolled over a decade later.[59] It also proved far less lethal than its successor, New Zealand losses having totalled a mere 230 men.[60] It would be an oversimplification to assert that boy talk sharply turned from jingoistic enthusiasm to solemn reflection during the First World War. Nonetheless, conflict-related commentary more heavily emphasised death from mid-to-late 1915.

Gallipoli constituted a cohesive experience for staff and students alike. Buoyed by general pro-war sentiment, New Zealand Catholic boys had no qualms in highlighting institutional involvement; Sacred Heart pupils gloried in the fact that old boy Ernie Fraser, who ultimately survived the conflict, 'was one of that gallant landing party which has stamped its name in letters of undying gold on the scroll of history.'[61] Adolescents stressed commonalities within this mass bereavement, pointing towards shared allegiances apparently held by the dead. As ever, emphasis was placed on alumni achievements but all fallen combatants were considered to have fought and died for King, Country, and Empire.[62]

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[57] *Nelsonian*, XXX/2 (1914), p. 74.
[58] Donaldson, 'Commemoration', pp. 32-65.
[59] Nigel Robson, 'Counting the Cost: The Impact of the South African War 1899-1902 on New Zealand Society' (MA thesis, Massey University, 2012), pp. 61-4.
[60] John Crawford, 'Boer War', in McGibbon (ed), *Oxford Companion*, p. 63.
[61] *SHC*, V/10 (1915), p. 70.
[62] *Nelsonian*, XXXI/1 (1915), p. 7; *Register*, LXXXIX (1915), p. 198; *KC*, XIV/2 (1915), pp. 5-7.

Boys participated in attempts to construe this campaign as a glorious moment. In April 1916, G. S. Troup asserted that the 'deathless story of the Anzacs fame' could never be interpreted as a complete failure despite any political ineptitude or tactical incompetence. He noted 'however much we may regret the undignified retreat, leaving uncompleted the task so gloriously begun, we are conscious of a new racial pride when we call to mind the undying deeds of valour of our soldiers.'[63] Triumphalist interpretations, first articulated by journalists Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett and C. E. W. Bean, promoted ongoing veneration of the Dardanelles and its dead on both sides of the Tasman.[64] These popular understandings of a heroic landing and Australasian exceptionalism were widely circulated, students emphasising the import of New Zealand's military contribution to an imperial war effort.[65] Enthusiasm for these narratives was undoubtedly fuelled by its resonance with boy culture more generally; Anzac mythology drew upon and extended notions of ideal Antipodean masculinity, giving rise to a new 'soldier hero'.[66] Secondary schools, like other institutional communities examined by Bart Ziino, ultimately proved 'important tributaries' of the Anzac legend both during and after the war itself.[67]

Students recognised that New Zealand fatalities transcended the Gallipoli Peninsula. Most of the mounted brigade joined the ANZAC Mounted Division, subsequently based in Sinai and Palestine, and an augmented infantry embarked for France as the New Zealand Division in April 1916.[68] Death tolls dwarfed those previously amassed with another 543 men killed in the Middle East and 12,483 on the Western Front.[69] E. M. Blaiklock later

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[63] *Waitakian*, XI/1 (1916), p. 8.
[64] Official New Zealand war correspondent Malcolm Ross received less attention for his Gallipoli coverage than his English and Australian counterparts. See: Ron Palenski, 'Malcolm Ross: A New Zealand Failure in the Great War', *Australian Historical Studies*, 39/1 (2008), pp. 19-35.
[65] *KC*, XIV/1 (1915), pp. 5-7, esp. 5.
[66] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, ch. 3.
[67] Bart Ziino, 'Claiming the dead: Great War memorials and their communities', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 89/2 (2003), p. 159.
[68] McGibbon, 'The shaping', p. 57; idem, 'Western Front', in McGibbon (ed), *Oxford Companion*, p. 598.
[69] Ian McGibbon, 'Sinai-Palestine', in McGibbon (ed), *Oxford Companion*, p. 494; idem, 'Western Front', p. 609.

recalled that 1917 'decimated their [alumni] ranks' at Auckland Grammar.[70] Yet, while some found heavy casualties at the Somme, Messines, and Passchendaele striking, earlier events continued to capture the imagination. J. L. Brady even admitted that:

> Gallipoli, much more than the campaign in France, has a peculiar claim on our sympathies. For one thing, this desperate adventure stands out sharply from the war as a whole. For another, it was played out to a great extent by the Australasian forces in which we feel such a natural interest.[71]

Attention was evidently drawn not only by fatality statistics, but also by specific circumstances surrounding soldier deaths. Localised narratives made ANZAC fatalities especially relatable, pre-empting patterns of engagement comparable to those witnessed in Protestant Ulster regarding 1 July 1916.

Religion shaped adolescent interactions with death. Boys at private establishments encountered casualty lists in chapel with fatalities contextualised at state schools via Christian practices such as prayer.[72] Scholars have questioned whether adult-orchestrated efforts were useful; religious leaders were apparently unable to provide legitimate answers that addressed widespread loss with the war itself providing a 'shattering blow' to how British middle- and upper-class families had coped with grief from throughout the Victorian period.[73] Accounts of spontaneous religious activity challenge these conclusions, suggesting continued faith in traditional conventions at least until the mid-to-late war period. Upon hearing news of a recent graduate's death at Gallipoli, 'the boys [at Sacred Heart] thought it right that Mass should be offered up for him. The cadets assembled at the College and marched down to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where Mass was celebrated.'[74] Denominational affiliation may have played a role on this occasion; Pat Jalland found that notions of the

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[70] Blaiklock, *Between the Valley*, p. 64.
[71] *AGSC*, V/1 (Second Term 1917), p. 6.
[72] *KC*, XVI/3 (Dec. 1917), p. 7; Blaiklock, *Between the Valley*, p. 64.
[73] David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', in Joachim Whaley (ed), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London, 1981), pp. 218-19; Jalland, *Victorian Family*, ch. 18, esp. pp. 372-3.
[74] *SHC*, V/10 (1915), p. 103.

'good Catholic death' lasted longer than their Protestant equivalents in wartime Australia.[75] Nonetheless, there is evidence that some Protestant youth continued to value their own practices. Wanganui Collegiate's voluntary intercession services were not wildly popular throughout 1916 but they still garnered an audience.[76]

Christian sentiments inflected student writings. Boys asserted that soldiers had fallen for 'the Cause of God', reminding each other that 'the Judge of the Living and the Dead' was also the 'great God of Armies.'[77] Allusions to Christ-like sacrifice peppered Protestant school magazines. E. Corcoran, for example, chose to quote the book of John within his reflection on combatant death, noting 'Greater love hath no man …'. While the verse was left unfinished, Corcoran made his meaning clear; these men had given their lives for others so that they may be 'free' – literally if not spiritually.[78] Such parallels were informed by earlier experiences as well as teacher war talk. Early-twentieth-century New Zealanders were most heavily exposed to religion while they were still children, attending Sunday Schools and engaging with a range of denominational periodicals and practices in the home.[79] Work by Hugh Morrison has highlighted how youth learnt more than Biblical information through these encounters; emotional prescripts and narratives were interwoven into religious communities.[80] Jesus was central to children's theology with his life and character imbued with positive connotations.[81] Upheld as the ultimate role model for loving behaviour, any comparable action should inspire awe and provoke an unselfish response in others. Consciously or unconsciously, adolescents deployed religious references as they were seen to be able to provide comfort to the bereaved.

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[75] Jalland, *Australian Ways*, pp. 311-14.
[76] *WC*, 100 (Apr. 1916), p. 13; *WC*, 101 (1916), p. 13.
[77] *AGSC*, V/1 (1917), p. 12; *SHC*, VI/11 (1916), p. 17.
[78] *Timaruvian*, XII/1 (Dec. 1917), p. 15; John 15:3.
[79] Troughton, 'Religion, Churches', pp. 39-56.
[80] Hugh Morrison, 'Settler Childhood, Protestant Christianity and Emotions in Colonial New Zealand, 1880s-1920s', in Olsen (ed), *Childhood, Youth and Emotions*, pp. 76-94.
[81] Geoffrey Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus: Social and Religious Transformations of an Image, 1890-1940* (Bern, 2011), ch. 5.

Personal loss also mediated reactions to commemorative scripts and structures. Almost twenty years after the fact, A. E. Porritt remembered: 'In 1915 the event that somehow still comes first to one's mind was Mr. Butterworth's death …his death brought home to many of us, as probably nothing previously had done, the ghastly finality of war.'[82] Although Jane Hamlett has noted that housemasters did not necessarily have a great deal of interaction with boarders – boys often being isolated from teachers to facilitate self-regulation and emotional discipline –[83] Hugh Butterworth's death hit those in his boarding house at Wanganui Collegiate especially hard. One member remembered Butterworth's 'perpetual kindness', noting that he cared equally for new and older boys.[84] Such responses highlight the emotional significance invested in some teacher-student relationships, strengthening Tomás Irish's argument that war experiences in elite academic communities were shaped by the fact that they saw themselves as families.[85] Considering the high death rates suffered by public school masters – those for Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa reaching up to 28 percent of those who participated –[86] this type of loss would have been common in Protestant circles.

The emotional resonance of teacher fatalities reflected national factors. While elite Irish students often remembered old boys who died in battle, this situation was less likely to occur in New Zealand due to different military requirements. New Zealand adolescents had two more years to wait before they could legally enlist in the army, reducing the number of alumni who transferred straight from the classroom to the battlefront as most had already left school for the workplace. The distance between current students and serving old boys

[82] *WC*, 142 (1933), p. 28.
[83] Jane Hamlett, 'Space and Emotional Experience in Victorian and Edwardian English Public School Dormitories', in Olsen (ed), *Childhood, Youth and Emotions*, pp. 119-38.
[84] *WC*, 99 (1915), p. 5.
[85] Tomás Irish, 'Fractured Families: Educated Elites in Britain and France and the Challenge of the Great War', *Historical Journal*, 57/2 (2014), pp. 509-30.
[86] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 110.

diminished slightly in 1917 when some 19-year-olds were allowed to sign up.[87] Nevertheless, teachers remained the main school-related connection to the battlefront most boys personally had.[88]

Bereavement was furthermore endured at extreme distance. School magazines demonstrate that New Zealand boys used similar methods of coping to their adult counterparts, relying on material objects to preserve ties with those killed overseas.[89] Several teachers, including Butterworth and F. Stuckey, left bequests to their former schools which students considered important mementos. The *King's Collegian* (*KC*) chose to voice its opinion on what was best done with Stuckey's entire book collection: 'we express the feelings of all the boys in wishing that the collection will be kept together, with a suitable heading placed above, to be a monument for all time to Mr. Stuckey's keen interest in English literature.'[90] Visual reminders of the fallen were also commented on and invested with meaning.[91] As in the home, memorial portraits operated as sites of remembrance wherein 'individuals gave tangible expression to their grief' albeit in a slightly more collective manner.[92]

Reflective rituals received support for pragmatic as well as emotional reasons. As recognised by Mark Sheftall, wartime services and memorials 'reaffirmed the loyalty and commitment of the majority to the cause of the wider community'.[93] Magazine contributors at Christchurch Boys' stressed in 1915 that practices such as standing for the dead at assemblies were 'solemn occasions for us all, and their solemnity has been intensified by their frequency.'[94] Similar assertions of uniformity were made a year later at Kings' College

[87] Baker, *King and Country*, p. 145.
[88] For example, see: *Waitakian*, XII/2 (Nov. 1917), p. 160.
[89] For example, see: Hunter and Ross, *Holding on*, ch. 8.
[90] *KC*, XV/1 (May 1916), p. 19.
[91] *WC*, 100 (1916), p. 15; *KC*, XV/3 (Dec. 1916), p. 21; *Waitakian*, XII/1 (Apr. 1917), p. 58.
[92] Callister, 'Picturing Loss', p. 674.
[93] Sheftall, *Altered Memories*, p. 130.
[94] *BHSM*, 52 (1915), p. 2.

following an Anzac Memorial Service held in the school chapel.[95] In reality, individual responses varied dramatically. C. E. Beeby later recalled that he 'had known nothing more moving' than hearing fatality lists followed by bugles sounding the Last Post.[96] Eric Baume, by contrast, found that similar practices at Waitaki Boys resulted in 'little mental toil'. Baume attributed this state of affairs to his geographic dislocation from actual events, with students likely becoming accustomed to oft-repeated rituals.[97] Yet, regardless of any boredom possibly felt by younger boys who did not know the deceased, there is little indication that any discontent was voiced at the time. Students quickly learned the reactions deemed appropriate, ranging from dutiful respect to devout idolisation. Performative expectations surrounding mass fatalities held firm, enforced as they were by senior boys and teachers alike.

Several editorial committees endorsed measures beyond cumulative photograph and roll of honour displays. While most permanent monuments were built after the Armistice – one survey finding only two out of 366 civic memorials completed before the end of 1918 – [98] institutional proposals were often well underway by this point. Old Boys' Committees may have taken the lead on these projects but adolescents were quick to insert themselves into ensuing discussion. Utilitarian/monumental debates characterised commemorative proposals throughout Britain and the Empire, with Sadlier advocating 'a memorial of practical use as well as of ornamental value' at his own institution.[99] C. McDowell similarly conceptualised the new site for King's College as a memorial in its entirety to all those killed fighting Germans in France and Belgium.[100] Such interest supports Steven Loveridge's

[95] *KC*, XV/1 (1916), p. 19.
[96] Beeby, *Biography*, p. 16.
[97] Baume, *I Lived*, p. 49.
[98] K. S. Inglis and Jock Phillips, 'War memorials in Australia and New Zealand: A comparative survey', *Australian Historical Studies*, 24/96 (1991), pp. 179-91, esp. 185.
[99] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford, 1998), ch. 3; *Nelsonian*, XXXII/2 (1916), p. 114.
[100] *KC*, XVI/1 (May 1917), pp. 5-7.

assertion of a 'carthatic grassroots engagement' with public memorials that was not wholly defined by the political agendas of powerful adults, even if the product itself was brought into fruition by these leaders.[101]

War fatalities intersected with boy culture in multiple ways. The Gallipoli Campaign shaped naming practices as well perceptions of heroism at Waitaki Boys' where boarders voted to call newly-built dormitories after key battle locations including Anzac Cove and Chunuk Bair.[102] Overseas developments and the fatalities they incurred were also brought to bear on school politics. Perhaps most strikingly, pupils at Nelson College sought to heal old wounds with their contemporaries at Wellington College, apologising for a critical article published twelve years earlier which led to the suspension of inter-collegiate games:

> At a time when Old Nelsonians and Old Wellingtonians are playing so splendid a part side by side on the battlefields of Europe, and elsewhere, it seems fitting that there should be a further attempt on our part to remove any soreness that may still exist.[103]

Nonetheless, despite continued emphasis on institutional connections with the dead, boys were quick to police boundaries between themselves and the fallen. Being related to a war casualty offered a certain cachet, captured through constant references to the number of cousins and uncles killed in letters submitted to prominent children's newspaper columns.[104] Youth seen to be capitalising on the situation, however, were frowned upon. Blaiklock recalled hating 'the strutting little boy who sought advance when his elder brother failed to make the beach' at Gallipoli when he was still at primary school.[105] Honourable losses aside, students continued to assert that their own social status ultimately rested on individual accomplishment.

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[101] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, pp. 209-16, esp. 212; Sheftall, *Altered Memories*, p. 130.
[102] *Waitakian*, XII/2 (1917), p. 159.
[103] *Nelsonian,* XXXIII/1 (July 1917), p. 6.
[104] This information was accepted as a legitimate personal descriptor in the *Otago Witness*'s 'Dot's Little Folk Page'. See: Keith Scott, *Dear Dot, I must tell you: A Personal History of Young New Zealanders* (Auckland, 2011), pp. 439-47.
[105] Blaiklock, *Between the Valley*, p. 62.

As the years passed, elite colleges became swallowed by the dead. Third Form students at Auckland Grammar observed that 'The School's Roll of Honour has sadly increased, until grave suspicions that the board will not hold all the names are now being entertained by some'.[106] As primary data collectors for their magazines, school editors were especially exposed to casualty lists; L. C. L. Averill of Christ's College later admitted finding this task 'absorbing' but also 'sad'.[107] Unfortunately, overwhelming losses were not the only disruption adolescents endured. As the war dragged on, social divisions – such as those linked to sectarianism – also came into play.

Students and Dissent

Ireland

Irish youth were integral to political activism. Children became increasingly identified as a 'cohesive, publicly visible group of some importance' during the second half of the nineteenth century, unionists and nationalists alike choosing to vie for their loyalties.[108] Youth-centred groups and events such as the cultural nationalist Irish Fireside Club and the 1900 Patriotic Children's Treat were used to attract and teach the young, with radical configurations later coming into play.[109] Advanced nationalists, for example, sought to inculcate anti-British sentiment through print propaganda and mobilise youth via 'pseudo-military' organisations like the Fianna.[110] This intersection between childhood and revolution has attracted increased attention in recent years, especially with regards to the 1916 Easter Rising. While Fianna members deliberately contributed to insurgent efforts as

[106] *AGSC*, IV/2 (Third Term 1916), p. 55.
[107] Averill, *First Generation*, p. 22
[108] Nic Congáil, 'Young Ireland', pp. 37-8.
[109] idem, '"Fiction, Amusement"', pp. 91-117; Condon, 'Patriotic Children', pp. 167-78; Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women*, chs. 2-3.
[110] Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*, pp. 133-42; Hay, 'What Did', pp. 148-62; idem, 'Scouting for Rebels', pp. 268-82.

messengers and scouts, journalist Joe Duffy put any question of intentionality aside to trace the lives (and deaths) of 'innocent victim[s] of the rebellion.'[111] Forty civilians under the age of 16 years were killed as a result of Easter week, including ICA combatant Charles Darcy and admittedly more unwitting participants like Patrick Ivers, shot while playing in his backyard.[112] Caoimhe Nic Dháibhéid has also explored the Rising's financial and educational legacies for another group drawn into the crossfire – the offspring of executed rebel leaders.[113] As it stands, however, relatively little is known about the experiences of youth less overtly tied to this event.

Extant allegiances undercut student desire for political revolution. Although Ulster Unionist agitation could be considered a radical form of dissent directed towards Parliament, public anger at the prospect of Home Rule temporarily dissipated with the Suspensory Act of 1914. Protestant boys endorsed state measures and 'loyal' behaviour in the wake of international war.[114] Views diverged along denominational lines, but revolutionary thought was similarly rare amongst pupils at renowned Catholic establishments, St. Enda's excluded. One-off encounters with those espousing advanced nationalist ideals might have encouraged boys to reflect upon traditional Redmondite loyalties in the years leading up to 1916. These alone, however, were unlikely to cause an outright change of allegiance; Marnie Hay has stressed the importance of familial connections and extant sympathies in informing adolescent Fianna membership.[115] Most elite Catholic students – and indeed most schoolboys more generally – had neither.

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[111] Hay, 'Scouting for Rebels', p. 278; Duffy, *Children*, p. 16.
[112] Duffy, *Children*, pp. 3, 28, 223-6.
[113] Nic Dháibhéid, 'Schooling', pp. 261-76; idem, 'The Irish National Aid Association and the Radicalization of Public Opinion in Ireland 1916-1918', *Historical Journal*, 55/3 (2012), pp. 705-29, esp. 716-9.
[114] *C.A.I.*, XVI/4 (Feb. 1916), p. 4.
[115] Marnie Hay, 'An Irish Nationalist Adolescence: Na Fianna Éireann, 1909-1923', in Cox and Riordan (eds), *Adolescence*, pp. 118-20.

Subversive behaviour was further minimised by wartime conditions and adult expectations. Historians have tended to focus on the state's inability to prevent the 1916 Rising but, assumptions of leniency aside, DORR significantly tightened state control.[116] Seemingly minor offenses prompted heavy-handed responses; a homemade radio that picked up German broadcast messages at Blackrock, for example, resulted in confiscation attempts by Dublin Castle.[117] Some adult revolutionaries even put measures in place to curtail youth involvement in dangerous activity. Although many past and current members of the Fianna contributed to the rebellion – those at St. Enda's helped prepare explosives in advance, while others still acted as scouts and fighters themselves –[118] 'efforts were made to keep younger boys out of action … by organizing a camp for the Easter weekend'.[119] These factors, in conjunction with the fact the rebellion was planned in secret, conspired against large-scale adolescent involvement in the 1916 Rising.

The Rising startled schoolboys across the country and especially those in Dublin. F. R. Franklin and V. F. J. Wilson, on holiday from CAI and Foyle College respectively, first realised something was amiss shortly after lunch on Easter Monday.[120] After hearing rumours of rioting in Sackville Street, Franklin sought news from others in Donnybrook instead of heading into town. 'Taken by surprise as we all were, we did not know what to believe. We hardly thought that any body of men would be so foolish as to rise in open rebellion.'[121] Wilson, already in the city centre, assumed nearby shots heard from Baggot Street were merely caused by 'a small riot of Nationalist Volunteers'. It was only on his return from Kingstown that he discovered the 'real state of affairs', encountering ambulances

[116] Murphy, *Political Imprisonment*, pp. 36-40.
[117] Seán Farragher and Annraoi Wyer, *Blackrock College 1860-1995* (Dublin, 1995), p. 554.
[118] Conor McNamara, ''Pearse's Own': the Rathfarnham Volunteers and the 1916 Rebellion', in Marnie Hay and Daire Keogh (eds), *Rebellion & Revolution in Dublin: Voices from a Suburb, Rathfarnham, 1913-23* (Dublin, 2016), pp. 89-113, 94.
[119] Hay, 'Scouting for Rebels', p. 278.
[120] Joe Cassells and Len Quigg, *Schooldays on the Banks of the Bann: Coleraine Academical Institution 1860*-2010 (Coleraine, 2010), p. 108.
[121] *C.A.I.*, XVII/1 (May 1916), p. 18.

and rebel barricades at the gates of St. Stephen's Green.[122] Both boys stressed how quickly matters seemed to escalate, recording an increased military presence, constant gunfire, and the sound of artillery bombardment.[123] Catholic adolescents seemed equally ill prepared for this turn of events, even those with direct links to rebel groups involved; James Hogan, a recent Clongowes graduate, remembered that the news 'came like a thunder clap' despite having paraded with the 3rd Battalion, Dublin Brigade of the IV only a few weeks before.[124]

Adolescents engaged with the rebellion as it unfolded. Further information was sought throughout the week and, when let down by the *IT*, boys took matters into their own hands. Wilson 'went out to look about' on multiple occasions to see for himself what was happening.[125] He appears to have had few concerns about his own safety, deliberately trying to evade sentries blocking public access to various streets and continuing to venture around St. Stephen's Green even after witnessing snipers in action.[126] Student interest was likely fuelled by several factors including a sense of adventure and curiosity about novel events, previously demonstrated with regards to the war in late 1914. Risk-taking behaviour also attracted peer approval. Indeed, one school magazine suggested that 'relic collecting' was popular because it enabled boys to 'prove' purported exploits with concrete evidence.[127] As recognised by Joanna Brück, unofficial souvenirs were sometimes taken from places like the GPO for their 'voyeuristic and sensationalist' connotations rather than any hagiographic reason.[128] At Belvedere College at least, bullets constituted especially prized 'trophies' that would have apparently 'blushed themselves out of existence at the stories that were told about them' if possible.[129]

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[122] *OST*, VIII/3 (Apr. 1916), p. 83.
[123] ibid., pp. 84-8; *C.A.I.*, XVII/1 (1916), pp. 19-21.
[124] Hogan, 'Memoir', pp. 187-8.
[125] *OST*, VIII/3 (1916), p. 85.
[126] ibid., p. 86.
[127] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 6.
[128] Joanna Brück, ''A good Irishman should blush every time he sees a penny': Gender, nationalism and memory in Irish internment camp craftwork, 1916-1923', *Journal of Material Culture*, 20/2 (2015), p. 156.
[129] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 6.

Not all encounters with the rebellion were appealing. Boy culture may have valued bravery, but few students actually believed they were bullet proof. Following the establishment of military headquarters at nearby Ballsbridge, Franklin moved his bed to the corner of the room 'which I concluded was safer than immediately in front of the window.'[130] Franklin's decision indicates a sense of unease and possibly even fear, confirming a point recently stressed by Lucy McDiarmid; the Rising was an emotional event as well as a military one.[131] Although many areas in Dublin were relatively safe to move around in, ordinary people were still swept up into disturbing situations over which they had little control. Leo Kenny, a student at Belvedere, was placed under arrest for 24 hours at Bolton Street Technical Schools before the authorities realised a mistake had been made. This experience appears to have been somewhat traumatic, noted as one Kenny 'does not wish to repeat.'[132] Such cases demonstrate that the Rising curbed as well as facilitated expressions of adolescent agency; Dublin youth may have participated in spontaneous activities such as setting off fireworks, but they were also confronted by widespread destruction and potential danger. Difficulties were modulated by class, with secondary students observing how the poor were worst affected by food shortages.[133] Nonetheless, elite boys seemed to have responded to the end of the rebellion in the same way as most people – with a sense of relief.[134] Indeed, after finally managing to catch a northbound train on 3 May, Franklin observed that his 'principal emotion was joy at getting out of it.'[135]

Everyday life continued to be interrupted in following weeks. School boarders were unable to return to Limerick on time due to the 'disturbed state of Dublin', numbers only

[130] *C.A.I.*, XVII/1 (1916), p. 19.
[131] McDiarmid, *At Home*, ch. 7.
[132] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 6.
[133] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 263; *C.A.I.*, XVII/1 (1916), p. 21.
[134] McGarry, *Rising*, p. 277.
[135] *C.A.I.*, XVII/1 (1916), p. 21.

increasing in earnest from 10 May.[136] Elite students to the north of Clongowes in Kildare were similarly delayed, unable to take advantage of supplementary train services available to their counterparts in the South.[137] As was the case during Easter Week itself, disrupted routines did not necessarily engender resentment. Indeed, junior students from Dublin delighted in their elongated holiday, proclaiming that 'no one grumbled about that.'[138] This cohort largely avoided more serious intrusions such as the home raids and familial arrests that so outraged public opinion, most probably because of their conservative political backgrounds.[139] Nevertheless, minor encroachments on valued activities still met with displeasure, with some at High School Dublin frustrated by their inability to immediately resume regular swim events at Iveagh Baths due to military occupation.[140]

Catholic students were aware of the Rising's controversial reputation. Magazine contributors at Castleknock and Mungret took their cue from adult editors, keeping diary references euphemistic and minimal.[141] Boys attending Belvedere and Clongowes were far more willing to put collegiate experiences on paper, although, here too, caution was exercised. English-language pieces adopted an appropriately solemn tone, focussing on factual details rather than reflective commentary.[142] While seditious material had long been supressed under DORA, military censors were 'unusually energetic' during this period, prompting even the boldest writers to take care.[143] Patrick O'Connor speculated that the rebellion would have a lasting impact on Ireland 'seen and felt' by the next generation. Glory was identified within the tragedy but approval limited, O'Connor observing 'Whatever may

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[136] *MA*, IV/5 (1916), p. 393.
[137] *Clongownian*, VII/3 (1916), p. 391.
[138] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 132.
[139] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, pp. 272-6.
[140] *Erasmian*, XIII/3 (1916), p. 77.
[141] *CC*, XXXI (1916), p. 79; *MA*, IV/5 (1916), p. 393.
[142] *Clongownian*, VII/3 (1916), p. 391.
[143] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 307. See also: Brian P. Murphy, 'The Easter Rising in the context of censorship and propaganda with special reference to Major Ivon Price', in Doherty and Keogh (eds), *1916*, pp. 141-68.

be our own views and ideals, as Irishmen we must be proud of the pluck and chivalrous heroism shown by our rebel fellow-countrymen during the tragic rising of Easter, 1916.'[144] Such comments, despite being few and far between, suggest that some adolescents had stronger thoughts on the topic than they felt able to share in print.

Subversive leanings tended to be expressed covertly. Blackrock students used marginalia in schoolbooks to convey their excitement at 'idea of the British taking a beating', with O'Connor expressing more fulsome admiration for the rebels in Gaelic.[145] His assertions that insurgents fought valiantly to try to secure Irish freedom and that it was not necessarily 'a stupid thing for them to start fighting' demonstrate elite engagement with Catholic reinterpretations of the Rising.[146] Fearghal McGarry has argued that rebel executions were crucial in prompting 'emotional identification' with their cause.[147] Witness accounts and surviving testaments highlighted the piety of the condemned, contributing to a republican Catholic martyrology that drew heavily on nationalist antecedents.[148] This 'faith and fatherland' narrative, as Roy Foster has shown, swiftly overwhelmed a more multifaceted reality.[149] Perhaps unsurprisingly, sacral-heroic understandings most clearly emerged at Mungret College. A student named Eamonn owned two manuscript copy books which lionised the Rising and its leaders, containing images, postcards, and newspaper accounts from the *IT* and *Dublin Evening Mail* placed alongside rebel poems, songs, and speeches handwritten out in full.[150] Such works both drew on and contributed to what David Fitzpatrick has termed a 'post-rebellion cult', perpetuated through hagiographic newspaper coverage, pictorial souvenirs, flags, and rebel ephemera.[151] While contextual information is

[144] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 128.
[145] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 68.
[146] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 22.
[147] McGarry, *Rising*, p. 269
[148] ibid., pp. 271-7; Nic Dháibhéid, 'Irish National Aid', p. 722
[149] Foster, *Vivid Faces*, pp. 248-9.
[150] Dublin, NLI, MS 49, 198 (1-2), Two Mungret College manuscript copy books owned by a student called Eamonn, c. 1916-1917.
[151] Fitzpatrick, 'Instant history', p. 72.

scarce, it is entirely possible that Eamonn's albums prompted further veneration efforts amongst others. As observed elsewhere, children tended to be at the forefront of memorial practices, actively distributing mourning badges and Sinn Féin tokens.[152]

Student sympathy was directed towards those interned in Britain as well as the dead. Joyce noted there was widespread bitterness surrounding prisoner treatment, with the plight of their families catching the eye of the Mungret College Social Study Club (MSSC).[153] Set up two years earlier to promote the study and practice of social work, the MSSC decided in July 1916 to redirect all its funds to 'the dependents of the poor men who have been deported.'[154] Financial support also came from the Irish Catholic diaspora. The Irish National Aid Association and the Volunteer Dependants' Fund, both established in Dublin in May, amalgamated into the INAAVDF by August following pressure from America.[155] Fundraising efforts were extremely successful, leading William Buck to suggest that this cause – providing for the relations of killed, imprisoned, and interned Volunteers – effectively replaced that of Belgian refugees in Ireland.[156] Such conclusions build on recent work demonstrating the INAAVDF's import in radicalising Irish opinion more generally; it 'channelled, coaxed, and marshalled sympathy for the executed men [and others] into a wider advanced nationalist project.'[157] Intriguingly, the MSSC sent its funds to the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Dublin rather than a Rising-specific organisation. The reasons for this choice are not clear, although the fact that the MSSC was modelled on the Society was probably influential.[158] The INAAVDF's predecessors were also not without controversy due to Cumann na mBan involvement.[159] Regardless of their donation's ultimate

[152] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 308.
[153] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 22.
[154] *MA*, IV/5 (1916), p. 400.
[155] Nic Dháibhéid, 'Irish National Aid', pp. 707-13
[156] Buck, ''Come and find sanctuary'', p. 202.
[157] Nic Dháibhéid, 'Irish National Aid', p. 728.
[158] *MA*, IV/3 (1914), pp. 202-3
[159] Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women*, pp. 201-10; Murphy, *Political Imprisonment*, pp. 72-5.

destination, it is obvious that at least some members of the MSSC sought to help those they felt had been mistreated under British (military) rule.

Protestant boys understood Easter Week differently. The Rising was construed as a disastrous 'invasion from within' by supporters of 'the Sinn Fein body' seeking to set up a Republic.[160] Opinion diverged regarding the size of German involvement: the *Erasmian* asserted that it had been instigated by Germany, whereas the *Columban* conceded that 'a great majority of the rebels, in all probability, took part in the insurrection not from a latent desire to assist the cause of Germany, but rather because they held strong National views.'[161] Specifics aside, both magazine committees aligned themselves with the British Empire and her troops, even if questions were asked about the government's inability to prevent the Rising in the first place.[162] Rebel leaders may have been increasingly venerated in nationalist circles, but Protestant establishments had their own dead to mourn. Fallen combatants were venerated alongside those who died overseas with some boys expressing anger at the possibility that 'the glorious deeds of the Irish regiments at the front be sunk into oblivion' because of rebel action.[163] This juxtaposition between loyal (British) soldiers and insurgents who killed their own countrymen only became further entrenched after the Somme, especially in Unionist Ulster where, as Townshend has noted, Catholic nationalist war efforts had never made much of an impression.[164]

Concern was also expressed about the Rising's political consequences. While Protestant boys endorsed martial suppression of rebel activities, they recognised that seditious sentiments had only increased after Easter week. Asquith's May decision to address the problem by reigniting Home Rule discussions alarmed unionist editors for obvious

[160] *Erasmian*, XIII/3 (1916), p. 64.
[161] ibid.; *Columban*, XXXVII/2 (1916), p. 1
[162] *Erasmian*, XIII/3 (1916), pp. 64-5.
[163] *Columban*, XXXVII/2 (1916), p. 1.
[164] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 313.

reasons.[165] An unfavourable outcome, however, was not the only cause 'for lamentation'.[166] As early as June, older writers observed that 'most people have begun to despair of a peaceable solution of our difficulties or an amicable ending to the bitter animosities, religious and secular, that harass this country.'[167] Such anxiety was not without foundation. Lloyd George, tasked with leading negotiations, had favoured enacting the 1914 Home Rule Act immediately, excluding north-eastern counties and parliamentary boroughs from this process. Carson and Redmond initially backed the proposal, the former being led to believe that partition would be permanent and the latter, temporary. Deception aside, this initiative proved controversial from the outset. Redmond had to threaten resignation to secure IPP support for partition, and any settlement along these lines was ultimately 'torpedoed' by southern Unionists and their sympathisers in the cabinet.[168] Within two months, negotiations had collapsed, ending the day before the new Home Rule bill was published in full on 28 July.[169]

Protestant boys continued to reject any form of separatist dissent. Although advanced nationalist groups were thrown into disarray by the Rising – key figures having been executed or imprisoned – a consolidated political movement emerged by autumn 1917.[170] Arthur Griffith's Sinn Féin was far from responsible for the rebellion but its name was quickly appropriated by separatists more generally.[171] Three released rebels won by-elections for the new Sinn Féin between May and August, and the party's *Ard-fheis* (national convention) in October formalised the accord reached between republican militarism and Griffith's passive-resistant monarchism.[172] Despite any increased legitimisation, Sinn Féin

[165] Lyons, 'The rising', pp. 221-2.
[166] *Columban,* XXXVII/2 (1916), p. 1.
[167] *Erasmian*, XIII/3 (1916), p. 65.
[168] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, pp. 139-52; Townshend, *Easter 1916*, pp. 311, 314.
[169] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland,* pp. 144, 146.
[170] Laffan, *Resurrection*, ch. 3.
[171] Fitzpatrick, *Two Irelands*, pp. 65-6.
[172] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, pp. 155-6; Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 334.

was viewed with distain by Protestant youth. A student election held at Foyle College, for example, featured a 'Sinn Fein' candidate. This role was identified as being 'the most difficult part of all', probably due to audience heckling, and had to be played by the event's organiser.[173] P. G. Boyd called for an Irish republic and seems to have drawn on advanced nationalist propaganda that construed the current conflict as England's, rather than Ireland's, war. As probably anticipated, his arguments were deemed to have no merit, M'Caldin noting 'much disapprobation being manifest among the electors'. Far more attention was paid to the pro-war and nationalist candidates, the first of whom won by 'an overwhelming majority'.[174]

Catholic engagement with the Rising's legacy was more positive. While most cultural nationalists had supported Home Rule prior to 1916, efforts to promote 'a distinct Irish culture … by asserting the achievements of Ireland's historic civilization' took on more radical connotations in following years.[175] Foster's 'revolutionary generation' revered Irish-Ireland tenets – including the importance of the Irish language –[176] and connections between advanced nationalism and Gaelic proficiency were confirmed by the 1917 Sinn Féin Constitution which called for educational reform through the compulsory teaching of Irish.[177] These developments inflected student notions of patriotism, with a Clongowes College debate held in March 1917 on the importance of preserving and propagating the Irish language proving particularly contentious. Both sides accused the other 'of a want of patriotism', boys discussing the topic in the dining room and playgrounds for more than a week.[178] One chronicler noted that 'Popular feeling runs high, and representative badges are

[173] *OST*, IX/3 (July 1917), p. 59.
[174] ibid., p. 75.
[175] McGarry, *Rising*, pp. 19ff, esp. 23-24.
[176] Foster, *Vivid Faces*, pp. 48-58.
[177] John O'Callaghan, *Teaching Irish Independence: History in Irish Schools, 1922-72* (Newcastle, 2009), p. 12.
[178] *Clongownian* VIII/1 (June 1917), pp. 72-3, 72.

beginning to appear'.[179] This level of investment sharply contrasts with Hogan's observation that Irish was 'hardly studied at all' at the school only three years earlier.[180] Whereas wealthy boys had previously considered the Gaelic language to be less than integral to their identity, this stance had now become controversial, even unacceptable. Nic Dháibhéid has pointed towards 'the rapid penetration of Irish-Ireland ideals into the educational landscape' in post-1916 Ireland through an analysis of republican schooling at Mount St. Benedict.[181] By 1918, this process appears to have been well underway at more conservative elite establishments as well; a Gaelic Literary Club was started at Castleknock that February, with boys encouraged to 'speak the Irish language if we wanted to be true Irishmen' by members of the Gaelic League three months prior.[182]

New Zealand

Like their Irish counterparts, New Zealand youth were targeted by politicised and/or 'patriotic' movements. Imperial ideology permeated educational texts like the *School Journal* from 1907, with children encouraged to participate in annual Empire Day and Trafalgar Day celebrations in some quarters.[183] John Griffiths has argued that enthusiasm for these specific measures was often muted, but others did prove popular.[184] Baden-Powell's Scouting movement – which sought to inculcate 'active citizenship' values – was readily embraced by boys and girls alike.[185] Much less is known about youth engagement with less mainstream ideologies and activities due to a general lack of research in this area. Nevertheless, extant sources suggest that some children were invested in local radical

[179] ibid., p. 88.
[180] Hogan, 'Memoir', p. 186.
[181] Laracy, 'Priests, People', pp. 269-71, esp. 270.
[182] *CC*, XXIII (1918), pp. 43, 54.
[183] Malone, '*School Journal*', pp. 12-27.
[184] Griffiths, *Imperial Culture*, ch. 5.
[185] Helen Dollery, ''Making happy, healthy, helpful citizens': The New Zealand Scouting and Guiding Movements as Promulgators of Active Citizenship, c.1908-1980' (PhD thesis, Massey University, 2012), esp. ch. 2.

developments during the 1910s, albeit generally not those who attended elite schools; the *Maoriland Worker* newspaper, for example, contained a 'Children's Corner' page which published letters from young correspondents sympathetic to militant trade unionism.[186]

Some Antipodean adolescents expressed great interest in the Easter Rising. Although current students at St. Patrick's College had no personal recollection of Rev. Watters – his Rectorship having ended in 1898 –[187] the circumstances surrounding his death still made an impression. All apparently read newspaper coverage of the rebellion 'with tears and with indignation', reflecting the somewhat mixed feelings of Rev. Gondringer (see chapter three).[188] Their Auckland counterparts were similarly entranced by the drama, Sacred Heart pupils considering Easter week to be 'ever-memorable'.[189] High levels of engagement stemmed from longstanding enthusiasm for constitutional nationalism in addition to Irish cultural affiliations; Catholic schoolboys eagerly participated in transnational celebrations such as St. Patrick's Day, often reflecting on Ireland's pursuit of liberty in the process.[190] Elite Protestant students, by contrast, barely mentioned these overseas developments.

Post-rebellion sympathies were particularly evident at Sacred Heart. The Rising initially embarrassed local Irish Catholics loyal to both Home Rule and the war effort but more empathetic responses emerged in the wake of martial law.[191] Boys studying under the Marist Brothers contributed to this change of opinion, attending a fundraising event for the 'Irish Distress Fund' set up by the *Tablet* to help the families of executed rebels and those in prison. A total of £5,132 was raised by mid-1917, almost all of which was sent straight to Ireland.[192] One student writer proclaimed that the 'cause was noble and appealed to us',

[186] See: Gilderdale, 'Social Print'.
[187] Fitzsimons, *Sectare Fidem*, p. 27.
[188] *BW*, VIII/1 (1916), p. 11.
[189] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 113.
[190] *SHC*, V/10 (1915), p. 103.
[191] Brosnahan, ''Shaming'', pp. 119-20.
[192] Milnes, 'Church Militant', pp. 256-7.

holding the Maxwell regime directly accountable for 'wail[s] from desolate Irish homes, and the cry of the widow and the orphan'.[193] The Protestant majority did not share this view, with several mainstream newspapers accusing fundraisers of exaggerating the situation.[194] Most famously, the Christchurch *Press* questioned the existence of any distress in Dublin, suggesting that funds would be redirected to help further political agitation.[195] Instead of acting as a deterrent, public suspicion galvanised students. Irish epistolary networks were deemed more reliable than 'the lying and slanderous statements of the Northcliffe Press, and … the newspaper proprietors of the City of the Plains', and the *SHC* congratulated patron Bishop Brodie for refuting the 'bigoted' charges made against him.[196]

Rising-related ventures were not necessarily prompted by extremist views. Sacred Heart boys participated in charitable endeavours akin to those at Mungret College, but there is no evidence to suggest that they also advocated Irish separatism. Rebel leaders, while considered 'the most intellectual and brilliant young men of the land' in a 1917 reflection on St. Patrick's Day, were not venerated for pursuing republican ideals. Instead, respect was awarded because their sacrifice meant 'that the Irish people might not weaken in the spirit of nationality'.[197] Catholic pupils were well aware that the Rising resulted in heightened feeling about British rule – both locally and in Ireland itself – but magazine contributors still preferred conservative political solutions. Indeed, the aforementioned piece asserted that the Irish diaspora only hoped for a form of self-government equal to that held by the Dominions. New Zealand adolescents suspected that the suspended Home Rule Act had become a 'hollow sham' by this point, but they still sought and had faith in a Redmondite resolution throughout 1917.[198]

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[193] *SHC*, VI/11 (1916), p. 108.
[194] 'Dublin Poor Relief Fund', *Sun* (27 Oct. 1916), p. 6.
[195] 'Distress in Dublin', *Press* (27 Oct. 1916), p. 6. See also: Sweetman, 'Who Fears', p. 79.
[196] *SHC*, VI/11 (1916), p. 108.
[197] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 113.
[198] ibid., pp. 113-14, 113.

Similar views were held by others attached to Sacred Heart. An article on Irish nationhood published in the *SHC*, possibly penned by an Old Boy, expressed frustration with the oppressive tactics used by Dublin Castle which apparently undercut the Irish Convention's ability to have a 'fair run'.[199] In actuality, the Convention resulted in the 'soft-pedalling' of DORA regulation enforcement during the summer, but other problems remained.[200] The Convention, called by the British government so that Irishmen could negotiate a self-government proposal agreeable to all, sat between July 1917 and March 1918. Difficulties emerged from the outset, with Sinn Féin refusing to attend deliberations at all and sustained Ulster Unionist opposition to the very notion of Home Rule.[201] These challenges aside, the author nonetheless hoped Ireland 'shall ere long enter, together with sister nations within the fold of Empire, into the proud position of IRELAND A NATION.'[202]

This dogged advocacy of Home Rule is noteworthy as viable alternatives did exist. Seán Brosnahan has traced the rise of Irish republicanism in New Zealand, exploring the growth of local clubs which subsequently amalgamated into the Maoriland Irish Society and the emergence of the radical *Green Ray* newspaper in late 1916. Both repudiated the IPP in favour of more radical expressions of Irish freedom. Although the *Green Ray* only garnered a limited readership before its suppression under anti-sedition legislation in June 1918, separatist doctrine attracted a wider audience via the *Tablet* from mid-1917.[203] New editor Dr Kelly was a Wexford-born priest who demonstrated deep commitment to the revolutionary cause. Drawing on Irish and anti-establishment British newspapers, international emigrant and Catholic journals, and personal letters, Kelly criticised the British

[199] ibid., p. 99.
[200] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 330.
[201] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, ch. 6, esp. pp. 197-214.
[202] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 99.
[203] Brosnahan, ''Shaming'', pp. 117-34.

and New Zealand governments for how they treated Ireland and local Catholics. Anti-imperial and anti-conscription sentiments were given free rein.[204] These radical views, while influential, were not always positively received. Kelly received multiple cautions from ecclesiastical superiors throughout 1917 with Bishop Cleary proving his most strident opponent after returning from the trenches in October.[205] Although Cleary expressed initial sympathy for the Easter rebels, he quickly turned against the republican movement, considering Sinn Féin to be insupportable.[206]

Adolescent detachment from Sinn Féin rhetoric was underpinned by several possible factors, not the least including admiration for Cleary himself. Cleary visited Sacred Heart to discuss his war experiences with students there who 'eagerly … crowded around him'.[207] More importantly, these boys shared – or at least aspired to share – a similar social status to their school patron. Work by Bernard Cadogan and others has pointed to important class differences in the politics advocated by 'ornery Irish' and 'lace curtain Catholics'.[208] The local hierarchy and middle-class Catholics had long vocalised support for Irish Home Rule over other government forms, although matters were certainly changing by 1918.[209] Student recognition of this split within Catholic New Zealand may have encouraged some outside the Auckland diocese to be somewhat ambiguous when addressing the Irish question; T. Cleary of St. Patrick's College, for instance, used generic nationalist references to describe Ireland's future in 1917; 'May the people of Ireland seize the standard of their nation in their undivided grasp, and bear it over to Tara's Hill, where once again it may wave under an

[204] Heather McNamara, 'The Sole Organ of the Irish Race in New Zealand? A Social and Cultural History of the *New Zealand Tablet* and its Readers, 1898-1923' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2002), pp. 62-70, 88-103; Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', pp. 144-68.
[205] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', pp. 157-8; 161ff.
[206] idem, ''How to behave'', pp. 94-5.
[207] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 68.
[208] Bernard Cadogan, 'Lace Curtain Catholics: The Catholic Bourgeoisie of the Diocese of Dunedin: 1900-1920' (BA Hons Dissertation, University of Otago, 1984); Brosnahan, ''Shaming'', pp. 117-34, 130.
[209] Brosnahan, ''Shaming'', pp. 130-3.

united people free and unfettered.'[210] On the whole, elite pupils tended to avoid taking a clear stand on issues that could offend others in their wider school communities.

Catholic boys also faced controversy on other fronts from 1916. The Rising only added to what has been termed a 'long list of alleged misdeeds by Catholics against the British Empire', with discontent regarding clerical conscription further exacerbating sectarian tensions.[211] Like their teacher counterparts, students at Sacred Heart deemed support for the war effort and a safeguarded Catholic education system to be entirely separate – but equally important – issues. Those that conflated the two were accused of duplicity, discredited as 'serpents of bigotry who parade as angels of patriotism'.[212] The Marist Brothers were unwilling to desert their schools but they still encouraged students to serve. Similar frustration was likely directed towards those who thought constitutional nationalist leanings betrayed Antipodean allegiances. Radical nationalists did abscond from military service but they were part of an 'insignificant minority'; 99 out of a total of 440 unapprehended defaulters in October 1917 had Irish names, at least some of whom would have had other motivations such as socialism.[213] Irish ties did not preclude more immediate geographical affinities, and this appears to especially have been the case in middle-class Catholic circles. As one writer proclaimed, 'the Irish abroad, while loyal and true to the land of their adoption, or, in the case of the children, to the land of their birth, ever look forward with hopes renewed … that Ireland may be free'.[214] Most elite Catholic boys, in line with older contemporaries, saw themselves as New Zealanders first and foremost.

Protestant youth also took their citizenship seriously, echoing adult suspicions that not all were making an equal contribution to the war effort. Nelson College students debated

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[210] *BW*, VIII/2 (1917), p. 54.
[211] Sweetman, 'Who Fears', p. 74.
[212] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 17.
[213] Laracy, 'Priests, People', p. 20. For examples of Irish nationalist absconders, see: Brosnahan, ''Shaming'', 123-7.
[214] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 114.

whether New Zealand was taking 'a fair share of the burden' in August 1917, concluding that this was not the case.[215] Cynicism was far from universal but calls for improvement were still made. J. C. Dove, for example, proclaimed that while 'large numbers of our manhood have gone forth at the expense of the country … much more can be done. Each individual can help to win the war by doing well the work which is his share'.[216] While magazine contributors did not participate in anti-Catholic indictment – evading all mention of the 1916 Rising, Irish republicanism, and clerical conscription – matters of duty and personal allegiance were seen in black and white. Elite students may have backed hostilities regardless of denominational affiliation, but Protestant boys had a much broader definition of what constituted seditious behaviour. Nothing but whole-hearted commitment to King, country, and Allied victory would do.

Concluding Comments

As hostilities progressed, death became an ever-present reality at elite Irish and New Zealand boys' colleges. Students from both countries were dismayed by unprecedented fatalities, regularly contributing to institutional scripts and structures that recognised these losses. Boy talk, especially that espoused in Protestant circles, mirrored that used by headmasters who considered wartime deaths regrettable but necessary. These discursive overlaps did not, however, arise from blind adherence to teacher example, or necessarily even shared political preferences. Instead, student responses were shaped by an elite boys' culture which exalted brave sacrifice. Pupils were well aware of memorial practices at other prestigious establishments, coming up with their own commemorative forms where deemed appropriate. Alternative reference points that resonated with boyish ideals were also

[215] *Nelsonian*, XXXIII/2 (Dec. 1917), pp. 149-51, esp. 149.
[216] *KC*, XV/2 (Sept. 1916), p. 6.

deployed. While teachers preferred to use inclusive frameworks when addressing alumni sacrifice, Protestant pupils in the north of Ireland circulated narratives emphasising 1 July 1916 and the Ulster Division. Anzac mythology held a similarly strong grip on the adolescent imagination in New Zealand.

Age-related factors moulded reactions to individual bereavements as well, causing some fatalities to hit harder than others. Staff members and older students may have recalled alumni from years past, but younger pupils did not. Personal losses determined the depth of meaning invested in institutional modes of remembrance, confirming the importance of variables such as relational proximity suggested elsewhere. The likelihood of pupils being emotionally affected grew as the conflict progressed and their friendship groups aged. This was especially the case in Ireland where eighteen-year-olds could leave school and sign up with the regular army straight away. In New Zealand, boys had to wait until the age of twenty. State enlistment requirements ultimately mediated school bereavements in striking ways; while peers and school heroes were heavily mourned at Irish establishments, teacher deaths attracted greater attention in New Zealand.

National differences likewise inflected adolescent experiences of dissent. Some Irish students were caught up in the 1916 Rising as events unfolded in Dublin, with others prevented from pursuing their normal routine because of disruptions to the transport system and delayed school openings. New Zealand boys, by contrast, were safely located on the other side of the world, with even the fallout from this event proving negligible for Protestant youth. The extent to which this and other expressions of dissent were accepted by communities at large also diverged. Although most Irish people were relieved when the Rising ended, Catholic nationalist opinion consolidated behind the rebels and their families following Britain's repressive response. In New Zealand, however, Catholics constituted a decided minority, with an all-encompassing 'culture of sacrifice' at play. Demonstrations of

support for controversial issues such as Irish self-determination not only risked official displeasure, but also public ostracism.

These variations aside, student engagement with local and international political developments proved rather similar. Elite adolescents in both countries were generally prevented from participating in illegal activities due to state surveillance and deliberate effort on the part of adult authorities. Nevertheless, boys did not shy away from sharing their opinion when and where they could. Pupils at Irish Catholic colleges voiced interest, even excitement, in the Rising, backing relief organisations like the INAAVDF. Some went further, overtly supporting the advanced nationalist cause through their writings. New Zealand Catholic boys more clearly identified with Home Rule rather than republican separatism but they too expressed sympathy for the rebels despite the backlash entailed. Irish and New Zealand Protestant boys also took a vehement position on matters in their own right, angrily refuting any sentiment seen to threaten the British or New Zealand state. Despite the import of wider transformative changes, students across the board continued to respond to wartime events on their own terms.

Part 3: Until the Bitter End

Ireland and New Zealand endured active warfare until its bitter conclusion. While Russia was forced into early submission, signing a peace treaty with the Central Powers on 3 March 1918, the British Empire did not suffer the same fate.[1] Fighting continued right up to the declaration of an Armistice with Germany on 11 November.[2] As detailed earlier, wealthy schools had resisted being subsumed by hostilities, responding to local war cultures on their own terms. Civilian interactions with the conflict, however, were far from static. Enlistment practices and economic sacrifices compounded over time with external pressures less easily contained by late 1917. Having already been transformed by mass experiences of death and dissent, Ireland and New Zealand were further modified by ongoing participation in a strained imperial war effort. Even the cessation of hostilities was marked by change, disruption, and devastation in the form of the 1918-1919 Influenza Pandemic.

Contention surrounds the links between late war developments and home front reactions. Irish historians have long traced increased advanced nationalist sentiments, often identifying the 1918 conscription crisis as a critical juncture in public opinion.[3] In recent years, attention has been paid to shifts in charitable behaviour. Clare O'Neill found a decline in voluntary support for the war wounded, noting that some nursing and ambulance divisions complained of worker shortages in 1917 and 1918. This overall trend, however, was modified by an increase in funding received in the second half of 1918.[4] Puzzling patterns have also been found elsewhere; Fionnuala Walsh's research on women's work and voluntary activities led her to assert that while opposition to the war peaked in 1918, there

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[1] Christoph Mick, '1918: Endgame', in Jay Winter (ed), *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume II: The State* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 137-41.
[2] Gregory, *War of Peoples*, p. 194.
[3] Conor Morrissey, for example, has asserted that that the conscription crisis was a 'chief cause' of the eclipse of the constitutional nationalist movement. See: Morrissey, 'Protestant Nationalists and the Irish Conscription Crisis, 1918', in Gearóid Barry, Enrico Dal Lago, and Róisín Healy (eds), *Small nations and colonial peripheries in World War I* (Leiden, 2016), p. 55.
[4] O'Neill, 'Unity in Adversity', pp. 173-4.

was also a 'parallel surge of support for the war effort'.[5] Niamh Gallagher drew on similar evidence to claim that 'political radicalization did not diminish the largely Catholic and Anglican South from assisting the war effort'.[6] It appears that Ireland did not necessarily turn against the conflict in all its guises.

New Zealand war responses have also been subject to reconsideration. Gwen Parsons has identified a popular myth of unified civilian support, remarking that historians 'in general' argue that opposition was limited.[7] New Zealand's extensive commitment has indeed attracted commentary, with Steven Loveridge highlighting how cultural forces continued to be mobilised in order to 'navigate harrowing circumstances.'[8] Nonetheless, it is an overstatement to claim that dissenting voices at either the beginning or end of war have been overlooked. Kirstie Ross and Kate Hunter explicitly pointed towards the 'limits of loyalty' in their work on the home front; military service met with opposition from socialists and some Māori tribes, especially those from Taranaki, the Waikato and King Country, and the Ureweras.[9] Conscription was applied to the Western Māori district alone, which included men from Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto iwi.[10] Growing war weariness has likewise been noted by Paul Baker and Gregory Hynes, apparently setting in by early 1917.[11] As stressed in a 2016 edited collection, despite New Zealand being 'spared the manner and magnitude of upheaval witnessed elsewhere, the case for relative stability has its limits in conveying wartime life.'[12]

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[5] Walsh, 'The impact', p. 200.
[6] Gallagher, 'Irish Civil Society', p. 90.
[7] Parsons, 'Challenging Enduring', esp. pp. 70-1.
[8] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 243.
[9] Hunter and Ross, *Holding on*, ch. 6; Baker, *King and Country*, pp. 210-22.
[10] Soutar, 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu', pp. 100-3.
[11] Baker, *King and Country*, pp. 101, 133; Gregory Hynes, 'Propaganda, Perspective, and the British World: New Zealand's First World War Propaganda and British Interactions, 1914-1918' (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 2013), pp. 121-2.
[12] Loveridge, 'Introduction', p. 30.

This section examines elite engagement with the conflict's final stages and ceasefires, concentrating on 1917 and 1918. Both chapters continue to trace the theme of 'dissent' with particular reference to the Irish conscription crisis and ongoing sectarianism in New Zealand. They signal the extent to which educators contributed to rallying efforts like those identified overseas, and youth engagement with war weariness where it existed. School authorities still prioritised educational matters, seeking to maintain their institutional positioning within shifting socio-political landscapes. Students were also well aware of the difficulties linked to an ongoing war but largely focussed on how these intersected with their own interests and perceived life trajectory. Across the board, religious and political affiliations remained crucial. These preoccupations endured, shaping reactions to the Armistice and immediate post-war world. Ultimately, it is argued that while schools and students held similar set of concerns across these two home fronts, the manner in which these played out with reference to the war varied according to particular national and local differences.

Chapter 5: Schools during the Late War and Armistice

By late 1917, Irish and New Zealand schools engaged with the conflict on different terms. Notions of endurance colour a great deal of work on this period, with David Monger noting that it holds an 'underlying and central place' in war historiography.[1] Yet, while threats to individuals' coping mechanisms emerged straight away, their impact aggregated over time. Many belligerents had made substantive investments in pursuit of victory which proved difficult to sustain. Russia has been construed as the 'first casualty' of mounting economic and social strain, being 'brought to its knees' in 1917.[2] Although most Western European combatants evaded outright revolution, protests also occurred across France, Britain, and northern Italy.[3] External pressures further intensified in early 1918. It has been argued that the United States' entry into the war in April 1917 most probably prevented the Entente Powers from losing it, but American troops only arrived on the Western Front in earnest from the summer of 1918.[4] In the meantime, German military authorities decided to launch a series of spring offensives aimed at decisive victory.[5] These developments prompted strong reactions in Ireland and New Zealand alike. Ensuing socio-political change had significant consequences, forcing some institutions to reorient themselves.

Studies of late-war agitation and disengagement tend to focus on mainland Europe and Britain. Military authorities attempted to maintain soldier morale through 'ideological motivation' as well as discipline, with Russia and Germany the first to develop soldier-focussed propaganda programmes by summer 1917.[6] Propaganda was also heavily deployed on the home front, especially in France and Britain where it was preferred over repressive

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[1] David Monger, 'Endurance and First World War Scholarship', in Monger, Murray and Pickles (eds), *Endurance*, p. 1.
[2] Barry Supple, 'War economies', in Winter (ed), *The State*, p. 299.
[3] Richard Bessel, 'Revolution', in Winter (ed), *The State*, pp. 134-5.
[4] Jennifer D. Keene, 'Americans at War: Assessing the Significance of American Participation in the Great War', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, pp. 106-22.
[5] Gregory, *War of Peoples*, p. 137ff.
[6] Alexander Watson, 'Morale', in Winter (ed), *The State*, p. 192ff.

action to contain disaffection.[7] Recent work has investigated the broader remit of British activities. Catriona Pennell identified ties between the National War Aims Committee (NWAC) – launched in London in August 1917 – and Irish recruitment campaigns. From April 1918, the NWAC helped the Irish Recruiting Council 'in reviving the propaganda effort'.[8] Connections also existed between Britain and New Zealand. The NWAC promoted a 'supranational patriotism' which compared Britain to her (white) Dominion, French, and American allies.[9] New Zealand was also organisationally included in Britain's propaganda campaign structure from late 1917. Nonetheless, this cooperation aside, Gregory Hynes has stressed that domestic New Zealand propaganda production was neither 'passive' nor entirely dependent on Britain.[10] Here and elsewhere, officials sought to manage local difficulties arising from an imperial war effort. Irish and New Zealand historians have noted that coercive measures stood alongside films, posters, and pamphlets.[11] The extent to which elite educators were affected by, supported, or participated in these interventions is still not clear.

This chapter examines how prestigious boys' schools responded to the conflict in its final stages, highlighting the interplay between international and regional considerations. Of particular interest is whether Irish and New Zealand colleges faced similar challenges due to their common 'public school' identity. Socio-economic status helped protect wealthy institutions from inflationary pressures, but resource and manpower shortages still had the potential to destabilise activities. Schools were also expected to continue training boys to

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[7] John Horne, 'Remobilizing for 'total war': France and Britain, 1917-1918', in Horne (ed), *State, society and mobilization*, p. 197ff.
[8] Pennell, 'Presenting the War', p. 60ff.
[9] David Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (Liverpool, 2012), ch. 5.
[10] Hynes, 'Propaganda', pp. 119-45, 148.
[11] See, for example: Baker, *King and Country*, esp. ch. 7; Richard Hill, 'State Servants and Social Beings: The Role of the New Zealand Police Force in the Great War', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, pp. 91-111; Murphy, *Political Imprisonment*, chs. 2-6; Charles Townshend, 'Force, Law, and the Irish Revolution', in Senia Pašeta (ed), *Uncertain Futures: Essays about the Past for Roy Foster* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 161-73.

become future national leaders, a situation complicated by changing political circumstances. John Horne's concept of 'remobilization' is deployed to explore institutional engagement with wider attempts to reinvigorate pro-war feeling. In so doing, this chapter further tests assumptions regarding the scope and scale of support for hostilities during the late-war years. Irish historians contend that Catholic nationalist feeling turned against the British state and its military pursuits, especially following the 1918 conscription crisis.[12] The opposite claim has usually been made in New Zealand where, minor aberrations aside, civilians remained committed until the end. In both cases, religious and political affiliations remained key influences right up to the Armistice, inflecting staff expectations for the immediate post-war world.

Ireland

War weariness

The conflict's cumulative effects have been linked to specific domestic changes. Clare O'Neill considered the 1917-18 reduction in Irish volunteers to help the wounded as having paralleled earlier drops in military volunteering and support for Belgian refugees, situating these developments 'in the context of waning support for the war'.[13] Fionnuala Walsh has made similar observations in her discussion of civilian behaviour; the relationship between civil society and the state became increasingly strained through a combination of war weariness and heightened political tensions after the Rising.[14] These findings coalesce with broader trends identified elsewhere. 'Self-mobilization' – characterised by internally-

[12] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, pp. 489-90.
[13] O'Neill, 'Unity in Adversity', pp. 173-4, 174.
[14] Walsh, 'The impact', p. 200.

driven mass engagement with national war efforts – diminished in many regions from 1916 onwards.[15]

'War weariness' is generally seen as indicative of depleted civilian and/or military morale. It encapsulates a plethora of emotional reactions ranging from frustration with current circumstances to 'doubt [regarding] the likelihood of victory'.[16] Nonetheless, it is critical to distinguish 'war weariness' from overt anti-war sentiment even though, as John Horne has aptly noted, the former could be 'radicalised' by politicised minorities such as pacifists and labour activists.[17] Late-war increases in this phenomenon have been attributed to several factors, namely rising death tolls without discernible movement towards victory, industrial mobilisation, and difficulty balancing military and civilian needs.[18] These disruptive elements affected most belligerents, although some to a greater extent than others. Tension marked economic transformations with resentment directed towards those perceived to be unfairly benefitting from new systems.[19] Resource constraints also gave rise to food shortages and politicised riots in Russia, Austria, and Germany.[20]

Parallel pressures existed in Ireland. As discussed in chapters three and four, Ireland did not suffer an especially high fatality rate but losses were still traumatic; commentators began to 'count the cost' before the Somme.[21] Family finances were also affected. Increased philanthropic activity and regular separation allowances alleviated extreme poverty.[22] Rural Ireland also enjoyed increased agricultural prices, with similar rewards reaped by Ulster's

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[15] John Horne, 'Introduction: mobilizing for 'total war', 1914-1918', in Horne (ed), *State, society and mobilization*, p. 5.
[16] Gregory, *Last Great War*, p. 219.
[17] Horne, 'Remobilizing', p. 195.
[18] John Horne, 'Public Opinion and Politics', in Horne (ed), *Companion*, p. 284.
[19] Jean-Louis Robert, 'The image of the profiteer', in Winter and Robert (eds), *Paris, London, Berlin*, pp. 104-32.
[20] Barbara Engel, 'Not by Bread Alone: Subsistence Riots in Russia during World War I', *Journal of Modern History*, 69/4 (1997), pp. 696-721; Healy, *Vienna*, ch. 1; Belinda Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2000).
[21] Fitzpatrick, 'Home front', p. 135.
[22] Walsh, 'The impact', pp. 65-72.

shipbuilding and textile industries.[23] But economic benefits were 'unevenly spread', varying by geographical location, employment type, and class.[24] Prices more generally doubled due to wartime inflation.[25] Nevertheless, Horne has argued that 'the economic dimension was perhaps the least important as far as Ireland is concerned' in terms of factors undercutting the state's ability to wage war. Previous land reform apparently prevented the same level of unrest tied to land-hunger amongst poor Russians and Italians.[26] Furthermore, while trade unionism expanded and strengthened, Ireland did not experience significant social realignment along industrial lines.[27] Indeed, Niamh Puirséil's analysis of wartime labour concluded that it was 'a renewed crisis in nationalist politics' rather than radical socialism which ultimately threatened British control in 1918.[28]

The relationship between domestic politics and international hostilities has been identified as particularly important. To quote Roy Foster, 'the war continued to impose the conditions in which political action took place; and the exigencies of wartime may be advanced as one of the main reasons for the failure of British policy between 1916 and 1918.'[29] In turn, the rise of republicanism at the expense of constitutional nationalism – aided by military coercion and the 1918 conscription crisis –[30] shaped how the conflict itself was construed. Several historians have indicated disenchantment with a British-led war effort. By the conflict's final year, many Catholic nationalists considered this cause to have been 'de-legitimised'.[31] The exact interplay between nationalist feeling and war sentiment, however, merits greater scrutiny. Recent work has found that anti-conscription agitation

[23] Gribbon, 'Economic and social', pp. 343-8.
[24] Tom Dooley, 'Southern Ireland, historians and the First World War', *Irish Studies Review*, 4 (1993), p. 8.
[25] Liam Kennedy, 'The cost of living in Ireland, 1698-1998', in David Dickson and Cormac Ó Gráda (eds), *Refiguring Ireland: Essays in Honour of L. M. Cullen* (Dublin, 2003), p. 262.
[26] Horne, 'Our war', p. 9.
[27] Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Ireland 1824-2000*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 2011), pp. 104-7.
[28] Niamh Puirséil, 'War, work and labour', in Horne (ed), *Our War*, p. 190.
[29] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 487ff.
[30] Fitzpatrick, 'Irish consequences', p. 654.
[31] Horne, 'Our war', p. 12. See also: Pašeta, 'Thomas Kettle', p. 24.

stood alongside continued Catholic involvement in war charities.[32] Taken as a whole, this body of research is extremely useful in elucidating some of the broader contours which shaped Irish experiences. That said, relatively little is known about the specific difficulties faced by elite schools in 1917 and 1918.

Prestigious schools were increasingly affected by conflict-related developments. Foyle College received several requests for fee deferments, waivers, and reductions from 1916.[33] While poor urban families faced the greatest difficulty during this period, the Irish middle class – like that in Britain, France, and Germany – was not exempt from financial pressure.[34] Schools had to avoid alienating prospective pupils while simultaneously being able to balance the books. Parents were notified of a potential increase in boarding fees at Foyle College 'If war prices continue' in mid-1916. Following consultation with other elite Protestant establishments, boarding fees were then raised in May 1918.[35] Generally speaking, this process appears to have been successfully managed; headmasters tended to report too many, rather than too few, student applicants in later years.[36]

Late-war conditions threatened school outputs. The *School News* (*SN*) alluded to rising paper costs as early as April 1916 before raising its price that December. Editions published from the following June were reduced in size, with other school papers following suit.[37] This trend towards shorter magazines reflected problems faced by the publishing industry across the United Kingdom.[38] School prizegivings were likewise affected by austerity measures. Protestant events had long been scaled back or cancelled for patriotic

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[32] Gallagher, 'Irish Civil Society' pp. 39-91; Walsh, 'The impact', pp. 200-4
[33] Derry, FCA, Minute Book of Governors, 1914-1928, 6 Oct. 1916, pp. 93-4; ibid., 1 Dec. 1916, pp. 106-7; ibid., 4 May 1917, p. 121; ibid., 7 Dec. 1916, p. 141.
[34] Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 457; Jon Lawrence, 'Material pressures on the middle classes', in Winter and Robert (eds), *Paris, London, Berlin*, pp. 229-54.
[35] FCA, Minute Book, 1914-1928, 30 June 1916, p. 85; ibid., 3 May 1918, pp. 153-4.
[36] *SN*, 28/87 (Dec. 1917), p. 11.
[37] *SN*, 26/82 (Apr. 1916), p. 6; *SN*, 27/84 (1916), p. 8; *SN*, 27/86 (June 1917), p. 5; *OST*, IX/4 (1917), p. 83; *Belvederian*, V/I (Summer 1918), p. 1.
[38] David Monger, 'Press/Journalism (Great Britain and Ireland)', *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, doi: 10.15463/ie1418.10280 (21 Jan. 2017).

reasons but there is evidence to suggest that financial constraints may have played a greater role than headmasters were willing to admit; the public were only able to be invited to Campbell's 1917 Speech Day because of a personal contribution made by the President of the Board of Governors.[39]

Inflationary pressures also interfered with day-to-day operations. Price increases became an issue at Foyle College after an employee complained that the current coal and gas allowance was inadequate to cover that needed for fires. An increase was granted but other shortages proved more difficult to manage.[40] Planned lighting for the Sanatorium had to be delayed 'as Cable can now only be obtained for War purposes.'[41] Infrastructural impact was far from catastrophic. A recent history of CAI insisted that 'the Governors were always most attentive' to maintenance issues, with an Endowed Schools' inspector noting that the buildings were in an even better state in October 1917 than the year before.[42] While housing conditions generally deteriorated because of withheld Local Government Board grants and a diminished building sector, elite establishments had the funds to combat dilapidation.[43] Nevertheless, several did face capacity restraints due to an inability to construct new buildings.[44]

The most significant disruption was to school staffing levels with wage demands exacerbating matters. In their April 1918 petition to Foyle College's Education and Finance Committees, assistant masters noted their patience in not requesting a pay increase until now. This was despite the fact that 'The appalling rises of prices renders our Salaries, already meagre enough for the work which we are engaged, in some cases absolutely inadequate to

[39] *Campbellian*, 4/4 (1917), p. 79.
[40] FCA, Minute Book, 1914-1928, 3 Mar. 1916, p. 72; ibid., 5 May 1916, p. 81.
[41] ibid., 1 Mar. 1918, p. 144.
[42] Cassells and Quigg, *Schooldays*, p. 110.
[43] Dooley, 'Southern Ireland', p. 8; Fitzpatrick, 'Home front', p. 138.
[44] *Columban*, XXXVIII/3 (Dec. 1917), p. 1.

support a reasonably decent life.'[45] This agitation was part of a wider phenomenon, with government schoolteachers receiving a war bonus to account for increased costs from July 1916.[46] An ever-tightening labour market forced headmasters to engage with these demands at least on some occasions. Mr. Thomas' transfer from Cork Grammar School to a 'new school' in 1916, and that of Mr. Timms from High School Dublin to De Aston School in Lincolnshire the following year, were likely fuelled by promises of higher pay if not the prospect of promotion.[47]

Catholic schools faced similar discontent amongst their personnel. College 'servants' performed domestic duties such as cooking and cleaning as well as maintaining school grounds and property. While these roles were often allocated to religious brothers in schools run by priestly orders, lay staff were also employed to keep establishments running.[48] Perhaps the most notable incident occurred at Clongowes College in early 1918. At 7 o'clock in the evening on 23 February, school servants presented Father Potter with an ultimatum – if their demand for a wage increase was not responded to within fifteen minutes, they would cease work. The staff was formally dismissed en masse. This strike likely arose more out of contemporary labour unrest rather than longstanding tensions within the educational sector, a connection also made by school historian Peter Costello.[49] Trade unionism flourished in wartime Ireland due to compulsory arbitration, with strike activity intensifying each year between 1915 and 1918.[50] Pay battles were being fought inside, as well as outside, schools.

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[45] FCA, Minute Book, 1914-1928, 3 May 1918, p. 157ff.
[46] *Parliamentary Papers* (1917), Cd. 8495, The Eighty-Second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, School Year, 1915-16, p. 6.
[47] *C.G.S.*, IV/10 (1916), p. 125; *Erasmian*, XIV/3 (June 1917), p. 48.
[48] Tom O'Donoghue, *Catholic Teaching Brothers: Their Life in the English-Speaking World, 1891-1965* (New York, 2012), pp. 50-1.
[49] Costello, *Clongowes Wood*, p. 200.
[50] Theresa Moriarty, 'Work, warfare and wages: industrial controls and Irish trade unionism in the First World War', in Gregory and Pašeta (eds), *'Unite Us All?'*, pp. 73-93; David Fitzpatrick, 'Strikes in Ireland, 1914-21', *Saothar*, 6 (1918), p. 28.

Remuneration disputes tapped into funding concerns. The 'Birrell grant' – intended to improve the wages of lay teachers – began to be distributed to schools in March 1915, and the number of teachers employed under its conditions grew quickly. Earlier Catholic protest aside, E. Brian Titley has noted that this 'was not a total loss for the church' as continued clerical control over teacher selection was 'essentially undisturbed.'[51] The Teachers' Salaries Grant, however, did not fully resolve matters, demonstrated by complaints that it was badly administered and had in effect capped, rather than improved, pay amounts.[52] Calls for a pension scheme were also made at Foyle College, with masters keeping a close eye on new funding streams that could be used for their benefit.[53] Indeed, their 1918 request to the Education and Finance Committees has been prompted by the discovery that 'a portion of the 'Fishers' Grant' [actually an equivalent grant] has been paid to the School.'[54]

Teacher interest in government spending was matched at an institutional level. The 'Fisher's Grant' – totalling six million pounds – accompanied substantive reforms to the English education system. It was announced in the House of Commons on 19 April 1917, with an additional grant of £500,000 for Scotland disclosed on 24 April. The teaching sector, the Catholic Clerical Managers' Association, and the CHA were all outraged, believing Ireland was being discriminated against.[55] Elite headmasters like Dr. Irwin added their voice to public criticism, asserting 'This is a serious matter, as a badly-treated and discontented teaching profession is one of the worst evils that can exist in the life of a nation.'[56] A temporary measure of £50,000 was granted for the 1917-1918 financial year, with a Vice-

[51] Titley, *Control of Schooling*, pp. 50, 51.
[52] ibid., p. 54.
[53] FCA, Minute Book, 1914-1928, 5 Mar. 1915, pp. 27-8.
[54] ibid., 3 May 1918, p. 157.
[55] Titley, *Control of Schooling*, pp. 52-3.
[56] 'Wesley College, Dublin', *IT* (15 Dec. 1917), p. 4.

Regal Committee later appointed to investigate the system more broadly. These concessions did not bring the issue to an end, with institutional agitation extending right through 1918.[57]

All in all, late-war conditions proved stressful for college authorities. This state of affairs was often referenced on prizegiving days, even if commentators took care to frame it in positive terms. R. T. Martin, Chairman of the Board of Governors at RBAI, observed that 'The principal has been faced with enormous difficulties in 'carrying on' during the past three years, but he has been equal to every emergency and kept up his high standard of work.'[58] By 1917, the conflict interfered with core institutional concerns including 'masters, finance, [and] domestic arrangements'.[59] Comparable difficulties were encountered by elite headmasters across the Irish Sea.[60] It is important, however, to note that these challenges faded in comparison to those suffered on the European continent. French schools near the frontlines faced military bombardment with children increasingly drawn out of education to help their families.[61] Teacher and resource shortages were even worse elsewhere; the effective 'collapse of schooling distinguished the Central European powers from the Western Allies.'[62] But even limited pressures had powerful consequences. Wartime strain could diminish support for state authorities and their activities, including the conflict itself.

Remobilisation on the Home Front

'Remobilization' attempts have been identified in several late-war societies. In a definitive piece on 'total war' and 'mobilization', Horne argued that these interrelated concepts were best understood on a spectrum. Mobilisation – representing imaginative and structural engagement with the war effort within a society – constituted a key element within

[57] McElligott, *Secondary Education*, pp. 121-4; *SN*, 29/90 (Dec. 1918), pp. 14-16.
[58] *SN*, 28/87 (1917), p. 15.
[59] *Campbellian*, 4/4 (1917), p. 80.
[60] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, p. 104.
[61] Audoin-Rouzeau, 'Children', p. 51.
[62] Donson, *Youth*, pp. 125-36, 135.

'total war', which itself was a process rather than a result.[63] Belligerents may have exhibited 'a number of significant tendencies *toward* total warfare', but a fully-actualised state of total war was never achieved.[64] Large-scale contributions nonetheless required popular consensus which came under threat with the rise of war-weariness. While repressive measures were used against expressions of anti-war sentiment or 'counter-mobilization', they were less successful in mitigating civilian disengagement.[65] Combatant nations had to convince their populations that the hostilities were worth pursuing until their end. In consequence, 'public opinion mattered more, not less, in the last half of the war.'[66]

National experiences of this process varied significantly. Attempts to 'promote and channel enthusiasm for further sacrifice' proved fruitless in Germany and, through their respective revolutions, Germany and Russia effectively 'demobilized'.[67] Britain and France had more positive results. Diminished civilian morale was combatted through propaganda efforts supported by the state, facilitating a 'regeneration' of commitment in 1917 and 1918.[68] Horne has cautioned against seeing these campaigns as purely government-driven measures. In both cases, they rested upon the voluntary involvement of regional elites and 'the cadres of the political and administrative systems down to a very local level.'[69]

Late-war Irish propaganda has attracted some scholarly attention. Active recruiting measures, suspended after the Easter Rising, were resumed with the establishment of the Irish Recruiting Council in April 1918.[70] A 'vigorous propaganda campaign' operated in

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[63] Horne, 'Introduction', pp. 1, 5.
[64] Stig Förster, 'Introduction', in Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (eds), *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 15. See also: William Mulligan, 'Total War: Review Article', *War in History*, 15/2 (2008), pp. 211-21.
[65] Horne, 'Introduction', p. 14.
[66] idem, 'Public Opinion', p. 289.
[67] ibid., p. 290; Richard Bessel, 'Mobilization and demobilization in Germany, 1916-1919', in Horne (ed), *State, society and mobilization*, p. 219.
[68] Horne, 'Remobilizing', p. 210.
[69] ibid., p. 209.
[70] Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*, p. 25; Tim Bowman, 'The Irish Recruiting Campaign and Anti-Recruiting Campaigns, 1914-1918', in Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton (eds), *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity 1300-2000* (Stroud, 1999), p. 232.

following months, comprising posters, leaflets, visiting speakers, and a 'cinemotor' tour backed by the NWAC. While recognising other motivators such as skills acquisition and the threat of conscription, Catriona Pennell tied this campaign to increased recruiting rates between August and November 1918.[71] Other agencies also sought to remobilise the home front. An Irish War Aims Committee was established in mid-1918, although Monger has suggested that it was a 'much less elaborate organisation' than its English and Welsh counterparts.[72] The Red Cross 'Our Day' fundraising drive was especially successful in 1917 and 1918, receiving higher contributions per capita in Ireland than anywhere else in the United Kingdom.[73] Not all propagandists, however, favoured the conflict or related causes. Advanced nationalists promulgated their own views, railing against British recruitment and governmental conduct.[74]

Elite Protestant schools prided themselves on their 'indissoluble attachment to the Empire' but they still saw the need for remobilisation efforts.[75] An article titled 'The War and Schoolboys', likely written by an adult contributor, was included in the October 1917 *Erasmian*. Students were urged to keep caring about the war because 'England' and her allies 'feel that morality, justice, truth, law, civilisation – all the fundamental things in life – are threatened by German arms.'[76] The extent to which this submission mirrored NWAC themes is striking; Monger has identified a core message of civilian duty contextualised by ideas of 'adversarial patriotism' (notions of the enemy), 'supranational patriotism' (positively-construed similarities and differences with British allies), 'proprietorial patriotism' (core 'British' values), and 'aspirational patriotism' (post-war outcomes).[77] Considering its Irish

[71] Pennell, 'Presenting the War', p. 63.
[72] Monger, *Patriotism*, p. 110.
[73] Walsh, 'The impact', pp. 201-4.
[74] Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*.
[75] *Campbellian*, 4/4 (1917), p. 81.
[76] *Erasmian*, XIV/4 (Oct. 1917), pp. 118-21, 120.
[77] Monger, *Patriotism*, esp. ch. 4.

content and date of publication, the *Erasmian* piece was probably not produced by the NWAC, their work only having begun in July that year.[78] Nevertheless, these commonalities suggest that Irish Protestant teachers shared a wider set of concerns about civilian morale and how these should be addressed.

Here too, staff members sought to ensure that the state had sufficient resources to win the war. Foyle College and High School, Dublin both established war savings associations in 1918.[79] Protestant military training also intensified, with St. Columba's reorganising its time-table to provide additional OTC work on Wednesdays.[80] Rev. W. Blackburn provided insight into this decision in a June 1917 address. Following the introduction of conscription in Britain, British OTCs had become incorporated into a compulsory system of National Service while 'Irish schools possessing O.T.C.'s technically stood on the old footing'. Rather than accepting a comparatively-diminished role, Protestant schools across the country preferred to stand alongside their loyal 'English and Scotch' counterparts.[81]

Catholic schools, by contrast, shied away from martial endeavours. Teacher-approved cadet initiatives at Clongowes and Castleknock were relatively short-lived, lasting until 1916 at most.[82] Their demise was facilitated by the fact that most staff, unlike their counterparts at St Enda's, did not see military activity as a crucial expression of full male citizenship even if there had been an earlier softening of attitudes towards the IV. Steven O'Connor has argued that that a 'universally accepted' public school ethos emphasising integrity, discipline, and service meant 'in wartime public schoolboys came into their own.'[83]

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[78] ibid., p. 29.
[79] *OST*, X/4 (June 1918), p. 50; *Erasmian*, XV/3 (June 1918), p. 48.
[80] *Columban*, XXXVIII/2 (July 1917), p. 2.
[81] 'Prize Day at St. Columba's College', *IT* (11 June 1917), p. 6.
[82] No mention of cadets in the 1916 *Castleknock Chronicle*, with the 1916 *Clongownian* noting the school's failed application for an OTC. See: *CC*, XXX (1915); *Clongownian*, VII/3 (1916), p. 318.
[83] O'Connor, *Irish Officers*, p. 63.

Yet, general character training aside, there is little evidence to suggest that Irish teaching religious deliberately set out to create future soldiers for Britain's army. Indeed, the British military seems to have become a less credible means of employment over time due to political developments discussed below; old boys serving in state forces were no longer identified as role models to the same extent with the 1918 *CC* relegating combatant information to the very end of its 'News of Pastmen' section.[84]

Teaching religious also approached late-war developments rather unenthusiastically. Catholic school magazines contain no reference to remobilisation messages or the war effort itself. Such absences challenge recent assertions that most Irish Catholics backed the Allied war effort until victory was achieved. Gallagher contested claims to the contrary in her 2015 doctorate, asserting that belief in an 'international moral cause' endured especially among the middle-classes.[85] Anti-German sentiment reinforced fundraising efforts, with Catholic women involved in war-relief work for the duration.[86] Gallagher's argument holds some merit, standing alongside Walsh's research on the important contributions made by Irish women across the denominational divide.[87] Nonetheless, there is no indication that these endeavours were explicitly supported by elite Catholic boys' schools, forming part of a longer trend discussed in chapter one.

Political Developments and the 'Conscription Crisis'

The Irish home front underwent significant change by early 1918. Earlier chapters have signalled instances where Catholic staff members deviated from Redmondite nationalism. This trend accelerated after 1916, with Castleknock exhibiting a picture film of

[84] *CC*, XXXIII (1918), p. 18ff.
[85] Gallagher, 'Irish Civil Society', pp. 236-52, 237.
[86] ibid., pp. 39-135.
[87] Walsh, 'The impact', pp. 180-235.

Thomas Ashe's funeral on 7 October 1917.[88] Ashe – a prominent survivor of the Easter Rising – had died after being forcibly fed while on hunger strike following a 1917 conviction under DORA.[89] Carefully orchestrated as 'a triumphant piece of separatist street theatre', his funeral helped mobilise conservative opinion into a more radical direction.[90] Although the IPP won three by-elections in 1918, Sinn Féin continued to grow in popularity at the expense of constitutional nationalism. This corollary decline has been attributed to multiple factors, including the ultimate failure of Irish Convention negotiations which 'stripped the [Irish Political] party of any credible strategy.'[91] A memorial article for John Redmond published in the 1918 *Clongownian* reflected wider uncertainty about the fate of Home Rule. While the loss of this old boy on 6 March received due recognition, his career attracted little discussion; 'we regard as beyond our ken the discussion of the wisdom of his political act … it is too soon to judge him now'.[92]

These shifts collided with the pressures of war. The German Spring Offensives began on 21 March 1918, and the BEF incurred 38,000 casualties on the first day alone.[93] Ireland had been excluded from Britain's 1916 conscription bill due to political concerns, but the Empire's manpower shortage was now severe enough to risk potential backlash. The decision to extend compulsory service across the United Kingdom would affect all males aged between 18 and 51 years, this upper limit having been lifted from 41 years.[94] David Lloyd George tried to mitigate the damage by linking provisions for Irish conscription to promises of Home Rule, encouraged by an 'excessively naïve interpretation' of the Irish Convention report received on 4 April.[95] This move proved unsuccessful, with the

[88] *CC*, XXIII (1918), p. 42.
[89] Patrick Maume, *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life, 1891-1918* (Dublin 1999), p. 200.
[90] Townshend, *Easter 1916*, p. 333. See also: Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*, pp. 236-9.
[91] McGarry, *Rising*, p. 286. See also: Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, pp. 208-12.
[92] *Clongownian*, VIII/2 (1918), pp. 137-43, 143.
[93] John Keegan, *The First World War* (London, 1999), p. 430.
[94] Laffan, *Resurrection*, p. 132.
[95] Alan J. Ward, 'Lloyd George and the 1918 Irish Conscription Crisis', *Historical Journal*, 17/1 (1974), p. 113.

introduction of the new Military Service Bill five days later infuriating Irish nationalist MPs into walking out of the House of Commons. Perhaps more significantly, broader public opinion was outraged. While Ulster Unionist Edward Carson did vote for conscription – considering it a separate issue from Home Rule –[96] he also warned Parliament that Unionists in Ireland would feel betrayed if Home Rule was enacted in the end.[97]

The 1918 conscription crisis has been identified as a crucial turning point which solidified support for Sinn Féin by 'eliminating constitutional nationalism as a practical alternative'.[98] Men and women from various political backgrounds came together to oppose the bill, unionists constituting one key exception. Nationalist leaders assembled at an anti-conscription conference on 18 April, resulting in a widely-circulated pledge endorsed by the Catholic hierarchy.[99] The movement was supported by a general strike on 23 April, observed everywhere except for north-east Ulster.[100] Various connections have been made between anti-conscription agitation, perceptions of British authority, and anti-war feeling. In his history of Castleknock College, James Murphy speculated that it was the conscription threat, as opposed to the Easter Rising, which decisively alienated the Catholic upper middle class from Britain. As evidence, Murphy pointed towards diminished war-related references in the school's 1918 magazine.[101] This tantalising suggestion aside, school reactions to the conscription crisis are relatively unknown.

Elite Catholic colleges actively contributed to this crisis. Castleknock College held a collection for the National Defence Fund – intended to support those who opposed military service – following a High Mass of Intercession on 21 April.[102] Boys at Mungret as well as

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[96] ibid., p. 114.
[97] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, p. 220.
[98] Fitzpatrick, 'Irish consequences', p. 654. See also: Foster, *Modern Ireland*, pp. 489-90; English, *Irish Freedom*, pp. 282-3.
[99] Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women*, pp. 237-46; F. S. L. Lyons, 'The new nationalism, 1916-18', in Vaughan (ed), *Ireland under the Union*, p. 235.
[100] Puirséil, 'War, work and labour', pp. 191-2.
[101] Murphy, ''A Brake'', pp. 108-9.
[102] Townshend, *Republic*, p. 14; *CC*, XXIII (1918), p. 48.

Castleknock were 'solemnly administered' the anti-conscription pledge, which appears to have been taken by most, if not all, members of the school community.[103] In both cases, these activities were orchestrated by the college Rector, mirroring broader Catholic responses.[104] The Irish hierarchy decreed that masses of intercession take place throughout the country, instructing clergy to advertise anti-conscription meetings and endorse financial collections outside of church gates.[105] Religious support, however, was not without limits. While Jérôme aan de Wiel argued that the Catholic Church 'had embraced, almost to a man, the radicalisation of nationalism during the crisis', Pauric Travers has cautioned against seeing priests and the Hierarchy as a 'monolithic body'.[106] Reasons for rejecting conscription could be apolitical, including the fear that 'chaos and disorder would result' if the Church did not intervene.[107]

Exact motivations aside, at least two schools under examination chose to back this illegal enterprise. Parallels can be made with rebellious activity elsewhere; teachers in German-occupied France were imprisoned for promoting acts of resistance, such as speaking in French and singing the *Marseillaise*.[108] Ireland did not have the same legal status as the Nord region but advanced nationalists generally saw British control as illegitimate and the conscription crisis touched on similar anxieties about statehood articulated in more orthodox circles. Constitutional nationalists rejected the very premise of Lloyd George's decision, asserting that an Irish parliament was the only entity that could rightfully conscript Irish men.[109]

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[103] *MA*, V/2 (July 1918), p. 43.
[104] *CC*, XXIII (1918), p. 57.
[105] Laffan, *Resurrection,* p. 139.
[106] aan de Wiel, *Catholic Church*, p. 203; Pauric Travers, 'The priest in politics. The case of conscription', in Oliver MacDonagh, W. F. Mandle and Pauric Travers (eds), *Irish Culture and Nationalism, 1750–1950* (London, 1983), p. 177.
[107] Travers, 'The priest', p. 177.
[108] James E. Connolly, 'Encountering Germans: the Experience of Occupation in the Nord, 1914-1918' (PhD thesis, King's College London, 2013), p. 219.
[109] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland: World War One and Partition* (London, 1998), pp. 215-19.

Although further biographical research needs to be conducted, it seems likely that some elite Catholic teaching staff favoured radical nationalist shifts by mid-1918. Britain's response to the conscription crisis had only exacerbated matters. The plan to implement compulsory military service was suspended but never fully abandoned, providing Sinn Féin a steady cause with which to rally support.[110] The new Lord Lieutenant, Lord French, also began his administration in May with sweeping powers, including a Cabinet-approved proclamation allowing the arrest of anyone suspected of 'intriguing'.[111] The resultant 'German Plot', wherein more than 73 Sinn Féin members were deported for supposedly conspiring with Germany, 'further bruised the government's fragile credibility.'[112] Coercive measures intensified in June and July – all organisations linked to Sinn Féin were banned, assemblies and processions became illegal, and special arrest laws were applied to certain regions. Rather than destroying the movement, these measures simply drove Sinn Féin 'underground' and helped expand their influence.[113] As recognised by Patrick Maume, 'In the last months of the war … constitutional politics seemed increasingly irrelevant.'[114]

Gallagher was right to seek clear distinctions between anti-British, anti-conscription, and anti-war attitudes during this period.[115] These stances, after all, were not entirely synonymous in Australia and Canada.[116] But sentiments could – and did – bleed into each other. As Ben Novick persuasively argued, it was the conscription crisis and subsequent Sinn Féin electoral campaigns that enabled advanced nationalist propagandists to successfully 'tie together' anti-war feeling and opposition to Irish domestic policy.[117] Redmondite involvement in the 1918 conscription crisis was considered insufficient, with the IPP's prior

[110] Laffan, *Resurrection*, pp. 149-51
[111] Lyons, 'The new nationalism', p. 236.
[112] Townshend, *Republic*, p. 17. See also: Murphy, *Political Imprisonment*, ch. 5.
[113] Ward, 'Lloyd George', pp. 119-20; Lyons, 'The new nationalism', pp. 237-8.
[114] Maume, *Long Gestation*, p. 210.
[115] Gallagher, 'Irish Civil Society', esp. pp. 225-35.
[116] See: Sheftall, *Altered Memories*, ch. 4.
[117] Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*, pp. 212ff.

support for hostilities used to condemn both the Party and the war itself. Voting against Sinn Féin was construed as a vote for conscription thus constituting 'an act of murder'.[118] In circles where the war had only ever been publicly addressed with reference to military service, feelings would have probably been even more intertwined.

Such blurring occurred in Catholic schools where the conflict itself became an inappropriate topic of conversation. Clongowes alone published war-specific articles in its magazine for the entire duration of hostilities;[119] by June 1918, both Castleknock and Belvedere had adopted the exclusionary stance taken earlier by Mungret. Clongowes' exceptionalism can be attributed to its continued position as Ireland's most elite – and perhaps conservative – Catholic secondary college. Well-known alumni included those who died in action, and the school wished to acknowledge sacrifices made by Tom Kettle and John Redmond's brother William Redmond.[120] The 1918 *Clongownian* contained a book review praising works written by both men. This piece, however, still expressed resentment at current circumstances; 'War has so terribly forced itself upon us during the past four years that we are prone to seek distraction from it, and few of us are inclined still more to plunge ourselves in it by undertaking any further reading beyond the daily paper.'[121] Staff attitudes had evidently moved to indifference at best, and outright antagonism at worst.

Ambivalent feelings extended to the Armistice itself. Initial staff reactions are obscured by the fact that Catholic magazines were only published once a year during the summer. Ceasefires furthermore coincided with a global influenza pandemic, prompting the closure of schools at multiple points throughout late 1918 and early 1919.[122] Yet, once Irish colleges reopened properly, teaching religious often glossed over the cessation of hostilities.

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[118] ibid., pp. 217, 241.
[119] Similar observations have been made by Steven O'Connor. See: *Irish Officers*, p. 74.
[120] *Clongownian*, VIII/2 (1918), pp. 145-50.
[121] ibid., pp. 185-9, 186.
[122] Caitriona Foley, *The Last Irish Plague: The Great Flu Epidemic in Ireland 1918-19* (Dublin, 2011), pp. 50-1.

The religious community at Castleknock proclaimed that 'All other events in the broken school-year of 1918-19 are forgotten in the presence of the great loss we sustained in the death of our beloved President, Father Meehan.'[123] Similar comments were made at Clongowes, with Rev. Stephen Brown noting 'The only outstanding incident of the year was the influenza pandemic last October'.[124] There is undoubtedly some truth to these statements – both institutions were seriously affected by the catastrophes described. But political shifts also help explain the war's comparative marginalisation. Republican sentiments had gained further ground, culminating in Sinn Féin's sweep of 73 seats in the December 1918 general election.[125] Catholic schools now looked to a new future, one in which prior contributions to an imperial war effort merited little attention. Perceptions that the war was swiftly forgotten in Ireland have quite rightly been challenged.[126] Nevertheless, it appears that Catholic schools still preferred to distance themselves from this event in its immediate aftermath.

Protestant colleges engaged with late war events on entirely different terms. In November 1917, Headmaster Thompson declared that his "[s]chool, like all Protestant Schools in Ireland, has taken its part in the war just as much as any English public school. Although there is no conscription here, it is for our boys hardly necessary. As they reach the age for service they are nearly all only too anxious to serve.'[127] While Thompson did not explicitly endorse Irish conscription, his statement suggests that Protestant staff would be relatively unperturbed by it. Indeed, some may have even wanted it on principle. Blackburn, after all, had previously rejected Irish OTC exemptions from British military preparations as 'an unworthy privilege'.[128] Protestant magazines contain little commentary on the 1918 conscription crisis but these positions seem to have held firm; there is no evidence indicating

[123] *CC*, XXXIV (June 1919), p. 3.
[124] *Clongownian*, VIII/3 (June 1919), p. 243.
[125] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 490.
[126] Jeffery, 'Commemoration', pp. 165-85.
[127] *Erasmian*, XV/1 (1917), p. 10.
[128] 'Prize Day at St. Columba's College', *IT* (11 June 1917), p. 6.

institutional agitation. This finding is in line with current understandings of the anti-conscription movement, including its predominantly Catholic nationalist nature.[129] Carson and James Craig backed the Military Service Bill because they believed that British citizenship conferred certain rights and responsibilities that should be shared throughout the United Kingdom.[130] Analogous views were probably held by Protestant teachers with unionist affiliations.

Protestant institutions remained committed to the conflict, circulating well-established pro-war themes and expectations as late as November. RBAI alumni were proclaimed to have fought and died protecting the British Empire, and students at High School Dublin later praised for contributing almost £50 to the Red Cross appeal that same month.[131] This continued dedication to the war effort occurred elsewhere; Protestants in county Clare pursued war activities until at least the late summer in 1918. Fitzpatrick has noted that this behaviour appears almost unreal in light of wider changes which included 'mounting hostility towards the war effort, the Empire and the gentry themselves.'[132] Yet, while this support may have certainly bucked wider trends, such responses were entirely logical given Protestant distaste for nationalist developments. A humorous contribution to the July 1918 *Campbellian*, likely submitted by house master R. F. Davis, considered those who 'sing, while all Europe is blazing/ … And crave, with a faith most amazing/ A Parliament run by Sinn Fein' to have 'brains … in inverse proportion/To the volume of sound they make'.[133] Irish Protestants were aware that they faced potential disaster in the form of

[129] Conor Morrissey has found that Protestants were involved in protest activities, but they were few in number and mostly nationalist in affiliation. See: Morrissey, 'Protestant Nationalists', pp. 55-72.
[130] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, pp. 221-2.
[131] *SN*, 29/90 (1918), p. 17; *Erasmian*, XVI/2 (Mar. 1919), p. 35.
[132] David Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life, 1913-1921: Provincial Experiences of War and Revolution* (Dublin, 1977; repr. Cork, 1998), p. 56.
[133] *Campbellian*, 5/6 (July 1918), pp. 119-20.

political separation from Britain. In such a situation, they would need allies willing to endorse their position.

Assertions of loyalty extended into the post-war world. Despite also being affected by the 1918 influenza pandemic, Protestant schools still recognised the Armistice where possible. St Columba's, for example, granted a half-holiday to its students even while Belvedere did not.[134] War memorial plans were also implemented later on to 'tell those who came after what the men of their generation had suffered and done for God and country, not only to save the Empire, but the world.'[135] Protestant colleges throughout the country drew on the conflict and alumni service to orient themselves towards a particular vision. The Bishop of Meath, who spoke at High School Dublin in February 1919, noted that the boys 'had a noble example to follow' before decrying Sinn Féin and its titular belief in 'Ourselves alone'. Receiving cheers from the crowd, he asserted that 'I do not think it is in the heart of the nation to follow such a low and contemptible motto. We cannot stand alone, and if proof of that were needed it would be found in the late war.'[136] Unfortunately for those institutions south of Ulster, such a future did not eventuate.

This research affirms previous work by Foster and others, arguing that Irish politics helped determine Irish reactions to late-war events. Elite secondary schools faced common structural challenges throughout 1917 and 1918 but interest in the conflict diverged greatly. Cultural remobilisation rested on the voluntary efforts and cooperation of local actors, with different levels of involvement being linked to variations in war activity in Britain.[137] The government's preference for coercive, as opposed to persuasive, measures in Ireland seems to have alienated key Catholic authorities.[138] Initial mobilisation in elite Catholic schools

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[134] *Columban*, XXXIX/3 (Dec. 1918), p. 2; *Belvederian*, V/2 (Summer 1919), p. 37.
[135] 'Portora Royal School', *IT* (24 July 1919), p. 6. See also: 'Wesley College, Dublin', *IT* (21 Dec. 1918), p. 5; 'Campbell College, Belfast', *IT* (17 July 1919), p. 6; *Columban*, XXXIX/3 (1918), p. 5.
[136] 'The High School, Dublin', *IT* (8 Feb. 1919), p. 5.
[137] Gregory, *Last Great War*, p. 224ff
[138] For more on the interplay between state coercion and persuasion, see: Horne, 'Introduction', pp. 1-17.

had been conditional at best, the war having only ever been construed as an 'important' event which provided valuable military opportunities for alumni. Later nationalist shifts made it impossible to reinvigorate support up to this limited level – teaching religious were no longer interested in recognising an event aligned with a discredited position. Protestant schools, by contrast, clung to alternative visions of statehood. Unionist preferences buttressed activities seen to favour a United Kingdom, with war experiences further strengthening Ulster unionist identity.[139] Some historians have argued that southern Unionism was 'already dead by 1919', at least in an institutional sense.[140] Yet, declining political fortunes aside, it appears that pro-British leanings still underpinned commitment to the war in southern Protestant circles even after hostilities had ended.

New Zealand

War weariness

New Zealand also endured war-related pressures in 1917 and 1918. Casualty lists seemed to have no end in sight; in late October 1918, parliamentarians still expected the war to continue until early 1919 at least.[141] Manpower concerns led to the establishment of the National Efficiency Board in early 1917 to consider how the war effort could be best organised.[142] Profits increased in some sectors, especially the farming and woollen industries, but economic outcomes were not always positive.[143] The cost of living grew by 39.35 percent between July 1914 and July 1918, and food prices rose approximately 40 percent.[144] National difficulties mirror those identified as having sparked weariness and

[139] McGaughey, *Ulster's Men*, ch. 4.
[140] Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998*, p. 233.
[141] Baker, *King and Country*, p. 137.
[142] ibid., pp. 138-42; John E. Martin, 'Blueprint for the Future? 'National Efficiency' and the First World War', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War*, pp. 516-33.
[143] Steven Loveridge and James Watson, 'Economic Mobilisation: New Zealand Businesses and the Great War', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, pp. 159-74.
[144] Parsons, 'Debating the War', p. 564; Loveridge, 'Introduction', p. 29.

heightened anti-war sentiment in Europe, although New Zealand never experienced resource constraints anything like those suffered in Germany.[145] Indeed, as one historian has remarked, 'If hearts and minds are linked to stomachs then here is one basis of resilience.'[146] Nevertheless, perceptions that sacrifice was unequally distributed within New Zealand itself could prove just as powerful in shaping home-front dynamics.

Research on late-war attitudes, while sparse, suggests that several shifts occurred. Ian McGibbon identified a 'distinct sense of war-weariness' as having emerged by 1917, attributing this to increased fatalities and food prices without discernible overseas progress.[147] These emotional and financial costs had political implications. Diminished spending power drove urban workers towards the Labour Party, established in 1916.[148] Continued British demands for more troops raised hackles amongst parliamentarians and the public at large who thought that New Zealand was being 'bled to death' and had already done its fair share.[149] Paul Baker and others have also highlighted the role played by conscription in fuelling outright dissent amongst Irish New Zealanders, socialists, pacifists, select Māori tribes, and religious minorities. While most military objectors expressed their dissatisfaction by evading the call up, some agitators challenged authorities directly.[150] Government fear of 'overt' discontent, such as industrial unrest backed by militant labour, resulted in coercive measures being deployed 'with an increasingly heavy hand'.[151] Censorship restrictions tightened from 1916 and, although the War Regulations Act had been

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[145] Mary Cox, 'Hunger games: or how the Allied blockade in the First World War deprived German children of nutrition, and Allied food aid subsequently saved them', *Economic History Review*, 68/2 (2015), pp. 600-31.
[146] Loveridge, 'Introduction', p. 29.
[147] McGibbon, 'First World War', p. 174.
[148] Olssen, 'Waging War', p. 312.
[149] John Crawford, ''New Zealand is Being Bled to Death': The Formation, Operations and Disbandment of the Fourth Brigade', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War*, pp. 250-65; John Crawford, ''The Willing Horse is Being Worked to Death': New Zealand's Manpower Problems and Policies during 1917', in Douglas E. Delaney and Nikolas Gardner (eds), *Turning Point 1917: The British Empire at War* (Vancouver, 2017), pp. 114-38.
[150] Baker, *King and Country*, chs. 6-7; Hunter and Ross, *Holding on*, ch. 6; Brosnahan, ''Shaming''.
[151] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 101.

in place since 1914, definitions of seditious behaviour steadily expanded.[152] By war's end, approximately 100 military objectors had been forced to the front and another 273 imprisoned. 287 men had been charged for seditious or disloyal actions, with 208 convicted and 71 imprisoned.[153]

The scale and import of these shifts has attracted debate. Gwen Parsons recently argued that there was 'significantly more ambivalence among the civilian population than has generally been suggested.'[154] Pro-war talk dominated public discourse, but this possibly reflected elite endorsement of these messages and censorship restrictions more than actual opinion.[155] Historical commentator Stevan Eldred-Grigg has taken this notion even further – the home front apparently became an undemocratic space where 'governing groups shackled its citizens with new bonds while trying to hammer an imaginary enemy'.[156] Parson's observation that New Zealand history books disproportionately emphasise wartime patriotism and dedication holds some truth; most academics recognise instances of dissent but still claim that the war was largely supported. Such interpretations, however, are not without substance. Agitators were few in number and, although war weariness did exist, it was 'no more marked than in Britain and less so than in many Allied states.'[157] This state of affairs has often been attributed to socio-cultural factors, with James Belich having pointed towards understandings of appropriate behaviour linked to imperialism, patriotism, and militarism.[158] According to Steven Loveridge, 'sentimental equipment' including notions of 'Greater Britishness' and equal sacrifice facilitated civilian commitment throughout.[159] The

[152] John Anderson, 'Military Censorship in World War I: Its Use and Abuse in New Zealand' (MA thesis, Victoria University College, Wellington, 1952), p. 9; Hill, 'State Servants', p. 106.
[153] Baker, *King and Country*, pp. 167, 191, 201.
[154] Parsons, 'Challenging Enduring', pp. 68-72, 71.
[155] idem, 'Debating the War', pp. 550-68.
[156] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI* (Auckland, 2010), p. 458.
[157] Roberto Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars', in Byrnes (ed), *New Oxford History*, p. 253.
[158] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 99-112.
[159] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*.

following section explores these arguments, examining elite school engagement with war-related discontent with reference to its wider context and assumed causes.

New Zealand schools faced new challenges by 1918. Price increases and the rising cost of living had resulted in staff applications for war bonuses at Wellington College and Wanganui Collegiate.[160] At Wanganui, salary changes were likely offset through concurrent increases in boarding and day-boy fees, but such balancing acts were less possible elsewhere;[161] most elite schools were subject to the free place system funded by the government with private fee-paying students constituting only a fraction of attendees.[162] Fortunately for Wellington College, state school teachers received a war bonus from the state from 1916.[163] Superfluous expenses were nevertheless avoided, with extracurricular activities modified in light of wartime costs; junior cricketers at Otago Boys' missed their annual match with Southland Boys' because 'Travelling expenses are so heavy now'.[164] On the whole, however, cutbacks were relatively trivial, especially when compared to the financial difficulties faced by poorer families who found themselves applying to aid organisations like the Otago Soldiers' and Dependants' Welfare Committee.[165]

Building constraints proved more problematic. In light of material and labour shortages, the Government had 'urgently requested all public bodies to postpone all schemes for buildings, etc., except in cases of imperative necessity.'[166] While Otago Boys' and other elite institutions accepted this request, the result was not always satisfactory. Magazine editors noted overcrowding issues, with Timaru Boys' resorting to the use of tents to handle

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[160] Beasley, *Light Accepted*, p. 74.
[161] Hamilton and Hamilton, *Never a Footstep*, pp. 193-4.
[162] At Wellington College in 1917, for example, 61 students were fee-paying and 426 students were free place. See: Beasley, *Light Accepted*, p. 76.
[163] *AJHR* (1917), E-01, Education: Fortieth Annual Report of the Minister of Education, p. 5.
[164] *OHSM*, XXXIV/1 (Apr. 1918), p. 38.
[165] Melanie Nolan, ''Keeping New Zealand Home Fires Burning': Gender, Welfare and the First World War', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, pp. 504-13.
[166] *OHSM*, XXXIV/1 (1918), p. 57

increased boarder numbers.[167] Space limitations were exacerbated by factors less directly tied to war conditions; while excessive building costs meant that 'every available nook and corner of most schools had to be utilized' for classroom space and accommodation, the Annual Report of the Inspectors of Secondary Schools also recognised the role played by 'the progressively liberal policy of the [Education] Department in the award of free places'.[168] Once hostilities had concluded, headmasters deployed such information to their own ends. At Auckland Grammar's 1919 prizegiving, Mr. Tibbs recommended that the free place requirements be revised to prevent 'the sending there of boys who should not be sent', including those better suited to trade as opposed to further study.[169] In New Zealand and Ireland alike, wartime pressures intersected with longstanding gripes with the government.

Additional threats to institutional autonomy were not appreciated. As recognised elsewhere, 'the entire education system was to be harnessed to the will of the state during the war years', with Minister of Education J. A. Hanan continuing to pursue centralised post-primary curricula and examination reforms.[170] Headmasters such as H. Fowler paid close attention to these developments, deducing that changes to entry requirements for technical and secondary education were indicative of a broader intent to 'differentiate clearly between the two types of school.'[171] While Fowler merely pointed towards differences of opinion on these matters, other principals were less circumspect. Senior free places could no longer be awarded on headmaster recommendation alone, a restriction Morrell condemned as 'retrograde' and 'ill-timed'.[172] Blanch was also wary of the control wrought through examination decisions, suggesting the establishment of an examination board on which

[167] *BHSM*, 58 (May 1918), p. 2; *Timaruvian*, XIII/1 (Dec. 1918), pp. 39-40.
[168] *AJHR* (1919), E-06, Education: Secondary Education, p. 12.
[169] 'Grammar School Break-Up', *Auckland Star* (19 Dec. 1919), p. 3.
[170] Openshaw, ''We could surely'', p. 84ff. See also: Openshaw, Lee, and Lee, *Challenging the Myths*, ch. 8; Cumming and Cumming, *History of State Education*, ch. 9.
[171] *Nelsonian*, XXXII/3 (Dec. 1916), p. 234.
[172] 'Boys' High School', *Otago Daily Times* (14 Dec. 1916), p. 6.

schoolmasters would serve.[173] Elite headmasters remained suspicious of Departmental efforts to undercut their ability to determine who was allowed entry into their schools, and the subjects they taught.

Capacity issues aside, headmasters opposed older students leaving school prematurely. Adolescents pursued increased working opportunities relatively early in the war and this pattern consolidated over time.[174] Some schools sought to stem the tide by appealing to parents. At a public prizegiving event, Archbishop O'Shea expressed hope that Catholic families would not 'yield to that temptation' and withdraw boys from St. Patrick's in pursuit of high wages.[175] Longer-term consequences were used to justify these pleas. According to O'Shea and other authorities, fully-educated youth would help New Zealanders to 'hold their place in the world' and successfully confront post-war problems.[176] The conflict was identified as a temporary state of being, with elite institutions reluctant to promote any course of action that could threaten alumni success in the future. Further curtailments of secondary training were resisted, even those developed with an eye to winning the war. Morrell, for example, protested against the government's proposal to conscript eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds at a reunion event in October 1917. His stance received unanimous support from the Old Boys' Association.[177]

Manpower demands drained staff as well. Teachers continued to volunteer for military service, resulting in multiple temporary contracts. Wanganui Collegiate was forced to make twenty-three appointments between 1914 and 1919, just over half of whom stayed for a year or less. These included 'two gentlemen of seventy, or nearly seventy' who joined in early 1916 'to enable younger masters to go to the Front.'[178] One had to resign shortly

[173] 'Christ's College', *Press* (2 Mar. 1917), p. 8.
[174] *OHSM*, XXXIV/1 (1918), p. 4.
[175] 'Our Schools', *New Zealand Tablet* (17 Jan. 1918), p. 47.
[176] ibid.; *BHSM*, 58 (1918), p. 35.
[177] *OHSM*, XXXIII/2 (Oct. 1917), p. 136.
[178] Hamilton and Hamilton, *Never a Footstep*, p. 192; *WC*, 100 (1916), p. 13.

thereafter due to poor health.[179] Conscription intensified matters, threatening to remove headmasters themselves in some cases. W. Thomas was called up in the ballot and passed as fit to serve. Luckily for the Timaru Boys' High School Board, his exemption plea was supported both by the Director of Education and the Efficiency Board.[180] Not all staff members were quite so lucky, prompting Archbishop O'Shea to criticise Military Service Boards for 'showing the most frivolous lack of a sense of the responsibilities of their position'.[181] Catholic schools were also affected by teacher conscription, especially those reliant on non-religious teaching staff. By 1917, total teacher numbers at Sacred Heart had declined.[182]

Constant staff changes proved unsettling despite historiographical claims that 'educational disruption was minimal'.[183] In early 1918, G. E. Blanch acknowledged that 'The numerous and frequent changes on the staff which were due to the enlistment of its members have inevitably disturbed the work of the College'.[184] Necessity demanded that Protestant headmasters consider non-traditional candidates, and schools like Christchurch Boys' employed female teachers for the first time from 1917.[185] Despite being the most pragmatic choice considering wartime constraints, their presence upset the gendered milieu of elite boys' education. As Peter M. Lewis has argued with reference to the mid-twentieth century, these institutions 'construct[ed] a system in which masculinity is defined by the absence of the feminine.'[186] The notion that women would be allowed an active role in training future male leaders was entirely foreign, as demonstrated by the incredulous

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[179] *WC*, 103 (Apr. 1917), p. 4.
[180] 'Boys' High School', *Timaru Herald* (1 Dec. 1917), p. 2.
[181] 'Our Schools', *New Zealand Tablet* (17 Jan. 1918), p. 47.
[182] ibid.
[183] Graham, 'Young New Zealanders', p. 437.
[184] 'Christ's College', *Press* (22 Feb. 1918), p. 5.
[185] *BHSM*, 56 (1917), pp. 2-3.
[186] Peter M. Lewis, 'Mummy, Matron and the Maids: Feminine presence and absence in male institutions, 1934-63', in Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991), p. 168.

responses this proposal first garnered amongst Otago Boys' alumni at the end of 1916.[187] Overall, elite secondary schools were far from unaffected by late-war pressures and state interventions. As in Ireland, however, these disruptions did not necessarily undercut extant loyalties and affiliations.

Remobilisation on the Home Front

While several historians have explored New Zealand's commitment to hostilities between 1914 and 1918, more fine-grained analyses are needed. Mobilisation processes are generally depicted as succeeding throughout, overall support being maintained by a confluence of explanatory discourses and state and communal efforts.[188] Little is known about how these changed over time with chronological shifts – such as those linked to Horne's concept of 'remobilisation' – seldom considered. Richard Hill's investigation of the New Zealand Police Force (NZPF) represents a partial exception to this trend. While coercive mechanisms were increasingly used against active resisters, the NZPF continued to deploy longstanding 'consent-based methods' when interacting with most civilians.[189] The result appears to have been extremely effective as counter-mobilisation movements lost momentum from 1917. Hill considered the NZPF to be key contributors to concurrent remobilisation campaigns; police were 'allocated prominent roles of persuasion' by the state to help combat diminished war enthusiasm.[190] These developments parallel French and British initiatives, with propaganda efforts expanded here too. According to Gregory Hynes, 'the New Zealand government gradually took more active control of official propaganda, and developed more extensive and professional approaches' from 1916 onwards.[191] It is

[187] *OHSM*, XXXIII/2 (1917), p. 85.
[188] Loveridge, 'Introduction', pp. 20-30.
[189] Hill, 'State Servants', p. 95.
[190] ibid., p. 108.
[191] Hynes, 'Propaganda', p. 107.

entirely possible that other institutions followed suit, escalating their efforts to ensure wider engagement with the war in 1917 and 1918.

Staff contributions to late-war mobilisation were by no means guaranteed. While primary school authorities contributed to French propaganda campaigns spearheaded by the Union des Grandes Associations contre la Propagande Ennemie, war content in school lessons tapered off from 1916.[192] Variation also occurred within educational systems themselves; in Germany, late war mobilisation was more successful in secondary than elementary schools.'[193] Research on the Antipodes, by contrast, indicates that younger schoolchildren were subjected to a flurry of patriotic messages during this period. Historians working on the *School Paper*, published by the education department of Victoria, Australia, have calculated that war content for the last three years of war was, at minimum, 75 percent.[194] Author Maxwell Waugh has even asserted that there was an increase up to 'a virtual 100 percent' in 1918 as the Australian government sought to solidify civilian commitment following the Spring Offensives.[195] Parallel shifts occurred in New Zealand magazines directed at primary students. The *School Journal* became 'ever more poignant and urgent' from 1916, with significant emphasis on the 'imperatives of sacrifice, duty, conformity and … imperial unity'.[196] The extent to which similar rhetoric permeated elite secondary colleges is considered below.

Secondary teachers at Catholic and Protestant schools addressed the war throughout 1917 and 1918. One-off presentations given by returned soldiers stood alongside regular assembly talks, with further media forms used to capture student attention; cinematograph pictures shown at St. Patricks in 1917 included 'The Great War' and 'The Battle Before

[192] Horne, 'Remobilizing', pp. 195-211; Audoin-Rouzeau, 'Children', pp. 48-50; Goebel, 'Schools', p. 205.
[193] Donson, *Youth*, p. 190ff.
[194] Triolo, *Our Schools*, p. 6.
[195] Maxwell N. Waugh, *Soldier Boys: The Militarisation of Australian and New Zealand Schools for World War I* (Melbourne, 2014), p. 150
[196] Openshaw, ''We could surely'', p. 81.

Antwerp', and pupils at King's College were granted an afternoon off that same year to see 'The Battle of the Ancre' at the Auckland Town Hall.[197] Increased reliance on films reflected broader consumer trends, with picture shows a popular way of presenting war-related material in New Zealand as well as Britain.[198] Other methods of engaging with the conflict also solidified in this period. Anzac Day had now become a regular event in the school calendar, commemorated through military processions and memorial services.[199]

Commemorative events and staff speeches, however, were more than basic informative exercises. The Hon. G. J. Garland, guest speaker at Auckland Grammar's 1918 Anzac Day service, used the Union Jack to reiterate the connections between New Zealand, Britain, and an honourable war effort; 'the white stands for truth and honour, the blue for liberty, and the red for the blood of our heroes.'[200] Elite educators continued to emphasise the importance of imperial ideals and connections, themes similarly deployed in official propaganda.[201] Unwavering support for the war proved Antipodean devotion to 'British' values such as liberty and justice. It could also have future political benefits, further discussed in chapter six. Belich has argued that New Zealand politicians sought to strengthen relationships with Britain and 'create a special moral debt in British minds' through extensive demonstrations of loyalty.[202] Such views were alluded to at prizegiving events, with Lord Liverpool stating he believed that the war would 'help to bring about a closer union of the Empire' at Wanganui Collegiate.[203] To turn away from the conflict before it was won, therefore, would not only betray shared values, but also discredit New Zealand on

[197] *BW*, VIII/2 (1917), p. 98; *KC*, XVI/2 (1917), p. 18.
[198] Hunter and Ross, *Holding on*, pp. 110-11, 114-15.
[199] See, for example: *SHC*, VII/13 (1918), p. 40; 'Wellington College', *Evening Post* (25 Apr. 1918), p. 8.
[200] *AGSC*, VI/1 (Second Term 1918), p. 68.
[201] See: Hynes, 'Propaganda', pp. 24-58.
[202] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 111.
[203] *WC*, 106 (Apr. 1918), p. 4.

the international stage, undercutting any possibility of the country having a prominent role in future imperial decision-making.

Victory also needed to be pursued because of sacrifices already made. Monger identified intertwined notions of sacrifice and duty as being at the core of NWAC propaganda; civilians were honour-bound to support the war effort not only to protect national values but also because soldiers had done so much more on their behalf.[204] These ideas were well established in the New Zealand context, underpinning a home-front culture of sacrifice.[205] Over time, however, the religious and communal import attributed to combatant losses strengthened even more. Beaven-Brown revisited themes of crucifixion following the Spring Offensives to encourage his audience onward:

> He had never known a darker Easter than the one just past … Once more to save the world there was a crucifixion, but he felt sure there would be a resurrection. In a few short years we should be rejoicing with those who had suffered and died in a world they had helped make better by their suffering.[206]

Catholic and Protestant authorities spelled out the reciprocal obligations such sacrifices entailed. Eligible men were asked to 'join the ranks of the unselfish, [and] take up their standard', with all others expected to back military efforts the best they could.[207]

Expressions of 'self-sacrificial patriotism', to use Monger's term, became increasingly important. Historians have recognised the emergence of 'inappropriate' wartime behaviour; perceptions that some civilians benefited while others suffered gave rise to accusations of war profiteering, and not all approved of pleasurable entertainments while men were dying overseas.[208] Elite colleges endorsed calls for a more serious commitment as hostilities dragged on. Although headmasters were reluctant to permanently lose their students to the workforce, many supported temporary employment measures. The National

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[204] Monger, *Patriotism*, ch. 7.
[205] Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, ch. 6.
[206] *BHSM*, 58 (1918), p. 34.
[207] *BW*, VIII/2 (1917), p. 95.
[208] Hucker, 'Rural Home Front', pp. 209-40; Parsons, 'Debating the War', pp. 563-5; Loveridge and Watson, 'Economic Mobilisation', pp. 166-8.

Efficiency Board proposed that boys be sent to work on farms during the summer with school vacations altered accordingly. Multiple schools took up this suggestion, including Christchurch Boys' and Wellington College.[209] Secondary teachers appeared determined to intensify school contributions to the war effort wherever possible.

Late-war commitment is perhaps most evident through military training provisions. While elite schools had long offered military activities and camps for Senior Cadets, additional measures were implemented to ensure that pupils would be fully prepared if they were required to serve overseas. Intensive 'Barracks' camps became very popular from 1917, being held at establishments like Nelson College up to two times before hostilities ended.[210] The Defence Forces believed that this training helped create future officers, drawing parallels with OTC exercises in England.[211] Despite claims that 'No attempt is being made to restrict them to the big or wealthy schools', most wartime Barracks were held at these kinds of establishments, a state of affairs partially explained by the fact that schools themselves carried the cost.[212] Elite Catholic institutions also pursued this opportunity, with the country's third Barracks held at St. Patrick's College and Sacred Heart requesting one in 1917.[213] This interest demonstrates a sharply different stance on military training to their Irish counterparts. Whereas British war endeavours had become intertwined with concerns about Home Rule and conscription in Ireland, such qualms were not applied to New Zealand's Defence Forces.

Seditious views and activities received short shrift at Protestant establishments. Lord Liverpool, for example, stressed the importance of censorship in a February 1918 address at Christ's College.[214] As Hill and others have argued, social control mechanisms proved

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[209] *BHSM*, 56 (1917), p. 46; Beasley, *Light Accepted*, p. 76; *Waitakian*, XIII/1 (Apr. 1918), p. 33.
[210] *Nelsonian*, XXXIII/2 (1917), pp. 134-6; *Nelsonian*, XXXIV/2 (Dec. 1918), pp. 151-3.
[211] *AJHR* (1918), H-19, Defence Forces of New Zealand, pp. 5-6.
[212] *AJHR* (1919), H-19, Defence Forces of New Zealand, p. 5.
[213] *BW*, VIII/2 (1917), pp. 99-102; *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 81.
[214] 'Christ's College', *Star* (22 Feb. 1918), p. 3.

particularly effective because they were sanctioned by most of the population.[215] Yet, while popular endorsement of wartime regulations was a bottom-up as well as top-down phenomenon, support was likely to be especially strong at elite institutions. As in Britain, 'the fiercest and most intolerant patriots' of 1917 and 1918 tended to be members of the middle class who 'were now feeling the pinch'.[216] School allegiances were clear. One pupil at Christchurch Boys' joked that that his form probably should have a 'bad name' because it included 'a supporter of the I.W.W. [Industrial Workers of the World], several anti-militarists, a prominent athiest [sic], and the Senior Monitor.' While students were encouraged to consider non-conformist opinion in their debates, they were aware that actually holding such views made one a 'suspicious character'.[217] Rather than causing weariness or disillusionment with the war, practical and ideological pressures bolstered institutional resolve.

Elite Catholic colleges also promulgated pro-war views in the face of wider tensions. While some magazine contributors did express frustration with the conflict's 'appalling carnage', implicitly criticising 'warring nations' for not listening to Papal calls for peace, the reasons why New Zealanders continued to fight remained above question.[218] Old boys at Sacred Heart were proclaimed as having 'fought and died [so] that Right should overcome Might', with soldier alumni similarly exalted at St. Patrick's College for responding to their 'country's call'.[219] Staff members may have kept an eye on Irish political developments, but these were rarely brought to bear on immediate circumstances. The 1918 issue of the *BW*, curated by new editor Rev. J. J. Cullen, avoided mentioning the 1918 conscription crisis and the subsequent 'German plot' entirely despite both events prompting outrage in clerical

[215] Hill, 'State Servants', p. 109; Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*.
[216] Gregory, *Last Great War*, ch. 7, esp. pp. 232, 245.
[217] *BHSM*, 57 (Nov. 1917), p. 26.
[218] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 17.
[219] *SHC*, VII/13 (1918), p. 18; *BW*, VIII/2 (1917), p. 5.

circles.[220] Even those who favoured Sinn Féin over constitutional nationalism did not necessarily see this position as incompatible with New Zealand involvement in the conflict. Indeed, America's entry into hostilities and President Wilson's insistence on the importance of self-determination meant that Allied victory was assumed to only be beneficial for Ireland; the *Tablet*, for example, eagerly looked forward to eventual peace negotiations where 'Ireland's case must be heard.'[221]

Elite Catholic endorsement of the war effort throughout 1917 and 1918 is perhaps unsurprising. Sacred Heart and St. Patrick's, after all, had both firmly backed hostilities from the outset. Nevertheless, this finding does challenge extant understandings regarding New Zealand Catholic relationships with late-war dissent. Several historians have suggested that Irish nationalist developments stimulated support for activities that defied the state. While acknowledging that advanced nationalists with ties to the Maoriland Irish Society and the IRB were few in number, Séan Brosnahan pointed towards a wider Catholic network willing to help men who had absconded from military service.[222] Leaders of the Labour movement also 'wooed' the Irish left, to use Richard. P. Davis' term, capitalising on resentment about how Britain had treated Ireland and other Catholic frustrations to attract voters.[223] Labour representatives were well known for their broad anti-conscription stance, deploying socialist rhetoric, Christian pacifism, and discourses of liberty and equality to denounce how the war was being waged.[224] From 1918 onwards, Sinn Féin and the Labour Party were increasingly accepted by New Zealand clerical authorities.[225]

Catholic approval for radical movements, however, was not absolute. Bishop Cleary continued to decry the militant position taken by Dr. Kelly in the *Tablet*, setting up a rival

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[220] *BW*, IX/1 (1918).
[221] 'Ireland's Demands', *New Zealand Tablet* (29 Aug. 1918), p. 25.
[222] Brosnahan, ''Shaming'', pp. 126-7.
[223] Davis, *Irish Issues*, pp. 187-205.
[224] Parsons, 'Debating the War', pp. 561-6.
[225] Patterson, ''We stand'', p. 383, n. 114; Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', pp. 180-1.

magazine titled *The Month* in early 1918 'as a platform from which to express Catholic commitment to the Empire.'[226] As signalled in chapter four, class differences also played a role in mediating local political affiliations. While some 'bourgeois leaders' in Dunedin's Catholic community chose to move their allegiances from the Liberal Party to Labour alongside working-class families, not all did so; Bernard Cadogan has pointed towards the continued existence of 'Liberal bourgeoisie' whose views diverged from Kelly.[227] The relationships between Irish connections, political dissent, and wartime opinion were evidently far from clear cut.

Across the board, renowned New Zealand establishments continued to express faith in the higher ideals and 'sentimental equipment' which fuelled mobilisation from the very beginning. Yet, deeper convictions aside, it is important to note that prestigious schools also backed hostilities throughout because they saw this as being in their best interest. Headmasters were aware that the government intended further educational reforms, and they sought to make a favourable impression. J. Drummond, teacher at Auckland Grammar and later headmaster, recognised that 'the cry was now 'new educational lamps for old ones'', but nonetheless asserted the 'virtue of the old lamps' which produced all-rounders who were both well-learnt and able-bodied.[228] Bevan-Brown and others defended their institutions by pointing towards alumni contributions to the military.[229] Institutional production of much-needed officer material was seen as deserving wider appreciation and respect. Catholic schools also appear to have anticipated official recognition of their wartime contributions, if not direct financial benefits. Indeed, the later removal of limited state scholarship privileges

[226] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', p. 184.
[227] Cadogan, 'Lace Curtain Catholics', pp. 2-3, 66-75, 72.
[228] *AGSC*, VI/2 (Third Term, 1918), p. 64.
[229] *BHSM*, 58 (1918), p. 34.

for Catholic colleges met with outrage at St. Patrick's where it was considered a betrayal of 'an old school … that had done its duty in peace and in war.'[230]

Military ceasefires prompted strong institutional reactions. Multiple elite schools recognised the surrender of Bulgaria in the days following 29 September 1918, including Otago Boys' where the Rector discussed its importance at a special assembly on 1 October before announcing a half-holiday.[231] Subsequent enemy capitulations also met with acknowledgement and spontaneous celebrations, mirroring public expressions of enthusiasm in the Taranaki region after official news was received of the capitulation of Turkey on 1 November and Austria-Hungary on 4 November.[232] School magazines suggest a somewhat agitated atmosphere in following days. Expectations surrounding an imminent German surrender continued to build, demonstrated by the 'tremendous excitement' which seized those at Nelson College on 8 November after receiving inaccurate reports that this had happened.[233] It appears that at least some teachers found the Armistice's official declaration on 12 November cathartic. Headmaster Firth of Wellington College, for example, was observed by a fellow staff member as having cried 'unashamedly'.[234] Mixed emotions were not uncommon, especially among the bereaved and those still waiting to hear about the fate of loved ones.[235]

Staff ability to fully engage with the cessation of hostilities was compromised by the 1918-1919 influenza pandemic. New Zealand experienced a second wave of the virus from mid-to-late October with the peak of mortality for the country as a whole occurring on 23

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[230] 'St. Patrick's College', *New Zealand Times* (9 Dec. 1920), p. 3.
[231] *OHSM*, XXXIV/2 (Nov. 1918), p. 86.
[232] ibid.; Graham Hucker, 'The Armistice: Responses, Understandings and Meanings for a Rural Region', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War*, p. 570ff. See also: *WC*, 108 (Dec. 1918), p. 10; *Wellingtonian*, XXVII/2 (Dec. 1918), pp. 13-14; *Register*, XCIX (Dec. 1918), p. 108.
[233] *Nelsonian*, XXXIV/2 (1918), p. 135.
[234] Elliott, *Firth*, p. 173.
[235] See: Hucker, 'Rural Home Front', pp. 273-6.

November.[236] State officials took steps to contain sickness; schools in the Auckland Education Board's district, including King's College and Auckland Grammar, were closed on 7 November by order of 'the Health Authorities'.[237] Christchurch- and Wellington-based establishments followed suit after facing parallel restrictions on 11 November, with temporary hospitals set up at Wellington College and St. Patricks.[238] The Armistice, however, was still commemorated where possible. Boarders at King's College, who had remained behind to stay in isolation, watched a Union Jack 'hoisted to the top of our largest Norfolk Island pine'.[239] Staff and students at Otago Boys' participated in Dunedin's festivities before being dismissed the following day.[240] This promotion of peace revelries despite the risk of possible infection reflected a wider trend; according to Graham Hucker, such seemingly irrational behaviour can be explained not only by 'the desire to mark the ending of hostilities' but also by 'a lack of public understanding about the epidemic and the anti-flu measures instituted by the authorities.'[241]

Institutional investment in the war endured well beyond 1918. Whereas some Irish authorities avoided the Armistice by focussing on the influenza pandemic and other interceding events, such responses were less possible in an environment overshadowed by '18,000 Kiwi Christs'.[242] Once schools reopened in early 1919, headmasters addressed the conflict's aftermath in multiple ways. Bevan-Brown expressed faith in the Paris Peace Conference on Anzac Day in 1919, endorsing a future where alumni sacrifices had continued impact and meaning.[243] Here and elsewhere, formal speeches reiterated the need to remember the dead, asserting that current students could maintain their legacy by 'emulating

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[236] Geoffrey Rice, *Black November: The 1918 influenza pandemic in New Zealand*, 2nd edn (Christchurch, 2005), pp. 193, 198.
[237] ibid., p. 75; *KC*, XVII/3 (Dec. 1918), p. 19.
[238] *Register*, XCIX (1918), p. 108; *Wellingtonian*, XXVII/2 (1918), pp. 12-13; *BW*, IX/1 (1918), pp. 64-7.
[239] *KC*, XVII/3 (1918), p. 20.
[240] *OHSM*, XXXV/1 (May 1919), p. 9.
[241] Hucker, 'Armistice' p. 579.
[242] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 116ff.
[243] *BHSM*, 60 (May 1919), p. 51.

their example and upholding their traditions.'[244] Verbal expectations were substantiated through memorialisation activities. Sacred Heart College, for example, unveiled a framed roll of honour in September 1919. Adolescent attendees were encouraged to 'carry aloft the banner of lofty principles', with the Very Rev. Dean Cahill noting that this memorial proved Catholic New Zealanders had done their part.[245] Elite headmasters of both denominational faiths continued to see school contributions to the war as ultimate evidence of patriotic loyalty, publicising this information accordingly.

Concluding Comments

Elite Irish and New Zealand colleges were subject to intensified pressures during the late-war period. Prior work has indicated that changes in local economies and labour markets compounded further, testing the resilience of home front populations. By and large, prestigious institutions evaded the financial strain suffered by less wealthy contemporaries. Plans for expansion may have been delayed and cutbacks made in terms of extracurricular events, but essential maintenance was not compromised. Wider manpower shortages proved more difficult to manage with day-to-day functioning threatened by military enlistment practices and their flow-on effects. Wage demands had to be taken seriously in order for high-quality staff to be maintained in Ireland, with Protestant schools in New Zealand forced to employ female teachers for the first time. In both countries, late-war developments also tapped into longstanding concerns relating 'appropriate' levels of state funding and interference.

Common practical challenges aside, not all institutions construed wartime circumstances in the same way. Historiographical conceptions of 'war weariness' and 'remobilization' help elucidate how teacher views on the conflict evolved alongside, and

[244] *Register*, C (Apr. 1919), p. 161.
[245] *SHC*, VII/14 (Dec. 1919), pp. 73-4, 74.

reacted to, wider social trends. Themes of resentment and dissent came to the fore in nationalist Ireland with several Catholic schools choosing to condone anti-state activity by opposing conscription. Despite an apparent rise in pro-war propaganda in Ireland more generally, discussions of the war were marginalised from Catholic publications. Prior institutional support – limited to the recognition of old boy contributions – was not strong enough to withstand the fall of constitutional nationalism. Protestant establishments, by contrast, repudiated nationalist trends and the concomitant rise of anti-war sentiment. Having created a clear interpretive framework for the war shortly after its outbreak, colleges in Ulster and Dublin reactivated these messages in the face of broader disengagement. Those serving in the British Forces continued to be idolised, with additional military training encouraged at school. Ireland's political tides may have been turning, but headmasters still clung to activities seen to support continued union with Britain.

Elite New Zealand establishments engaged with hostilities more uniformly. Catholic and Protestant teachers stressed the importance of supporting the conflict until its rightful conclusion, circulating discourses glorifying self-sacrifice, patriotism, and duty. These interpretations had held steady from the outset and there was little incentive to turn away from them in 1918. Social commitment had been reinforced, rather than weakened, by mass fatalities with non-conformist behaviour less accepted there than in Catholic Ireland; coercive measures, after all, were endorsed by most of the New Zealand population. Local political developments were underfoot – namely the rise of Labour – but the coalition government was not critically threatened. There had been no event equivalent to the Irish conscription crisis which drew together multiple issues and transformed how they were understood in the process. Catholic authorities continued to distinguish between government policies used to wage war and the war itself, identifying the conscription of teaching

religious as a separate matter. Efforts to ensure Allied victory were also seen as entirely compatible with Irish self-determination, at least at this stage.

Prestigious schools responded to late-war challenges in a strategic manner. Irish and New Zealand establishments were not jeopardised by hostilities in the same way as those in resource-deprived areas or European battle zones. They were, however, confronted by socio-political development on their respective home fronts. Decisions to engage with, marginalise, or oppose national war efforts were made with an eye to maintaining institutional reputation and standing. The primary purpose of elite education was to produce alumni equipped to become future leaders in their communities, and schools sought to orient themselves accordingly. Remobilisation efforts were politically unviable in elite Irish Catholic circles whereas the opposite was true in New Zealand, this state of affairs being recognised in each. Headmasters backed political positions anticipated as being valuable in the post-war world. Ultimately, institutional stances on the war during its final stages were shaped less by structural challenges than the ideological context within they were experienced.

Chapter 6: Student Reactions to the Late War and Armistice

Adolescent encounters with the war intensified from 1917. Conflict-related pressures affected home fronts at both ends of the Empire, giving rise to remobilisation measures endorsed by Irish Protestant and New Zealand institutions. Research on other combatant regions suggests, however, that attempts to mitigate youthful war weariness and disengagement were not necessarily successful. Manon Pignot has argued that 'the war's duration, violence and human consequences helped chip away at the enthusiasm of children' as early as 1916 in France.[1] Late-war conditions also undercut state efforts to secure victory; food shortages, especially those in Berlin, meant children were less able to participate in voluntary work or even attend school due to the amount of time spent waiting in supply queues.[2] As discussed in chapter five, Irish and New Zealand civilians faced less severe practical challenges than their European equivalents during the war's final stages. Nevertheless, students in these regions still had to negotiate competing priorities and codes of conduct that could undermine personal commitment, not the least of which included continued adherence to the core values and tenets of boy culture.

Social demands were not restricted to immediate circumstances. Headmasters and other authorities looked beyond the here and now, anticipating particular national futures. In Britain, children were deemed central to national regeneration with their mobilisation 'considered to be a lesson in citizenship'. They needed to be imbued with the political orientation and skills required to secure the Empire in times to come.[3] Youth likely encountered similar expectations elsewhere, particularly at elite colleges where students were identified as the next generation of leadership. Wartime developments in Ireland resulted in competing projected outcomes, with John Horne having observed that the conflict

[1] Pignot, 'Great War Generation', p. 294.
[2] Donson, *Youth*, p. 133ff.
[3] Kennedy, *Children's War*, p. 155ff.

'define[d] and dramatise[d] four varieties of statehood': unionist, Ulster unionist, nationalist, and republican.[4] New Zealand also experienced political shifts during this period, albeit not quite as dramatic. National and imperial identities continued to be symbiotic but an increased sense of the former did emerge at high levels of government where some politicians sought an increased role in imperial politics. Interest was also expressed in the spoils of war, especially the position of German colonies.[5] As it stands, little is known about adolescent engagement with post-war visions that gained further ground in Ireland and New Zealand alike as hostilities drew to a close.

This chapter explores student reactions to late-war and end-of-war developments, highlighting where these diverged from staff responses despite shared institutional affiliations. Elite pupils were shielded from significant deprivation due to their privileged social-economic positioning, but even limited material constraints could prove contentious. As had been the case from the outset of hostilities, adolescents continued to cling to their own concerns. Perceptions of individual circumstances and relationships to the war were not, however, entirely divorced from wider changes. The conflict's length made the prospect of military service overseas more likely due to cumulative casualties and diminished manpower resources. The terms upon which Irish and New Zealand communities were willing to contribute more combatants also shifted more generally. Focussing on the themes of militarisation and politicisation, this chapter examines adolescent interpretations of state initiatives such as Irish conscription and increased cadet training. Youth investment in nationalist developments and their understandings of what this meant for the immediate post-war world are also considered.

[4] Horne, 'Our war', p. 10.
[5] Kay, 'In Pursuit'; idem, 'Caging the Prussian Dragon: New Zealand and the Paris Peace Conference 1919', in Crawford and McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great*, pp. 123-41.

Ireland

Pressures on the Home Front

Multiple home fronts were characterised by heightened concern about youth behaviour. From 1916 onwards, Austrian commentators attributed apparent rises in a range of 'inappropriate' activities – including stealing, riots, and wasting money – to popular culture and reduced parental supervision.[6] Andrew Donson has argued that these charges were not without foundation in Germany where mass conscription undercut adult supervision and authority, and wage increases led to greater opportunities for youth to pursue their own interests.[7] Russian authorities recorded similar rises in youth crime from 1915, and juvenile delinquency increased in Britain too.[8] Absenteeism and truancy were commonly observed across the board. Stefan Goebel has identified cases where French students skipped school for 'more trivial reasons' but historians have quite rightly noted that 'The context of this new autonomy … was nothing to cheer'.[9] Delinquent behaviour could be a matter of necessity as much as choice, directly arising from war-related pressures. As noted in an overview study, this can perhaps be most clearly seen through the rise of juvenile prostitution rates in occupied regions such as Belgium.[10]

Children who remained in highly-monitored environments had fewer avenues through which to express themselves freely. Nevertheless, even those at elite boarding schools in Britain took advantage of changed circumstances. Anthony Seldon and David Walsh have suggested that public schoolboys misbehaved more after the departure of prominent staff members, and were also less likely to study hard because they anticipated a military career. They also identified 'plenty of low-level grumbling', which was presumably

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[6] Healy, *Vienna*, pp. 250-5.
[7] Donson, *Youth*, ch. 6.
[8] Pignot, 'Children', p. 39; Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke, 1991), p. 158.
[9] Goebel, 'Schools', p. 200; Donson, *Youth*, p. 155.
[10] Pignot, 'Children', p. 40.

prompted by catering cutbacks and reductions in the amount of fuel used for heating purposes.[11] The following subsections explore the extent to which secondary school boys in the wider Empire likewise engaged with late-war developments on their own terms.

Irish students recognised the war's cumulative effects both at home and abroad. Price increases and shortages had prompted discussion about the need for austerity relatively early on. These messages, however, were not always taken seriously by students, especially at first. Drawing on an established tradition of war-related humour wherein discourses and information were redeployed in service of student interests, boys at Belvedere College suggested that paper shortages be addressed in March 1916 by scrapping school reports.[12] Similar jokes were made the following year with Cyril A. O'Neill noting that that most of the cues used by junior billiards players at Castleknock still had their tips. They had apparently either been very careful or had taken 'Lloyd George's advice to heart, [and] are economising in war-time owing to the scarcity of material'.[13] Tongue-in-cheek comments were likely encouraged by the fact that elite students were largely unaffected by shortages of 'luxury' goods, having been shielded from the worst by their socio-economic status.[14]

Foodstuffs proved a far more contentious issue. Intensified German submarine attacks from 1917 strained supplies, contributing to a 'food crisis' in Britain during the winter of 1917-1918 wherein queuing and shortages became common.[15] Ireland faced similar difficulties, with elite schools in across the United Kingdom reducing the amount of bread, meat, and sugar served to pupils. Food substitutions such as margarine also became common.[16] Boys often discussed these changes in a humorous manner, but the sheer amount

[11] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, pp. 94, 101-3.
[12] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 124.
[13] *CC*, XXXII (1917), p. 65.
[14] Fitzpatrick, 'Home front', p. 138.
[15] Gregory, *Last Great War*, pp. 213-16.
[16] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, pp. 101-3; *OST*, IX/2 (1917), p.37; *Campbellian*, 4/5 (Apr. 1918), p. 89.

of commentary on the issue indicates that food had become somewhat of an obsession. Diarists recorded the absence of goose on Michaelmas Day, the first appearance of brown bread in the Refractory, and special occasions when additional food was 'allowed by the Food Controller'.[17] John Tosh has alluded to the interplay between boy culture and food elsewhere, noting that student hierarchies moderated access to food and other key 'physical comforts' at elite institutions.[18] As well as violating individual food preferences, restricted availability of desirable items disrupted established practices like trading at the dinner table and sharing parcels from home; decades later, one former school boy guiltily recounted the time that, driven by hunger, he ate an entire apple tart sent by his mother rather than sharing it with his friends.[19]

Students participated in efforts intended to mitigate food shortages. Conservation activities were deployed in later years, with magazine editors at Campbell College noting that 'Last term we cut off voluntarily some of the luxuries to which we were accustomed'.[20] State interventions into food production and distribution also drew attention. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland (DATI), in charge of managing food supplies in wartime Ireland, attained ever-increasing powers as hostilities progressed.[21] Following the establishment of a Food Department backed by DORA regulations in 1916, the DATI became responsible for implementing compulsory tillage requirements which were extended in 1917 and 1918.[22] The Corn Production Act of 1917 resulted in further regulations including minimum wage rates, guaranteed prices for wheat and oats, and export controls.[23] While Ian Miller has observed that teachers at National

[17] *Clongownian*, VIII/2 (1918), p. 217; *MA*, V/2 (1918), p. 39; *CC*, XXIII (1918), p. 54.
[18] Tosh, *Manliness*, p. 112.
[19] Campbell College Archives, (Crone, Apr. 1978), Memoir, pp. 13-14.
[20] *Campbellian*, 4/2 (1917), p. 25.
[21] Ian Miller, *Reforming food in post-Famine Ireland: Medicine, science and improvement, 1845-1922* (Manchester, 2014), p. 178ff.
[22] ibid., p. 186; Mary E. Daly, *The First Department: A History of the Department of Agriculture* (Dublin, 2002), p. 57.
[23] Daly, *First Department*, p. 57.

Schools were loath to let their students help with farm work, several elite headmasters had no such qualms. Boys at both Castleknock College and Foyle College were involved in potato planting and harvesting during this period.[24]

Student appraisements of food-related activities diverged along denominational lines. Protestant boys endorsed government directives in their writings, asserting that adolescent support could help win the war.[25] In April 1917, E. A. Healy advocated a DATI scheme circulated to 'Irish public schools' wherein the government offered to pay travel and boarding expenses for those willing to help with the harvest.[26] It was deemed 'a splendid opportunity for those who are anxious to serve their country', standing alongside other outlets for 'patriotic zeal' such as making medical splints for Voluntary Aid Detachment supply depots.[27] This characterisation of minimal food wastage and agricultural endeavours as war work echoed state-backed propaganda efforts elsewhere. Children faced particular pressure in Canada where the very young were presented with pledge cards encouraging them to forgo sugar and adolescent boys were told to join the 'Soldiers of the Soil' programme established in 1917.[28]

Catholic boys saw matters differently. While agricultural activities were discussed with reference to wartime conditions, little attention was paid to military objectives or how increased outputs contributed to the war effort itself. Efforts to alleviate labour shortages were portrayed as arising from individual and national self-interest; diarists at Castleknock noted that farm volunteers in October 1918 were disappointed not to have had the same

[24] Miller, *Reforming food*, p. 187; *CC*, XXIII (1918), p. 47; *OST*, IX/3 (1917), pp. 60-1; *OST*, X/3 (May 1918), p.34
[25] *Erasmian*, XIX/3 (1917), p. 47.
[26] *Columban*, XXXVIII/1 (Apr. 1917), p. 2.
[27] ibid., pp. 1, 2.
[28] Mourad Djebabla, ''Fight the Huns with Food': Mobilizing Canadian Civilians for the Food War Effort during the Great War, 1914-1918', in Paddock (ed.), *World War I*, pp. 86-7; Jonathan Weier, 'The Building of Boys for War: The Militarization of Boys' Work in the Canadian and American YMCAs', in Paul, Johnston, and Short (eds), *Children's Literature*, pp. 172-3.

reward as those earlier that year, that being time off from study.[29] An image capturing boys working on the potato farm was furthermore captioned 'National Defence. Everyone lends a hand.'[30]

This distinction between 'war work' and 'national defence' reflected competing interpretive frameworks on the home front. David Fitzpatrick's work on County Clare found that farmers 'of all creeds' resented government attempts to shape Ireland's agricultural industry to help British consumers.[31] Nevertheless, Fitzpatrick's research indicates that some Protestants still saw state interventions as being legitimate because they aided a higher cause – that of Allied victory. Not all felt this way. Food production and exports intersected with longstanding debates surrounding Irish agriculture and political autonomy. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS), which headed the country's co-operative movement, backed some DATI efforts to encourage 'patriotic' activity but this support was not unconditional.[32] Leaders Horace Plunkett and George Russell (AE) resented the lack of recognition given to the IAOS by the DATI, viewing increased government intervention with suspicion.[33] Patrick Doyle has suggested that Sinn Féin drew upon AE's co-operative vision of Irish self-sufficiency to provide an alternative economic model to that provided by the state, with Ben Novick arguing that advanced nationalists sought to exploit fears of a 'Second Famine' for political gain.[34] Sinn Féin challenged apparent British mismanagement by establishing its own food committee, campaigning against food exports from late 1917, and backing local distribution efforts which had 'patchy success'.[35] While student

[29] *CC*, XXXIV (1919), p. 70.
[30] *CC*, XXXIII (1918), p. 47.
[31] Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 59.
[32] R. A. Anderson, 'The I.A.O.S. and the Food Problem', *Studies*, 6/21 (Mar. 1917), pp. 8-14.
[33] Patrick Doyle, 'George Russell [AE], Co-operation and the State of Ireland during the First World War', *Œconomia*, 6/4 (2016), pp. 525-45; Miller, *Reforming food*, p. 180.
[34] Patrick Doyle, 'Reframing the 'Irish Question': the role of the Irish co-operative movement in the formation of Irish nationalism, 1900-22', *Irish Studies Review*, 22/3 (2014), pp. 267-84; Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*, pp. 180-7.
[35] Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 140; Miller, *Reforming food*, p. 190.

commentary evaded the overt criticism espoused in revolutionist propaganda, a certain degree of synergy is apparent. The extent to which advanced nationalist thought informed elite Catholic opinion on other wartime matters is further considered below.

Military Developments

Youth engagement with military matters was similarly transformed by late-war developments, namely the extension of DORA regulations. Having already banned the unauthorised sale, manufacture, and import of various military weapons and parts by March 1916, the Irish Competent Military Authority prohibited people from carrying most weapons three months later.[36] The 'carrying, having or keeping' of firearms without permission or by those unattached to Crown Forces was outlawed in three county districts in February 1918 before being applied to all of Ireland by October 1918 in response to illegal raids carried out by 'lawless men'.[37] Rifles were seized from the Irish National Volunteers Headquarters in August 1917, with UVF units voluntarily handing over their weapons from September 1918.[38] Arms restrictions primarily affected Protestant boys as, by this point, cadet initiatives at elite Catholic schools had largely been abandoned. The Rifle Club at High School, Dublin was not allowed to resume activities for the rest of the conflict.[39] Not all institutions were equally affected, with St. Columba's receiving new rifles in April 1917 before having to relinquish them by December that same year.[40] Even those units authorised to hold weapons, however, could be impacted by wider tensions. Cork Grammar School's OTC lost its 25 rifles and 26 carbines in a September 1917 arms raid presumably conducted by the IV.[41]

[36] Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, p. 177.
[37] ibid.; *Defence of the Realm Manual*, 6th edn (London, Aug. 1918), p. 405.
[38] Bowman, *Carson's Army*, p. 147.
[39] *Erasmian*, XVI/2 (1919), p. 35.
[40] *Columban*, XXVIII/1 (1917), p. 5; *Columban*, XXXVIII/3 (1917), p. 6.
[41] 'Cork Grammar School', *IT* (4 Sept. 1917), p. 3.

Student reactions were generally negative, reflecting the broader appeal that military weaponry held at the time. F.G.H. attributed stagnant cadet numbers at RBAI to rifle restrictions, considering this to be the group's 'main handicap' in 1918.[42] Pupils at St. Columba's were less pessimistic about the impact of diminished supplies on student enthusiasm but exasperation was still directed at those deemed responsible. Commentators recognised the role played by DORA, but blame ultimately lay with Irish revolutionaries.[43] Healy observed that the St. Columba's Corps was greatly disappointed that they were unable to have their usual St. Patrick's field day in 1917 which 'had to be put off for many reasons, mainly connected with that source of all trouble in this country – Sinn Fein.'[44]

Martial practices in Catholic circles were also constrained. A cadet unit had been established at Mungret College in mid-1914 which continued to operate after the outbreak of war. Student diaries note that it was presented with a 'beautiful flag' by Rector Cahill in October 1914, a parade review was conducted in March 1915, and that the 'Irish Cadet Corps started' in January 1916.[45] Although affiliated with the Crescent College Volunteer Corps – remembered by one participant as 'not [being] connected with any of the political things' – [46] the Mungret Volunteers probably aligned more with the IV than the National Volunteers considering Cahill's own leanings, detailed in chapter three. On 23 February 1917, students sought to re-establish the cadet corps, electing a committee, appointing officers, and planning a parade for the next Sunday. Two days later, however, chroniclers recorded: 'Vast excitement. The parade was peremptorily suspended, and our military ardour checked by a proclamation from head-quarters.'[47] Cahill had been transferred from Mungret after the

[42] *SN*, 29/90 (1918), p. 41.
[43] *Columban*, XXXIX/1 (Apr. 1918), p. 5; *Columban*, XXXVII/3 (1916), p. 10.
[44] *Columban*, XXXVIII/1 (1917), pp. 2, 5.
[45] *MA*, IV/4 (1915), pp. 322, 326; *MA*, IV/5 (1916), p. 392.
[46] Cited in Brenda Niall, *The Riddle of Father Hackett: A life in Ireland and Australia* (Canberra, 2009), p. 52.
[47] *MA*, V/1 (July 1917), p. 46.

Rising, and his replacement likely intervened because of strengthened legislation. Anti-drilling measures were implemented through the Military Exercises and Drill (Ireland) Order, dated to 28 November 1916 and enabled by DORA regulation 9E. Even the young could be arrested, meaning that boys with advanced nationalist preferences were unable to express themselves militarily without facing significant consequences.[48]

Overseas military decisions were also coloured by changing political tides. Catholic students were aware that war pressures might lead to conscription as early as May 1915, with those at Castleknock eyeing the establishment of a coalition government with concern.[49] Chapter two found that some boys saw no contradiction between nationalist affiliations and participation in Britain's wartime army, at least at first. This position, however, became increasingly difficult to maintain in later years as initial rapprochements broke down. G. Joyce addressed matters in a Gaelic-language piece published in the *Belvederian* shortly after the Rising, observing a 'widespread fear that a further attempt will be made to implement conscription, for England's benefit, in this unfortunate country.' He went on to assert: 'I personally don't think that this will be attempted however because the majority of the Irish people would be against it and that on both sides there would be only tension, quarrelling, heartbreak, and bloodshed itself even'.[50] Inside and outside Catholic schools, enforced enlistment was not seen as being in Ireland's best interest.

'Sinister rumours' that Irishmen would be compelled to fight came to a head in 1918.[51] Catholic pupils at Belvedere, Mungret, and Castleknock made their stance on the new Military Service Bill clear, with a young boy wearing a 'Death before Conscription!' badge applauded by his peers as a 'Brave little man!' on 11 April.[52] Broader agitation

[48] *Defence of the Realm*, pp. 407-8; Fitzpatrick, *Politics*, pp. 124-5.
[49] *CC*, XXX (1915), pp. 37-8.
[50] *Belvederian*, IV/2 (1916), p. 22.
[51] *Belvederian*, V/1 (1918), p. 45.
[52] ibid.; *MA*, V/2 (1918), p. 43; *CC*, XXXIII (1918), p. 57.

occurred after the Bill received royal assent on 18 April. Hugh Garland and Charlie Horan felt that boys at Castleknock did their part in the ensuing crisis, noting that all signed the anti-conscription pledge 'amidst great scenes of enthusiasm' and that a collection for the National Defence Fund 'realised a big sum'.[53] E. Hanrahan and R. Burke concluded their own commentary on these activities with 'Let England quake!'[54] Kevin Barry wrote approvingly of Ireland's rejection of conscription in a school essay a few weeks later: 'The Irish people did not begin to weep and wail, nor did they […] get panicky and rush off in millions to the recruiting offices and join up. No. they just said 'We wont [*sic.*] have it.' and carried on.'[55]

It is important to note that adolescent support for the 1918 anti-conscription movement was not prompted by a distaste for military action or even the principle of conscription itself. Captain Joseph Pegum's war stories still attracted interest at Mungret in May 1917, with Victoria Cross winners admired at Clongowes for their 'plucky deed[s]' as late as February 1918.[56] A post-war debate at Clongowes furthermore decided against the motion that conscription should be abolished in all cases, controversy surrounding 'its [recent] application in particular circumstances' aside.[57] Instead, student dissent was tied to questions of sovereignty, demonstrated through the distinctions made between England and Ireland. War service was not intrinsically immoral, but soldiers were revered as heroes only so long as they fought for a legitimate cause. Broader nationalist developments had brought this in doubt, with British attempts to force Ireland to fight discrediting the current government further. Separatist visions offered alternative definitions of 'citizenly'

[53] *CC*, XXXIII (1918), p. 57.
[54] ibid., p. 48.
[55] Dublin, UCDA, P93/8 (Kevin Barry Papers, Exercise copy book), 1918-1919, pp. 59-61, http://digital.ucd.ie/view/ucdlib:39114 (3 July 2017)
[56] *MA*, V/2 (1918), p. 58; *Clongownian*, VIII/2 (1918), p. 219.
[57] *Clongownian*, VIII/3 (1919), p. 275.

behaviour, directing militarised expressions of masculinity towards another end; at the time of Barry's writing, he had already joined the IV.[58]

Protestant reactions to the crisis deviated from those of Catholic counterparts. Lloyd George's attachment of Home Rule to conscription was most likely reviled by boys as well as teachers at institutions like CAI, but wartime conscription alone was unproblematic.[59] While the 1918 Military Service Bill attracted little overt commentary in school magazines, students at Foyle College and Campbell College had debated whether compulsory service should be extended to Ireland in late 1916. A few speeches incorporated dissenting views, including historical grievances against Britain and the nationalist argument that 'if conscription was necessary an Irish Parliament was the only Parliament that had the right to enforce it.' By and large, however, most participants deemed Irish conscription entirely within Britain's right, the moot passing in both cases.[60] Protestant youth applauded demonstrations of local loyalties being in step with Britain throughout hostilities. A recruiting song penned by fourth-former H. R. Bardon implored Irishmen to 'show you are a Britisher / Like your brothers o'er the foam', with alumni 'fighting and dying for their motherland' continuing to be idolised at Foyle.[61] This endorsement of a unified military effort withstood popular disengagement on the home front and even the conflict itself; F.G.H. hoped in December 1918 that any post-war recommendations for cadet groups issued by the War Office would also be applied to Ireland.[62]

Adolescent commitment to the cause extended to their own wartime responsibilities. Undeterred by DORA restrictions, several Protestant establishments intensified their

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[58] Richard Hawkins, 'Kevin Gerard Barry', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a0451 (3 July 2017).
[59] For Protestant views on conscription, see: Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, pp. 221-2; D. George Boyce, 'A First World War transition: state and citizen in Ireland, 1914-19', in D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds), *Ireland in Transition, 1867-1921* (London, 2004), pp. 107-8.
[60] *OST*, IX/1 (1916), p. 23; *Campbellian*, 4/1 (1916), pp. 13-14, 13.
[61] *Erasmian*, XIV/1 (1916), p. 15; *OST*, IX/2 (1917), p. 33.
[62] *SN*, 29/90 (1918), p. 41.

military training. Student reactions to lengthened practice hours and the introduction of 'pack drill' punishments were mixed;[63] while one self-proclaimed 'Enthusiast' requested that Campbell hold additional marches and field-days like other schools, the 1918 *Columban* editor confessed 'After three and half years of warfare we all begin to feel the long Corps hours a bit of a strain.'[64] Yet, even those who bemoaned repetitive practices identified this work as having a higher purpose. Parallels were drawn between 'irksome' cadet work and the 'unpleasant' job of fighting – both were needed to make the world a better place, with the former providing the best means of preparing adolescents for the latter.[65] Protestant boys recognised that they might fight in the war from early on, with a sense of inevitability permeating career discussions. The prospect of serving overseas loomed even closer after a March 1918 War Cabinet decision allowed eighteen-year-olds to be sent to France, and it was only after hostilities ended that boys at St. Columba's once again considered civilian options.[66] This fixation on serving the Crown is striking – military action had clearly been politicised for Protestant youth as well.

Politicisation and Youth

There is a growing body of literature exploring youth politicisation in the past. Work by Matthew Grenby and Kathryn Gleadle has highlighted the extent to which British children were exposed to, and participated within, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political cultures.[67] While children's ability to directly shape the electoral process was limited by

[63] *Columban*, XXXVIII/2 (1917), pp. 12-13.
[64] *Columban*, XXXIX/1 (1918), p. 1.
[65] *Columban*, XXXVIII/2 (1917), p. 7.
[66] Adrian Gregory, ''You might as well recruit the Germans': British public opinion and the decision to conscript the Irish in 1918', in Gregory and Pašeta (eds), *'Unite Us All'?*, pp. 116-17; *Columban*, XL/1 (Apr. 1919), p. 2.
[67] M. O. Grenby, 'Politicizing the Nursery: British Children's Literature and the French Revolution', *The Lion and the Unicorn* 27/1 (2003), pp. 1-26; idem, ''Very Naughty Doctrines': Children, Children's Literature, Politics and the French Revolution Crisis', in A. D. Cousins, Dani Napton, and Stephanie Russo (eds), *The French Revolution and the British Novel in the Romantic Period* (New York, 2011), pp. 15-35.

enfranchisement laws, their behaviour could still influence high politics; young factory workers, for example, were actively involved in 1830s protests backing the Ten Hours Bill.[68] Not all expressions of political agency were oppositional. In her exploration of twentieth-century members of the Children of the American Revolution, Susan Miller asserted the need to recognise assent and compliance as equally valid ways in which youth pursued their own goals.[69] Even imitative youth practices conducted in everyday settings contributed to the development of loyalist cultures and identities, as occurred in Britain during the Napoleonic Wars.[70] Throughout history, however, youth also pursued more revolutionary ideologies and forms of expression.[71]

Recent research has identified the First World War as a significant politicising – even radicalising – event in children's lives. Claire Morelon found that working-class youth in the Bohemian Lands were primarily affected through their participation in food riots. Czech secondary pupils attained the skillset and confidence deployed in later nationalist agitation through earlier war-related activities such as charitable endeavours.[72] While Andrew Donson recognised that most German youths ultimately 'did not become fascists or radical communists', he argued that the years 1916 to 1918 inclusive constituted a recognisable period of political radicalisation.[73] Children had been mobilised for war purposes from the outset but military demands had undercut adult authority on the home front. Moreover, public enthusiasm for the cause had been depleted through resource shortages and mass

[68] Kathryn Gleadle, ''We *Will* Have It': Children and Protest in the Ten Hours Movement', in Katrina Honeyman and Nigel Goose (eds), *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England: Diversity and Agency, 1750-1914* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 215-30.
[69] Miller, 'Assent as Agency', pp. 48-65.
[70] Gleadle, 'Playing at Soldiers', pp. 335-48.
[71] See, for example, Niall Whelehan, 'Youth, Generations, and Collective Action in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Italy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56/4 (2014), pp. 934-66.
[72] Claire Morelon, 'Revolutionary Youth?: The war experience and post-war activism of young people in the Bohemian Lands (1914-1921)' (unpublished paper, delivered 9 July 2016, 'The Powerful Child?' Centre for the History of Childhood Colloquium, Magdalen College, Oxford); idem, 'Mobilising for war and revolution: everyday life and urban space in Prague, 1914-20' (unpublished paper, delivered 22 Oct. 2015, Modern European History Seminar, University of Oxford).
[73] Donson, *Youth*, p. 19.

fatalities, facilitating a 'polarisation' of opinion between those who wanted a negotiated end to hostilities and others who wanted to fight on until victory was achieved. These conditions encouraged adolescent political action such as war protests and the endorsement of aggressive foreign policies.[74] In these two regions, the war provided new or extended opportunities for older children to contribute to national politics. The following subsection examines how late-war conditions facilitated Irish youth engagement with shifting political ideologies.

Catholic students grappled with nationalist developments throughout hostilities. Increasingly fine distinctions between 'true' and 'unpatriotic' Irishmen were made in school essays as adolescents contributed to wider interpretations of appropriate wartime behaviour. Writing on the history of Irish poetry in either late 1917 or early 1918, Barry scoffed at the soldier-poets of his generation including Patrick MacGill, discounting them as 'Irish' by placing a question mark after this descriptor.[75] Praise was awarded instead to the 'Rebel Poets' such as Pearse, Plunket and McDonagh who were considered 'heros' [sic] that produced 'masterpieces'.[76] These works were deemed to be more in line with those crafted by Fenian poets and the historic Bards of Ireland, Barry concluding his overview with an assertion that 'it [is] remarkable that the patriotic strain runs through almost every poem at least every Irish poem.'[77] Expressions of cultural patriotism became ever more intertwined with advanced nationalist and anti-British sentiment, as demonstrated at Castleknock College in October 1917. Agitation was expressed regarding Britain's treatment of political prisoners, with a picture showing of Thomas Ashe's funeral having 'a deep and moving

[74] ibid., chs. 3-10.
[75] UCDA, P93/8, p. 7.
[76] ibid., pp. 5, 7.
[77] The word 'Irish' is underlined three times. See: ibid., pp. 1-7, 7.

effect on the audience.' The same event was accompanied by Irish airs on pipes, and patriotic songs sung by the boys.[78]

Formal political goals were also considered, with group discussions providing a key forum for youth to embrace new lines of thought. Despite traditional school links to constitutional nationalism, students debated more radical solutions to the 'Irish question'. From October 1917, the 'burning question' at Belvedere College's lunch table was 'Republic or Colonial Home Rule?' Both sides were intransigent with arguments generally concluding in the exchange of 'personal abuse.'[79] On 6 February 1918, Fergus Ryan recorded in his diary that 'The lunch-table convention is no nearer to a settlement than it was at the beginning … 'just like the world outside.'' [80] This implicit parallel between lunchtime debates and the concurrent Irish Convention suggests that the former was at least partially inspired by the latter, but other influences were also at play. Sinn Féin had excluded itself from Convention deliberations, and thus the decision to debate this point of view signals student engagement with a wide spectrum of nationalist visions for Ireland. While Fergus' February entry was the last record of this ongoing debate, student support for constitutional positions was most probably weakened by the ensuing 1918 conscription crisis, with adolescent participation in this event constituting a political act in and of itself.

Some students applauded the consolidation of nationalist opinion – and its concomitant swing away from the IPP – in following months. In an essay penned at the start of the 1918-1919 academic year, Barry rejoiced in the breadth of support for Irish freedom. He argued that 'Ireland <u>is</u> united or at least it is so unanimous that the dissenters do not count … there is nothing a determined united people may not do.'[81] The government had

[78] *CC*, XXIII (1918), pp. 42, 50.
[79] *Belvederian*, V/1 (1918), p. 41.
[80] ibid., p. 44.
[81] Dublin, UCDA, P93/9 (Kevin Barry Papers, Exercise copy book), 1918-1919, p. 5, https://digital.ucd.ie/view/ucdlib:39115 (3 July 2017).

abandoned its plans for Irish conscription and a new Home Rule Bill by 20 July 1918, and Barry looked forward to a 'brighter day' in the near future assuming people continued to resist their 'present conditions'.[82] He was well aware that agitating for Irish independence was illegal, concluding his final remarks about the celebrations to be held once this was achieved with 'deleted by censor'.[83] While Sinn Féin was not mentioned by name, this anticipated future appears to have been republican in nature. IPP leader John Dillon was, after all, listed amongst those considered 'stumbling blocks to a nation's progress', being denounced as a hypocrite akin to the Roman traitor Cassius who put 'his personal views and his salary before his country'.[84] Senia Pašeta's excellent analysis of the Irish Catholic middle class argued that the 'aspirations [of this group] were shattered by the revolutionary events of 1916-22.'[85] This research suggests that elite boys were more prepared for this transition from Home Rule to Free State politics than their older counterparts, having embraced separatist ideology throughout 1918.

Protestant antagonism towards nationalism continued. Campbell College's debating society reaffirmed long-held political preferences in October 1917, deciding against the motion 'That the House approves of the Home Rule movement'. Boys evidently considered the growth of Sinn Féin a dangerous development in an already dangerous camp, with an 'excellent speech' made by one participant who argued 'that if Ireland got Home Rule all the southern counties would have Sinn Fein representatives'.[86] Nationalist and unionist perspectives continued to be presented at mock parliamentary events throughout 1918.[87] Yet, despite this intellectual engagement, few Protestant students modified their political allegiances in light of nationalist trends. Claims to the contrary were not taken seriously; one

[82] ibid., pp. 5, 7; Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, p. 222.
[83] UCDA, P93/9, p. 7.
[84] ibid., p. 3.
[85] Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, p. 1.
[86] *Campellian*, 4/4 (1917), pp. 86-7, 86.
[87] *Columban*, XXXIX/2 (1918), p. 7.

student joked in July 1918 'Is Campbell really on the verge of a Sinn Fein rebellion or is it only 'feined' (feigned?)'[88] Generally speaking, Ireland's future – or at least that of Ireland's Protestant community – was seen as more directly hinging on international, rather than domestic, developments.

Personal support for the conflict was vigorously promoted. Like their teachers, Protestant students saw sustained contributions to the war effort as not only ensuring Allied success but also their own position in a post-war world. First, they provided evidence of loyalty and devotion to 'motherland' Britain as expressed by the 'sons of the Empire'.[89] Second, wartime endeavours apparently placed Protestant institutions on par with British public schools, confirming military outputs and athleticism as key determinants of elite status. The June 1918 edition of the *WCQ*, for example, explicitly tied athletic achievements at school to individual accomplishments on the battlefield.[90] Despite conceding that namesake Rev. John Wesley would likely abhor how athleticism had permeated school ethos, one contribution relished the militaristic benefits this ideology reaped. Other submissions outlined the military records of the College's 1913-1914 rugby team, highlighting how many had been commissioned in the 'King's Army' and the honours that they had received.[91] Catholic schools may have shied away from applauding connections with the British Forces by 1918, but Protestant pupils continued to glorify them.

Adolescent enthusiasm was by no means guaranteed, this being recognised as early as April 1916 at St. Columba's College. There, the student editor warned his classmates against becoming apathetic about the demands and sacrifices war entailed, recognising that 'School-life is a busy one.'[92] Core concerns remained of interest, including intermediate

[88] *Campbellian*, 4/6 (1918), p. 117.
[89] *OST*, IX/2 (1917), p. 33.
[90] *WCQ*, XXVI/9 (June 1918), p. 1.
[91] ibid., pp. 5, 6-8, 14.
[92] *Columban*, XXXVII/1 (Apr. 1916), p. 1.

examinations, school hierarchies, and sporting success.[93] Some of these intersected with the conflict, but not all; neither was the result always enjoyable. Nonetheless, Protestant pupils still backed remobilisation measures, with those who had not yet contributed to High School, Dublin's War Savings Committee chastised for their lack of help in October 1918.[94]

Protestant boys also kept a close eye on overseas military developments for the duration. While the newly appointed editor of the *C.A.I.* magazine admitted that his war knowledge could not result in a 'detailed description of the fighting' in September 1918, he still proclaimed that: 'It is with great joy that we record the progress our arms have made in France during the past few months; and although the end of the war is not yet in sight, we feel sure that, progressing as we are at present, peace is being brought quickly nearer.'[95] This investment in a positive outcome echoed that identified amongst middle-class German secondary boys who participated in voluntary patriotic activities, hoped to fight in the army, and expected a glorious victory until the very end. Donson dated the 'political awakenings' of a great many youths who later became fascists to October and November 1918, arguing that these 'Fervid nationalists' were devastated by defeat and the ensuing revolution.[96] Aligned as they were with the Allied Forces, Irish Protestant boys did not experience the same disillusionment as their elite German equivalents. In Ireland too, however, student hopes for the post-war world were not entirely met.

Armistice and Immediate Aftermath

In line with general opinion, elite Irish students were confident of Allied Victory. According to Thomas Hennessey, 'most observers' in Britain and Ireland thought the war had turned in their favour by June 1918, with the Government announcing its plans for a

[93] *OST* X/4 (1918), pp. 49-50; *SN*, 28/87 (1917), p. 5.
[94] *Erasmian*, XV/4 (Oct. 1918), p. 68.
[95] *C.A.I.*, XIX/2 (Sept. 1918), pp. 3-4, 3.
[96] Donson, *Youth*, pp. 238-41, 241.

December general election in October.[97] Some boys, however, were still shocked at how quickly the Armistice came to pass. Military success may have been greatly desired – especially within Protestant circles – but it had also been more than four years coming; commentators at CAI juxtaposed the conflict's length against a 'hasty peace'.[98] The war's overlap with the 1918 influenza pandemic heightened this sense of surprise. Attention was drawn to the pandemic's second wave from October onwards, boys tracing the local chaos caused by this event in their diaries. Castleknock and Belvedere, amongst others, closed their doors, the former reopening in January and the latter on Armistice Day.[99] Many students fell ill themselves, with schoolfellows mourned at Clongowes and RBAI alike. These losses proved particularly shocking, observers noting that 'Death … in normal times is not a frequent visitor' at elite establishments.[100]

Intersecting crises aside, Protestant pupils rejoiced in news of the Armistice. Those at St. Columba's and Campbell not only took advantage of holidays granted by school authorities but also pursued 'further outlet[s] for their joy' in the form of Kaiser bonfires and sing-alongs.[101] Participating in official thanksgiving events as well as boy-led celebrations, secondary students identified themselves as citizens of a victorious nation, reiterating such sentiments in their writings.[102] Proprietorial language was used to describe British military accomplishments: 'We have reached the goal of all the efforts and sacrifices which we have been making for more than four years, and have seen the downfall of Germany and all those principles for which she stood.'[103] Protestant boys sought to take ownership of, and benefit from, alumni sacrifices just as much as their teachers, resulting in multiple magazine

[97] Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, pp. 222, 223.
[98] *C.A.I.*, XIX/3 (Dec. 1918), p. 3.
[99] *CC*, XXXIV (1919), pp. 70-1; *Belvederian*, V/2 (1919), p. 37.
[100] *Clongownian*, VIII/3 (1919), pp. 327-8; *SN*, 29/90 (1918), p. 6.
[101] *Columban*, XXXIX/3 (1918), p. 1; *Columban*, XL/1 (1919), p. 7; *Campbellian*, 4/7 (Dec. 1918), p. 127.
[102] *Erasmian*, XVI/1 (Dec. 1918), p. 3.
[103] *OST*, XI/1 (Dec. 1918), p. 1.

submissions stressing the importance of memorialisation activities to ensure that institutional loyalism was recognised.[104] While some understood that the Armistice did not constitute a formal peace treaty – one author noting that there would not be 'real peace' until 'the pens of our Statesmen have made good use of what has been won on in the field' –[105] most saw the conflict as effectively over.

Implicit assumptions about the post-war world surfaced in following months. R. E. McGuire of High School, Dublin delighted in the renewed availability of luxury goods, and his contemporaries elsewhere demanded the return of school celebrations, entertainments, and prizes as 'we are no longer in the throes of a dreadful war'.[106] Protestant pupils had tolerated incursions on valued items and events for a higher cause, but these sacrifices were no longer required. Even activities aligned with boy culture came under scrutiny now the war had been won. School magazine submissions at Campbell indicate heightened ambivalence towards additional training measures. One letter to the editor criticised a rumour that OTC days would be reduced, arguing that this move would be detrimental to the school's reputation even if most students did not intend to enter the British Army. Another correspondent challenged this position, asserting that 'only about a dozen members of the Corps' want two weekly parades and that the second should be cancelled in order for the first to be carried out 'enthusiastically'.[107] This desire for pre-war normalcy was not uncommon – St. Columba's discontinued its own Wednesday Corps parade in early 1919 –[108] but the fact that it occurred at a Ulster Unionist stronghold is striking. At least in the war's immediate aftermath, it appears that adolescent boys did not see the need to continue training

[104] *Campbellian*, 4/7 (1918), p. 125.
[105] *C.A.I.*, XIX/3 (1918), p. 4.
[106] *Erasmian*, XVI/2 (1919), p. 27; *Campbellian*, 4/7 (1918), p. 148.
[107] *Campbellian*, 4/7 (1918), pp. 146-7, 148.
[108] *Columban*, XL/1 (1919), p. 1.

in the same manner as established military heroes such as those who served with the 36th Division.

Protestant boys also considered Ireland's political situation. Wartime activities, after all, had been directed towards certain aspirations, namely the maintenance of Ireland as a constituent part of the United Kingdom and its resultant position at the centre of the British Empire; in a description of the demobilisation process, McGuire asserted that men had come 'from every part of the globe to fight for our Empire and her allies'.[109] Although McGuire did not directly mention the 1918 general election or Dáil Éireann – the revolutionary parliament assembled by elected Sinn Féin representatives on 21 January 1919 – distress was expressed at contemporary unrest 'shaking the foundations of empires' in the form of labour disputes and Bolshevism.[110] Three months earlier, McGuire's editorial equivalent at St. Columba's discussed his hopes for Ireland more explicitly. There is little evidence to suggest that B. A. Rice or others anticipated the Anglo-Irish War sparked by the Dáil's Declaration of Independence or eventual partition. Nevertheless, Rice declared a vested interest in the upcoming Peace Conference due to the 'unsettled state of our country'.[111] Drawing on his classical education, he asserted that the ancient Roman god Janus – who oversaw the beginning and ending of war – was revered by northern and southern Irishmen alike. Rice clearly wanted a peaceful resolution in Ireland as well as overseas, hoping the Conference would 'bolt, bar, and double-lock the gateway of Janus, not forgetting to throw the key into the ocean.'[112]

Catholic students recognised the Armistice in their own school diaries. At Mungret College, 11 November was cited as being 'perhaps the most momentous [day] of the 20th

[109] *Erasmian*, XVI/2 (1919), p. 27.
[110] ibid.; Townshend, *Republic*, pp. 61-6.
[111] *Columban*, XXXIX/3 (1918), p.1.
[112] ibid.; Nicholas Purcell, 'Janus', in Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2014), p. 419.

century. 'The war is over.''[113] This declaration seems somewhat surprising in light of antagonistic responses to war developments earlier that year but pupils may simply have been relieved that any prospect of conscription had now disappeared. Reactions at Clongowes substantiate this interpretation. There, Dermot Corbet and Stewart Barrett looked forward to having a Christmas 'without the grim shadow of an awful war hanging over our heads, like the sword of Damocles.'[114] At any rate, rejoicing in the Armistice did not necessarily entail a reversal of established political leanings. Some nationalists were involved in spontaneous celebrations held in Ulster with observers further south noting that most people were delighted by Allied Victory, much to the disgust of advanced nationalist propagandists.[115] Catholic boys had similar reasons for being interested in the cessation of hostilities, namely the possibility of being awarded a school holiday.[116]

Students at elite Jesuit schools appear more invested in the prospect of a new Irish state than the end of the war itself. On 8 December 1918, Mungret held a debate considered the most successful 'for some time' due to the level of interest it attracted. The moot – 'That democracy is prejudicial to individual freedom and happiness and fails to give expression to the popular will' – was deemed especially relevant 'in these times of political reconstruction, as new governments, especially democracies, were the news of the hour.' Talking points included the ability of elected officials to represent the popular will and whether people had the right to rule themselves. The results ultimately favoured democracy, with 21 voting against 11.[117] Considering the extent to which Mungret students had supported advanced nationalism thus far, the results of the general election were likely viewed positively. Post-war peace negotiations were similarly scrutinised through the lens of Irish self-governance.

[113] *MA*, VI/3 (July 1919), p. 98.
[114] *Clongownian*, VIII/3 (1919), p. 320.
[115] Switzer, *Unionists*, p. 44; Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*, p. 18 n. 15.
[116] *Clongownian*, VIII/3 (1919), p. 320; *Belvederian*, V/2 (1919), p. 37.
[117] *MA*, VI/3 (1919), p. 85

Nine days after the first meeting of the Dáil had taken place, boys at Belvedere wondered whether Ireland would be represented at the Paris Peace Conference. The fact this question proved so 'burning' suggests many wanted a separate Irish delegation, sought by Sinn Féin to substantiate assertions of Irish independence from Britain, further indicating that separatist ideals had permeated elite Jesuit schools.[118] Protestant and Catholic pupils alike saw the Conference as an opportunity through which to stabilise the Irish situation even if idealised outcomes differed alongside political allegiance. Unfortunately for both groups, a peaceful resolution did not immediately eventuate.

New Zealand

Pressures on the Home Front

New Zealand secondary boys also inhabited contexts shaped by a cumulative war effort with state authorities seeking to promote patriotism as well as suppress sedition. J. A. Hanan, the Minister of Education, explicitly applauded teacher efforts in his 1918 report, noting 'At no time in the history of this country have lessons on the privileges and duties of citizenship, of Empire and State, received more attention'.[119] As detailed in chapter five, ongoing attempts to bring the entire education system under Departmental control continued to be resisted by elite headmasters. Nevertheless, prestigious secondary colleges did not buck perceived wartime responsibilities. These establishments became centres of remobilisation in their own right, continuing to propagate pro-war understandings up to and beyond the end of hostilities.

Patriotic rhetoric was far from rejected. Elite boys had long invested in imperial identity and group loyalty, such constructs underpinning professions of dedication to the

[118] *Belvederian*, V/2 (1919), p. 40. For more information about early Dáil attempts to gain international recognition, see: Townshend, *Republic*, pp. 67-72.
[119] *AJHR* (1918), E-01, Report of the Minister of Education, p. 5.

cause. Throughout 1918, magazine editors validated old boy actions on the battlefield, asserting the need to uphold school traditions and alumni honour in their absence.[120] Jingoistic sentiments were reaffirmed, standing alongside an insistence on the need to engage with military matters and ongoing developments. Cerebral commitment to the war, however, could jar with on-the-ground realities. As recognised by a group of fifth-formers at Auckland Grammar, they were relatively sheltered from the world at large; 'The European pot has boiled over for four years. Around us, Emperors are falling; empires are crumbling to dust … and here are we, VI.B., still doing our 'Speare's Vocab.' every night. Ichabod [inglorious]!'[121] Such disconnects enabled, and likely encouraged, students to continue living their life in much the same way as they had thus far.

Everyday concerns were prioritised even in these 'stirring times.'[122] While New Zealand boys did not experience the same shortages as in Ireland, they were still unimpressed by deteriorating conditions. A debate held at Christ's College on whether the country was in a 'better state' now than in peace time found most voting against the motion, the final tally being 60 to 20. Criticisms included the loss of good men, widespread bereavement, and economic pressures faced by employers as well as consumers in form of salary increases, price rises, and labour shortages.[123] Seemingly minor curtailments could constitute major affronts to boy culture, such as the decision that only participating players would travel to an inter-college rugby match rather than the entire sports-loving school.[124] Public expressions of discontent were rare, with boys probably preferring to grumble amongst themselves, but some students did try to thwart wartime constraints and/or security regulations in pursuit of their interests. Despite the Sacred Heart Camera Club being

[120] *OHSM*, XXXIV/1 (1918), pp. 3-4.
[121] *AGSC*, VI/2 (1918), p. 68.
[122] ibid.
[123] *Register*, XCVIII (Aug. 1918), pp. 76-7.
[124] The reversal of this decision at Wanganui Collegiate proved 'most popular'. See: *WC*, 107 (Aug. 1918), p. 10.

formally cautioned for taking illegal photos of overseas military vessels in 1917, one member repeated this infringement in 1918.[125] Unfortunately for the photographer concerned, the ultimate image proved nondescript due to difficulties developing it in the college dark room.[126]

Students also navigated late-war educational disruptions on their own terms. Alumni and Boards of Governors may have been alarmed by a possible 'feminisation' of boys' colleges, but current students seem to have seen the late-war entry of female teachers less seriously. In a satirical essay, R. K. Trimmer noted that while some of his peers at Auckland Grammar opposed the move – arguing that it would result in the school's ruin – almost all the seniors considered it a 'wise step'. He went on to joke at length about the refining influence these women had apparently had upon the boys, before conceding this was not necessarily a bad thing; women had proved themselves equal to men through their contributions to the war, and their presence within boys' secondary schools thus constituted a positive change to the old world order.[127] Generally speaking, pupils seemed to be more concerned by teacher strictness and ability to keep order rather than their gender. New Zealand students, like their British public schoolboy equivalents, were not always impressed by staff replacements and took advantage of weak discipline.[128] A competent female teacher was likely more respected than an ineffectual master, with Mrs. Rhodes recognised as being 'a 'first-rate hand' at quelling class-room riots' at Christchurch Boys'.[129] In this way too, boys did not necessarily react to wartime incursions in the manner adults anticipated.

Multiple motivations for war effort activities remained at play. Fundraising campaigns kept their competitive edge, with magazine chroniclers at Auckland Grammar

[125] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 68.
[126] *SHC*, VII/13 (1918), p. 60.
[127] *AGSC*, VI/1 (1918), pp. 5-7, 6.
[128] Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, pp. 93-4
[129] *BHSM*, 56 (1917), p. 3.

accusing select peers of donating money 'with an 'I-have-plenty-of-it' air'.[130] As the war progressed, new incentives arose through a reduced national labour force. Many students received financial compensation for their work on farms during school holidays, several accounts noting that these 'handsome cheques' tended to be spent on items of personal interest.[131] By and large, however, patriotism seems to have been the primary driver in sustaining student support throughout 1918. In order to substantiate their status as loyal citizens, elite boys enforced expectations of self-sacrifice amongst themselves with ever growing intensity; the December 1917 *KC* insisted that 'it is up to us to give up this and that pleasure, and to use our time and opportunity less for self and more for others.'[132] Late-war editorials proclaimed that schoolboys may be young but they could still contribute by giving up academic prizes and fully engaging in college activities such as military training.[133] These behavioural codes aligned with prevalent remobilisation messages insisting that all had a duty to perform regardless of their stage in life.

Military developments

Wartime roles were framed by gender as well as age. Manon Pignot and others have signalled the extent to which boys and girls assumed different responsibilities; while French boys were encouraged to see themselves as future soldiers, girls were taught to embrace 'domestic and maternal roles' and affiliated charitable activities.[134] Gendered norms strengthened across multiple home fronts, leading to an increased militarisation of boys' work as observed by Jonathan Weier with regards to the Canadian and American YMCAs.[135] Teacher expectations in elite boys' institutions often paralleled this martial trajectory.

[130] *AGSC*, VI/2 (1918), p. 78.
[131] *OHSM*, XXXIV/1 (1918), p. 7; *Waitakian*, XII/1 (1917), pp. 17-18.
[132] *KC*, XVI/3 (1917), p. 8.
[133] ibid., pp. 7-9; *WC*, 106 (1918), p. 1.
[134] Pignot, 'Children', p. 34. See also: idem, 'French Boys and Girls', pp. 163-75.
[135] Weier, 'Building of Boys', pp. 162-78.

Sociologist C. B. Otley has argued that 'it seems likely that school militarization and militarism achieved a crescendo just before, and during, the First World War' in England, with similar historiographical claims made in Australia.[136] Chapter five found that elite New Zealand colleges too followed this pattern. Student reactions to these intensified circumstances are explored below.

As in Ireland, military preparation measures met with a range of responses. The introduction of 'Barracks' events was extremely well-received; D. W. Faigan and A. T. McNaughton of Otago Boys' High School proclaimed in October 1917 that 'The success of the camp has given a great impetus to our interest in military work. We are several stages nearer efficiency than before'.[137] Yet while the conflict brought new and exciting opportunities, resource shortages also undercut training efforts. Defence Force requirements significantly reduced the number of officers available to supervise cadet activities, a state of affairs observed at Nelson College as early as May 1916.[138] Boys were disappointed by subsequent camp cancellations, which ultimately included Barracks themselves after Lieutenant-Colonel Sleeman overworked himself into a state of exhaustion.[139] Diminished military provisions proved an even larger source of disgruntlement. Rifle-shooting was included in the compulsory Senior Cadet regime laid out by the Defence Department, but state repossessions and supply difficulties left units 'practically without rifles throughout the war'.[140] Elite schools appear to have fared better than most, although weapons and ammunition shortages were constantly remarked upon even in these privileged circles.

Student discontent arose from several factors, including boyish interest in guns more generally. J. Rankin gleefully recorded the arrival of three cases of .303 rifles on 26 July

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[136] Otley, 'Militarism', p. 334; Crotty, *Making the Australian Male*, pp. 88-93.
[137] *OHSM*, XXXIII/2 (1917), p. 82.
[138] Peter Cooke, ''Priceless Worth': The Territorial Force and Senior Cadets in World War One', in Loveridge (ed), *New Zealand Society*, p. 75; *Nelsonian*, XXXII/1 (May 1916), p. 29.
[139] *KC*, XVI/3 (1917), p. 26.
[140] Ian McGibbon, 'Cadets', in McGibbon (ed), *Oxford Companion*, p. 76; *AJHR* (1919), H-19, p. 5.

1918, joking 'If there is not murder in S.H.C. it will not be the fault of the Cadets.'[141] Potential bloodlust aside, boys preferred the physical freedom associated with 'burning blank ammunition and careering over hedge and ditch' over restrictive drill exercises which increasingly took their place.[142] For some, weapons gave cadet training real meaning as well as making it more enjoyable, leading a subset of students to resent Departmental under-provisioning.[143] Although writers acknowledged the constraints faced by Defence Authorities and the need to prioritise combat units, they also wanted student contributions to the war effort taken seriously. As one report proclaimed, 'We are the soldiers of to-morrow, and in our training the work should be thorough, and the equipment thorough.'[144]

Age mediated youth investment in cadet training. While distaste for monotonous practices occurred across all year levels – one poem asserting 'D stands for 'Drill,' lads, which dull to many seems' –[145] younger boys expressed greater antagonism than others. C. E. Beeby had looked forward to participating in Christchurch Boys' cadet unit but he was soon disenchanted by bi-weekly barrack-square drills. Beeby later recalled:

> For a senior boy who, within a year might find himself in Flanders, it could well have had meaning; for a twelve-year-old it was deadening, form without meaning, body without mind. In the whole of my educational experience I have never known such boredom or felt such resentment.[146]

Similar distinctions were made at Auckland Grammar, with L. L. Kronfeld noting that pupils increasingly valued drill exercises as they grew older.[147] New Zealand's higher enlistment age meant that secondary students were perhaps able to distance themselves from the prospect of overseas service longer than their British or Irish equivalents; the average age of sixth formers attending Wanganui Collegiate in 1916, for instance, was 17 years and six

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[141] *SHC*, VII/13 (1918), p. 42.
[142] *WC*, 108 (1918), p. 11.
[143] *Waitakian*, XIII/1 (1918), p. 46.
[144] *OHSM*, XXXII/2 (1916), p. 115.
[145] *WC*, 104 (Aug. 1917), p. 9.
[146] Beeby, *Biography*, p. 29.
[147] *AGSC*, VI/1 (1918), p. 112.

months.[148] Nevertheless, senior cadets here too embraced their destiny as overseas combatants, anticipating doing their own 'bit' by fighting Germans in the near future.[149]

Adolescent enthusiasm for military action could become overzealous on occasion. As was the case in Britain, Canada, and South Africa, not all were willing to wait until they met legal requirements.[150] School archives contain evidence of numerous underage enlistments, with Stephen Carruthers having found at least 157 cases amongst Otago Boys' alumni alone.[151] Catholic adolescents also contributed to this phenomenon; the 1916 *BW* noted that Desmond Campion was initially able to 'slip in' to Featherston Camp by relying on 'his fine physique'.[152] Reasons for enlisting underage likely mirror those identified elsewhere, including a desire for adventure, belief in patriotic masculinity, and peer pressure.[153] In New Zealand, alternative opportunities were pursued where possible, some even travelling to Britain to sign up there.[154] Matters were made somewhat easier from 1917 when boys were allowed to enlist at 19 years if parental permission was obtained, a regulation that J. C. Dove and others swiftly took advantage of.[155]

Student opinion on the war effort was far more uniform in New Zealand than in Ireland during the last year of war. Protestant and Catholic boys alike endorsed their conflict-oriented education even if training experiences were boring. At the end of 1917, J. Mackle of Sacred Heart College proclaimed 'In times of war, when everything around us assumes a martial air, it is only fitting that the schools should give prominent place to things military'.[156] Indeed, adolescent militarism seems to have only intensified over the course of

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[148] Wanganui, Wanganui Collegiate School Archives, (1916 Archival Folder), 'School List, Second Term, 1916', p. 3.
[149] *KC*, XVI/3 (1917), p. 25.
[150] van Emden, *Boy Soldiers*; Cook, ''He was determined'', pp. 41-74; Lambert, ''Munition Factories'', p. 76.
[151] Carruthers, 'Duty to serve?', p. 96.
[152] *BW*, VIII/1 (1916), p. 52.
[153] Cook, ''He was determined'', pp. 45-6, 51-2.
[154] Hamilton and Hamilton, *Never a Footstep*, p. 182.
[155] *KC*, XVI/3 (1917), p. 73; Baker, *King and Country*, p. 145.
[156] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 80.

hostilities and its primary point of interest maintained, that being the war itself. Some even expressed fear that they would miss out on taking part due to their age and be left 'just on the edge', to use A. E. Porritt's words.[157] Regrettably for Porritt, this proved to be the case.

Politicisation and Youth

Martial expectations had national as well as personal implications, drawing attention from the highest levels of government. Most academics agree that the conflict 'did not profoundly alter perceived national interests or identities' but slight shifts did occur, with John Crawford recently identifying 1917 as a key turning point in New Zealand manpower policy.[158] British requests for a second military division or additional infantry brigades that February were greeted with displeasure by Cabinet and other key political figures who took offense at the implication that New Zealand was not already doing its best. A 'fourth brigade' was only established following support from Massey, then in London. Although the brigade attracted little public commentary at first, general opinion soon turned against substantive manpower commitments due to growing belief that the country was doing more than its fair share. In light of information regarding proportionally lower Army Council requirements for Australia, the New Zealand government pressed for reductions in its own reinforcement numbers. While these efforts were successful, 'reductionist' feeling continued, necessitating the adoption of extreme measures to delay the conscription of married men which would fuel public resentment further.[159] By 1918, it was clear that 'national' and 'imperial' concerns were not entirely synonymous even if few questioned the need for decisive military victory.

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[157] *WC*, 142 (1933), p. 27.
[158] Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars', p. 251; Crawford, ''Willing Horse'', pp. 114-38.
[159] Crawford, ''Willing Horse'', pp. 122-32; Baker, *King and Country*, pp. 132-7.

War conditions were also used to serve local political agendas. Richard Kay's work on British-New Zealand relations revealed the intensity with which Dominion policy-makers pursued their own diplomatic and economic interests. Neither Massey nor Joseph Ward – Massey's coalition partner in the National Government from August 1915 – hesitated in pointing towards war contributions to substantiate claims made on the metropole. Issues such as shipping shortages and post-war plans for seized German colonies were brought up at Imperial War Cabinets and Conferences, and it was at the second in 1918 where Massey's concerns about British military strategy came to the fore.[160] This mistrust of British statecraft was part of a broader trend, Margaret MacMillan having documented the conflict's 'psychological impact' on Canadian and Australian government officials as well.[161] Dominion leaders were encouraged by wartime interactions, viewing their respective nations as critical components of the British Empire worthy of recognition and representation. These changes in perspective had significant consequences for subsequent diplomatic negotiations, especially those held at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.[162] The extent to which elite boys – comprising the next generation of New Zealand leaders – shared such views is currently unknown.

School magazines demonstrate that elite students also saw military service in politicised terms. Pride was taken in the willing assistance given to Britain in her time of need but emphasis was also placed on the country's resultant status within the Empire.[163] Boys were well aware of the late-war controversy surrounding the size of this support, leading to a contribution at an impromptu speaking event at Timaru Boys' on whether New

[160] Kay, 'In Pursuit', pp. 126-70, 197-226.
[161] Margaret MacMillan, 'Sibling Rivalry: Australia and Canada from the Boer War to the Great War', in Margaret MacMillan and Francine McKenzie (eds), *Parties Long Estranged: Canada and Australia in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver, 2003), p. 18ff.
[162] idem, *Peacemakers: the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and its attempt to end war* (London, 2003); Kay, 'Caging', pp. 123-41.
[163] *Register*, XCVIII (1918), p. 76.

Zealand should send the reinforcements requested by Lloyd George in April 1918.[164] Students generally appear to have shared the 'defendant' line of thought previously identified by Paul Baker. Developed in opposition to the reductionists, defendants asserted that reinforcement numbers should be sustained on principle in addition to the prestige it rendered.[165] A fourth form debate at Auckland Grammar addressed this issue directly, deciding against a motion that New Zealand reinforcements should cease now that the United States had entered the war.[166] This endorsement is unsurprising considering the late-war intensity of adolescent militarism. Family connections and socio-economic background also played a role; Baker's 'defendants' included 'Anglophilic' businessmen who 'would willingly pay to maintain their Imperial connection honourably'.[167]

Boys championed key post-war demands put forward by their political representatives. Multiple debates held in 1918 favoured the (Greater) British retention of German colonies.[168] While the local consequences of this move were not always explicitly addressed, at least some students viewed the matter in terms of national security. I. Bridgemen defended Massey and Ward's second visit to London to attend the 1918 War Cabinet and Conference, asserting 'Germany must have no bases in the Pacific if New Zealand was to continue its advance unmolested. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to make sure that we obtained Samoa.'[169] Adolescent discussions tapped into long-standing unease about whether New Zealand foreign affairs were adequately represented at an international level; a 1916 essay on British-Dominion relations reminded readers of the Anglo-Japanese agreements signed 'over Australia's head' despite Antipodean fear of the

[164] *Timaruvian*, XIII/1 (1918), p. 45.
[165] Baker, *King and Country*, pp. 135-6.
[166] *AGSC*, VI/2 (1918), p. 79.
[167] Baker, *King and Country*, p. 135.
[168] *Timaruvian*, XIII/1 (1918), pp. 43-4; *KC*, XVII/1 (May 1918), pp. 55-6.
[169] *Waitakian*, XIII/1 (1918), p. 58.

'Yellow Peril'.[170] According to A. J. Harrop, anxiety about 'the vexed Pacific question' only became more prominent as peace approached due to Japan's increased military presence and wartime position as a military ally; Japan would undoubtedly advance its own agenda during reconstruction negotiations.[171]

Several Protestant boys advocated structural changes to address these concerns. Possible options included those postulated by New Zealand officials on earlier occasions. L. W. McCaskill, for example, revived Ward's proposal for an Imperial Federation, advocated so earnestly at the 1911 Imperial Conference.[172] McCaskill argued that Dominions had 'earned' consultation rights on matters affecting the British Empire through their wartime participation, recommending that an Imperial Parliament be established for foreign affairs.[173] A. L. Porritt appears to have favoured a similar solution, rejecting the 'controlling office of our Empire – Downing Street – [as] a wholly unnecessary and inadequate anachronism.'[174] Hopes that New Zealand would be granted greater autonomy flared with Lloyd George's 28 October telegram urging Massey to prepare to return to Europe and subsequent invitations to consult on peace talks.[175] 'This recognition of the rights of the Dominions to a voice in the Peace Settlement is an important step towards the perfection of the British Commonwealth.'[176]

Catholic adolescents were just as invested in New Zealand's contribution to the Empire. At the end of 1917, one student observed that New Zealand 'suffers as intensely as her sister dominions of the Empire' despite its distance from Europe. Accomplishments at Gallipoli, Palestine, and on the Western Front demonstrated how 'Her sons have gone forth

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[170] *WC*, 100 (1916), p. 21.
[171] *Waitakian*, XIII/2 (Nov. 1918), p. 128.
[172] Michael Bassett, *Sir Joseph Ward: A Political Biography* (Auckland, 1993), pp. 192-5.
[173] *Timaruvian*, XIII/1 (1918), p. 17.
[174] *WC*, 106 (1918), p. 27.
[175] Kay, 'Caging', p. 124ff.
[176] *Timaruvian*, XIII/1 (1918), p. 17.

nobly and bravely to vindicate her honour and uphold her cause.'[177] Nevertheless, of equal, and perhaps even greater concern was the war's ramifications for another country. Like their adult counterparts, Catholic boys hoped that peace negotiations would finally result in Irish freedom. An editorial penned shortly after the Armistice proclaimed that:

> President Wilson's presence at the Peace Conference should ensure the acceptance by all parties of the democratic viewpoint of national justice … the long night of tyranny, coercion and injustice in Ireland is ending … To-day the fire of hope burns brightly, fanned by the breeze that carries on its wings across the broad Atlantic this message of liberty 'Rights of small nations! Self-determination!'[178]

Student confidence in this imagined future probably increased further after the polls from the United Kingdom General Election were declared on 28 December 1918.[179]

Political preferences paralleled those in Catholic Ireland, prompting the expression of more radical leanings in 1918. While news of John Redmond's death was greeted with respect at Sacred Heart that March, J. Rankin alluded to general disillusionment with his recent efforts to pursue Home Rule: 'Whatever one may think of his methods since 1914, he gave his life for Ireland.'[180] Popular support for Sinn Féin at the expense of the IPP continued in following months. Elite boys' magazine contributions evaded the Irish conscription crisis, a position likely adopted due to adolescent approval of imperial military service more generally (compulsory enlistment of teaching religious aside). The 'German Plot', however, proved entirely different. Rankin was outraged by this event, decrying it as a government ploy designed to weaken the Sinn Féin cause. On 20 May he recorded there had been 'Another 'rebellion' in Ireland manufactured by Carson and Co. in England. Wholesale arrests: hundreds imprisoned without trial. Freedom of small nations! Principle of self-determination!!'[181] Rankin's vehemence is striking in light of concurrent sectarianism. Sinn

[177] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 100.
[178] *SHC*, VII/13 (1918), p. 18.
[179] Townshend, *Republic*, p. 61.
[180] *SHC*, VII/13 (1918), p. 38.
[181] ibid., p. 41.

Féin sentiments were suppressed by state authorities and viewed with derision from the wider public;[182] even an all-Irish concert held at the Auckland Town Hall in October 1918 attracted suspicion due to its 'atmosphere of politics'.[183] Late-war rises in nationalist sentiment, despite not usually being applied to Ireland by Protestant commentators, appear to have emboldened elite Catholic students.

Student views on Catholic rights in New Zealand were similarly informed by wartime developments. As discussed in chapter four, Catholic boys leveraged alumni enlistment numbers against accusations of treachery directed at the Marist Brothers. Protestations of loyalty stood alongside active participation in college debates on subjects such as whether Catholics were justified in maintaining their own separate education system.[184] Communal interests were furthermore pursued through the Catholic Federation, a branch of which was established at Sacred Heart in 1916. P. McQuilkin encouraged fellow students to use their oratory skills on behalf of the Federation upon leaving school.[185] This need for 'united action' was reiterated at a Midwinter Banquet with young alumni told to resist the 'violent anti-Catholic propaganda [now] raging through the country.'[186] As in Europe, the conflict resulted in a new set of politicised opportunities which adolescents readily took advantage of.

Armistice and Immediate Aftermath

Student ability to embrace military ceasefires in late 1918 was undercut by the overlapping Influenza Pandemic. Towns and cities across the country focussed on fighting the virus, with elite institutions here too devastated by the loss of their own.[187] Yet, despite

[182] The radical *Green Ray* newspaper was suppressed in July 1918. See: Davis, *Irish Issues*, pp. 196-9.
[183] 'Engagement Refused', *NZH* (3 Oct. 1918), p. 4.
[184] *BW*, IX/1 (1918), p. 41.
[185] *SHC*, VI/11 (1916), pp. 35-8; *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 82.
[186] *SHC*, VII/12 (1917), p. 35.
[187] *BHSM*, 60 (1919), p. 4.

this tragic intervention, New Zealand boys still saw the Armistice as a milestone worthy of commemoration. Some larrikins 'with rather a depraved sense of humour' decided to pre-empt official celebrations at Nelson College by setting fire to a bonfire a day early.[188] Although current students do not appear to have been involved in this particular incident, elite boys elsewhere proved more than willing to defy teacher orders to participate in the excitement. Wanganui Collegiate, for example, suffered a 'disciplinary crisis' on Armistice Day after Headmaster Marshall banned students from going into town. The resulting mutiny was only contained after respected staff members stood at the gates and convinced boys to return to school.[189]

Men who had died for their country and Empire were revered even more now the fighting was over. Despite a professed distaste for 'the brazen God of Militarism' – generally affiliated with German aggression – students continued to validate and draw inspiration from alumni sacrifices.[190] In December 1918, one Auckland schoolboy used the war to set new standards for his college cadet corps:

> In the future, the work will be even harder, and with even higher ideals … [because] with **Anzac** as its watchword, it will have to see that the training it gives its boys will make them worthy followers of the New Zealand men whose glorious deeds on Gallipoli will live for ever in British history.[191]

Rather than seeing them as a source of despair, elite adolescents endorsed the militaristic values which had encouraged old boys to enlist. Such responses parallel those identified in Australia; Martin Crotty's research on major boys' colleges found 'little effort to retreat from the militarist ideals that had dominated these schools in the pre-war years'.[192] This state of affairs continued well into the next two decades, deviating from Britain where critics

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[188] *Nelsonian*, XXXIV/2 (1918), p. 137.
[189] Hamilton and Hamilton, *Never a Footstep*, pp. 191, 220.
[190] *SHC*, VII/13 (1918), pp. 17-8. For New Zealand views on Prussian 'militarism' see: Loveridge, *Calls to Arms*, p. 87ff.
[191] *KC*, XVII/3 (1918), p. 32
[192] Crotty, *Making the Australian Male*, p. 93.

increasingly denounced public schools and their military ethos from the 1920s after an initial truce.[193]

Martial enthusiasm aside, New Zealand students embraced the end of active hostilities. As early as April 1919, commentators at Christ's College observed 'To us here at School the war is a thing of the past and we no longer eagerly scan the papers daily for the latest news. The anxiety of war has gone from us'.[194] While some adolescents regretted losing the prospect of serving overseas, the Armistice promised numerous benefits. Boarders at Wellington College looked forward to the return of combatant old boys, with their counterparts at King's foreseeing the end of staffing difficulties alongside demobilisation.[195] With the war no longer acting as an 'excuse', pupils demanded that building works go ahead to alleviate cramped dormitories and classrooms, as well as the return of their rifles so that all interested parties could partake in shooting activities.[196] Across the board, students wanted daily life at school to return to pre-war conditions as soon as possible.

Expectations for international peace negotiations remained similarly high. Students across the denominational divide placed their faith in Allied diplomats to secure victory won on the battlefield; 'Now we are eagerly waiting for the news that the labours … of the statesmen at the conference table have been brought to a successful conclusion by the signing of the Treaty of Peace.'[197] Protestant confidence in supplementary outcomes, however, proved more stable than that of their Catholic counterparts. Lloyd George may not have originally intended for British Dominions to have their own delegates at the Paris Peace Conference, but Sir Robert Borden and William Hughes – Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia respectively – swiftly persuaded him otherwise.[198] Ongoing efforts to secure

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[193] Parker, *Old Lie*, pp. 279-81; Seldon and Walsh, *Public Schools*, pp. 215-9.
[194] *Register*, C (1919), p. 156.
[195] *Wellingtonian*, XXVII/2 (1918), p. 21; *KC*, XVII/3 (1918), p. 10.
[196] *WC*, 109 (Apr. 1919), p. 1; *KC*, XVIII/1 (May 1919), p. 37.
[197] *OHSM*, XXXV/1 (1919), p. 4.
[198] MacMillan, 'Sibling Rivalry', pp. 21-2.

separate Irish representation, by contrast, came to naught. Boys at Sacred Heart were frustrated by this apparent betrayal, accusing the Allies of 'gross treachery and base hypocrisy' in a piece on St Patrick's Day.[199] While Irish representatives continued to agitate for European recognition even after the Conference concluded in July, Sinn Féin enthusiasts in New Zealand became progressively disillusioned with proceedings.[200]

Attention was also directed towards socio-political matters. A. Harrop optimistically 'ascribe[d] to the war a noticeable weakening of the class antagonism which was so depressing a feature of English industrial life some years ago'. All apparently now shared the same cause – the establishment of a more equal society.[201] The need to achieve such a goal was reiterated in a school essay penned at Wanganui Collegiate pointing towards the 'disastrous' possibility of the 'proletariate' acquiring greater political power in its drive to address social concerns.[202] As in Ireland, the global implications of Russian Bolshevism prompted Protestant anxiety.[203] Catholic commentators focussed on more immediate circumstances, continuing to stress the importance of training boys able to fend off attacks on Catholic rights 'if need be'.[204] Unfortunately for Protestants and Catholics alike, respective fears seemed to materialise in following months. Although Mark Sheftall has argued that New Zealand saw 'comparatively greater domestic tranquillity' than either Canada or Australia in the first three years after hostilities, labour discontent featured here too.[205] The political consequences of this unrest for the upcoming 1919 General Election probably prompted less concern amongst Catholic students whose community had

[199] *SHC*, VII/14 (1919), p. 108.
[200] Townshend, *Republic*, p. 68; Davis, *Irish Issues*, pp. 200-2.
[201] *Waitakian*, XIII/2 (1918), p. 124.
[202] *WC*, 109 (1919), pp. 19-23, 22. See also: *Nelsonian*, XXXV/1 (July 1919), pp. 6-7.
[203] *OHSM*, XXXV/1 (1919), p. 4.
[204] *SHC*, VII/14 (1919), p. 108.
[205] Sheftall, *Altered Memories*, p. 167; *Register*, CI (Aug. 1919), p. 218.

increasingly aligned itself with the Labour Party. Other dangers remained, however, with sectarian tensions continuing to rise despite the war now being over.[206]

Students asserted that they had a critical role to play in post-war reconstruction. In early November, W. W. Bridgman and A. L. Sutherland predicted that 'The era just opening will probably be one of greater prospect and opportunity than any that has preceded it.' Departing students were encouraged to be 'mindful of the duty which lies before him, [and] set out with a determination to accomplish manfully his task'.[207] Having long been identified as future leaders and trained accordingly, writers like Bridgman and Sutherland now felt an added sense of responsibility. A. W. Firth of Auckland Grammar, for example, contended 'The loss of the flower of her manhood is to a nation the greatest misfortune she can suffer', insisting his peers help mitigate this disaster.[208] Such sentiments closely resemble British perceptions of a 'Lost Generation' resulting from the mass death of talented public-school alumni, later held to account for the apparent decline of Britain during the inter-war years.[209] Students at prestigious colleges throughout the Empire likely saw their status enhanced, rather than diminished, by the illustrious acts of old boy forebears; those left behind were needed to fulfil the potential promise of not one but two generations. Whether such an achievement was even possible was yet to be seen.

Concluding Comments

Transnational commonalities readily appear through the juxtaposition of Irish and New Zealand adolescent reactions to late-war conditions. Elite boys were less than enthused by resource constraints, even if these were substantially less than that suffered in Germany and Austria-Hungary. Irish food shortages provoked general discontent, disrupting

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[206] Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism', chs. 9-10.
[207] *OHSM*, XXXIV/2 (1918), p. 83.
[208] *AGSC*, VI/2 (1918), p. 6ff
[209] Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979), ch. 3.

friendship practices linked to selective sharing. Supply issues also resulted in heightened behavioural expectations that impinged upon school curricula and holidays in New Zealand as well. Not all fiscal or labour adjustments met with automatic resentment, however. Some pupils delighted in the supplementary income gained through their farming activities, while others enjoyed simply having time away from the classroom. Female teachers – so long as they were not too strict – were also swiftly accepted despite institutional fears of their 'feminising' potential. While student enthusiasm for remobilisation efforts was far from uniform in Ireland, most tolerated (slightly) straitened circumstances as long as they remained temporary. Boys across the board rejoiced in the Armistice, with several demanding the prompt return of pre-war standards. In and of themselves, economic compromises seem not to have been the deciding factor in determining youth support for hostilities.

Military developments played a larger role in informing student opinion. New Zealand officials may have resisted calls for more reinforcements from 1917 but secondary boys nailed their colours to the mast. Militaristic sentiments intensified amongst older pupils in particular, leading some to violate state delineations of acceptable behaviour by enlisting underage. Matters were entirely different in Ireland where adolescent perspectives on the British Forces were starkly divided by 1918. Here too, martial masculinity was reified however the concept was now directed towards multiple ends. Irish military endeavours had long been politicised and the 1918 conscription crisis constituted a significant turning point. Catholic students were not opposed to the principle of conscription per se, but compulsory Irish enlistment by a British government was untenable. Military service on behalf of the state was only honourable if the state itself was legitimate, a status drawn into question due to inadequate Irish representation. Protestant students, by contrast, fervently backed the

British cause, classifying active participation in the war as a critical indicator of unionist identity.

Like their European counterparts, Irish and New Zealand boys were politicised by wartime circumstances. Agitation against conscription offered Irish Catholic students new opportunities to affiliate themselves with advanced nationalist thought. Construing food production initiatives as 'national' acts of service enabled boys to further distance themselves from the war effort and thus the government itself. Protestant pupils, while not radicalised as such, likewise attached political import to late-war behaviour; even adolescents could help fend off the threat posed by Irish self-determination by condoning state policies and rejecting Sinn Féin developments. Similar trends occurred in New Zealand. Secondary pupils from both denominational backgrounds embraced the British Empire but simultaneously sought greater recognition for national contributions at an international level. Catholic boys also supported additional causes. Elite pupils at St. Patrick's and Sacred Heart continued to see no disconnect in championing New Zealand's involvement in the war alongside Irish independence. These convictions held firm despite increased sectarian tensions, with secondary students choosing to defend Catholic rights in New Zealand as well.

Student views on hostilities in late 1917 and 1918 were heavily informed by their surrounding context. By and large, elite boys shared the same political allegiances and peacetime expectations as their teachers. Irish and New Zealand Catholics were optimistic about nationalist trajectories in Ireland, holding out hope that the country's right as a 'small nation' would be confirmed in the Armistice negotiations. Irish Protestants took a different view, having convinced themselves that communal demonstrations of loyalty via the war effort would help preserve the United Kingdom. At the same time, however, adolescents still engaged with late-war and initial post-war developments on their own terms. The strongest reactions were to incidents that affected or tapped into elite boy culture, these concerns

ultimately outlasting the conflict itself. Younger students were especially likely to enmesh themselves in school settings rather than look to future contributions to the world at large. Nevertheless, all saw that they had a role to play in matters deemed within their immediate remit such as cadet activities or post-war reconstruction. Individual responses to the war were framed accordingly.

Conclusion

The interplay between the First World War and education preoccupied school authorities in belligerent countries throughout the 1910s. In response to the question '[w]hat do Schoolboys really think about the war?', one Irish commentator speculated that they 'cannot be indifferent to it, because it is such a gigantic affair that affects everybody'. Concern was nevertheless expressed that, by late 1917, 'they [had] become used to it and … look upon it as an everyday affair'.[1] Despite such contemporary attention, youth engagement with hostilities remains uncertain and under-studied a full century later. This thesis picked up this thread of inquiry. Focussing on 25 boys' secondary colleges located at both ends of the British Empire, this research pursued deeper understandings about adolescent wartime experiences in two under-researched regions – Ireland and New Zealand. It has also sought to identify the extent to which the conflict altered age-related practices in elite school settings, juxtaposing staff and student responses in the process. This multi-layered comparative framework drew on a shared educational structure which captured a common adolescent cohort. Cross-national similarities existing across Ireland and New Zealand facilitated fruitful analysis as these home fronts were not 'too different to yield meaningful contrasts.'[2] This methodology not only challenged implicit exceptionalist assumptions by investigating whether local incidents or developments were truly unique, but also provides new insights into the transnational parallels and connections that shaped civilian experience during this global event. In addition to its war-specific findings, this research contributes to the foundations of further work on the histories of childhood and education in Ireland, New Zealand, and beyond.

[1] *Erasmian*, IV/4 (Oct. 1917), pp. 118, 119.
[2] Cohen, 'Comparative History', p. 26.

The overarching contention of this thesis is that age was critical in shaping how male non-combatants were both impacted by, and reacted to, the conflict. It is substantiated by in-depth analyses of several related themes, including 'war enthusiasm' and self-mobilisation. While the outbreak of hostilities was near-uniformly identified as a crucial event, responses were mediated by longstanding orientations and responsibilities. Religious and socio-political affiliations were a substantive and consistent source of influence on elite educators; Catholic and Protestant New Zealand schools construed the war in imperial terms, drawing on constitutional ties and shared cultural affinities to affirm regional support for British intervention. Similar sentiments were expressed in Irish Protestant circles, especially those linked to the Ulster Unionist cause. In Ireland, however, divergence occurred alongside denominational affiliation. Elite Catholic commentary was less concordant with John Redmond's favourable stance on Irish overseas involvement than has previously been assumed. Here, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, youth were by no means exposed to an impassioned 'total war' discourse. Official addresses were inflected by pre-war priorities, especially institutional matters. It is evident that contention surrounding state funding for denominational establishments persisted throughout the 1910s, extending scholarly insights into Irish elite secondary education beyond the nineteenth century. Concerns about governmental backing and interference proved similarly important in New Zealand; agitation about the lack of Catholic scholarships continued at institutions such as St. Patrick's College, and increased state requirements attracted sustained commentary from Protestant headmasters. Ongoing state reforms have attracted some historiographical work; this thesis refines scholarly understanding of governmental legislation and school policies at a time of war.

Student responses were also selective. Numerous parallels can be identified in the war talk espoused by teachers and their pupils between 1914 and 1918. Pro-British and

'Greater British' frameworks were readily deployed by those attending New Zealand and Irish Protestant institutions, with such language notably absent from nationalist Catholic colleges. Pupils openly praised Belgian Fund carnivals and other war effort activities promoted by their schools. Yet, while adult surveillance shaped student commentary on the conflict and associated events – especially that published in official school periodicals – shared cultural and socio-economic backgrounds also proved influential. Student editorials reflected the political leanings expressed at pre-war collegiate debates, with such sentiments further articulated in less supervised forums. The war's infiltration into student slang and schoolyard conversations demonstrates genuine youth investment in overseas developments. Nonetheless, student behaviour did not always converge with institutional expectations. Although many reiterated the conflict's importance in writing, immediate concerns took precedence. Adolescents embraced and perpetuated the existence of a transnational 'boys' culture' at elite schools in Ireland and New Zealand. Militarised masculinities, school loyalty, sporting success, and more mundane matters like good food and holidays were commonly held in high regard. Student hierarchies and values such as bravery, fortitude, and duty continued to be reinforced through peer pressure. Ultimately, the conflict drew the strongest responses when it interfered with these age-specific interests.

Reactions in New Zealand and Irish schools to the on-going war shifted over time alongside transformative encounters with death and dissent. This thesis confirms the 1915 Gallipoli campaign's definitive impact on the New Zealand home front; while the country did not develop a fully-fledged independent national identity following disastrous landings at Anzac Cove, as recognised in extant literature, it still constituted the moment wherein the conflict became 'real' for most New Zealanders. Prestigious colleges and wider communities alike were permeated by a 'culture of sacrifice' consolidated by comparatively high losses suffered across the conflict as a whole. Yet, while Ireland was not uniformly transformed by

any single military event, specific institutions were hit harder than others. Prestigious Irish and New Zealand boys' schools endured lengthy casualty lists due to their traditional production of 'officer material'. Elite educators responded to alumni fatalities in similar ways, drawing on denominational ideologies and 'public school' rituals to comfort grieving students. Divergent fatality patterns resulted in consolatory narratives appearing at a slightly later stage in New Zealand than Ireland as the BEF had lost personnel on European battlefields within weeks. Nevertheless, teaching staff in both countries deployed supportive and inclusive narratives recognising the wartime death of all old boys, at least at first.

Students did not engage with school fatalities on the same terms. As was the case in combatant nations elsewhere, children found some deaths more poignant than others. College friends and heroes were mourned in particular, confirming the importance of relational proximity in mediating reactions to individual losses. Personal connections varied with age. Teachers and headmasters with long records of service may have recalled fallen old boys from years past, but this was not the case for those who only recently started their secondary education. The likelihood of pupils being emotionally affected by institutional deaths grew as the decade progressed, with older Irish boys proving especially vulnerable; there, boys could enter military training straight from school. In New Zealand, current students were more likely to remember former staff members who died on the battlefield as opposed to alumni who had joined up after several years in the work force. These internal variations undercut a one-measure-fits-all approach. Elite pupils did draw on school commemorative practices to come to terms with their grief, but they also extended and supplemented them where deemed appropriate. Painful losses were recognised in boy culture, giving rise to personalised memorials in school settings. Reference points that resonated with behavioural ideals were also used to validate soldier deaths; students appear

to have deployed Anzac mythology and Ulster Unionist narratives focussing on the 36th Division far more readily than teacher counterparts.

This thesis highlights the importance of place as well as age, especially in its exploration of 'dissent'. Advanced nationalist views were held by relatively few in 1916, with insurgent activity restricted mostly to Dublin during the Easter Rising. Elite Catholic institutions found themselves in a difficult position with Clongowes amongst those with old boys fighting on both sides. While adolescents expressed interest, even excitement, in this event, teaching religious neither wholly praised nor condemned it. Britain's brutal reaction to the Rising, however, proved crucial in consolidating nationalist support for the rebels. School stances were informed by resultant changes in political thought, with Catholic colleges facing increased pressure to make their allegiances clear. Despite traditional assumptions of steadfast middle-class loyalty to the Home Rule cause, elite magazines such as the *Belvederian* published material sympathetic to the advanced nationalist cause in following years. Protestant establishments, on the other hand, consistently denounced any form of dissent, rejecting the Rising and popular shifts towards Sinn Féin outright. Protestant students largely agreed with their teachers' outlook on the situation, continuing to endorse the state and its international activities. Until the very end, adolescents participated in a wide range of war effort and military training endeavours. Such responses – especially outside of Ulster – have generally been overlooked in the considerable literature that exists on Ireland's revolutionary decade. In addition to altering nationalist trajectories more broadly, the Rising decisively split elite educational understandings of appropriate wartime behaviour in Ireland.

Irish political developments affected specific overseas communities. Catholics comprised just over 14 percent of New Zealand's total population in 1916, at least nine-tenths of whom were of Irish descent. Several secondary institutions even had direct links with Dublin; the founding rector of St. Patrick's College in Wellington – Dr. Felix Watters

– had since returned to Ireland and was fatally wounded on 1 May after visiting a presbytery on Haddington Road. His old college was shocked by the news, but empathy was still expressed for the rebels' cause and those affected by martial law. New Zealand Catholics had long backed Irish Home Rule and they continued to do so in the Rising's wake despite the possibility of this support being mistaken for advanced nationalist leanings. This event coincided with the introduction of conscription which brought questions of loyalty to the fore. The Marist Brothers, who ran Sacred Heart College in Auckland, attracted vehement criticism for their opposition to attempts to forcibly enlist teaching religious and ecclesiastical students from November 1916. Staff and students alike refuted accusations of disloyalty, pointing towards substantial alumni contributions to military forces. Yet, these protests aside, Catholics became ever more grouped with others perceived to hold traitorous views, falling victim to an outburst of sectarianism. Elite Catholic institutions were not completely ostracised by their Protestant counterparts, but they were still tarred by public suspicion. While recent studies of a unified New Zealand society at war hold significant merit, this thesis asserts that some groups and their institutions were subject to greater pressure than previously thought.

National contexts were particularly important during the war's final years. Irish Catholic experiences deviated from patterns of cultural 're-mobilization' observed by historian John Horne elsewhere in Europe. School communities like that at Castleknock rejected British attempts to bolster Irish involvement, contributing instead to anti-conscription protests that peaked in April 1918. Although recent work has rightly sought to differentiate 'anti-conscription' positions from those opposing the war itself, antagonistic views did overlap. Elite Catholic colleges had largely ignored voluntary war effort activities from the outset and, by 1918, even their conditional support for overseas military service had been eroded. Steven O'Connor has argued that these institutions 'never accepted, either

before or after 1922, the premise that Irishmen engaged in British service were 'anti- or un-national''.[3] Considering the extent to which the war and even combatant alumni themselves were displaced in late-war magazine coverage – Clongowes excluded – this claim seems somewhat exaggerated. Rather than confirming or restoring limited pro-war leanings in elite Catholic circles, coercive measures implemented by the state appear to have weakened them further. The situation proved entirely different in New Zealand. There, prestigious colleges embraced remobilisation rhetoric, reiterating the war's importance and advocating greater participation in temporary war work. Such a stand reflects the selective use of coercive mechanisms, generally condoned by the New Zealand population, as well as the socio-economic positioning of these establishments. At the same time, however, it would have perhaps been difficult for elite schools to choose otherwise. The nation's culture of sacrifice translated into a cohesive set of expectations that was near impossible to defy without facing public ostracism. Staff and students inhabited physical communities as well as imagined ones, and it was the former that had to be confronted on a daily basis.

State boundaries also played a considerable role in determining citizen behaviour. Despite the importance placed on heroic expressions of manliness within elite boys' culture, national parameters had the final say as to when students could legally enlist. Irish adolescents could sign up with the regular army at 18 years, but New Zealanders were unable to do so until the age of 20. Perceptions of state legitimacy furthermore shaped enthusiasm for official military activity. Quibbles with the conscription of teaching religious aside, Catholic boys in New Zealand continued to respect the national government and its war effort. Like their Protestant counterparts, many eagerly pursued supplementary training measures such as Barracks camps, seeing enrolment with the NZEF as their ultimate goal. Martial masculinity also continued to underpin adolescent engagement with combat roles in

[3] O'Connor, *Irish Officers*, p. 186.

Ireland but, by 1918, this concept was directed towards two different ends. Soldiers were only glorified as long as they fought for a legitimate cause. While Protestant boys continued to venerate the United Kingdom and British endeavours, the conscription crisis discredited war service for many Catholic nationalists. Boys like Kevin Barry now preferred other forms of military action that supported an alternative state, specifically an independent Ireland.

Visions of the future mirrored local political currents. Previous work on the Irish Catholic middle class notes that the Irish revolution destroyed socio-political aspirations, resulting in the 'failure of this elite to assume important roles in the administration of twentieth-century Ireland'.[4] The rise of Sinn Féin was by no means inevitable, nor was the constitutional outcome of this nationalist trajectory. Nevertheless, this research indicates that prestigious Catholic schools were not wholly unprepared for what was to come. Belvedere and other colleges had effectively hedged their bets from 1917, evident through careful editorial decisions. Catholic students also actively grappled with new definitions of patriotism and advanced nationalist perspectives after the Rising; whether Ireland would represent itself at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference proved a burning topic of conservation. Protestant establishments, by contrast, had their own expectations for the post-war world. Loyalist activities seen to promote the maintenance of a United Kingdom continued to be affirmed, with Irish moves towards separatism utterly derided across the country. Jane McGaughey has aptly explored how Protestant experiences of the war shaped Ulster Unionist identity and politics into the next decade and beyond. Equivalent work needs to be done on southern Protestant communities represented by St. Columba's and similar institutions. Students at such schools were deeply invested in a peaceful settlement that took unionist preferences into account. It is possible that the ultimate failure of these hopes had

[4] Pašeta, *Before the Revolution*, p. 1.

life-long political consequences akin to – although perhaps not as dramatic as – those identified for disillusioned German youth who later turned to fascism.

This thesis likewise illuminates youth politicisation in twentieth-century New Zealand. Comparing Ireland and the Antipodes brings multiple research gaps to the fore, one of which concerns children's political agency. Although several scholars have examined the war's impact on New Zealand's international relationships and domestic affairs, little attention has been paid to adolescent contributions to these developments. Here, it is argued that secondary students contemplated changes in popular politics such as growing support for Labour. They also proposed solutions to problems simultaneously discussed at the level of high politics, namely New Zealand's post-war position in the British Empire. Such engagement would have not only extended public awareness of these issues at the time, but also possibly had significant outcomes for the country as a whole. Elite boys, after all, were trained to become national leaders and political actors in their adulthood. Further work on adolescent investment in predominantly Catholic and/or transnational causes would also deepen understandings of the early 1920s in particular. Intense sectarian tensions continued to exist, having been exacerbated by the war itself; critical comments made about British conduct in Ireland resulted in a bishop being put on trial in 1922.[5] Student experience in advocating communal interests and Irish self-government in the face of wider opposition could help account for the sheer scale of later agitation and inflamed feeling.

The findings of this research also cast light on the interconnections between class status and education provision. Elite Irish Catholic and Protestant establishments have rarely been examined alongside one another, generally being considered distinct entities with conflicting denominational and political interests. While this is true up to a point, these colleges did share a number of educational structures and aspirations which contoured

[5] Rory Sweetman, *Bishop in the Dock: The Sedition Trial of James Liston in New Zealand* (Auckland, 1997).

middle-class experiences in broadly similar ways. Catholic and Protestant headmasters clung onto a common 'public school' ethos and curriculum informed by models such as Eton College. Wartime threats – including mounting economic pressures and enlistment practices – were managed with a steely eye to preserving the system. Catherine Cox and Susannah Riordan have speculated that this 'late-Victorian educational structure and curriculum' lasted until the introduction of free secondary education in the 1960s, perpetuating a particular legacy in the process: 'the character formation of the Irish adolescent, or at least the middle-class Catholic adolescent, may have differed significantly from that of his and her peers throughout Western Europe.'[6] Although further study is needed, this thesis demonstrates the strength of nineteenth-century class influences on privileged youth as late as 1920. Transnational reference points also had an enduring impact on middle-class New Zealanders. Previous work has suggested the continued existence of 'elite' schools long after the introduction of free places at the turn of the twentieth century. It is entirely possible that the war played a decisive role in sustaining this elite substrate. Headmasters not only defended their schools against continued departmental infractions throughout hostilities, but also used alumni military contributions to shore up their position within the secondary system.

Lastly, this thesis helps clarify the role of education in identity construction. Sending students to schools staffed by teachers with similar backgrounds was generally deliberate. This was especially the case for minority groups, with D. H. Akenson having recognised that Irish Catholics in New Zealand defended their separate education system because it was integral to their identity. 'For them, protecting their Catholicity was simultaneously an affirmation of their solidarity.'[7] This project affirms the importance of elite institutions in promoting specific denominational, political, and cultural affiliations within their respective

[6] Catherine Cox and Susannah Riordan, 'Introduction', in Cox and Riordan (eds), *Adolescence*, p. 6.
[7] Akenson, *Half the World*, p. 169

communities, alongside a sense of belonging. It also lays the groundwork for additional work on early-twentieth-century schooling elsewhere in the Irish diaspora. At the same time, however, it raises questions about the totality of this ethno-religious experience. In-depth exploration of student reactions to the First World War demonstrates that teacher instructions and communal expectations intersected with other formative influences. Adolescent engagement with broader events were shaped just as much by other youths as by adult authorities; 'boy culture' and age-related interests provided a constant baseline against which external interventions into daily life were evaluated. Ultimately it seems clear that the best way to discover how older children thought and felt about major global developments is to focus on this cohort itself.

Appendix 1: Information Table for Irish Case Studies

Table information was drawn from relevant institutional histories and school periodicals.

Name of Institution	Religious Affiliation	Geographic Location	Name of Headmaster	School Magazine
Belvedere College	Catholic (Jesuit Order)	Dublin	John Fahy (1913-19)	*The Belvederian*
Castleknock College	Catholic (Vincentian Order)	Dublin	Paul Cullen (1907-14); Maurice O'Reilly (1914-15); John A. Shanahan (1915-16); Edward P. Meehan (1916-19)	*The College Chronicle*
Clongowes Wood College	Catholic (Jesuit Order)	Clane, Co. Kildare	Nicholas J. Tomkin (1913-27)	*The Clongownian*
Mungret College	Catholic (Jesuit Order)	Limerick	Edward Cahill (1913-16); James Corboy (1916-20)	*Mungret Annual*
Campbell College	Protestant	Belfast	Robert Arthur H. McFarland (1907-22)	*The Campbellian*
Coleraine Academical Institution	Protestant	Coleraine	Thomas Galway Houston (1870-1915); Thomas James Beare (1915-27)	*C.A.I.*
Cork Grammar School	Protestant (Church of Ireland)	Cork	E. G. Seale (1908-14); C. B. Armstrong (1914-19)	*The Cork Grammar School Magazine*
Foyle College	Protestant (Church of Ireland)	Derry	Robert Foster Dill (1911-28)	*Our School Times*
Royal Belfast Academical Institution	Protestant (Strong Presbyterian ties)	Belfast	R. M. Jones (1898-1925)	*School News*
Royal School Armagh	Protestant (Church of Ireland)	Armagh	Henry Hirsch (1904-28)	*The Armachian**
St. Columba's College	Protestant (Church of Ireland)	Dublin	William Blackburn (1909-19)	*The Columban*
The High School, Dublin	Protestant (Church of Ireland)	Dublin	John Thompson (1908-27)	*The Erasmian*
Wesley College	Protestant (Methodist)	Dublin	Thomas J. Irwin (1910-45)	*Wesley College Quarterly*

* This case study has been examined through other primary source records

Appendix 2: Information Table for New Zealand Case Studies

Table information was drawn from relevant institutional histories and school periodicals.

Name of Institution	Religious Affiliation	Geographic Location	Name of Headmaster	School Magazine
Sacred Heart College	Catholic (Marist Brothers)	Auckland	Brother Clement (1909-15); Brother Alphonsus (1915; Acting Principal); Brother Benignus (1916-21)	*Students' Magazine/S.H.C.: The School Chronicle of the Sacred Heart College, Auckland*
St. Patrick's College	Catholic (Society of Mary/Marist Fathers)	Wellington	David Kennedy (1909-16); T. A. Gilbert (1917-27)	*Blue and White*
Auckland Grammar School	None (Informally Protestant)	Auckland	James William Tibbs (1893-1922)	*Auckland Grammar School Chronicle*
Christ's College	Protestant (Anglican)	Christchurch	Ernest A. Belcher (1913-14); A. E. Flower (1914; Acting Headmaster); G. E. Blanch (1915-20)	*The Christ's College Register*
Christchurch Boy's High School	None (Informally Protestant)	Christchurch	Charles Edmund Bevan-Brown (1883-1920)	*Boys' High School Magazine*
King's College	Protestant (Anglican)	Auckland	Charles Thomas Major (1905-26)	*King's Collegian*
Nelson College	None (Informally Protestant)	Nelson	Harry Lewis Fowler (1904-21)	*The Nelsonian*
Otago Boys' High School	None (Informally Protestant)	Dunedin	William Morrell (1907-33)	*The Otago High School Magazine*
Timaru Boys' High School	None (Informally Protestant)	Timaru	W. A. Thomas (1912-35)	*The Timaruvian*
Waitaki Boys' High School	None (Informally Protestant)	Oamaru	Frank Milner (1906-44)	*The Waitakian*
Wanganui Collegiate School	Protestant (Anglican)	Wanganui	Hugh Latter (1914-16); J. E. Bannister (1916; Acting Headmaster) Patrick Marshall (1917-22)	*The Wanganui Collegian*
Wellington College	None (Informally Protestant)	Wellington	Joseph Firth (1893-1921)	*The Wellingtonian*

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