The Portrayal of the First World War and the Development of a National Mythology in New Zealand

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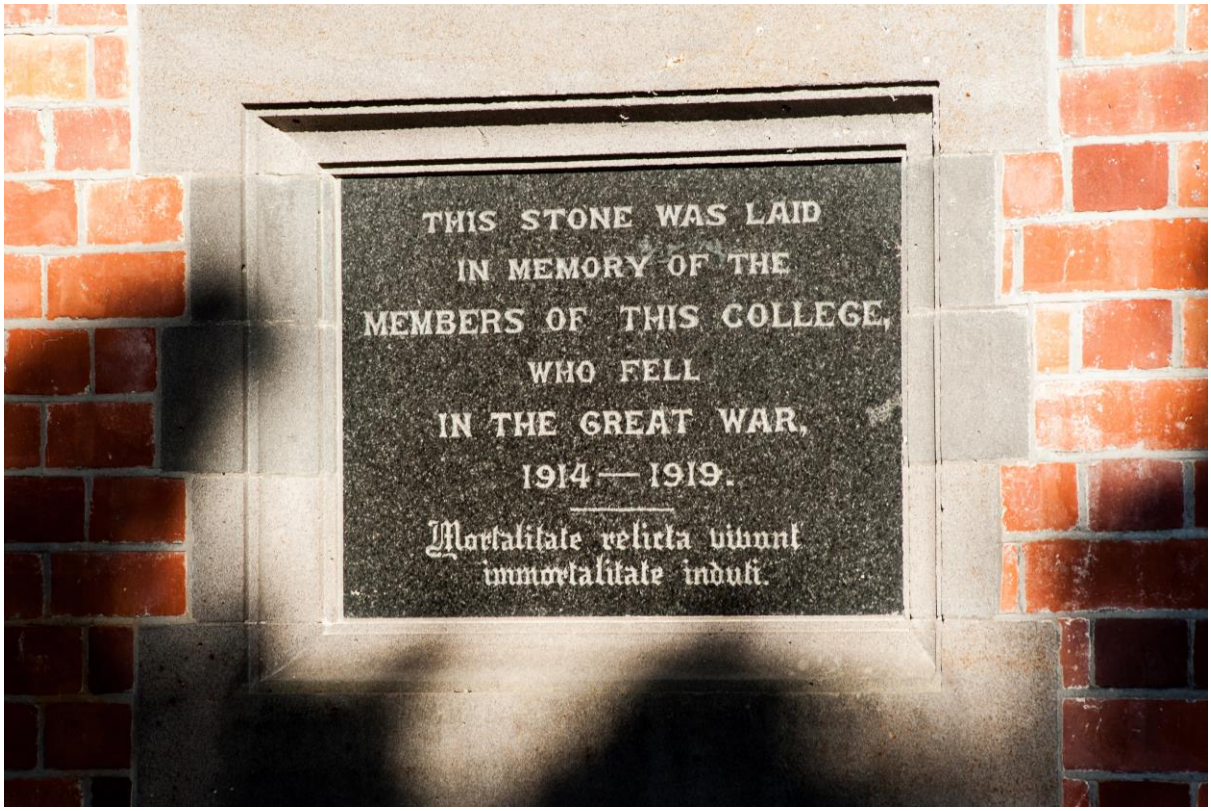
On 18 April, 1899, Victoria College of the University of New Zealand was officially opened to classes, half-way through the inaugural lectures of its first four professors. The College grew from small beginnings and already in 1913 there are plans indicated in the Council minutes to develop the building named after Sir Thomas Hunter and place a library at the North End. The outbreak of the First World War delayed this expansion, but allowed both the new structures to be inaugurated on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the College. Again on April 18, which in 1924 coincided with Easter Good Friday, the northern extension to the main university building was opened. This coincided with the ceremonial unveiling of a memorial stained glass window, an event to which the next of kin of the deceased from the College were invited. The window was complemented with four brass plaques on columns in front, recording the names of students and staff who had served, and another, larger bronze on the wall under the glass that commemorated the fallen: *brevis vita nobis data at memoria bene reditae vitae sempiterna*.[1] In addition, a stone was affixed by the new small northern entrance inscribed *mortalitate relicta vivunt immortalitate induti.*[2]

Figure 1: the plaque at the north entrance to the Hunter Building, Victoria University of Wellington. Source: Image Services, Victoria University of Wellington.



The window in particular made the college library (now Council Chamber) into a permanent reminder of the sacrifices made by the Dominion.

Figure 2: the Memorial Window, Hunter Building, Victoria University of Wellington. Source: Image Services, Victoria University of Wellington.

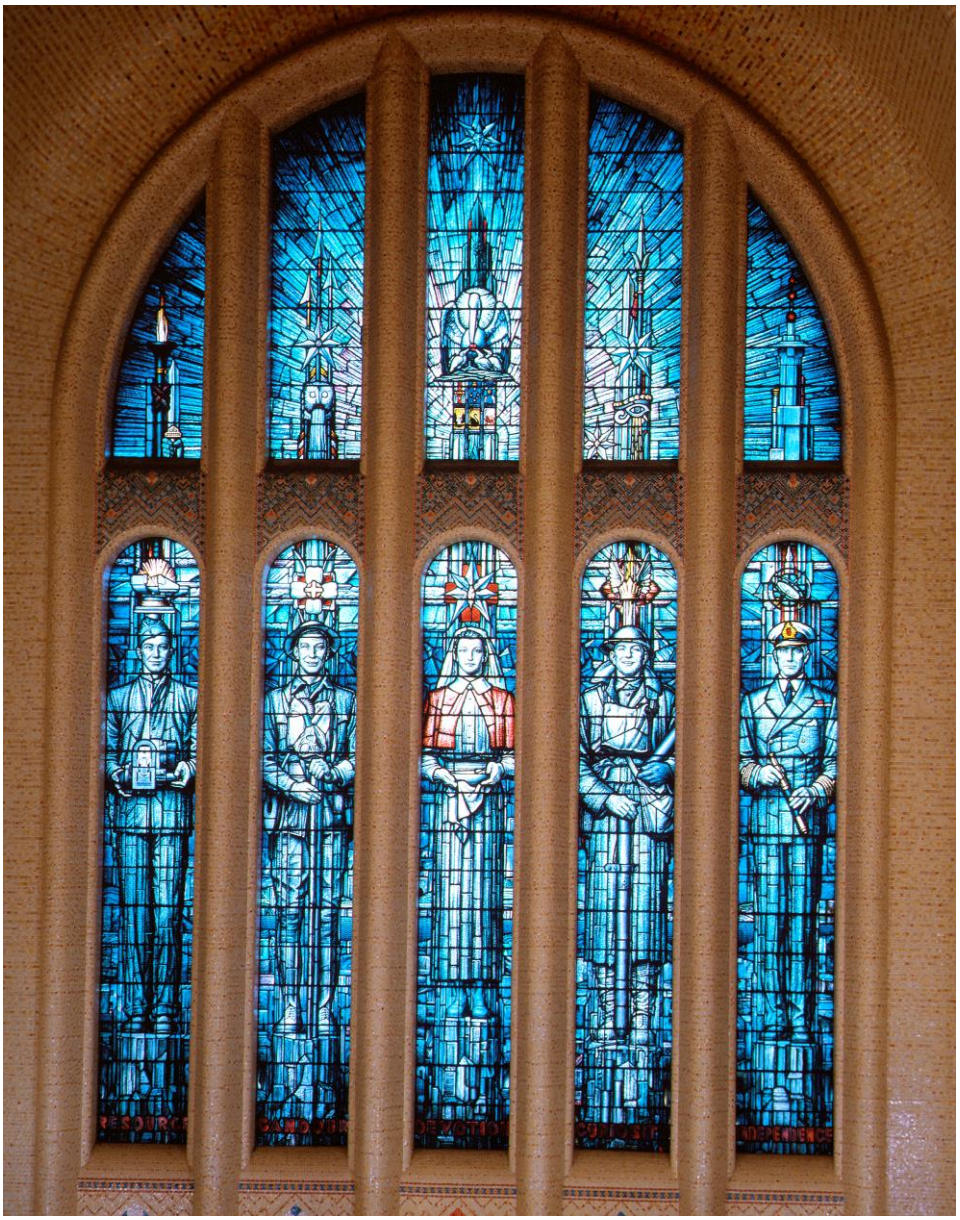
If the memorial entrance with its Latin inscription and the plaque to the dead link the fallen with the development of western civilization and the tradition of higher education in western Europe since the Renaissance, the style of the library and its windows, not to mention the significant date of the opening, reminds the viewer that these were Christian men who had made the ultimate sacrifice.

This mixture of the Greco-Roman and Christian-Judaic traditions is typical of the British education system that was developed by Arnold of Rugby and was, to a substantial extent, swept away by the war.[3] That this needs to be pointed out today shows the great change over the last century in New Zealand to a secular society that generally sees little connection with European traditions, educational or otherwise. This development, I should note, is hardly just a local phenomenon: Elizabeth Vandiver's recent monograph on the influence of Classics (Greek and Latin) on First World War compositions seeks to provide the reader with knowledge of the intellectual milieu of many of the famous British war poets in order to correctly appraise their output.[4] So, for instance, Wilfred Owen's *Dulce et decorum est* poem

implies a reader of similar cultural competence to the author, not only educated to appreciate Horace but able to recognize where the line had been inscribed as an admonition for his own times (in 1913, on the wall of the Chapel in the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst).[5] It is my intention in this paper to trace the Christian and classical influences that influenced the memorialization of the Great War and to identify the features that were to develop into the New Zealand mythology of Gallipoli and reflect a very different social and religious outlook.

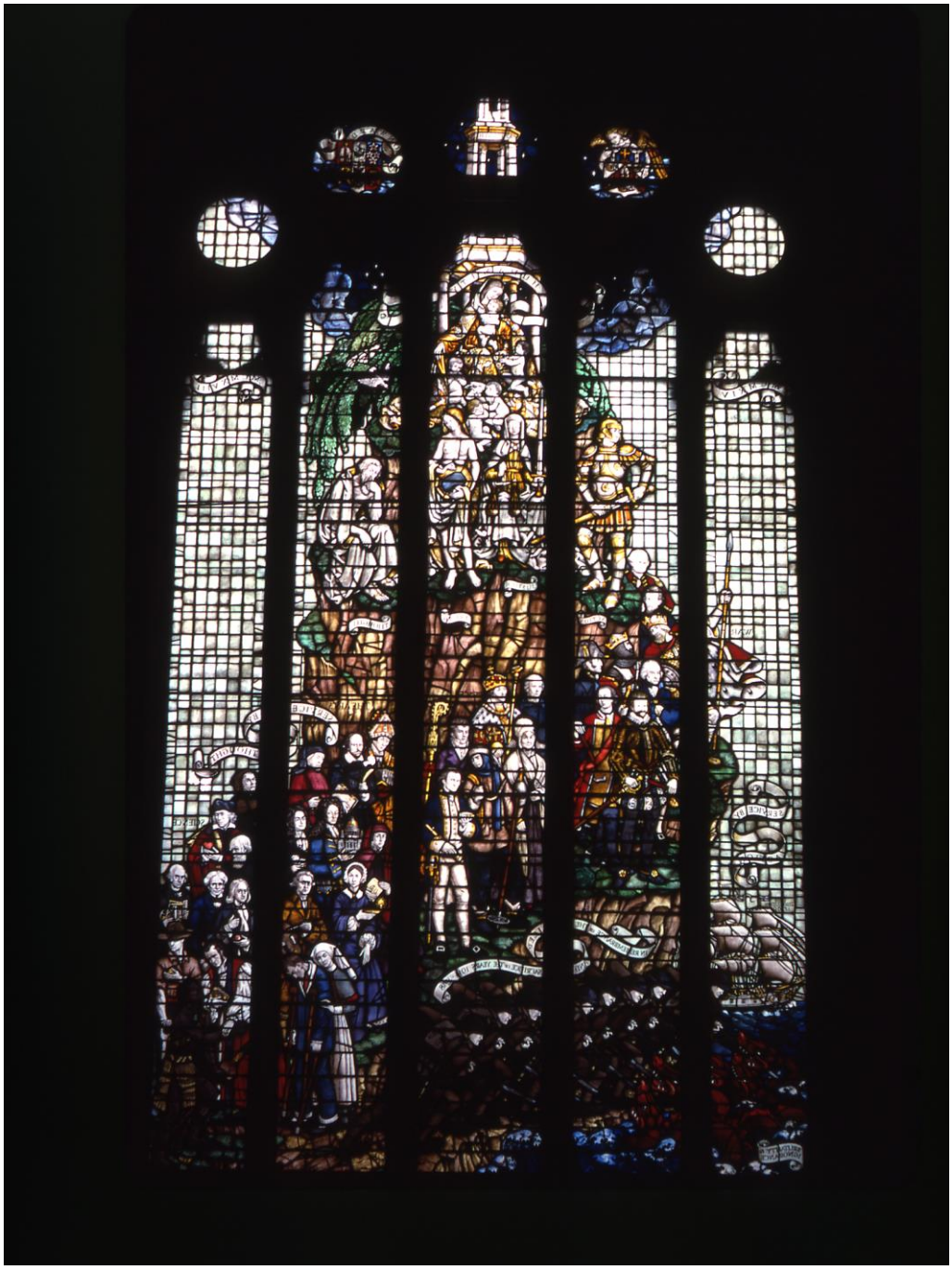
Memorial windows, such as the one in the Hunter Library, are not uncommon in Australasia. There is the Hall of Memory in the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, whose stained glass panels, designed by Napier Waller, were completed in 1958, although the original impulse for a memorial museum came from Charles Bean in the wake of the First World War.[6] There the servicemen and women portray a virtue (for instance, the Nurse, representing Devotion).

Figure 3: Hall of Memories, South Window, Australian War Memorial, Canberra. Source: Australian War Memorial collection.



Closer to the Victoria model is Martin Travers' window for the Great Hall at Canterbury College (later to become part of the Christchurch Arts Centre), which depicts the New Zealand soldiers holding back the red tide of hydras that threaten civilization.[7]

Figure 4: the Canterbury College Memorial Window. Source: Jock Phillips, personal photograph.



The window unveiled on 27 September, 1938, is substantially different from Travers' earlier plan.

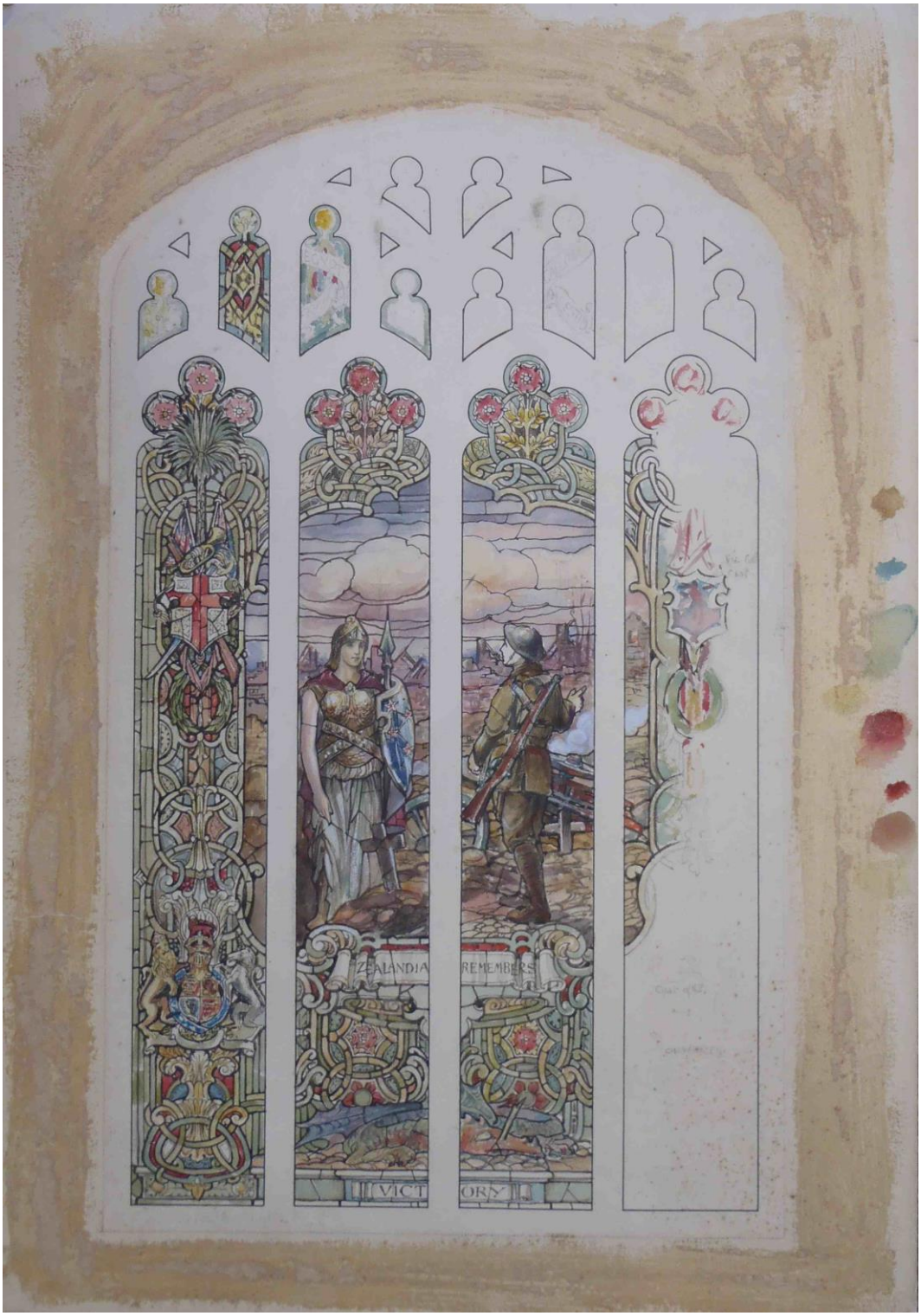
Figure 5: original sketch for the MacMillan Brown Memorial Library by Martin Travers, 1924. Source: Art Collections, University of Canterbury, UC/REG/0615.

The later design showed a descent from the Mother of Civilization and her children via famous historical figures rather than Travers' original ascent of man out of the depths to rise to the mother of Virtues. It is worth noting that a Maori warrior (with facial moko, feathers in his hair, and carrying a spear) is at the tail of this procession. The Virtues themselves are portrayed below her throne, labelled Fortitudo, Veritas, Pax, Humanitas, Iustitia, and Studium. She herself is clearly labelled as 'Wisdom': *SPLENDIDA PERPETUO SAPIENTIA RES INVENIT* ('ever-glorious Wisdom finds the way through').[8] Travers, in line with his work for the Anglo-Catholic movement in England, strongly emphasized the Christian element. The circular ascent up the rock thus explains the rather odd design still retained in the actual stained glass window from 1938 that Jock Philips has taken to represent an island in the shape of Britain.[9]

However, the Canterbury College Professorial Board was unhappy with the initial design. The Professor of Education and Rector of the College, Sir James Shelley, modified the composition to emphasize the great men in English history and letters, including, for instance, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Nelson and Cook and the Endeavour, 'in order to avoid the difficulty of having to include the enemy countries'.[10] This was well in line with Shelley's personal interests as Christchurch's resident polymath. Placing the attention on the New Zealand soldiers as the outcome of English civilization in holding back the hydra of barbarism also shows a deliberate change in message from Travers' view of Christian soldiers as the lowest rung in the progression to full enlightenment.[11]

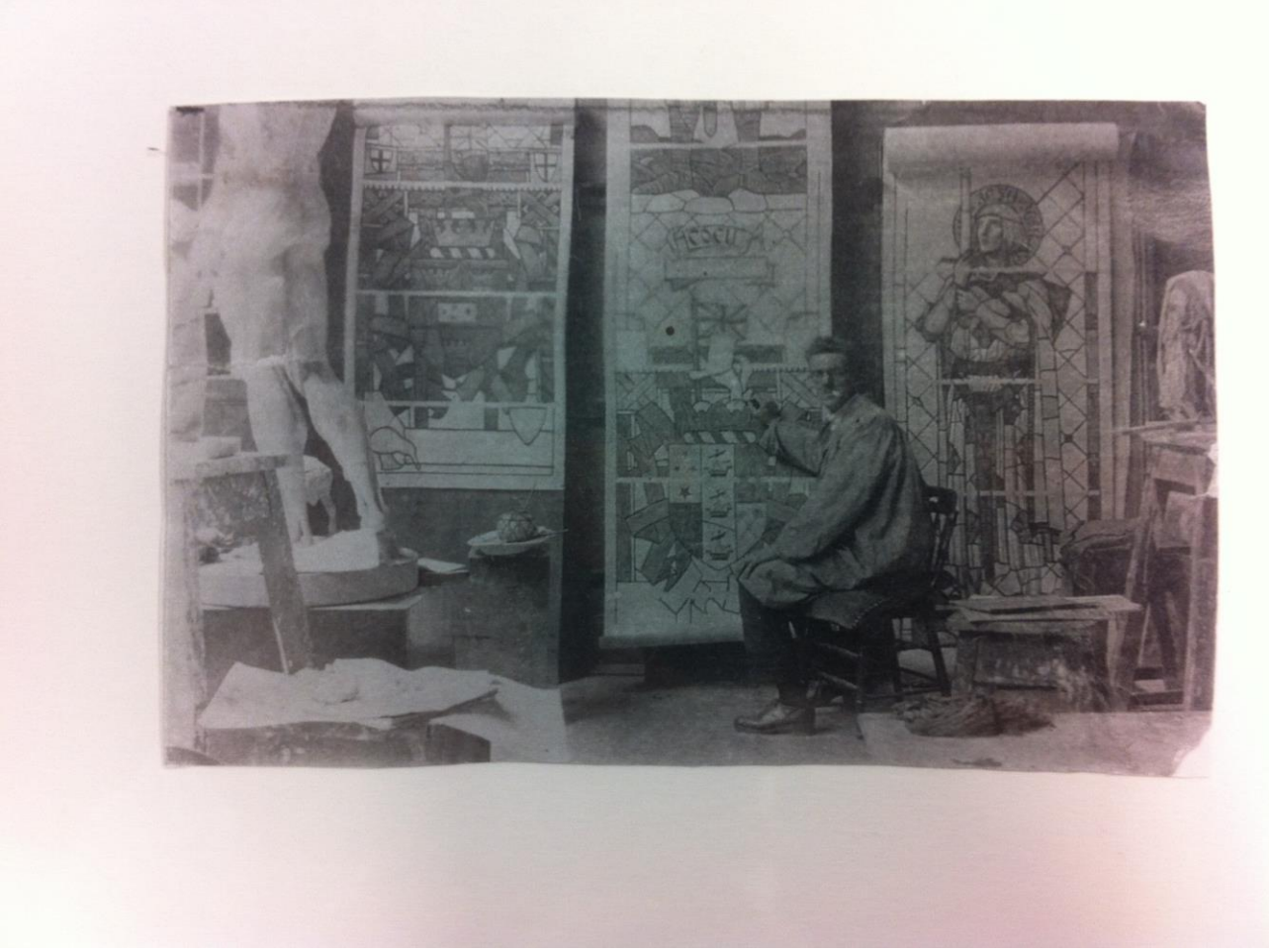
Memorials are always contentious and Victoria College Council minutes clearly demonstrate this. The Memorial Window is first suggested in May 1920, funded partly by the unspent balance of the V.U.C. War Fund (£106) and a present of £30 from the Students Association, with the difference from the cost of £700 quoted by Messrs. Smith and Smith to be raised by subscription. The design was presented to a sub-committee of the council (Mr E. K. Lomas and Sir Thomas Hunter) in July 1921.[12] A New Zealand infantryman explains a battle site, apparently on the western front given the prominence of poppies, to the personification of the nation (Zealandia as a pallid clone of Britannia).

Figure 6: watercolour design for Memorial Window, Victoria College, by Smith & Smith Glass, 1921, possibly following suggestions by E. K. Lomas. Source: Beaglehole Collection, Victoria University of Wellington Library (VUW 2/6).



The nation's goddess lends a classical tone, but the lack of a dominant Christian element in a memorial window must have been of concern. On 14 September 1922, it is reported in Council Minutes that Mr (W. S.) La Trobe was in Dunedin seeking a design from (Frederick Vincent) Ellis, 'that submitted by Smith and Smith's designer having proved unsatisfactory'. The Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington holds a photograph of Ellis from this period, almost certainly taken at his studio at Dunedin Technical College. He is clearly working on the design for the Hunter window.

Figure 7: F. V. Ellis working in his studio, ca. 1922. Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, PA-Coll-9960-1.



The cartoons indicate that this is work in progress: for instance, the figure of a knight praying with sword grasped as a cross is changed in the final version to be clearly Richard the Lionheart.[13] Despite notable lack of cooperation by the glass firm with the new designer (including an unwillingness to pay him for his services), a series of Council minutes show both parties being coerced into the completion of the window and that the Memorial Brasses were installed at the same time at the cost of £202, part of which was a surcharge imposed by the government over which the Council was engaged in litigation in the Courts. [14] In the absence of the Governor General, the second choice, Sir Thomas Hunter (the Prime Minister, Massey was the reluctant third choice for Council) opened the building Easter Friday, 1924.[15]

It is worthwhile to consider Ellis' design in detail. Here again there are two central figures, but the infantryman of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force is shown at attention facing Richard Coeur de Lion with his sword held in prayer. While the Western Front is recognized (and signified by a cathedral steeple), there is equal or more attention paid to the eastern campaigns. Greece, Gallipoli, Egypt, Sinai, and Palestine are more than a match for France, Belgium, and Germany, while the Siege of Acre in the Third Crusade is portrayed through a mounted Crusader in a panel next to an infantryman at Gallipoli. In brief, the First World War has become a Christian Crusade and the history of the battles for Jerusalem has ousted classical themes. Churches and cathedrals appear in the Western Europe panels, but the Hun, it must be admitted, also worshipped the same God. It is rather the war against the Turk that is God's war.

There were also verbal memorials as well as visual. These are represented in *The Spike*, the Victoria College Review, Silver Jubilee issue of 1924. Harry Borren Kirk, Professor of Biology, representing the Faculty, provides a prose *In Memoriam*, with an epigraph that is the same as the memorial door into the new extension to Hunter:

Mortalitate relicta vivunt immortalitate induti

Kirk's laudation recalls the University motto (*Sapientia auro magis desideranda* – 'wisdom is to be desired more than gold') and the Thomas Arnold ideals of the young institution.[16] 'When the time of testing came in the World War the men of the College were not found wanting. … At once they sprang to arms, nobly they bore themselves, cheerfully they faced Death, grandly they died. …That their ideals became more clear, more purposeful, in all ways better developed—this is the thing for which the College existed: this is the thing it achieved.'[17]

On behalf of the student body, J. C. B(eaglehole), provided an Ode, *On the Unveiling of the Memorial Window, Good Friday, April 18, 1924.*[18] The poem is constructed around the unveiling of the window ('Take down the solemn veil…') and then generic tributes to the glorious youths who died in a moment of time, a topos that can be traced back to Pericles' epitaph for the Athenian dead in 430 BC.[19]

It is not seemly now
To beat the breast and brow:
The irrevocable deed is past and gone—
The burning stab, the shot,
Pain, and the anger hot,
Even as the wind, the rain, the sun that shone.
Yet, for the dead were young,
Straight, and strong-knit, and swung
Beauty a radiant ball at their careless wrist.

…
The soundless earth is theirs,
Earth, and the bones she bears,
Her sap the striving blood that beats in them:
Immortal, still like her
They live without a stir—
Her wind is their continual requiem.
So put the veil aside.

…
In sunlit colour bold
He of heroic mould,

Abrupt and strong, the great Crusade shines—
Through all their searchings dim
The spirit as in him
Moved, but they knew their several Palestines.

The second part of the poem then addresses a personified Victoria, a heroic battle maiden and patroness of the arts, like Athena.

Thou shalt endure, Victoria, like the stars
That shine immortal on the blank of night,
Beat by the wind, uncounted, jubilant.
Yet these same stars have seen great agonies
Betrayals, heroisms, loves, and hate—
They saw Darius dead wrapt in his cloak,
They saw dead Christ upon the Syrian hill,
They have seen battles and the armed shock
Of nation upon nation, and their end—
Salamis and Gallipoli and Nile.

The force of history, through the tableaux of great incidents, reasserts itself. The clash of East and West, of Greece and Persia (Darius, king of Persia, as victim of Alexander of Macedon; the battle of Salamis as the saving of the Hellenic ideal against the forces of Persia and barbarism), is no longer one of religions but set against the background of religious change (dead Christ upon the Syrian hill). Beaglehole, who had just completed a First Class Degree in History, draws on historical parallels from the past to glorify the New Zealand contribution to the war.[20] The reference to the Nile is unclear, but if the poet is celebrating Nelson's famous naval victory in 1798, then he is presumably linking this triumph with the ANZAC stay in Egypt, prior to passing to Greece (Salamis) and on to Gallipoli. Overall, however, the poem has had little impact in New Zealand literature or the cultural imagination.[21]

It is noticeable that the Memorial windows at Victoria and also at Canterbury display a resolutely Anglican approach to the sacrifices of the War. Martin Travis (1886-1948) was a noted stained-glass designer, particularly associated with the Anglo-Catholic movement,[22] and Frederick Vincent Ellis (1892-1961), born in Yorkshire, had only recently immigrated to New Zealand in 1922 after studying stained glass design at the Royal College of Art, London. There is no place in these designs for, *inter alia*, Presbyterian or Roman Catholic imagery, although many of the New Zealand servicemen in the First World War would have had Scottish or Irish ancestry. Such a 'little England' depiction is even more notable in the Waitaki Boys' High School memorial window of 1927, that shows a New Zealand infantryman flanked on either side by Alfred the Great and Richard Coeur de Lion, while recording the New Zealand Expeditionary Force's stay in Egypt, Gallipoli, Britannia, France, and Germany.

Figure 8: the Waitaki Boys High Memorial Window. Source: Yvonne Avis, Waitaki Boys' High School.

As national, rather than parochial, monuments, however, such windows were particularly controversial. In 1932, it was decided to incorporate stained glass windows into the Hall of Memories at the Auckland War Memorial Museum 'to make it more like a chapel'.[23] The sketches returned from England, from A. L. Ward, highlighted Christ supported by St. Michael and St. George, holding the Union Flag, and included the reigning monarch, Edward III and

Elizabeth I, Wellington, Nelson, Haig and Jellicoe.[24] This immediately provoked a storm of protest. Perhaps most articulate is the response of J. W. Shaw:

> Can we allow ecclesiastical and national sectarianism to obtrude itself? … <T>he soldiers whose valour and sacrifice are commemorated in our Hall of Memories were not exclusively English by descent and tradition, and not all adherents of the Church of England. Yet the symbolism of the windows is almost entirely English and Anglican. [what about St Patrick and St David?] What place is there for Edward III in a New Zealand national memorial? [ref misery he caused French who we went to support]. And surely we can leave Elizabeth out of it. Her appearance must be an offence to many Irish and Catholic parents.[25]

In comparison with these recitations of English history, the Victoria College window is restrained in its Anglican themes. Indeed, for all that it acknowledges the supremacy of the English strain in middle class Wellington, it is not a simple copy of English styles, as the emphasis on the war as fought by New Zealanders shows. Ellis' window represents an early search for individuality, just as Kirk in his speech at their inauguration spoke of the model of reconciliation between Pakeha and Maori after the Land Wars.[26] In the long run, not merely the Anglican ethos,[27] but the general Christian aspect declined. The poet Alistair Te Ariki Campbell (a Victoria College Latin student in the 1950s) would nearly eighty years later compare Bernard Freyberg's efforts in swimming ashore and lighting flares to distract the Turks to Leander's crossing to visit Hero. This mythological reference also allows him to recall the more recent swimming feat of the poet Byron and the anticlimactic death from an infected insect bite of the Edwardian Rupert Brooke on his way to Gallipoli.[28] In another poem he has an Anzac ('Old Teach') encourage his men by suggesting that they might see Troy from Chunuk Bair ('VI Helen of Troy').

The development of the Turk from the infidel to noble foe is worth tracing at length. Clearly it has much to do with the career of Mustafa Kemal, Ataturk, for whom it was advantageous to depict the crowning moment of his military career, the defence of the Dardanelles, as a great and chivalrous struggle. The secularist founder of modern Turkey thus stressed the heroism of both participants of the conflict rather than treat the battle as a struggle between two religious systems. His opponents, defeated at Gallipoli but victorious overall, were happy to concur. In New Zealand the mythology of Gallipoli has followed a generally English line, viewing the campaign as a 'great adventure'. This was the way that John Masefield had depicted the fighting in his 1916 *Gallipoli*, a work of war propaganda that stressed chivalrous conflict, drawing on *The Song of Roland* and Charlemagne's battles with the Moors for maximum effect as wartime propaganda for American readers. Australian depictions, putting the blame for the failure of the campaign on the English command, are rather different.[29] Peter Weir's film, *Gallipoli* (1981), illustrates this clearly with its depiction both of the futility of war and implied criticism of the British command.

Campbell's poems are free from the religious imagery of First World War poetry and clearly influenced by the nationalistic recreation of the exploits of the Wellington regiment created by Maurice Shadbolt in his drama, *Once on Chunuk Bair* (1982). Still with his references to Troy where 'the noble horses of Achilles/wept at the death of Patroclus' ('VII Lt Colonel WG Malone'), Campbell has not freed itself from the classical response to the Dardanelles campaign. This may have been deliberate (the poet was, after all, a Classics graduate), perhaps to contrast with his more modern treatment of the exploits of the Maori soldiers in the Second World War published soon after.[30] At any rate, with their Homeric illusions the poems seem rather old-fashioned at the turn of the millennium.

I hope that I have above shown how the immediate response to the First World War in intellectual circles in New Zealand tracks the dissolution of the prevalent model for higher

education that was particularly associated with an elite that still embraced English culture. This group never fully recovered its dominance after the war. New entrants changed the nature of the University of New Zealand and previously politically and religiously marginalised groups came to power after the shock of the Great Depression. At the same time, the new hybrid that was to replace the earlier dominant group cannot be understood without an awareness of the Christianity and Classics upon which the latter's cultural hegemony was founded.[31]

[1] 'We are given but a brief life, but the memory of a life well spent is eternal.' The quotation is from Cicero, *Philippics* 14.32, celebrating the courage of the Roman troops who had died at Mutina in 43 BC, opposing Antony on behalf of the Senate (in vain, as it turned out). The plaques were the subject of some controversy as the government of the day was levying a surcharge on Memorial Brasses. Victoria College Council Minutes of 12 March 1924 indicate a letter sent to the Auditor General asking that the Victoria inscriptions be treated as a special case and subsequent minutes threaten legal action against the Crown.

[2] 'Having cast off their mortality, they live on clothed in immortality.' The epitaph has been frequently used on tombstones in English-speaking nations since at least the eighteenth century. Examples are usually in singular form (*vivit* and *indutus*). They include John Lewis, d. 1762 in Virginia (http://lynnside.com/Lewis.html: mistakenly quoted as *inductus*) and Ashbel Green, who was buried beside the other Presidents of Princeton University in 1848 with that inscription on his memorial (*Life of Ashbel Green*, 1849; repr. London: HardPress, 2012, 606-7). The epitaph is listed as a common Latin quotation in books of such phrases published in the nineteenth century.

[3] On Thomas Arnold and his educational reforms, see most recently Terence Copley, *Black Tom: Arnold of Rugby: The Myth and the Man* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2002); on the Classical side, in particular, see Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed. Schools, Universities and Education in England 1830-1960* (Oxford: OUP, 1998). Of Victoria's four inaugural professors, John Rankine Brown was appointed to teach Latin and Greek and Hugh Mackenzie 'knew his Latin and Greek and Gaelic' (J. C. Beaglehole, *Victoria College: An Essay Towards a History* [Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1949], 35). Richard MacLaurin, the Professor of Law, would also have had training in Latin. Only Easterfield, educated at Leeds, then Cambridge, and on the Continent (Zürich and Würzburg) could be considered a modernist in this period.

[4] E. Vandiver, *Stand in the Trench, Achilles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[5] Vandiver, *Achilles*, 107-8.

[6] Bean's inspiration was the museum close to the site of the Battle of Waterloo, which he had visited in the 1890s: http://www.awm.gov.au/about/charles-bean/ .

[7] A watercolour version of the 1938 window, signed and dated by Travers 7.VII.1930, is held by the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library in the Painting and Drawing room: http://muse.aucklandmuseum.com/databases/librarycatalogue/PD686.detail .

[8] Although the first three Latin words are clear, the last two are obscure in the water-colour and should be considered conjectural.

[9] 'Canterbury University College memorial window', URL: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/memorials/christchurch-memorial-window, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-Sep-2013. Credit for the page is given to Jock Phillips and Chris Maclean, ca. 1986, and Glennis Austin, 2005.

[10] Professorial Board Minutes, 28 February 1927, as reported in W. J. Gardner, E. T. Beardsley, and T. E. Carter, *A History of the University of Canterbury 1873-1973* (Christchurch: University of Canterbury, 1973) p. 258 note.

[11] The design was originally intended to be part of a Macmillan Brown Library, in association with his bequest of 15,000 volumes to Canterbury College, but continuing financial problems meant that the window, proposed by C. C. Farr in 1919, was delayed throughout the 1930s and only finally shipped from England and installed in 1938 (Gardner, Beardsley, Carter, *History*: 191, 258 note).

[12] Council Minutes, 13 July, 1921.
[13] Ellis clearly liked the Crusader theme: he incorporates it in his design for the Timaru Boys High School window of 1954 (Alexander Turnbull Library PAColl-9960-5).
[14] Council Minutes, 12 March 1924. On 13 February 1924, Ellis had written to Council 'advising … that the Window would not be ready for erection by 15 February as promised owing to delays by Smith & Smith, Wellington.' Council's response was to ask the Registrar to write to Smith & Smith, 'complaining of the breach of faith and pointing out the serious consequences [i.e. legal action] likely to arise from the delay'.
[15] Council Minutes, 17 February 1924. The Council's relations with William Massey and the Reform Government are clearly frosty in this period.
[16] 'When, twenty-five years ago, Victoria College came into existence it was poor in material wealth, one of the poorest of all University institutions. But it had an immense wealth of the wisdom that is more than gold—of lofty ideal, clear view and earnest purpose' (*The Spike* 1924, 9-10, at 9).
[17] *Ibid.* 9.
[18] *The Spike* 1924, 5-8.
[19] Thucydides 2.35-46. As far as I am aware, Beaglehole never studied Greek, so his awareness of the funerary tradition would be through his Latin studies or English translations he had chanced on in his wide historical reading. Thucydides' homage to imperialism continued to resonate in New Zealand: the Auckland War Memorial Museum has inscribed on the boxed corona above its classical frieze a quotation from Thucydides 2.43 ('The whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men. They are commemorated not only by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands also by memorials graven not on stone, but on the hearts of men.').
[20] For John Beaglehole's university career, see Tim Beaglehole, *A Life of J.C. Beaglehole, New Zealand Scholar* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006) 59. He had originally enrolled in English, Latin, and French, but undistinguished Class II results in these subjects led to him switching his studies to History in 1921.
[21] Beaglehole, *Life*, 67: 'The verse of John's student days was typical of the time. Echoes of Bridges and Hopkins and rather too much "poetic' language for later taste make the sentiments seem very conventional. … He tried the big, formal piece with his "Ode on the Unveiling of the Memorial Window" … It has not worn well.' The Ode is followed by an epigram by R.F.F. that shows stereotypical First World War imagery, including references to the poppies growing over graves, and ends with a typical acceptance of the indifference of the departed: 'Afar the voice passes / Unheard. You are dead.' J. C. Beaglehole himself, while modestly not mentioning the author of the Ode, treats it as an inescapable commission: 'There had to be an Ode. But perhaps it was not quite so confident an Ode as that which had saluted the Foundation Stone of 1904. Too many men had died. The worship of Pallas was difficult.' (Beaglehole, *Victoria University College*, 205). The 1904 reference is to 'Ode. On the Laying of the Foundation Stone of Victoria College, 27 August 1904' by S<eaforth> S. M<ackenzie>, *The Spike*, October 1904, 3-5, poetry described by Beaglehole (*Victoria University College* 88-9) as 'verses that have not ceased to be, for that generation, one of the New Zealand classics.'
[22] R. Warrener, M. Yelton, *Martin Travers (1886-1948): An Appreciation* (London: Unicorn Press, 2003).
[23] *Auckland Star*, 16 June 1932.
[24] *New Zealand Herald*, 2 May 1934.
[25] *New Zealand Herald*, 8 May 1934; cf Geo. Graham, *id.* 10 May, 'everything seems to have been introduced by a designer calculated to revive age-old religious and political disagreements'.
[26] 'In our Islands the Maori and Pakeha live today at peace; and the chivalrous exploits of past wars are their common heritage. Of the bitterness and the abounding horror we do not speak or think.' (*The Spike*, Silver Jubilee issue 1924, 10.)
[27] Compare the Victoria window with Ellis' design for the Timaru Boys' High Memorial window erected after World War II (design 1954, dedication 1955: http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nzlscant/images/TBHSMemorialWindow.jpg).
[28] *Gallipoli and Other Poems* (Wellington: Wai-te-ata Press, 1999) II: 'Lt-Commander Bernard Freyburg, VC'.

[29] See Jenny McLeod, *Reconsidering Gallipoli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). For a carefully reconsideration of the New Zealand Anzac myth, see Christopher Pugsley, 'Stories of Anzac' in Jenny McLeod, ed. *Gallipoli: Making History* (London and New York: Frank Cass, 2004) 44-58.
[30] *Maori Battalion, a Poetic Sequence* (Wellington: Wai te Ata Press, 2001).
[31] My thanks to the following for providing materials or comments that have substantially assisted this research: Brian Easton; Jamie Hampton (Curator, Art Collections, University of Canterbury); Sue Hirst (Beaglehole Room Librarian, Victoria University of Wellington); Jock Phillips (Te Ara, the Encyclopedia of New Zealand); Christopher Pugsley; Rose Young (Auckland War Memorial Museum); Yvonne Avis (Waitaki Boys' High School).