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**Unappreciated Duty:
The forgotten contribution of New Zealand's Defence Stores Department
in mobilising the
New Zealand Expeditionary Force in 1914**

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Abstract

Historians have generally focused on the period leading up to New Zealand's entry into the First World War by examining New Zealand's military's command, organisational, and training structures. For example, the evolution of New Zealand's military in the wake of the South Africa war and the contribution of imperial officers in shaping and welding it into a well-trained and equipped force is well recorded. However, the contribution and impact of New Zealand's military logistic services have remained unexplored and under-researched. This thesis utilises a wide range of primary and secondary sources to examine the Defence Stores Department and its essential role in providing material and maintenance support to New Zealand's military forces from the 1860s to the mobilisation of 1914. In examining the evolution of the Defence Stores Department, it is shown that this department's long experience in the management and maintenance of military materiel had positive outcomes for New Zealand's military forces, including the mobilisation of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and ongoing support to New Zealand's war effort during World War One.

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Glossary

AAOC	Australian Army Ordnance Corps
AAOD	Australian Army Ordnance Department
ADOS	Assistant Directors Ordnance Services
AIF	Australian Imperial Forces
AJHR	Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives
AOC	Army Ordnance Corps
AQMG	Assistant Quartermaster General. Staff Officer in charge of supplies, rations, ammunition, fuel, and the administration of quarters and barracks.
ASC	Army Service Corps
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
Broad Arrow	A stylised representation of a metal arrowhead, comprising a tang and two barbs meeting at a point used to mark government property
CAC	Colonial Ammunition Company
CMT	Compulsory Military Training
COC	Canadian Ordnance Corps
COI	Commission of Inquiry
Combat Supplies	Combat Supplies are ammunition, fuel and rations
CQMS	Company Quartermaster Sergeant.
DADOS	Deputy Assistant Director of Ordnance Services
Gun	Machine Gun and Artillery Pieces larger than 30mm (1-inch) in calibre
DST	Director of Supply & Transport
Logistics	The art of moving and quartering troops, and especially of supplying them
Maintain	To take supply and repair action to keep a force in a condition to conduct its mission
Material	Raw or semi-finished products that are required by military forces

Materiel	From the French, materiel is a generic term applied to finished military products such as ammunition, equipment, stores, suppliers and vehicles. Sometimes used to cover materials
MEF	Mediterranean Expeditionary Force
Militia	A force of all able-bodied male citizens, eligible by law who were able to be called on to provide military service
Mobilisation	To make ready or muster forces for military service
Munitions	War materiel: weapons, ammunition, shells, etc. See "Ordnance"
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NZAOC	New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps
NZAOD	New Zealand Army Ordnance Department. Regular Ordnance Officers of the New Zealand Military Forces, 1917-1924
NZASC	New Zealand Army Service Corps
NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force
NZMF	New Zealand Military Forces, The government Defence agency until 1951
NZOC	New Zealand Ordnance Corps
NZPS	New Zealand Permanent Staff. Regular Non-Commissioned Officers and Warrant Officers of the New Zealand Military Forces (1911-1947)
NZSC	New Zealand Staff Corps. Regular Officers of the New Zealand Military Forces (1911-1947)
Ordnance (1)	General term for guns over 30mm (1-inch) in calibre and their carriages or mountings
Ordnance (2)	Military material and supplies other than food, forage and fuel, including weapons, ammunition, vehicles, clothing and equipment
QMG	Quartermaster General. Principle staff officer responsible for the administration of services and logistics. In modern military forces, these activities are now classified as Combat Service Support (CSS) and comprise Logistic Support, Equipment Support, Medical Support and, Administrative Support
Quartermaster	Officer in charge of supplies, rations, ammunition, fuel, and the administration of quarters and barracks

RNZA	Royal New Zealand Artillery
RNZALR	Royal New Zealand Army Logistics Regiment
RNZAOC	Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps
RNZEME	Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers
RQMS	Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant. Warrant Officer in charge of supplies, rations, ammunition, fuel, and the administration of quarters and barracks for a Regiment/Battalion
SAA	Small Arms Ammunition
Small Arms	Pistols, Rifles and Machine Guns below 30mm (1-inch) in calibre
Supplies	Food, forage and fuel

Introduction

The mounting of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) in 1914 was the culmination of years of planning, and logistical preparation, which in the main has rightly been attributed to the organisational and planning skills of Lieutenant General Alexander Godley and other Imperial officers seconded to the New Zealand military forces (NZMF). Less-known is the significant contribution of the Defence Stores Department in providing a large part of the logistical framework required to mobilise the NZEF. A component of the NZMF from the 1860s, the Defence Stores are symbolic of the typical military logistical organisation that labours behind the scenes to ensure that the commander achieves their goals, with often, their only measure of success being that on completion of the mission “no one is talking about them.” While the evolution of the New Zealand military in the years leading up to the First World War, the political environment, its commanders and significant units are recorded in many articles, books and websites, the activities and contribution of the Defence Stores Department remain unknown.

For over fifty years, The Defence Stores Department worked behind the scenes to deliver the logistics required to support New Zealand’s military forces, with the culmination of effort being the support provided in furnishing the multiple mobilisation and training camps and equipping thousands of men with uniforms, arms, and ammunition on the mobilisation of August 1914. Although having a story to be told, the Defence Stores Department has remained hidden in New Zealand’s military history narrative. In addressing this gap, this thesis will first focus on the state of the Defence Stores Department in 1914 and its evolution as part of New Zealand’s military from 1840. With the foundations of the Defence Stores Department established, how soon the NZEF was equipped and the challenges faced are examined. Finally, this thesis will assess the overall contribution of the Defence Stores Department in dispatching and maintaining the NZEF from 1914 to 1917.

Military historians often acknowledge the role of logistics as an essential component of a successful military campaign. However, the view is often collective, with little attention paid to the detailed logistical mechanisms required to achieve the logistics effect. For example, Ian McGibbon in *New Zealand’s Western Front Campaign* states, “The New Zealand Division

slotted into the BEF's vast logistic system."¹ While this statement is not incorrect, it does understate New Zealand's military logisticians' role in providing the linkages that enabled the New Zealand Division to integrate and become part of the British logistical system. Refreshing a 12th-century saying, Benjamin Franklin summarised the importance of logistics and its impact on the battlefield:

For want of a nail, the shoe was lost –
 for want of a shoe, the horse was lost -
 For want of a horse, the rider was lost –
 For want of a rider, the battle was lost²

The art of logistics is well understood, with many volumes written on the higher-level logistical principles; however, there remains a significant gap in the historical narrative in the study of the logistical enabling organisations such as the New Zealand Defence Stores Department. In *Wagons of War: A history of 10 Transport Company 1951-2011*, Grant Morris highlights this gap in the study of logistics by stating that “the majority of work undertaken by service or support units is not ‘sexy’ and does not have the attraction that manoeuvre or fighting does.”³ This absence in the historical record is best summed up by the Second World War United States General Omar Bradley, who comments that “Logistics ... is the dullest subject in the world, and no writer has ever succeeded in glamorising it. The result is that logistics are usually downplayed or ignored altogether.”⁴ In *Supplying War*, Martin van Creveld reinforces Morris and Bradley's observations and states that logistics “does not appeal to the imagination, which may be the reason military historians so often ignore it”.⁵

Early New Zealand's Military logistics has remained an overlooked area in the military historiography of New Zealand. Chapter one expands on the limited narrative by outlining the evolution of the Defence Stores Department as an organisation from 1840 to 1900. As

¹ Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign* (Bateman, 2016), , 6-7.

² Kenneth Macksey, *For want of a nail : the impact on war of logistics and communications*, 1st ed ed. (Brassey's (UK), 1989), xiii.

³ Grant John Morris, *Wagons of war : a history of 10 Transport Company 1951-2011* (Manawatu, New Zealand: Massey University, 2012), 6.

https://mro.massey.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10179/3840/02_whole.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

⁴ Omar Bradley, *A General's Life: An Autobiography* (Plunkett Lake Press, 2019), 285.

⁵ Martin Van Creveld, *Supplying war: logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2.

the first point of call in seeking background on New Zealand military logistics leading up to 1914, it is expected that *the Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* has an entry on military logistics of New Zealand. Instead, what is provided is a summary of New Zealand military logistics as of the year 2000. The only reference to the historical context of New Zealand Military logistics is a link to the Royal New Zealand Army Logistics Regiment (RNZALR), a regiment formed in 1996 from the three logistic corps that trace their origins from the Defence Stores.⁶ Further examination of what has been written on military logistics in New Zealand indicates a trend in which the areas relating to the Defence Stores Department fill the archives but remain absent from the historical narrative.

The study of military logistics in early colonial New Zealand has focused on Imperial Logistics during the New Zealand Wars. During the New Zealand Wars and through to the middle of the twentieth century, Imperial and New Zealand military logistics were influenced by lessons learnt from the Crimean War (16 October 1853 – 30 March 1856). The Crimean war saw the British Army suffer many privations due to the failure of the Commissariat and Medical services, which saw their functions and those of the Ordnance Department placed under the supervision of the War Office as the reformation of the British Army's administrative system took place.⁷ By 1857 the reforms had resulted in the formation of specialised departments to manage the British Army's logistics:

- The Commissariat, responsible for land transport services and the provision of food and fuel for soldiers and forage for animals,
- The Purveyors Department, responsible for the setting up, equipping and maintenance of hospitals, and
- The Military Store Department, responsible for Weapons, Munitions and Military equipment not managed by the other departments.⁸

Tim Ryan and William Parham's *Colonial New Zealand Wars* furnished a chapter on the British Regiments and Corps involved in the New Zealand Wars from 1845 to 1870, including the medical and commissariat units. However, although it had representatives in New Zealand from 1840, the *Colonial New Zealand Wars* failed to mention the Ordnance

⁶ The RNZALR was formed in 1996 by amalgamating the Royal New Zealand Army Corps of Transport (RNZCT), Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps (RNZAOC) and the Royal New Zealand Electrical (RNZEME) and Mechanical Engineers. Ian McGibbon and Paul William Goldstone, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand military history* (Auckland; Melbourne; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 2000), 280-81.

⁷ Brigadier A.H Fernyhough C.B.E. M.C., *A short history of the RAOC* (London: RAOC, 1965), 14-15.

⁸ War Office, *Royal warrants, circular, general orders and memoranda, issued by the War office and Horse guards, Aug. 1856- July 1864* (1864).

Department or its successor, the Military Store Department.⁹ Richard Taylor's 2004 thesis, *British Logistics in the New Zealand Wars, 1845-66*, provides the most comprehensive review of British logistics during the New Zealand Wars.¹⁰ Taylor briefly mentions the activities of the Board of Ordnance in the 1840s and 50s but also, in tune with Ryan and Parham, provides no mention of their successor, the Military Store Department. Focused on the Medical, Commissariat, and Transports Corps, Taylor's work offers little understanding of the mechanisms responsible for supplying and maintaining arms, munitions and other military stores provided by the Military Store Department. This trend is repeated in Ian Barton's and Neville Ritchie's 2021 *History of Queens Redoubt & the Invasion of the Waikato*, condensing the contribution of the Military Store Department into a few paragraphs.¹¹ Despite a plethora of archival material and period newspaper accounts, the role of the British Military Stores Department has been overlooked. By default, this omission has also been extended to the contribution of New Zealand's Colonial Defence Force Stores Department.

New Zealand had been a self-governing colony since 1853. However, it was not until the Weld Government of the 1860s that self-reliance policies began to take hold, with the Colonial Defence Force taking a more independent role in supporting New Zealand's forces as Imperial units withdrew. The Colonial Store Department and Militia Store Department's role and responsibilities were formalised as part of the Colonial Defence Forces from 1862, maintaining a separation between the regulars and militia and volunteers. These two departments combined in 1869 into New Zealand's Defence Stores Department as a permanent component of the defence establishment under the management of Lieutenant Colonel Edward Gorton.¹² Under Gorton's management and through the authority of the 1867 Public Stores Act, the Defence Stores Department also acted as an all-Government department responsible for all government stores.¹³ Transitioning further in the 1880s, as

⁹ Tim Ryan and William Thomas Parham, *The Colonial New Zealand Wars*, Rev. ed ed. (Grantham House, 2002), 159-64.

¹⁰ Richard J. Taylor, *British logistics in the New Zealand wars, 1845-66: a thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand* (Massey University, 2004).

¹¹ Ian Barton and Neville Ritchie, *A History of Queen's Redoubt & the Invasion of the Waikato* (Atuanui Press, 2021), 195-98. .

¹² "Arrival of Colonel Gorton in Wellington," *Wanganui Herald, Volume III, Issue 589*, 23 April 1869.

¹³ General Assembly of New Zealand, "The Public Stores Act 1867," (1867).

the Armed Constabulary separated into police and military functions, the Defence Stores Department endured as the agency responsible for providing stores and maintenance support to the permanent militia, volunteers and civilian police. The close of the nineteenth century saw the Defence Stores Department significantly contribute to dispatching New Zealand's contingents to South Africa.

New Zealand's logistical amnesia trend continues through the era of Russophobia, the reforms of the 1880s and 90s and the South Africa War. In his study of New Zealand's defence, Ian McGibbon's *The Path to Gallipoli* covers the broader political and strategic issues related to the defence of New Zealand from 1840 to 1915. Although discussing force structures and equipment, McGibbon does not delve into how the military was logistically supported during his period of interest. McGibbon provides clues that logistical matters were an underlying consideration, partially mitigated by the standing up of the QMG Appointment in 1906 and "maintaining compatibility in arms, equipment and stores" with the other nations under the British Sphere of influence.¹⁴

Chapter two details how by 1900, in terms of functions, the Defence Stores Department mirrored the Army Ordnance Corps (AOC) of the British Army, which had been reorganised into its modern form in 1893.¹⁵ Australia and Canada followed the British Army's lead and established their Ordnance Corps in 1901 and 1903.¹⁶ However, the military authorities in New Zealand were more hesitant, and although recommendations had been made to follow the British lead, they chose to retain the status quo and retain the existing Defence Stores organisation. As the New Zealand military was progressively reformed in the wake of the South Africa war and the Esher reforms in the United Kingdom, the role and the responsibilities of the Defence Stores Department were clearly defined in 1907, and the existing Defence Storekeeper, James O'Sullivan, confirmed as the Director of Stores, with the rank of honorary Captain.¹⁷ Although the Defence Minister and the Commandant of the Forces made higher-level decisions regarding the purchase and provision of equipment for

¹⁴ Ian McGibbon, *The path to Gallipoli : defending New Zealand, 1840-1915* (GP Books, 1991), 184-93.

¹⁵ Brigadier A H Fernyhough, *A Short History of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps (First Edition)* (RAOC Trust 1965), 18.

¹⁶ W.F. Rannie, *To the Thunderer His Arms: The Royal Canadian Ordnance Corps* (W.F. Rannie, 1984), 32. John D Tilbrook, *To the warrior his arms: A history of the Ordnance Services in the Australian Army* (Royal Australian Army Ordnance Corps Committee, 1989), 28-29.

¹⁷ "Director of Ordnance Stores," *Dominion, Volume 9, Issue 2741* (Wellington), 8 April 1916.

New Zealand's military forces, the Defence Stores Department had responsibility for the receipt, management, and distribution of equipment once received from the sources of supply.¹⁸ The Defence Stores Department utilised the stores accounting procedures used across the military forces of the Empire, which were endorsed by Colonel George Macaulay Kirkpatrick of General Kitchener's Staff when he inspected the Defence Stores in 1910, with the extant systems meeting his approval.¹⁹

Despite being a largely anonymous entity in the historical narrative, it might be expected that the Defence Stores Department features significantly in the histories of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps (RNZAOC) and the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (RNZEME). However, this is not the case. Major Joe Bolton's *History of the RNZAOC* provides an overview of the Defence Stores' evolution from the 1860s. Still, it gives few details, and it was not until the reforms after 1900 that Bolton began to shape the activities of the Defence Stores Department as the organisation that became the RNZAOC.²⁰ In *Craftsmen in Uniform*, Peter Cape examines the maintenance aspects of the Defence Stores. As the repair and upkeep functions conducted by the Defence Stores Department were intertwined with the uniformed roles in the Permanent Militia, Cape does not clearly define the difference between the tradesmen employed by the Permanent Militia and those of the Defence Stores.²¹ This lack of depth in understanding the history of maintenance aspects of the Defence Stores is repeated in Peter Cooke's 2017 *Warrior Craftsmen*.²²

Chapter three views how after the brigade camps of 1913 and divisional camps of 1914, the Defence Stores Department was well positioned for the August 1914 mobilisation. With indications that war was imminent becoming clear in mid-July, preparations had already begun to allow for the mobilisation of an Expeditionary Force. The immediate priority was

¹⁸ In line with British Military doctrine, the Ordnance Stores that the Defence Store were responsible for were clothing and personal equipment, accoutrements, saddlery, harness, small-arms and small-arms ammunition, machine guns, material, transport, vehicles, camp equipment, and all stores required for the Defence Forces. J Ward, *Defence Forces of New Zealand*, House of Representatives (Wellington, 1907).

¹⁹ A. W. Robin, *The Hon. the Minister of Defence, referring to your minute of 31/8/15 on Defence Stores Commission's report*, ed. Defence New Zealand. Ministry of and Force New Zealand. Defence (1915).

²⁰ Major J.S Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps* (Trentham: RNZAOC, 1992), 43-56.

²¹ Peter Cape, *Craftsmen in uniform: the Corps of Royal New Zealand Electrical and Mechanical Engineers: an account* (Corps of Royal New Zealand Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1976), 1-15.

²² Peter Cooke, *Warrior Craftsmen, RNZEME 1942-1996* (Wellington: Defense of New Zealand Study Group, 2017), 6-7.

equipping the 1800-strong Samoa Expeditionary Force, which was achieved within ten days, followed by the main body of the NZEF, consisting of 8500 men in two months. Even by today's standards, this is a significant achievement. The initial priority was to provide equipment to establish multiple mobilisation camps. The second priority was to complete the equipping of units and individual soldiers with all their requirements. The next priority was the provision of stores and equipment to backfill units of the Territorial Army, which had been stripped of equipment to furnish the NZEF and provide ongoing support to reinforcement drafts, home defence and ongoing Territorial training commitments. Glyn Harper indicates the anonymity of the Defence Stores Department in *Johnny Enzed*, where he unknowingly validates the success of the Defence Stores Department when he states:

In all aspects of required military equipment, from boots and uniforms to webbing, ammunition and weaponry, in 1914 New Zealand had ample stocks on hand to fully equip the Johnny Enzed's of the Expeditionary Force.²³

Chapter three explores these factors, such as the Defence Stores Department stock holdings, how well the units of the Territorial Army were equipped, and how much of the issued equipment was utilised. Most importantly, how much notice did the Defence Stores Department have to prepare in anticipation of the mobilisation? An appraisal of the state of New Zealand's Military preparedness and equipment readiness due to the efforts of the Defence Stores Department is also provided in Colin Richardson's assessment of General Sir Alexander Godley, *The last Imperial Commander*. Richardson echoes Harper's comments by stating that "the organisation that now so effectively mobilised the forces required" had ensured "These contingents were comparatively the largest, best trained and equipped to be dispatched from this country in the 20th century."²⁴ Many of the Regimental histories produced after the First World War dedicate an early section to the initial mobilisation in 1914. The Canterbury Regiment began its training at Addington with *the History of the Canterbury Regiment*, describing how "equipment such as uniforms, boots, blankets, rifles, and Mill's web arrived in small lots, and was issued immediately".²⁵ In Auckland, a similar

²³ Glyn Harper, *Johnny ENZED: the New Zealand soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, First World War centenary history, (Auckland, New Zealand: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2015, 2015), 29.

²⁴ Colin Richardson, "General Sir Alexander Godley, The last Imperial Commander," in *Born to lead? : portraits of New Zealand commanders*, ed. Joel Hayward Glyn Harper (Exisle, 2003), 46.

²⁵ David Ferguson, *The history of the Canterbury Regiment, N.Z.E.F., 1914-1919* (Naval & Military Press, 2003), 8.

scene was unfolding with *the History of the Auckland Regiment* also describes how “in Alexandra Park men shed their civilian clothes and received that weird and wonderful collection of odds and ends that are so essential for the making of the perfect soldier”.²⁶ With the issues of equipment mirrored in Palmerston North, Wellington, Nelson and Dunedin, it is only in *The History of the Samoa Expeditionary Force* that the contribution of the Defence Stores Department is acknowledged.²⁷ Although the Defence Stores Department had stepped up and received praise for its efforts, there were rumours of misappropriation and corruption.²⁸

For the Defence Stores Department, the rumours of misappropriation and corruption led to a Commission of Inquiry investigating the operations of the Defence Stores.²⁹ Although the enquiries of 1915 found that there was no basis for the seedier allegations against the Defence Stores, it was recognised that Defence Stores Department was not in a position to sustain a long-term wartime commitment, setting the stage for the reorganisation of the Defence Stores Department into the New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps (NZAOC) as a military component of the permanent forces. As an organisation orientated to supporting New Zealand’s Military domestically, chapter four also examines the development of the NZAOC within the NZEF.

This thesis draws heavily on archival material and addresses three critical questions concerning the Defence Stores Department. Chapter one addresses the first question, “The state of the Defence Stores Department in 1914”. Evolving as an organisation providing support during the New Zealand Wars, the Defence Stores Department coalesced under Gorton in 1869. As the military’s role shifted from internal defence to external defence, the Defence Stores Department continued to evolve as an organisation with the dispatch of the contingents to South Africa in 1899, a significant and successful test of the Defence Stores Departments’ ability to support the military. Into the twentieth century, the Defence Stores continued to mature as the lessons learnt from the mobilisation of the South Africa War

²⁶ O. E. Burton, *The Auckland regiment* (Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922), 2.

²⁷ Stephen John Smith, *The Samoa (N.Z.) Expeditionary Force 1914–1915* (Ferguson & Osborn, Limited, 1924), 17.

²⁸ “Correspondence Major General Godley to James Allen 26 October 1914”, R22319698 - *Ministerial Files - Correspondence with General Godley* (1914).

²⁹ Robin, *The Hon. the Minister of Defence, referring to your minute of 31/8/15 on Defence Stores Commission's report*.

were applied in concert with the reorganisation of New Zealand's Military Forces from 1900 to 1914. Following the 1913 and 1914 annual camps, Chapter three shows how the Defence Stores Department was well positioned for the august mobilisation and examines the question of "How soon was the NZEF equipped?" Able to react to the mobilisation quickly and positively, the Defence Stores Department provided the equipment to establish mobilisation camps and provide stores to make up the NZEF and Territorial Army shortfalls. With the dispatch of the Samoa Force within a week and the main body of the NZEF just over a month later, Chapter Four illustrates how the focus of the Defence Stores Department switched from mobilisation to establishing the mechanisms to support the deployed forces, reinforcements, and Territorial training camps. Answering the final question, "What contribution did the Defence Stores Department make to the dispatch of the NZEF in 1914?" Chapter four further illustrates how the Defence Stores Department had successfully stepped up to allow the dispatch of the NZEF and put into place measures to allow the ongoing conduct of reinforcement and territorial Army training. Despite receiving praise for its efforts, the Defence Stores Department became the subject of unfounded rumours of misappropriation and corruption, leading to a Commission of inquiry and acknowledgement that it was not structured to sustain as a peacetime organisation a long-term wartime support commitment. After over fifty years of working behind the scenes to deliver the logistics required by the New Zealand military, the Defence Stores Department was reorganised into the NZAOC in 1917. The efforts of the Defence Stores Department enabled New Zealand's armed forces to dispatch the best trained and equipped contingents for overseas service in the 20th century. Nevertheless, despite having achievements to be proud of and lessons for future logisticians, the Defence Stores Department was taken for granted, with its history unrecorded and forgotten as part of the historical narrative. This thesis aims to correct this narrative.

Chapter One

New Zealand's Defence Stores Genesis

New Zealand's military logistic services significantly evolved from 1840 to 1900, culminating in the first deployment of a New Zealand military contingent to foreign war. From a single storekeeper with some shot, powder, muskets and accoutrements for the initial militia in 1840, the Defence Stores Department was, by 1900, an organisation responsible for supporting the permanent militia and volunteer force of approximately 11,000 men. The nineteenth-century development of the Defence Stores Department is encapsulated in three distinct eras. From 1840 to 1870, support was provided to the initial militia forces, imperial forces, and the emerging regular/armed constabulary, volunteer and militia forces as New Zealand undertook its self-reliance policies. The second era was from 1870 to 1878 as Lieutenant Colonel Edward Gorton acting as the Inspector of Defence Stores, shaped and organised the Defence Stores Department. The final era was from 1879 to 1900 as the Defence Stores Department under Captain Sam Anderson transitioned from an agency supporting an internal security force to one focused on external defence culminating with the dispatch of contingents to South Africa.

1840 to 1870

Tasked with taking the constitutional steps to establish New Zealand as a British colony, William Hobson arrived in New Zealand from New South Wales in January 1840.³⁰ Hobson had collected from the colonial administration in New South Wales an entourage that included all the functions required of a colonial administration, including the Colonial Storekeepers office.³¹ Hastily appointed from the Sydney based Colonial Storekeepers office, Mr Charles Hook Gordon Logie was appointed on 15 January 1840 to fill the appointment of Hobson's Colonial Storekeeper in New Zealand.³² The Colonial Storekeeper was only responsible for providing stores and supplies to Colonial entities, not the Imperial troops stationed in New Zealand. Imperial forces remaining in New Zealand until 1870 had

³⁰ "Hobson's Appointment " New Zealand Legal Information Institute, 1839, accessed 23 October 2021, <http://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/NZConLRes/1839/1.html>.

³¹ "Government Notice," Sydney Herald (NSW: 1831 - 1842) (NSW), 03 July 1840, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12864979>.

³² Charles Logie, Colonial Storekeeper to Willoughby Shortland, Esquire, Acting Colonial Secretary Archives New Zealand Item ID R23629593, Record No 1840/76 (Wellington: Archives New Zealand, 1840).

their immediate logistic requirements administered by the Commissariat and Ordnance departments.³³

In October 1840, approval was given by the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales for the purser of *HMS Buffalo*, Henry Tucker, to replace Logie as Colonial Storekeeper. Tucker, a Royal Navy Officer, had been stranded in New Zealand when *HMS Buffalo* sunk off the Coromandel on 28 July 1840.³⁴ During Tucker's tenure, New Zealand was granted status as a colony, separating it from New South Wales.³⁵ Tucker's role as Colonial Storekeeper was a critical position that, as much as possible, met the stores and logistical needs of the expanding colonial administration, including, for example, tents, blankets, stationery, printing supplies, building product, animals and feed. Additionally, Tucker also acted as New Zealand's first military storekeeper, holding in his store the essential stores required if a settler's militia was to be raised, including, as of December 1842, the following:

- 46 Bayonets,
- 53 Muskets,
- 2 Cannonades 18pr, and
- 3 Camp Ovens.³⁶

Tucker's stocks were sourced from the Colonial Storekeepers office in Sydney, acquired from the local market, or the Board of Ordnance representatives in New Zealand. The colonial government reimbursed any stores and services supplied from the Board of Ordnance in an arrangement that remained in place until the withdrawal of Imperial troops in 1870.

The business of establishing and running a colony was an expensive business, with the Colonial Office in London placing upon the Colonial Secretary pressure to reduce expenditure, which was achieved by cutting positions that could either be taken up by civilian entities or absorbed by parts of the administration, with the functions of Colonial

³³ Due to the Ordnance Boards poor performance during the Crimean War, the British Army administration system was reformed in 1855, and the Ordnance Board disestablished and replaced by the Military Store Department. Brigadier A.H Fernyhough C.B.E. M.C., *A Short History of the RAOC* (London: RAOC, 1965). Major J.S Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps* (Trentham: RNZAOC, 1992), 43.

³⁴ P. Owen Wheatley Chas Ingram, *Shipwrecks New Zealand Disasters 1795 to 1950*, 2 ed. (Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1951, 1936).

³⁵ "Crown colony era," *New Zealand History*, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014, accessed 30 March, 2018, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/history-of-the-governor-general/crown-colony-era>.

³⁶ Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*, 36.

Surgeon, Harbourmaster and Colonial Storekeeper deemed as unnecessary and cancelled in late 1843.³⁷ Tucker was reemployed within the administration as the Chief Audit Clerk, with his duties as Colonial Storekeeper assumed by the Colonial Secretary and his physical stores taken over by the Superintendent of Public Works.³⁸

Increasing tensions between the settlers and Māori following the Wairau Affray in June 1843 led to *the Militia Act of 25 March 1845*. Settler militias had long been a feature of British colonial endeavours since the 1600s. In 1632, the Virginia Assembly had "told every man fit to carry a gun to bring it to church, that he may exercise with it after the service"³⁹ Although their contributions were at times questionable, the performance of militias during the North American campaigns of the Seven Years War and the Revolutionary War had proved their utility as a force multiplier for regular forces. The first New Zealand militia unit was formed at Kororareka in 1832, where each member was required to "arm himself with a musket, bayonet, brace of pistols, a cutlass, and thirty rounds ball cartridge".⁴⁰ The *Militia Act 1845* formalised existing arrangements allowing the governor to lawfully arm and form eligible men into a militia for service in their local district.⁴¹ The 1845 Act empowered Police Magistrates of a community of over one thousand to call up all eligible men between eighteen and sixty-five years of age for military service within forty kilometres of the local police office. With men registered for militia service, Police Magistrates were to place requisitions onto the Colonial Secretary for the required amount of arms and accoutrements to equip their respective militias, including muskets, bayonets, ammunition, a cartouche box, and blue shirts.⁴² Some militia units were called out for service during the Wellington,

³⁷ "Symptoms of Reform," *Daily Southern Cross, Volume 1, Issue 29*, 1 November 1843, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18431104.2.10>.

³⁸ "Parliamentary Papers for 1843. Enclosure to No 11 Copy of Treasury Minute, dated March 10, 1843," *Daily Southern Cross, Volume 1, Issue 41* (Auckland), 27 January 1844.; Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*.

³⁹ John W. Shy, "A New Look at Colonial Militia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1963): 176, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1919295>, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/stable/1919295>.

⁴⁰ Garry Clayton, *The New Zealand Army: A history from the 1840's to the 1990's* ([Wellington, N.Z.]: New Zealand Army, 1990, 1990), 9.

⁴¹ "Militia Act 1845," 1845, accessed 23 October 2021, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/ma18458v1845n1207/.

⁴² The Police Magistrate Donald Sullivan, Nelson, *Subject: Acknowledging receipt of arms ammunition etc*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24445363 (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 28 August, 1845).

Northern, and Wanganui campaigns of 1845 and 1846, but with hostilities ceased by 1848, most militia units were stood down with arms and accoutrements placed into storage.⁴³

Militia units were only intended for local defence within a set radius. However, with tensions between settlers and Māori rising, the lessons of the 1845/6 campaigns indicated that a more robust and flexible force, able to serve anywhere in New Zealand, was required. In 1858 the New Zealand Parliament passed the *Militia Act of 1858*. This Act retained the militia as a force limited to serve in a fixed location where all eligible men were required to serve. However, the Act also allowed volunteer units to be formed for service anywhere in the colony, exempting men from militia service.⁴⁴ The Act organised the country into militia districts with small permanent training staffs and, most importantly, formed a militia and volunteer headquarters in Auckland with Captain Henry Colin Balneavis acting as the Deputy Adjutant General of Militia and Volunteers.⁴⁵



Colonel Balneavis, circa 1900, Te Papa (O.011955/02)

Encouraged by the emerging conflict in the Taranaki, the militia underwent a resurgence, and volunteer units were rapidly created, with the government undertaking to supply all

⁴³ Ordnance Storekeeper Wellington J. O. Hamly, *Relation to the storage of arms in Ordnance Store*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24517493, (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 3 June, 1851).

⁴⁴ "Militia Act 1858," 1858, accessed 23 October 2021, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/ma185821a22v1858n8223/.

⁴⁵ Under-Secretary William Gisborne, *Commission for Captain Balneavis as Deputy Adjutant General*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24487365, (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 7 September, 1859).

militia and volunteer units with basic equipment. To meet the need of the rapidly expanding force between 1857 and 1860, the government expended £4000 (approx. 2022 NZD 526,000) in purchasing revolvers, rifles, carbines and accoutrements from sources in New Zealand, Australia and Britain.⁴⁶ As the Deputy Adjutant General of Militia and Volunteers, Balneavis, with a small staff, undertook multiple administrative and organisational tasks to establish the various units and satisfy the many requisitions for equipment submitted by unit commanders. As the tempo of work in receiving and distributing equipment increased during 1860, assisting Balneavis as militia and volunteer storekeeper was his Sergeant Major/Clerk, who was awarded an annual salary increase in recognition of the additional work of £80 in 1861.⁴⁷



Private of the New Zealand Militia in campaign dress. Harding, William James, 1826-1899: Negatives of Wanganui district.

Ref: 1/4-006785-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22807152

⁴⁶ "Report of the Audit Committee of 1861," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1861 Session I, B-01a* (6 September 1861), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1861-I.2.1.3.2>.

⁴⁷ "Report of the Audit Committee of 1861."

As the conflict in the Taranaki intensified, the *Militia Act Amendment 1860* was passed, requiring all volunteers to be available for 168 hours of training each year.⁴⁸ In conjunction with elements from the militia and volunteers, Imperial troops undertook the bulk of the military burden in the early years of the conflict. In 1861 George Grey assumed the role of the governor for a second term. With the conflict in the Taranaki reaching an uneasy peace and conflict with the Waikato Kingites movement likely, Grey undertook a policy of conciliation while also preparing for war.⁴⁹ As General Duncan Cameron built up his Imperial forces, Gray reviewed and overhauled the citizen forces of New Zealand.

In January 1862, the new regulations for the volunteer force were issued, and on 18 September 1862, *the Colonial Defence Act of 1862* was passed.⁵⁰ This Act saw the formation of the first regular force in New Zealand, the Colonial Defence Force and formalised the Defence Minister's role, creating a Defence Department to administer the colony's defence forces. Under the Quartermaster General (QMG) of the Colonial Defence Force, Captain Robert Collins, Balneavis rudimentary stores organisation was split between the Colonial Store Department under the Colonial Storekeeper and the Militia Store Department under the Superintendent of Militia Stores, maintaining a degree of separation between the militia/volunteers and regulars.

Requiring a dedicated storehouse for the Defence Stores, approval was granted in October 1863 for the erection of a store adjacent to the existing imperial armoury in Auckland's Albert Barracks.⁵¹ Operating out of offices in Princes Street and a store in Albert Barracks, the two Store Departments essentially carried out the same functions, and in 1865 the post of Superintended of Militia Stores held by Mr Edward King was disestablished with the

⁴⁸ "New Zealand Volunteer Regulations," *Wellington Independent, Volume XVI, Issue 1703* (Auckland), 25 February 1862 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18620225.2.11.;>

"Militia Act Amendment Act, 1860," 1860, accessed 23 October 2021, http://nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/maaa186024v1860n34308.pdf.

⁴⁹ Garry Clayton, *The New Zealand Army: A history from the 1840's to the 1990's* ([Wellington, NZ]: New Zealand Army, 1990, 1990), 20-21.

⁵⁰ "Colonial Defence Force Act 1862," ed. General Assembly of New Zealand (1, Wellington, 1862).

[http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/cdfa186226v1862n32291/.](http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/cdfa186226v1862n32291/)

⁵¹ Queen's Redoubt Assistant Military Secretary, "Correspondence stating that there is no objection to the erection of a store for Colonial purposes adjoining Armoury Albert Barracks," *Archives New Zealand Item No R24075932* (6 October 1863).

responsibility for all colonial defence stores centralised under the Colonial Storekeeper, Captain John Mitchell.

The Premier of New Zealand, Frederick Weld, strongly advocated a policy of "self-reliance" promoting a policy where the colony could assume responsibility for its internal defence with a regular force of 1500 Armed Constabulary supported by citizen-soldiers.⁵² This desire to be self-reliant in defence matters resulted in a forward-looking reorganisation of the shape and administration of New Zealand's military forces leading to less reliance on imperial forces as they were gradually withdrawn. A review of colonial defence transformed Weld's policy into a reality with the *Armed Constabulary Act* of 10 October 1867, combining police and military functions into a regular Armed Constabulary force supported by Māori loyal to the crown, militia and volunteer units.⁵³

With the Imperial withdrawal on track to be completed by 1870 and military operations ongoing across the North Island, the New Zealand Government became concerned that it had acquired an increasing amount of material over the recent years and that measures to limit waste and provide accountability were required. Prepared by Messrs Hall and Fitzherbert, the draft *Public Stores Act* intended to "provide for the better custody of the public stores of the colony" and that as "former Governments had not had the time to deal satisfactorily with the subject, but there was now no excuse for delay", and the proposed bill was prepared for reading.⁵⁴ At the second reading of the Bill, the Hon Major Richardson, member for New Plymouth, moved that:

Stores of great value were lying neglected in various parts of the Colony, and it was deemed desirable to establish an inexpensive department to take supervision of such stores. As an illustration, he might say that £3000 worth of saddlery, which was never likely to be used, was lying rotting from disuse, though carefully looked after, in Wellington; and accoutrements and muskets were stored there, and parts of steam engines were lying in large quantities on the banks of the Waikato. The storekeeper take charge of these things and preserve them as far as could be.⁵⁵

⁵² Paul William Gladstone, Ian McGibbon, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland; Melbourne; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 2000), 485-6.

⁵³ M. R. Wicksteed, *The New Zealand Army: a history from the 1840s to the 1980s* (Ministry of Defence, 1982), 2-3.

⁵⁴ New Zealand Parliament. Legislative Council, *Parliamentary Debates 1867* (26 September, 1867), 925-26.

⁵⁵ Council, *Parliamentary Debates 1867*, 1098.

Following the third reading of the Bill, *the Public Stores Act of 1867* was passed on 16 October 1867, providing New Zealand with a comprehensive policy on managing government stores, to which government entities such as the Armed Constabulary, militia and volunteers were required to adhere.⁵⁶

Appointed as Inspector of Defence Stores in April 1869, thirty-one-year-old Lieutenant Colonel Edward Gorton had served with the 57th Regiment, including time spent as General Cameron's aide-de-camp. Released from imperial service in 1863, Gorton was appointed a Major in the Militia, in command of the Wellington Militia District. Promoted to lieutenant colonel, Gorton was the commander of the Whanganui and Rangitikei Militia Districts, during which time he also served as General Whitmore's Quartermaster during the Titokowaru War of 1868/69.⁵⁷



Lieutenant Colonel Edward Gorton, circa 1900, Puke Ariki. All rights reserved. PHO2011-2285.

⁵⁶ General Assembly of New Zealand, "*The Public Stores Act 1867*," (1867), http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_bill/psb1867831178.pdf.

⁵⁷ "The Smuggled Rifles," *Star (Christchurch)*, Issue 9546, 19 May 1909, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS19090519.2.12>.

Establishing his office at Molesworth Street in Wellington and assisted by a Mr C.S Lockie as his clerk, Gorton had the significant task of organising and transforming the Defence Stores Department into an effective organisation basing its procedures on the policy set by the *Public Stores Act 1867*. Using the Public Stores Act as his primary authority, on 10 May, Gorton forwarded to all Defence Stores staff and those responsible for stores instructions on the rules and regulations for keeping stores accounts.⁵⁸ As deficiencies in the accounting system were identified and striving for the utmost efficiency, Gorton regularly followed these initial instructions with further store administration and accounting circulars throughout his tenure.⁵⁹

Gorton soon gained an appreciation of the state and condition of military stores held in the colony and, in August 1869, reported on the colony's holdings of artillery, small arms and ammunition:

- Artillery; ranging from 40-pounder Armstrong's to 3-pounders – 38.
- Rifles – 18,456 (198 unserviceable)
- Carbines – 2793 (128 unserviceable)
- Revolvers – 858 (19 unserviceable)
- Artillery Cartridges – 6573
- Powder – 12,0749lbs
- Shell – 4831
- Shot – 1554
- Small Arms ammunition – 4,068,478 rounds⁶⁰

Throughout his tenure as Gorton conducted frequent inspection tours to gauge the condition of men and materiel distributed across New Zealand. His first inspection was in November 1869, when he inspected the North islands East Coast military depots and garrisons. Utilising the Defence Department paddle steamer *Sturt*, Gorton visited many of the main settlements on the East Coast.⁶¹ In this initial inspection tour, Gorton identified stockpiles of stores earmarked for the East Coast campaign but not utilised. Revising and

⁵⁸ Edward Gorton, *Forwarding rules and regulations for keeping store accounts, also proposed forms for approval of Defence Minister*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24142601 Record No CD1869/2900 (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 1869).

⁵⁹ Inspector of Stores Edward Gorton, *Instructing how return of stores should be kept [Circular No. 28]*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24403415, (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 19 June, 1869).

⁶⁰ Out of this number 2,559 rifles, 215 carbines, and 90 revolvers were returned as in the hands of native auxiliaries. "Return of Ordnance and Small Arms ", *Evening Post, Volume V, Issue 311* (Wellington), 12 February 1870, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18700212.2.6>.

⁶¹ Port Charles, Tauranga, Opotiki, Hicks Bay, Port Awanui, Tūpāroa, Tologa Bay, Gisborne.

redistributing the holdings at each location, Gorton handed over the balance to Captain Bower, the District Quartermaster at Napier.⁶²

Located in Auckland's Albert Barracks, Mitchell was assisted by a small staff, some of whom had served in the stores since 1861, including

- John Blomfield, Clerk
- John Price, Clerk
- David Evitt, Armourer Sergeant
- 4 x Arms Cleaners

In Wellington, the Defence Store was located at Mount Cook and was divided into two functions.

- The Armed Constabulary Stores
- The Militia Store⁶³

The Armed Constabulary Stores were the responsibility of Samuel Cosgrove Anderson, who was officially gazetted as the Armed Constabulary Storekeeper in December 1869. Anderson had arrived in New Zealand in 1864 and was immediately recruited into the Waikato Militia, serving for nineteen months in the Waikato and Thames districts. Taking up a position in Auckland as a clerk with the Commissariat Department, Anderson took his release to seek his fortune on the West Coast Goldfields. 1868 found Anderson in the orbit of Gorton in Whanganui, taking up an appointment in Gorton's new department in Wellington in May 1869.⁶⁴ Anderson's position as Armed Constabulary Storekeeper was the same grade and pay as the Defence Storekeepers in Auckland, Whanganui and Wellington and paid from within the Armed Constabulary budget.⁶⁵

Lieutenant Colonel H.E Reader, Commander of the Wellington district militia, had the dual role of Wellington Defence Storekeeper and was assisted by,

- Sergeant Alexander Crowe, Clerk
- Armourer Sergeant E. H Bradford, Armourer

⁶² "Arrival of the p.s. Sturt.," *Hawke's Bay Herald, Volume 13, Issue 1103*, 23 November 1869, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18691123.2.3.9>.

⁶³ "D-13 Nominal roll of the civil establishment of New Zealand on the 1st July 1869," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1869), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1869-I.2.2.4.21>.

⁶⁴ "Death of Captain Anderson," *Evening Post, Volume LVIII, Issue 138* (Wellington), 8 December 1899, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18991208.2.55>.

⁶⁵ "D-13 Nominal roll of the civil establishment of New Zealand on the 1st July 1869."

- 4 x Arms Cleaners, including
 - Mr John Shaw
 - Mr James Smith
 - Mr Walther Cristie⁶⁶

When Gorton took over the Defence Stores, Whanganui was still a significant military hub with a Defence Storekeeper assisted by a Clerk. As in Wellington, the role of Defence Storekeeper was filled by the senior district militia and volunteer officer, the Commanding and Adjutant of the Wanganui militia and volunteers, Major Chas Chalkin.⁶⁷

Britain's Military Store Department

Supporting the Imperial Forces in New Zealand since 1840, the Ordnance Department had established offices in Auckland and Wellington in 1842, ensuring the provision of Imperial military units in New Zealand with munitions, uniforms and necessities.⁶⁸ The Ordnance Department was reorganised on 1 February 1857 into a new organisation called the Military Store Department.⁶⁹ Headquartered at Fort Britomart in Auckland, the Military Store Department's principal role alongside the commissariat was to support the Imperial Garrison; however, it also supported colonial forces on a cost-recovery basis when necessary. Reductions of Imperial troops were hastened by the self-reliant policy that necessitated the downsizing of its regional depots, starting with the closure of its Whanganui depot in March of 1867.⁷⁰ As further Regiments departed in 1867, the Tauranga depot was also closed.⁷¹ In February 1869, the final Imperial Regiment departed New Zealand leaving behind a small residual force to conclude the withdrawal.⁷² In assessing the performance of the Military Stores Department, Cameron reported that:

⁶⁶ "D-13 Nominal roll of the civil establishment of New Zealand on the 1st July 1869."

⁶⁷ "D-13 Nominal roll of the civil establishment of New Zealand on the 1st July 1869."

⁶⁸ Adam Davis, *The Imperial Garrison in New Zealand, 1840-1870 with Particular Reference to Auckland* (University of Bedfordshire, 2004), 158, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/29821772.pdf>.

⁶⁹ *Circulars, General Orders, Memoranda issued by the War Office and Horse Guards, August 1856 to July 1864*, ed. Brevet Major J. M. Bannatyne (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 61 St Vincent Street, 1864).

⁷⁰ "Wanganui," *Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXIII, Issue 3003* (Auckland), 11 March 1867, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18670311.2.29>.

⁷¹ "Page 2 Advertisements Column 5," *New Zealand Herald, Volume IV, Issue 1079* (Auckland), 30 April 1867, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18670430.2.3.5>.

⁷² "British Troops in New Zealand," 1966, accessed 21 July, 2018, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/british-troops-in-new-zealand>; "The troops and the home government," *Daily Southern Cross, Volume XXV, Issue 3643* (Auckland), 23 March 1869, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18690323.2.33>.

No department in New Zealand was more efficient or came less into collision with other departments than the Military Store Department.⁷³

By January 1869, the dismantling of Fort Britomart had commenced, with the remaining military stores of Fort Britomart and Albert Barracks, including guns and ammunition that were not auctioned off to the public or purchased by the New Zealand Government, shipped to the United Kingdom on the *SS Himalaya*.⁷⁴ With the departure of the British Military Storekeeper Joseph Osbertus Hamley in July 1870, the withdrawal of Imperial Forces was completed.⁷⁵



Auckland, Ordnance Store buildings, Fort Britomart [August 1864]. Hamley, Joseph Osbertus, 1820-1911: Sketches in New Zealand [ca 1860 to 1864]. Ref: E-047-q-030. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22813691

⁷³ Arthur Forbes, *A history of the Army Ordnance Services* (London: The Medici society, Ltd., 1929), 167.

⁷⁴ "Dismantling of Fort Britomart," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXV, Issue 3616 (Auckland), 19 February 1869, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18690219.2.20>.

⁷⁵ "Projected departure of Mr Hamley," *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVI, Issue 4007 (Wellington), 25 June 1870, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18700625.2.16>.

In May 1869, Mitchell was suspended as Colonial Storekeeper due to unauthorised absences and resigned in July.⁷⁶ Major William St Clair Tisdall was appointed as Mitchell's replacement as acting Colonial Storekeeper.

As 1869 ended, despite the leadership changes in Auckland, under Gorton's leadership, New Zealand's embryotic Defence Stores Department was well placed for the future. Included in the Defence estimates for 1870 as a functional organisation within the New Zealand Defence Department, the Defence Stores Department was allocated 2% of the militia, volunteer and armed constabulary vote in the 1870 Government Estimates passed by Parliament in 1869.⁷⁷

1870 to 1879

With internal conflicts dominating New Zealand's military thinking since the Wairau Affray in June 1843, New Zealand had paid little attention to external threats and had placed its confidence in the power of the British Empire to protect the colony if any external threats should arise. However, following the withdrawal of the Imperial garrison in 1870, New Zealand was beset with a sense of vulnerability and began to consider options to protect itself from external threats. During the United States civil war, the 1864/65 cruise of the Confederate States of America cruiser *CSS Shenandoah* raised the consciousness of New Zealand's vulnerability to interdiction of commerce and raids on ports by a single armed vessel.⁷⁸ Further enhancing the threat perception were tensions between the Empires of Britain and Russia and French expansion in the Pacific. Various Imperial experts had provided reports on enhancing New Zealand's defences with schemes including fortifying and mining ports.⁷⁹ As with any defence scheme, the anticipated expenditure required to

⁷⁶John Mitchell, *Captain Mitchell, Auckland Resigning His Appointment as Colonial Storekeeper*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24175549 (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 5 May, 1869).; *Suspension of Captain Mitchell Colonial Storekeeper for absence from duty. Major Tisdall is placed in temporary charge of Stores*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24175550 Record No CD1869/2824, (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 5 May, 1869).

⁷⁷ "Estimates for General Government Services for the year ending 30 June 1870, as voted by the General Assembly," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1869, Session I, B-01d* (1869), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1869-I.2.2.2.3>.

⁷⁸ Glyn Barratt, *Russophobia in New Zealand, 1838-1908* (Dunmore Press, 1981), 57.

⁷⁹ Separate reviews were conducted by Captain F.W Hutton and Colonel W.F D Jervois in 1871. Ian McGibbon, *the path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand, 1840-1915* (GP Books, 1991), 22-26.

keep up with evolving military technology was considerable and a cost many politicians and taxpayers opposed.⁸⁰

The reluctance to invest in New Zealand's Defence was frustrating to some, leading Colonel William Russell, a prominent Hawkes Bay landowner, to state in a debate that "It was very well for ministers to stave off all such matters till the evil day arrived when they see the folly of neglect."⁸¹ The government committed to some defence investment, requesting 10,000 Snider rifles and ammunition from the Imperial Government in 1871.⁸² A more significant investment was made in 1878 with £44,000 (2021 NZD 7,663,720.40) entered into the annual estimates to purchase twenty-two pieces of heavy artillery from the United Kingdom and the works required to emplace them at New Zealand's principal harbours.⁸³

Gorton managed the Defence Stores Department in this austere environment supplying all arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing, and field equipment to the Armed Constabulary and the volunteer forces. For this purpose, there was a principal store in Wellington with sub-stores in Auckland, Dunedin, Opunake, Taranaki, Waikato, Tauranga, and Taupo. Arms and ammunition were imported from England and Australia. The Wellington Defence Stores purchased most other goods by tender or contract, and sub-stores had the delegated authority to purchase small amounts of goods on local contracts.⁸⁴ During 1870/71, the Defence Stores Department were the only Government Department abiding by *the Public Stores Act of 1867*.⁸⁵ With the issuance of circulars, instructions and regular inspections, Gorton had delegated much responsibility for store administration to

⁸⁰ Russell Glackin, *In defence of our land: A tour of New Zealand's historic harbour forts* (Auckland, NZ: Penguin Group (NZ), 2009, 2009), ii.

⁸¹ House of Representatives New Zealand Parliament, *Parliamentary Debates, Tenth Volume (1871)*, 417. <https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=858AAAAAYAAJ>.

⁸² "Further despatches from his Excellency the Governor of New Zealand to the Right Hon Secretary of State for the Colonies," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1871 Session I, A-01* (14 June 1871): 40, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1871-I.2.1.2.1>.

⁸³ The Honorable J Ballance The Colonial Treasurer, "Financial Statement (In Committee of Ways and Means, Tuesday, 6 August 1878)." *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1878 Session I, B-02* (1878), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1878-I.2.1.3.2>.

⁸⁴ "A-04 A report on the management, accounts and audit of the public revenues in the several colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1881): 122-23, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1881-I.2.1.2.9/7>.

⁸⁵ "Report of Inspector of Stores," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1873 Session I, H-18* (2 August 1873), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1873-I.2.3.3.21>.

the Armed Constabulary and Militia/Volunteer Sub-Storekeepers responsible for each district.⁸⁶

The Armed Constabulary was organised into six districts supported by a depot in Wellington. In each Armed Constabulary district, a responsible constable was assigned as a Sub-Storekeeper responsible for all government stores and the provision of rations, forage and fuel required by the Armed Constabulary in the district.⁸⁷ The Militia/Volunteers force was organised under a separate district system to the Armed Constabulary, each with a permanent military administrative and training staff. Depending on the size of the military district and composition of Militia and Volunteer units, the permanent Military Staff typically consisted of an,

- Officer Commanding/Adjutant,
- Senior Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO), and
- A Bugler.

Sub-Storekeeper responsibility for military stores issued to the militia/volunteer district was usually delegated to the regular District Officer or NCO as an additional duty to their existing duties. In some districts, the militia/volunteer Sub-Storekeeper role was combined with the Armed Constabulary Sub Storekeeper. For this dual role, the Sub Storekeeper drew two salaries, one from the Armed Constabulary vote and the other from the Defence vote.

Items such as weapons, accoutrements and some uniforms were signed over from the Sub-Storekeeper to the volunteer unit elected commander or quartermaster, who was responsible for managing the maintenance and distribution of the issued kit. Gorton's influence extended into volunteer units, and if a volunteer unit did not provide the required stores' returns and reports or could not account for its government equipment, it could affect the unit's eligibility for the annual capitation payment.⁸⁸ Capitation Grants were how volunteer units received most of their income from the government. The principle of the grant was that it was paid annually, based on members of the volunteer unit completing a

⁸⁶ *Nominal Roll of Officers in the Store Department - August 1870 - for printing*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24174657, Record No CD1870/2744, (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 9 August, 1870).

⁸⁷ "Papers and reports relating to the Armed Constabulary," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1870 Session I, D-07* (1870), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1870-I.2.2.4.8>.

⁸⁸ Lieut Colonel Gorton, "Requesting that capitation grant that may be due to 2nd Westland Rifles may be stopped the Corps having failed to send returns to Storekeeper " *Archives New Zealand R24173202* (17 January 1870), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1873-I.2.3.3.30>.

minimum of duties, qualifying them as efficient volunteers.⁸⁹ Failure to obtain the capitation grant could significantly impact a volunteer unit as these funds covered uniform costs and general expenses.

Satisfied with the progress within the Defence Stores Department, Gorton suspected that in other departments, there was an attitude that "because it is Government property, no care need be taken."⁹⁰ Gorton had the ambition to widen the scope of his responsibility to include all public stores across the colony.⁹¹ With the concurrence of the Auditor-General, Gorton gained support for amendments to the 1867 act, which placed,

The general management and care of the stores in the hands of one Inspector, to whom all the subordinate storekeepers in the Colony should be accountable.⁹²

Passed on 14 November 1871, the new Act effectively created an all of Government Inspector of Stores department with wide-ranging powers and authority.⁹³ Still holding the Inspector of Defence Stores position, Gorton's salary doubled from £250 to £500, resulting in some discussion in the House Committee of Supply when assessing the estimates for 1872. However, with Gorton saving the colony thousands of pounds, the salary was deemed justified, and estimates were shifted from other votes to maintain Gorton's salary at £500 (2022 NZD\$79,913.92).⁹⁴

Gorton was exceedingly zealous in applying his duties as the Inspector of Stores with a penchant for branding all government property items with the broad arrow mark he discovered in his travels using a hot branding iron earned him the unofficial title "the Government Brander."⁹⁵

The 1871 Public Stores Act codified the position of Storekeeper and Sub-Storekeeper across all Government Stores departments. The Defence Stores Department had a single Defence Storekeeper in Wellington, with this post filled by Gorton with the position of Colonial

⁸⁹ J. A. B. Crawford, *The role and structure of the New Zealand Volunteer Force, 1885-1910* (1986), 59.

⁹⁰ "Report of Inspector of Stores," Para 4.

⁹¹ "Report of Inspector of Stores," Para 4.

⁹² New Zealand Parliament, *Parliamentary Debates, Tenth Volume*, 1870.

⁹³ "The Public Stores Act 1871," ed. General Assembly of New Zealand (Wellington, 1871).; "Lieut-Colonel Edward Gorton," *New Zealand Gazette, Issue 1*, 26 January 1872, 619.

⁹⁴ "House of Representatives," *Evening Post, Volume VII, Issue 230* (Wellington), 3 November 1871, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18711103.2.10>.

⁹⁵ "Gorton, The Government Brander," *New Zealand Herald, Volume IX, Issue 2547* (Wellington), 25 March 1872, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18720325.2.12>.

Storekeeper reclassified as a Sub-Storekeeper. Sub -Storekeepers, Clerks, Armourers, Arms Cleaners, and Magazine Keepers were subordinate to the Defence Storekeeper. The Wellington and Auckland Defence Stores (under a Sub-Storekeeper) also included a small staff including,

- a clerk for clerical and bookkeeping duties
- an Armourer responsible for the repairs of Defence equipment
- Up to four Arms Cleaners responsible for the cleaning and maintenance of weapons
- Magazine Keeper with assistant responsible for the magazines and stock contained within them

Throughout the 1870s, Sub-Storekeepers were periodically appointed to the following provincial centres,

- Auckland
- Waikato
- Poverty Bay
- Tauranga
- Opotiki
- Patea
- Rangitikei
- Nelson
- Lyttelton
- Hokitika
- Dunedin

With Gorton taking on the extra responsibility as Inspector of Stores, routine activities supporting the military by the Defence Stores Department continued. In Auckland, the city's growth had placed the powder magazine at Albert Barracks in an unsuitable location. To accommodate the city's safety concerns, by September 1871, the first of several new powder magazines under construction at Mount Eden had been completed, with stocks from Mount Albert removed and the Albert Barracks magazines decommissioned.⁹⁶ With the Auckland district's supply of ammunition now safely stored at Mount Eden under the care of the Defence Stores Department magazine keeper, Tisdall and the remaining staff of storemen and Armourers remained at Albert Barracks.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ "New Power magazine at Mount Eden," *New Zealand Herald, Volume VIII, Issue 2377* (Auckland), 7 September 1871, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18710907.2.18>.

⁹⁷ The Magazine Keeper was Mr J Broughton, Tindall's other staff consisted of his Clerk Mr J Blomfield. Armourer Mr D Evitt and Three Arms Cleaners Mr's F Gibbons, J Penligan and C.C Rockley. "D-13 Nominal roll of the civil establishment of New Zealand on the 1st July 1872," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1872), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1872-I.2.3.2.61>; "Nominal

From 1868 batches of more modern breech-loading Snider rifles and carbines began to be received from England. On arrival, they were inspected by the Defence Store armourers in Wellington or Auckland, marked with a distinctive New Zealand number and Broad Arrow mark.⁹⁸



An example of the New Zealand Broad Arrow (N↑Z) used to mark a firearm. Image courtesy of Lee Hawkes

Once inspected, the new weapons were distributed to the Armed Constabulary or volunteers, replacing the older Enfield muskets and carbines.⁹⁹ The introduction of the new Snider rifles and carbines was an ongoing process, and by 1879 the Defence Stores Department recorded the distribution of weapons, as detailed in the table below.¹⁰⁰

Return of Officer in Defence Department and Armed Constabulary Force on 1 July 1872," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1873 Session I, H-24a* (27 August 1872), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1873-I.2.3.3.31>.

⁹⁸ "Annual Report on the State, Efficiency and Distribution of the Armed Constabulary Force," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1871 Session I, G-05* (14 June 1871): 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1871-I.2.2.4.7>.; "Annual Report of the Inspector of Militia and Volunteers," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1871 Session I, G-05b* (1871), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1871-I.2.2.4.9>.

⁹⁹ "Sniders for Volunteers," *North Otago Times, Volume XXIII, Issue 1124* (New Plymouth), 25 September 1875, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NOT18750925.2.15>.

¹⁰⁰ "Volunteer Force of new Zealand (report on)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1879 Session II, H-15a* (1879), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1879-II.2.1.9.18>.

Distribution	Snider Rifles and Carbines	Enfield Rifles	Muzzle Loaded Carbines	Terry Carbines	Armstrong Breech Loaded Field Guns			Rifled Muzzle Loaded		24-pr Gun	4.5-in Mortar	Iron Gun Various
					40-pr	12-pr 8cwt	6-pr	7-inch 7-ton RML MkIV	64-pdr 64cwt RML MkIII			
On Issue	6053	1788	845	783	1	6	10			9	4	7
In Store	866	9642	53	90				11	11	1	7	7
On Order from England	8411											
	15330	11430	898	873	1	6	10	11	11	10	11	14

Distribution of Weapons -1879

In addition to these weapons, the Defence Stores Department held over three million rounds of small arms ammunition and approximately 150 rounds of ammunition for each artillery piece. This stock of ammunition was held in various Defence Stores Department managed magazines at Mount Eden, Thames, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Lyttelton, Timaru, Hokitika, Greymouth and Dunedin with either a full or part-time magazine keeper.¹⁰¹ With all ammunition imported from England, Gorton did investigate the possibility of manufacturing Snider and Enfield ammunition in New Zealand, having the Defence Store Armourer produce some samples as a proof of concept; however, this endeavour did not process past the conceptual stage.¹⁰²

As part of its obligation in establishing military units, the government had, as much as possible, always supplied the soldier with essential items of uniform, arms, and accoutrements at no cost. Dress regulations based on the British military regulations detailed the basic uniform requirements, what the Defence Stores Department supplied, and what needed to be purchased by the individual or from unit funds. The dress regulations allowed the volunteers a certain degree of independence in choosing their formal uniforms, leading to the situation that no two volunteer units were dressed the same.¹⁰³ To standardise and reduce uniform costs, the Defence Stores Department purchased bolts of cloth in standardised colours, which volunteer units could purchase at

¹⁰¹ "Appropriations Chargeable on the consolidated fund for the year ending 30 June 1879," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1878 Session I, B-02a* (1878): 75, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1878-I.2.1.3.3/3>.

¹⁰² "Report of the joint committee on colonial industries," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1872 Session I, H-08* (27 August 1872), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1872-I.2.3.3.8>.

¹⁰³ B. O'Sullivan, *New Zealand Dress Regulations, 1852-1909: Militia, Volunteer, Constabulary and Permanent Forces* (Unknown Publisher, 2019).

the cost price to have uniforms manufactured to the unit specifications. With most military items imported from overseas, Gorton advocated utilising the local industry to reduce costs and ensure supply. In an 1872 Committee on colonial Industries meeting, Gorton presented several New Zealand-made cloth samples and uniform items suitable for Defence use. However, he conceded that New Zealand manufactured items, although slightly more expensive than the current products and stated to the committee:

That he had no objection in trying a small supply of each in the stores, and then the men could judge for themselves. After wearing them, finding the articles of superior quality, they might be disposed to take them, even if they were a little more expensive than the shop prices.¹⁰⁴

The standardised provision of uniforms was not yet resolved; some units, usually from less affluent districts, were often satisfied with the government-provided uniforms, while others utilised their capitation grants and fundraised for more extravagant uniforms.

As the demanding nature of the Inspector of Stores position required his full attention, Gorton requested to be relieved of specific duties by the defence office.¹⁰⁵ His role as Inspector of Stores made Gorton one of the most ridiculed members of the Civil Service, with opinion pieces in the media reporting that "his name is scarcely ever mentioned save in connection with some anecdote likely to raise a laugh."¹⁰⁶ Reorganising the Store Department, Gorton had Tisdall, the Auckland Defence Store Sub-Storekeeper, appointed an Inspecting Officer in the Store Department on 1 July 1876.¹⁰⁷ *The Auckland Star* reported that Tisdall was an enthusiastic disciple of Gorton:

Colonel Gordon [sic], the brander par excellence, has been elevated to a higher official sphere, and the famous branding iron has descended to Major Tisdall, who is prowling about the various Government departments in Auckland and affixing the ancient broad arrow on every unbranded article of public property which meets his searching eye.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ "Report of the joint committee on colonial industries," 15.

¹⁰⁵ R J Gill, *Memo on Lieut Col Gorton's request to be relieved of certain duty by the Defence Office*, Archives New Zealand Item ID R24078400, Record No N&D1876/1017, (Wellington: New Zealand Archives, 6 March, 1876).

¹⁰⁶ "Nulla Dies Sine Linea," *Wanganui Chronicle, Volume XVII, Issue 2435* (Wellington), 18 May 1874, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WC18740518.2.5>.

¹⁰⁷ "Political," *Otago Witness, Issue 1311*, 13 January 1877, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18770113.2.25>.

¹⁰⁸ "Colonel Gorton, the brander per excellence," *Auckland Star, Volume VIII, Issue 2396*, 23 November 1877, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS18771123.2.9>.

With Gorton's Defence Stores responsibilities decreasing, in January 1877, The Defence Stores Department was reorganised with Mr Sam Anderson, the Armed Constabulary Storekeeper in Wellington, appointed as Defence Storekeeper in overall charge of New Zealand's Defence Stores. Mr James Blomfield, acting Sub-Storekeeper in the Auckland Defence Store and Mr Peter Paxton, Sub-Storekeeper in Dunedin, was reappointed as Defence Storekeepers.¹⁰⁹

Gorton retired on 31 December 1877, leaving the Inspector of Stores post vacant.¹¹⁰ Despite the value of Gorton's work in accounting for public property and reducing wastage, it was his zealously in pursuing the Inspector of Stores duties that alienated him from many in the Civil Service, with the *Evening Star* commenting after Gorton's retirement that there had been widespread feeling in:

Official circles that the Inspection of Stores Act was a big mistake, and the Inspector was an unmitigated nuisance. Not content with carrying out the law in a reasonable manner and with consideration for its intentions, Colonel Gorton, who possesses a mind attuned to trifles, insisted always on driving it home to the minutest detail; the result being a general exasperation throughout the Civil Service, which in some favoured countries might have led to his personal as well as official extinction.¹¹¹

Initially, the government considered replacing Gorton and continuing the work of the Inspector of Stores. However, as no suitable individuals could be found with Gorton's drive and knowledge, the Stores Inspection Department was abolished, with Gorton's staff either laid off or reemployed in other departments.¹¹² Drawing the final curtain on the Gorton era was the *Public Revenue Act of 1878*, which, when enacted, repealed the *Public Stores Act of 1871*. Regulations issued under the new Act providing for the purchase, receipt, custody, issue and accounting for public property and stores were issued in 1879, effectively

¹⁰⁹ "Appointment of Defence Storekeepers," *New Zealand Gazette*, Issue 47, 23 May 1878.

¹¹⁰ "Resignation of Inspector of Stores accepted," *New Zealand Gazette*, Issue 01, 3 January 1878.

¹¹¹ "The Inspection of Stores Department," *Evening Star*, Issue 4632 (Wellington), 4 January 1878, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD18780104.2.2>.

¹¹² "Reductions," *Thames Advertiser*, Volume XI, Issue 2938, 30 May 1878, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/THA18780530.2.10.;> "The Government Brander," *Saturday Advertiser*, Volume 3, Issue 130 (Wellington), 5 January 1878, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/SATADV18780105.2.13>.

returning the responsibility for stores management to the individual Government departments.¹¹³

1879 to 1900

Under the control of the Under Secretary of Defence, Anderson assumed command of the Defence Stores Department as the military transitioned into a force postured on external defence. The priority of the Defence Stores Department remained the supply of all arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing, and field equipment to the Armed Constabulary and the volunteer forces.

Distribution	Snider (all sizes)	Enfield	Carbine - Muzzle Loader	Terrys	Ammunition			Armstrong Breech Loaded Field Guns			24-pr Howitzer	7-ton Gun	64-pr Gun	4.5 in Mortar	Iron Gun Various
					Sinder	Enfield	Terry	40p	12-pr	6-pr					
On Issue	5804	9039	747	941				1	6	10	10			4	8
In Store	898	2373	27	21	1351859	668111	91650					11	11	7	7
Expected from England	4000				500000										
	10702	11412	774	962	1851859	668111	91650	1	6	10	10	11	11	11	15

Distribution of Arms and Ammunition 1880. Source AJHR H-19 1881

The active fighting of the New Zealand Wars had effectively ended in 1872, with an uneasy peace settling over the conflict areas. The Armed Constabulary continued to maintain frontier posts on settler and Māori lands with negotiations to bring lasting peace and open the Waikato and King Country underway from 1878. On 11 July 1881, King Tawhiao, at the head of 600 warriors, rode into Alexandra (Pirongia) and laid down their arms in a symbolic act alongside his chiefs and followers, signifying that peace had finally been made. However, in 1881 Anderson participated in one of the last actions of the New Zealand Wars when the government raised a 1600-strong Armed Constabulary and Volunteer Force to end a campaign of peaceful civil disobedience at Parihaka in the Taranaki. The ill-advised and unnecessary November 1881 military expedition ended the Parihaka dispute but left tender scars. Aside from the moral ramifications of the Parihaka campaign, it was a logistic success, with Anderson receiving praise for his work in “clothing and rationing the Volunteers and

¹¹³ "Public Property and Stores (regulations providing for the purchase, receipt, safe custody, issue and accounting for)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1879 Session II, H-28* (1879), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1879-II.2.1.9.31>.

Constabulary, and the transport of natives."¹¹⁴ Recommended as deserving a commission due to his efforts on the campaign, Anderson was gazetted as a New Zealand Constabulary Quartermaster with the Rank of Captain in the New Zealand Militia in January 1882.¹¹⁵



NZ Armed Constabulary at Parihaka. Collis, William Andrews, 1853-1920: Negatives of Taranaki. Ref: 10X8-1070-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22349253.

Back, left to right: Captains W E Gudgeon, H Morrison, Gordon, Taylor, Powell, Fortescue, S Newall and Major a Tuke.
Front, left to right: Captains Baker and Anderson, Lieutenant-Colonel John Mackintosh Roberts, Captains Gilbert Mair, Henry William Northcroft, W B Messenger and Major F Y Goring. Collis, William Andrews

As an organisation that had inherited much of its infrastructure on the departure of the Imperial Forces twenty years previously, the Defence Stores Department storage was becoming tired and not fit for purpose. However, some improvements had been made.

The magazines at Auckland's Albert Barracks had been decommissioned, with new magazines constructed at Mount Eden in 1871. Described as a "hideous eyesore in Albert

¹¹⁴ "Native affairs," *Globe*, Volume XXIII, Issue 2386, 25 November 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/GLOBE18811125.2.13>.

¹¹⁵ "Parihaka News," *Auckland Star*, Volume XII, Issue 3527, 25 November 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS18811125.2.14>;"Mr S C Anderson, Defence storekeeper is gazetted quartermaster," *Evening Post*, Volume XXIII, Issue 10, 13 January 1882, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18820113.2.10>.

Park," the armoury in Auckland was considered a blight in Albert Park. The armoury was dismantled, and at a site on the junction of Park and Wellesley streets, a new armoury of the same size was constructed, recycling as much building material from the previous site as possible. The Defence Store constructed adjacent to the armoury in 1863 was sold by tender, and the Defence Stores Department relocated to O'Rourke Street, a short distance away.¹¹⁶ With considerable material accumulated in the old Defence Stores Department over its many years of operation, Anderson assisted Blomfield in a stocktake. The old store was decommissioned, and over 2000 obsolete muzzle-loading muskets were relocated to Wellington for long-term storage.¹¹⁷

Facing similar issues of age and urban sprawl, the magazines at Mount Cook in Wellington had also reached the end of their life, and in 1878, a new magazine complex consisting of a sorting house and two magazines was constructed at Kaiwharawhara just north of Wellington.¹¹⁸

A report produced in 1880 identified that the Dunedin magazines on Beach Road were poor and insufficient for stock held by the Dunedin Stores.¹¹⁹ A solution to increase the magazine space at Dunedin was to beach a vessel to be used as a powder hulk close to the magazines and construct a jetty to allow easy access.¹²⁰ In 1883 The Defence Storekeeper's office, previously located in Dunedin, was relocated to the powder-hulk.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Linking Princes and Symonds Streets, O'Rourke Street is now occupied by Auckland University, Captain Anderson, "Old Defence Store to be sold by tender, all the muzzle loading rifles to be sent by "Hinemoa"," *Archives New Zealand Item No R24280543* (23 April 1883).

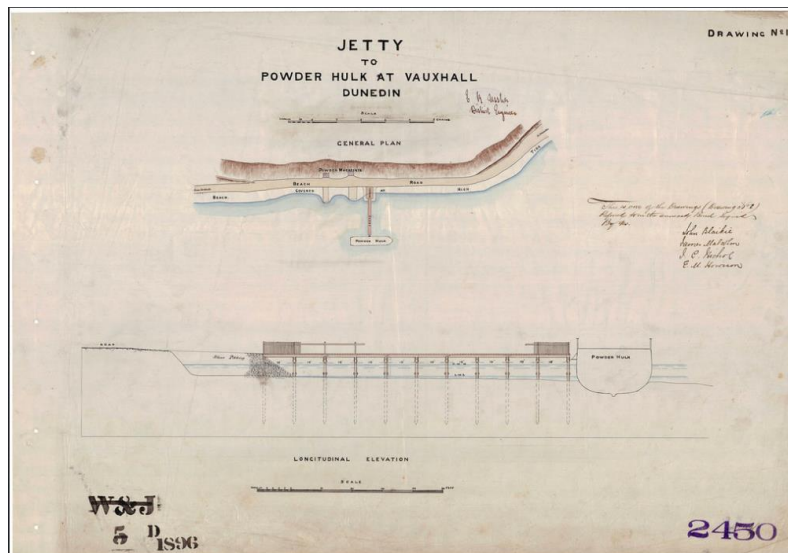
¹¹⁷ "Flashes," *Wanganui Herald, Volume XVII, Issue 5047*, 27 April 1883, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WH18830427.2.15>.

¹¹⁸ "The new powder magazine," *South Canterbury Times, Issue 2414*, (Evening Post, Volume XVIII, Issue 102), 27 October 1879, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18791027.2.28>.

¹¹⁹ Dunedin Lt Col [Lieutenant Colonel] Stavelly, "Report by Sergeant Paxton, on state of Magazines, and quantity of powder etc stored therein " *Archives New Zealand Item No R24272162* (14 September 1880).

¹²⁰ Dunedin S C Anderson, "Report upon Magazines at Dunedin, and recommends [powder] hulk be grounded on mud flat at Dunedin " *Archives New Zealand Item No R24272229* (13 June 1881).

¹²¹ "Defence Storekeeper move," *Evening Star, Issue 6416*, 9 October 1883, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD18831009.2.7>.



Jetty to Powder Hulk at Vauxhall, Dunedin - Drawing No. 1 Archives New Zealand Reference: DADE D448/7/a D1896 R2475731

Reorganised in 1882 into Cavalry, Artillery, Rifle and Naval Arms, the volunteers were by early 1883 a force better postured to respond to external threats.¹²² There were fears that the Russian conquest of Turkmenistan and expansion into Afghanistan could threaten British India, leading to war between the two empires. If war was to occur, there was the possibility that the Russian Pacific fleet would sortie out of its anchorages in Asiatic Russia and, with the Royal Navy having a limited presence in the Pacific, be free to attack New Zealand. These fears were nothing new and had existed since the Crimean War in the 1850s. On 17 February 1873, fake newspaper articles were circulated informing Aucklanders that the Russian ironclad cruiser *Kaskowiski* had entered Auckland Harbour unopposed, landed marines, seized vital points in the city, and even taken the mayor hostage. A hoax comparable to the Orson Wells broadcast of a Martian Invasion of Earth that panicked the United States in 1938, the attack of the *Kaskowiski* stirred public opinion. It prompted the government to implement fortification plans for New Zealand's principal harbours, requesting 22 new guns and ammunition from England in 1874. However, by the time the guns arrived in 1878, interest had waned, and they were placed into storage in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.¹²³

¹²² "Reorganisation of the Volunteer Force," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1882 Session I, H-10* (1882), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1882-I.2.2.4.12>.

¹²³ "Defence of Auckland," *New Zealand Herald, Volume XXII, Issue 7273* (Auckland), 11 March 1885, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18850311.2.15>.

The Anglo–Russian tensions in Afghanistan initiated a full-blown Russian scare in 1885, resulting in an increased interest in defence matters and an ambitious construction programme to build significant fortifications in New Zealand's coastal cities. Cognisant of the deficiencies of the current force structures and the need for a Permanent Force, a sitting Member of Parliament with a proven military record, Colonel George Stoddart Whitmore, was appointed as the Commandant of New Zealand's Defence Forces in 1885. Leveraging off his parliamentary position, Whitmore, now a Major General, pushed through *the Defence Act of 1886*. The Defence Act split the Volunteer Force from the constabulary and created the Permanent Militia.¹²⁴

The state of the force Whitmore took command of was dismal. The guns which had arrived in 1878 had not been mounted, and stocks of small arms ammunition were almost exhausted. A considerable rearmament program had been approved with armaments and equipment of the latest types, which were only just been procured for use by the British forces – including modern 6-inch and 8-inch coast artillery guns, rapid-firing artillery and machine guns, Whitehead torpedoes, and submarine mining equipment with sufficient ammunition to allow for reserve and training stocks.¹²⁵ On the basic equipment issued to the volunteer forces, Whitmore noted in 1887 that,

The clothing of the force, and its equipment's, are much more uniform than last year, and, although the latter still to a large extent consist of stores, then half worn out, handed over to us twenty-three years ago by the Imperial Government, a beginning has been made in the replacement of the worst of the belts and pouches, which were very bad. Here I may remark that in 1885 the colony had for more than twenty years neglected the proper equipment of the local forces, and that we have even now no reserve of arms or military stores.¹²⁶

With two million rounds of Snider ammunition on order and only 60000 rounds in the colony's magazines, alternative ammunition supply sources were investigated. Gorton had investigated the manufacture of ammunition in 1872, but his proposal had not progressed

¹²⁴ "Defence Act 1866," 1886, accessed 23 October 2021, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/da188650v1886n17133/.

¹²⁵ "Report on the New Zealand Forces (By Sir G.S Whitmore KCMG Commander of the Forces)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1886 Session I, H-13* (1886), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1886-I.2.3.3.20>.

¹²⁶ "Report on the New Zealand Forces (By Sir G.S Whitmore KCMG Commander of the Forces)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1887 Session I, H-12* (1887), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1887-I.2.2.6.12>.

past the Defence Stores Department Armourers producing a few samples.¹²⁷ Encouraged by the government, Major John Whitney of Auckland conducted some investigations and trials on the possibility of manufacturing ammunition in New Zealand.¹²⁸ Successful in his endeavours, in 1888, Whitney established the Colonial Ammunition Company (CAC), the first ammunition manufacturer in New Zealand and the first in Australasia, at Mount Eden in Auckland.¹²⁹ The CAC provided New Zealand with a measure of self-sufficiency in supplying small arms ammunition until 1968.

New Zealand's rearmament in the 1880s was also a technological leap forward. The Defence Stores Department Armourers and Arms Cleaners had maintained the colony's weapons since 1861. However, the new equipment included machinery that functioned through pneumatics, electricity and steam power, requiring a skilled workforce to repair and maintain, resulting in a division of responsibility between the Defence Stores Department and Permanent Militia. The Defence Stores Department retained its core supply functions and responsibility for maintaining and repairing Small Arms. With some civilian capacity available, the bulk of the repairs and maintenance of the specialist Artillery equipment was carried out by uniformed artificers and tradesmen recruited into the Permanent Militia. Initially placed in charge of the new mine defences, Lieutenant Arthur Percy Douglas, a retired Royal Navy officer, was appointed in 1887 to inspect the guns and ammunition of New Zealand.¹³⁰ In October 1888, Douglas was appointed as a major in the New Zealand Permanent Militia with the appointment of Staff Officer of Artillery and Inspector of Ordnance, Stores and Equipment.¹³¹ The appointment of Douglas as Inspector of Ordnance, Stores and Equipment only related to artillery equipment, with the Defence Storekeeper responsible for all other stores. This division of responsibility for stores, although becoming blurred, remained extant well into the 20th century.

¹²⁷ "Report of the joint committee on colonial industries."

¹²⁸ "Report on the New Zealand Forces (By Sir G.S Whitmore KCMG Commander of the Forces)."

¹²⁹ "Mount Eden Shot Tower," Engineering Heritage of New Zealand, 2017, <https://www.engineeringnz.org/programmes/heritage/heritage-records/mount-eden-shot-tower/>.

¹³⁰ Sir G S Whitmore, "Appointment of Lt Douglas, RN [Royal Navy] to inspect guns, ammunition etc at the various forts throughout the Colony " *Archives New Zealand Item No R24323700* (24 August 1887).

¹³¹ "Appointment of Inspector of Ordnance, Stores, and Equipment," *Star (Christchurch)*, Issue 6361, 5 October 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18881005.2.36>.

As the shape of the New Zealand Military transformed, the organisational structure of the Defence Stores Department saw little change. As Defence Storekeeper, Anderson delegated responsibility for the Wellington Defence Stores to his chief clerk Thomas Henry Sewell who was appointed Assistant Storekeeper in March 1886.¹³² James O'Sullivan, who had joined the Defence Stores Department from the constabulary in 1884, replaced Sewell as Chief Clerk.

By 1888 the cost of embarking on an ambitious defence program had reached the point where cutbacks and savings across the Defence budget had to be made. As part of reductions across defence, the Auckland and Dunedin Defence Stores were significantly downsized, with most of the staff made redundant, with Wellington retained as the national Defence Store. The local magazine keepers assumed responsibility for all stocks required for use by the local volunteer units, thus maintaining a Defence Store presence in the regions.¹³³ The closure of the Auckland stores had been met with dismay, with the press questioning it as an absurd decision, with the *New Zealand Herald* noting in an editorial that the closure of the Auckland Defence Store was "solely arising from the Wellington authorities having a want of local knowledge and of the requirements of the place."¹³⁴ James Bloomfield, the Defence Storekeeper in Auckland, had served since 1861. He was granted a reprieve from redundancy and allowed to extend his tenure, retiring in December 1888 after handing over to Major John William Gascoyne of the New Zealand Permanent Militia.¹³⁵ Appointed to a post as the resident magistrate in the Chatham Islands in 1891, Gascoyne handed over responsibilities Of Auckland Defence Storekeeper to the Magazine Keeper, Mr James Hawthorn.¹³⁶

On 28 February 1894, a sudden and unexpected announcement shook the Defence Stores Department when it was notified that "the services of all the officers of the Stores

¹³² J Balance, "Thomas Henry Sewell appointed as Assistant Storekeeper," *Archives New Zealand Item No R24280543* (24 March 1886).

¹³³ "The Retrenchment Proposals," *Evening Star*, Issue 7437, 4 February 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD18880204.2.26>.

¹³⁴ "Auckland Armoury Closed," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXV, Issue 8997, 9 March 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18880309.2.17>

¹³⁵ "Reductions in civil service," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1888 Session I, H-30*, 11 May 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1888-I.2.3.2.31>

¹³⁶ "Frederick John William Gascoyne," *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 21 December 1966, accessed 5 Novemebr 2021, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/gascoyne-or-gascoigne-frederick-john-william>.

Department, except the Storekeeper, Captain Anderson, were to be dispensed with at a months' notice."¹³⁷ *The Evening Post* attributed the planned dismissals to the political climate of ministerial patronages and that,

Ministers have so many claimants on their patronage since the elections that apparently experienced and valuable officers have to be sacrificed in order to make room for new men, whose sole recommendation is political colour and electioneering service.¹³⁸

With eighteen long-serving men due to be dismissed, effectively dismembering the Defence Stores Department, the pushback must have been tremendous. However, this decision was eventually reviewed, with only three or four men in junior appointments dismissed.¹³⁹ With this potential crisis passed, the Defence Stores Department settled into a period of busy calm while supporting the military.

A highlight of the volunteer year was their annual camps. Usually held over Easter, the Defence Stores Department provide large quantities of camp equipment not held by volunteer units. Differences between what was issued and returned were identified following the camps. Volunteer units were then invited to locate and return the items or be billed for the difference.¹⁴⁰ To alleviate this post-camp administrative burden, members of the Defence Stores Department attended camps in the capacity of Camp Quartermaster.¹⁴¹

One of the early tasks that Anderson had overseen when he assumed the position of Defence Storekeeper in 1877 was the progressive receipt and distribution of the Snider rifles and carbines, which continued in the 1890s with the introduction of the Martini-Henry Rifle. By 1893 the New Zealand inventory included 13901 Sniders of various types that had been in service for up to nineteen years, and following careful consideration, the .450 in Martini-

¹³⁷ "News of the Day," *New Zealand Times*, Volume LVI, Issue 2144, 1 March 1894, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM18940301.2.12>.

¹³⁸ "A Whole Department Wiped Out," *Evening Post*, Volume XLVII, Issue 51, 1 March 1894, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18940301.2.38>.

¹³⁹ Three men Robert Robinson, arms cleaner, William Hepburn, express driver and William Moore, clerk petition the Defence Department for compensation for unfair dismissal. "Parliamentary

¹⁴⁰ Defence Storekeeper, "Regarding charges against Petone and Wellington Navals government property used at Easter Camps and not returned " *Archives New Zealand Item No R24752338* (14 June 1895).

¹⁴¹ Defence Storekeeper, "Regarding his attending Easter Camp at Feilding as Quartermaster and regarding Arms Cleaner Frederic attending same " *Archives New Zealand Item No R24333259* (14 June 1895).

Henry weapon was to be introduced as a replacement.¹⁴² As with the earlier introduction of the Sniders, The Defence Stores Department had to inspect the new weapons as they arrived. As the Martinis were a single-shot weapon with a mechanical lever action, the Defence Stores Department armourer also instructed the Artificers of the Permanent Militia on the workings of the new weapon.¹⁴³ Given the geographical spread of the volunteers, not all weapons could be serviced or repaired by military armourers, so authority was also granted to suitable civilian gunsmiths.¹⁴⁴ Managing small arms by the Defence Stores Department was ongoing and frustrating. In 1887 the Remington Lee rifle, the bolt action magazine fed rifle adopted by New Zealand, was introduced into service. Following issues with the ammunition, it was withdrawn in 1888.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, as the Martini-Henry introduction was concluded, the .303 calibre Martini-Enfield was introduced in 1898, leading to the New Zealand military utilising three different types of rifles with three different calibres of rifle ammunition resulting in unnecessary logistical complications.

A conflict between the British Empire and Boer Republics in Southern Africa became likely as tensions increased. On 28 September 1899, the New Zealand Premier 'King Dick' Seddon to the British government offered the services of a contingent of mounted infantry for service in South Africa. When the war started on 11 October, New Zealand's offer was accepted, and patriotic fervour swept New Zealand as men volunteered for service in South Africa. With only a few reserve stores available, the New Zealand Military, including the Defence Stores, were materially unprepared for the rapid mobilisation that was about to be undertaken.¹⁴⁶

Pre-empting the expected mobilisation, the Defence Stores Department had begun preparations. On 6 October, in conjunction with men from the Permanent Militia, three

¹⁴²"Report on the New Zealand Permanent and Volunteer Forces ", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1893 Session I, H-09* (1893), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1893-I.2.3.2.10>.

¹⁴³ Defence Storekeeper, "Forwarding report of Armourer on instructing Permanent Militia Artificers in mechanism of Martini Henry Rifle and makes certain recommendations thereon " *Archives New Zealand Item No R24333436* (3 September 1895), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1893-I.2.3.2.10>.

¹⁴⁴ Canterbury Officer Commanding, "Regarding Mr Garrard, Gunsmith, Christchurch, repairing Martini Henry Rifles on issue to volunteers.," *Archives New Zealand Item No R24333438* (3 September 1895), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1893-I.2.3.2.10>.

¹⁴⁵ "Remington Lee M 1885," New Zealand Arms Register, 2012, accessed 6 November 2021, http://www.armsregister.com/arms_register/arms_register_documents/nzar_71_remington_lee_m1885.pdf.

¹⁴⁶ "New Zealand's Contingent," *Evening Post, Volume LVIII, Issue LVIII* (Wellington), 28 October 1899, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18991028.2.50>.

wagon-loads of camp equipment were dispatched to the mobilisation campsite at Karori under the care of a work party from the Permanent Militia.¹⁴⁷

As most of the men volunteering for the First Contingent were drawn from the volunteer forces, there was an expectation that the units they were drawn from were to supply the bulk of the equipment, with the Defence Stores Department satisfying the shortfalls.¹⁴⁸ With insufficient uniforms and equipment immediately available, the call went out, recalling items from units and asking for donations to fill the gaps until the urgently placed orders on manufacturers could be satisfied, resulting in the manufacture or purchase of over 20,000 items of equipment, uniforms, underclothing, horse equipment and saddlery on the local market.

From the 6th of October, working 16-hour days until the 21st of October, Douglas, now the Under-Secretary for Defence, took a hands-on role in the mobilisation, assisting Anderson and the Defence Stores Department with the receiving, recording, and branding of all the items required by the troops assembling at Karori. Acting as the Camp Storekeeper, Corporal Butler and two assistant gunners of the Permanent Artillery ensured that each Contingent member was brought up to the required scale as equipment was received from the Defence Stores.¹⁴⁹

The deadlines were tight as the *SS Waiwera* due to sail on 21 October. However, the deadlines we met and the prescribed date, New Zealand Contingent to South Africa sailed from Wellington as well equipped as the short timelines allowed. For the Defence Stores, the work was not over as the many personal belongings left behind needed to be returned to the owner's home locations based on the directions provided by the respective troopers.

Cognisant of the exertions and the stress and strain of equipping the Contingent, Douglas personally thanked the staff of the Defence Store Department at their Buckle-street Store Office on 24 October 1899. In a hearty speech, the Under-Secretary for Defence

¹⁴⁷The stores included; 31 tents for the men 6 Officers tents, Kitchen tent, Stores Tent, Mess Marquee, picket fences for tethering the horses "The camp at Karori," *Evening Post*, Volume LVIII, Issue 85 (Wellington), 7 October 1899, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18991007.2.34>.

¹⁴⁸ "New Zealand's response," Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 6 Mar 2018, 2018, accessed 25 Sept, 2020, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/south-african-boer-war/new-zealands-response>

¹⁴⁹ The basic scale of issue included blankets, several changes of underwear, three sets of uniform, overcoat, several pairs of boots and shoes, numerous other articles, rifle and accoutrements.

acknowledged “the untiring energy and zeal displayed by the staff”, informing them that he had recommended the Minister of Defence show recognition of the work done in some substantial manner.¹⁵⁰

With the first contingent departing New Zealand in October 1899, The Defence Stores, with only a modest increase in its workforce provided by casual workers and men from the Permanent Militia, immediately started preparing for the future contingents. A more regulated system was implemented for the second contingent with ample time to prepare. Instead of delivering the stores to the contingent camp, all stores were to be issued directly to the men at the Mount Cook Barracks. Volunteers assembled at the Mount Cook barracks for the contingent, undergoing examination and selection. If accepted, they were signed up, allocated a regimental number, issued their equipment and dispatched to the training camp at Wellington’s Newton Park. Under the supervision of the Assistant Defence Storekeeper, Mr Sewell, the equipment was selected and stamped with a regimental number and passed to Bombardier McDonald for distribution to the men.¹⁵¹

It is interesting to note that although the Commandant of the Forces presented an annual report detailing the activities and state of the military each year, the Defence Stores Department organisation was seldom mentioned. Only two reports written by Lieutenant Colonel Fox in 1893 and 1896 mention the Defence Stores Department organisation. In 1893 Fox wrote,

Captain Anderson is Storekeeper. This officer has a great deal of responsibility, keeps his stores in good order, and is thoroughly competent and to be relied on.¹⁵²

In his report of 1896, Fox stated in a footnote at the end of the report that,

In addition to the above there are employed permanently one captain as instructor of the mounted infantry, one captain as storekeeper, Wellington, one lieutenant as testing officer of small-arm ammunition. These officers are necessary”.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ "Contingent Notes," *Evening Post*, Volume LVIII, Issue 100 (Wellington), 25 October 1899.

¹⁵¹ "The camp at Newtown," *Press*, Volume LVI, Issue 10537 (Wellington), 26 December 1899, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18991226.2.40>.

¹⁵² "Report on the New Zealand Permanent and Volunteer Forces ".

¹⁵³ "Report on the New Zealand Permanent and Volunteer Forces ", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1896 Session I, H-19* (1896), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1896-I.2.3.4.24>.

Despite being absent in the annual reports, from 1869, the Defence Stores Department was always included in the annual Defence estimates and appropriations as a separate vote maintaining an average of 2% of the defence vote.

Although absent from the annual reports, the Commandant of the New Zealand Forces, Colonel Arthur Pole Penton, included the Defence Stores Department in his proposals to reform New Zealand's military forces. Since 1870 the logistics functions in the British army had undergone several reorganisations and adjustments. The Army Service Corps (ASC), responsible for Transport and the supply of forage, rations and fuel, was established in 1888, and in 1895 the AOC was established as the military branch responsible for the supply and maintenance of all small-arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing, and field equipment Stores.¹⁵⁴ Perhaps prompted by these developments in the United Kingdom, Penton made several recommendations related to stores administration within the Defence Department, including taking over direct responsibility for the Defence Stores Department from the Under Secretary of Defence and transforming it into a military organisation similar to the AOC.¹⁵⁵ However, the timing for such changes was unsuitable for the government, and Penton's recommendations progressed no further.

The hours worked by the Defence Stores Department Staff and the poor infrastructure took a toll on the staff of the Defence Stores. Located at Wellingtons Mount Cook, then known as Alexandra Barracks. The Defence Store's buildings were old and not fit for purpose as they leaked and were cold and draughty. On 28 July 1894, William Warren, a former Colour Sergeant of the 65th Regiment who had for the last 26 years worked as a storeman in the Defence Stores Department and was described by a colleague as a "strong and healthy man and one who had an exemplary life" passed away.¹⁵⁶ On 7 December 1899, Anderson passed away suddenly after a brief illness attributed to stress and long work hours.¹⁵⁷ Following the deaths of two other members of the Defence Stores Department staff in 1900

¹⁵⁴ Brigadier A.H Fernyhough C.B.E. M.C., *A short history of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps* (London: RAOC, 1965), 18.

¹⁵⁵ Col A P Penton, "Regarding organisation of Defence Department at Headquarters " *Archives New Zealand Item No R24396336* (11 May 1899), .

¹⁵⁶ "Nulla Dies Sine Linea," *New Zealand Times, Volume LVI, Issue 2271* (Wellington), 30 July 1894, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM18940730.2.12>.

¹⁵⁷ "Death of Captain Anderson." *Evening Post, Volume LVIII, Issue 138* (Wellington), 8 December 1899, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18991208.2.55>

and 1903, W.M Moore, a former Defence Stores employee, attributed their deaths to the unsanitary working conditions within the Defence Stores, stating that,

During the four years I spent there my health was far from good, and I lost in weight, and I believe my life was saved by the kindly service rendered by the Hon R.J Seddon when he kicked me out.¹⁵⁸

The sudden death of Captain Anderson and the ill health of his deputy Henry Sewell resulted in James O'Sullivan being appointed as acting Defence Storekeeper in March 1900.¹⁵⁹

As the twentieth century dawned, the support that the Defence Stores Department was required to provide to New Zealand's Military forces had transformed from a few muskets required to arm a hastily formed militia to the supply, distribution and maintenance of small-arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing and field equipment Stores to a large but dispersed volunteer citizen army. From 1870 with the withdrawal of the final Imperial forces, the Defence Stores Department was on its own. Although in the final stages of an internal conflict, it supported a force starting to prepare to meet external threats. The Defence Stores Department also transform to meet the challenge. Under the strict control of Gorton, the Defence Stores Department established an understanding of the principles of accounting that guide the Defence Stores Department into the future.

As New Zealand entered an era of peace, the Defence Stores Department underwent some expansion and reductions as economic and political winds changed. However, the Defence Stores Department continued to provide its core support as the military changed shape. When New Zealand committed troops to South Africa, the Defence Store exerted all its energies on equipping the force. Almost all the Defence Stores Department staff were veterans of the New Zealand Wars and Armed Constabulary policing afterwards and had a sense of purpose to ensure that the New Zealand contingent was well equipped and wanted for little. None within the Defence Stores Department realised that their work was only a dress rehearsal for a much larger mobilisation in fourteen years.

¹⁵⁸ "Unsanitary Government Buildings," *Evening Post*, Volume LXV, Issue 1 (Wellington), 2 January 1903, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19030102.2.97>.

¹⁵⁹ "Local and General," *Evening Post*, Volume LIX, Issue 60, 12 March 1900, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19000312.2.24>.

Chapter Two

Development of the New Zealand Defence Stores Department

New Zealand's contribution to the conflict in South Africa ignited a wave of patriotic and militaristic fervour across New Zealand. Although the militaristic fervour soon faded, a commitment to the defence of the empire remained. This commitment set in place fourteen years of transformation, during which New Zealand's military forces transitioned from being an ill-equipped and ill-resourced volunteer force into a well-organised, trained and equipped citizen army on par with its allies and potential adversaries. Throughout this period, the Defence Stores Department found its role and position in the military hierarchy and organisational structure challenged as the civilian leadership of the Defence Department and Imperial officers tasked with leading the military came to terms with the realities of modernising New Zealand's military forces. This chapter first examines the development of the Defence Stores Department in the wake of the lessons learnt from the war in South Africa. The second event of significance examined is the 1906 command reorganisation of the Defence Forces, which saw the implementation of the Defence Council and the inclusion of the Director of Stores as part of the command staff. Finally, this chapter examines how the *1909 Defence Act* heralded the beginning of the end of the Defence Stores Department as the organisation prepared for its most significant test.

1900-1906

As the Defence Store entered the 1900s, it faced a leadership dilemma as Captain Sam Anderson, the Head of the Defence Stores Department since 1877, passed away on 7 December 1899. Anderson's deputy for seventeen years, Thomas Sewell, was passed over for promotion to Defence Storekeeper due to his age and ill-health. Appointed as acting Defence Storekeeper was James O'Sullivan. Immigrating to New Zealand from Ireland in 1876, O'Sullivan joined the Armed Constabulary in 1878, spending several years on frontier duties in the King Country, Taupo and Taranaki before joining the Defence Stores Department as a clerk in 1885. Appointed as acting Defence Storekeeper in March 1900, O'Sullivan's appointment was confirmed in November 1900.¹⁶⁰ O'Sullivan had little respite to ease himself into his new role. In the middle of political conflict between the Defence

¹⁶⁰ "Defence Storekeeper Appointed," *New Zealand Gazette No 98 p. 2154.*, 29 November 1900, 4.

Department and Commandant of the Forces over the functional control of the Defence Stores Department, O'Sullivan also faced the ongoing need to supply contingents to South Africa. Additionally, O'Sullivan was responsible for the Permanent Militia and Police and equipping and maintaining a resurgent and growing Volunteer Force as modern weapons and equipment were introduced.

Operating within the tight budgetary confines, the Defence Stores Department met its role of supplying arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing, and field equipment to the police, permanent militia and volunteer forces. However, between Colonel Penton, Commandant of the Forces, and Sir Arthur Douglas, the Secretary of Defence, there was a difference of opinion about the organisation of the Defence Department, including the Defence Stores Department. Drafting an amendment to the Defence Act in early 1900, Penton proposed to place the Defence Stores Department under the control of the Commander of the Forces. Penton's proposals were vigorously opposed by Douglas, who believed that

the receipt, issue and supply of all stores connected with defence can under the present system be carried out quickly and economically, and no control on the part of the Commander of the Force cause a change to be made for the better.¹⁶¹

Although Douglas saw few benefits in Penton's proposal to militarise the Defence Stores Department as a military branch, Penton's proposal was sound and in tune with developments in other dominions. Since 1855 the British Army had been refining its logistic services. The Military Store Department that had served the Imperial Forces to good effect during the New Zealand Wars in 1870 was renamed the Ordnance Stores Department and absorbed alongside the Commissariat and Transport into the Control Department. With poor prospects for Ordnance Officers compared to those of the Commissariat and Transport, the Ordnance Services settled into a period of stagnation. The Ordnance Services were revitalised in 1896 with the formation of the AOC.¹⁶² With the status as a Non-Combatant organisation, the AOC was not integrated into the Field Forces like the ASC, leading to many on the staff knowing little of the AOCs methods and functions. The status of Non-Combatant was an unfortunate term that was anomalous and a misnomer—intended to identify Ordnance Officers and soldiers as highly trained specialists required to devote

¹⁶¹ Col A P Penton, "Regarding organisation of Defence Department at Headquarters ". Archives New Zealand Item No R24396336 (11 May 1899)

¹⁶² Forbes, *A history of the Army Ordnance Services*, 147-54.

their energies and time to technical work and to be relieved of other tasks where possible. Although armed with rifles and trained in their use, the term non-combatant carried an unfortunate stigma that was not removed until 1942.¹⁶³ With the supply and maintenance of arms and equipment, an increasingly important factor on the modern battlefield, the AOC emerged from the war in South Africa, also known as the graveyard of reputations, with an enhanced reputation, serving as an apprenticeship for many who lead the Ordnance services in the Great War.¹⁶⁴

The assumption could be made that Penton was aware of the development of the AOC and saw the opportunity to grow the Defence Stores Department into a similar type of professional organisation benefiting New Zealand's military development. Penton's annual report of 1900 states that "the Imperial military authorities to whom my several reports have been submitted concur in the views expressed".¹⁶⁵ However, Premier and Defence Minister Richard Seddon supported Douglas's arguments against Penton's proposal, ensuring it went no further than a draft. With the benefit of hindsight, it could be assumed that Douglas and Seddon were both comfortable with the Defence Stores Department's current arrangements and keeping the status quo, therefore missing the opportunity that Australia and Canada had both recognised. Australia reorganised their equivalent to New Zealand's Defence Stores Department into an Ordnance Department on 8 July 1902, with an Australian Army Ordnance Corps (AAOC) in the establishment process in 1914.¹⁶⁶ Canada followed suit in 1903 with the Ordnance Stores Corps established, which in 1907 transitioned into the Canadian Ordnance Corps (COC).¹⁶⁷ New Zealand did not transition the Defence Stores Department into the Permanent Military until 1 February 1917, forming the NZAOC.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ Brigadier A H Fernyhough, *A Short History of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps (First Edition)* (RAOC Trust 1965), 19.

¹⁶⁴ Fernyhough, *A Short History of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps (First Edition)*, 20.

¹⁶⁵ "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the), by Colonel A.P Penton, RA, Commander of the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1900 Session I, H-19* (1 September 1900): 7, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1900-I.2.3.2.40>.

¹⁶⁶ John D Tilbrook, *To the warrior his arms: A History of the Ordnance Services in the Australian Army* (Royal Australian Army Ordnance Corps Committee, 1989), 26-39.

¹⁶⁷ W.F. Rannie, *To the Thunderer His Arms: The Royal Canadian Ordnance Corps* (W.F. Rannie, 1984), 32.

¹⁶⁸ Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*, 72.

Due to the difficulties highlighted in assembling, equipping, and deploying the initial South Africa deployment, a Joint Defence (Secret) Committee was convened in July 1900 to investigate and make recommendations on the state of New Zealand's Defences. The Committee made many recommendations across the Defence spectrum, including recommending that "matters of finance, the ordering and receipt of military stores, should belong to the Department of the Under-Secretary for Defence" while the Commandant "should be responsible for seeing that the minimum war standard of such stores is maintained."¹⁶⁹

These recommendations for the Defence Stores Department reinforced Douglas and Seddon's stand on the Defence Stores while providing the Commander of the Forces a degree of control over the military stores. In addition to this recommendation, the Committee also made the following recommendations impacting the Defence Stores.

- The Volunteer Force of the colony be increased up to a minimum strength of 18,000, and that the whole of the Volunteer Force should be properly equipped, including overcoats and waterproof sheets.
- 30,000 stand of arms, rifles and carbines, of approved pattern, with necessary accoutrements, be obtained.
- The supply of small-arms ammunition is augmented to the extent that be necessary for a time of war and that the supply in each Volunteer District be constantly maintained by fresh supplies.
- That the present stock of bell tents, marquees, and camp equipment be increased to meet the requirements of the increased forces of the colony.¹⁷⁰

Penton's tenure as Commandant of New Zealand's forces concluded in 1901 with his final report stating that he was satisfied that

The strength of the forces has been raised to a number amply adequate for the defence of the colony. They will shortly all be armed with modern magazine rifles, and are better equipped, trained, and organised than they were five years ago.¹⁷¹

Penton's parting statement on the state of the Defence Stores was that "no change has been made in the very faulty organisation which has existed for so long, and that which I

¹⁶⁹ "Joint Defence (Secret) Committee (Reports of the)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1900 Session I, I-12* (1 September 1900), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1900-I.2.3.3.15>.

¹⁷⁰ "Joint Defence (Secret) Committee (Reports of the)."

¹⁷¹ "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the), by Colonel A.P Penton, RA, Commandant of the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1901 Session I, H-19* (1 September 1901): 9, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1901-I.2.4.2.28>.

sincerely hoped the legislation of the last session have killed" and that "the system in the colony is infinitely worse than anything I know of in any part of the Empire."¹⁷²

Major General James Melville Babington replaced Penton as the Commandant of the Forces in December 1901.¹⁷³ Babington continued within the scope of his responsibilities to reform the military, witnessing throughout each year of his tenure improvement in the state of training and equipment of the NZMF. Babington stated in his 1904 report that "the charge of stores and equipment, these in time of war of necessity come under the control of the Commandant and should be so in time of peace"¹⁷⁴. The government remained unconvinced and resistant to change and comfortable with the systems in place, remaining steadfast in the belief that civilians should manage the business aspects of the military forces.¹⁷⁵

Possibly encouraged by developments in the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada, where their Defence Stores had been brought under the command of the Army as Ordnance Corps, Babington continued to advocate the formation of an Ordnance Corps to replace the existing Defence Stores. Babington's 1905 annual report recommended, "An Ordnance Department, under the Commandant, should be formed out of the staff now at hand".¹⁷⁶ The use of the term Ordnance Department mirrors developments in Australia. The public servants who had previously been employed in the equivalent of New Zealand's Defence Stores of the various Australian States had been reorganised into the Australian Army Ordnance Department (AAOD) in 1902, with the military members organised as the Ordnance Store Corps.¹⁷⁷ In his final report before completing his secondment as Commandant, Babington echoed Penton's frustrations regarding the position of the Defence Stores. Babington bluntly recorded that "The system of having what represents the ordnance department under the Under-Secretary for Defence is also wrong and could not

¹⁷² "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the), by Colonel A.P Penton, RA, Commandant of the Forces," 7.

¹⁷³ Paul William Gladstone Ian McGibbon, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland; Melbourne; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁷⁴ J Babington, "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the) by Major General J.M Babington, Commandant of the Forces.," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1904 Session I, H-19* (1904): 5, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1904-I.2.3.2.27>.

¹⁷⁵ Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*, 53.

¹⁷⁶ "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report by the) by Major-General J.M Babington, Commandant of the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 August 1905): 6, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1905-I.2.4.2.31>.

¹⁷⁷ Also referred to as the Commonwealth Ordnance Department, it remained as a civilian organisation within the Army until WW1. Tilbrook, *To the warrior his arms: A History of the Ordnance Services in the Australian Army*, 27-32.

be continued in war-time."¹⁷⁸ However, Babington's efforts to reform the organisational structure of Defence Headquarters remained elusive. Encountering similar hurdles to Penton, Babington failed to convince the government to subordinate the Defence Stores under his appointment rather than under the direct control of the Under Secretary of Defence.

It was frustrating for Penton and Babington as the reforms they were advocating for were not the radical musings of seconded Imperial officers seeking to establish an enduring legacy of their time in New Zealand, but instead, reforms that were in tune with the most recent developments in the British Army.¹⁷⁹ New Zealand's Defence Department was a smaller colonial clone of the War Office in the United Kingdom, best described as,

a house divided against itself, its civilian (especially the financial) and military elements pulling in opposite directions, in, no doubt friendly but nevertheless regrettable conflict, to the detriment of the public service.¹⁸⁰

Based on the findings of the Elgin Commission of 1902-03, many shortfalls related to the organisation, training and equipment of the British Army's conduct of the South Africa war had been identified. To address many of the concerns raised, the War Office (Reconstitution) Committee was established under Lord Esher in 1903. This Committee's recommendation was published as the Esher Report in February and March 1904. As a result of Esher's proposals, dual control between the Secretary of State for War and the Commander in Chief ceased, and the Army Council was established in their place.¹⁸¹ It was not until 1906 that New Zealand's political leadership, keen on remaining in step with England, enacted similar reforms that Penton and Babington had both advocated for when New Zealand reorganised its defence leadership, and emulated the British Army Council by establishing a New Zealand Council of Defence.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report by the) by Major-General J.M Babington, Commandant of the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1906 Session II, H-19* (1 August 1906): 3, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1906-II.2.3.2.29>.

¹⁷⁹ James Philip Lanford Peter Young, *History of the British Army* (A. Barker, 1972), 205-09.

¹⁸⁰ AWA Pollock, "The Army and the Esher Scheme," *The Nineteenth century and after: a monthly review* 55, no. 327 (1904): 843.

¹⁸¹ Fernyhough, *A Short History of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps (First Edition)*, 21.

¹⁸² The New Zealand Council of Defence assumed duties on 5 January, 1907. "Defence Forces of New Zealand report by the Council of Defence and by the Inspector-General of the New Zealand Defence Forces for the year 1907.," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1907), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1907-I.2.4.2.28>.; Ian McGibbon, *The path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand, 1840-1915* (GP Books, 1991), 159.

Despite years of neglect and downsizing and Pentons and then Babington's misgivings, the Defence Stores had successfully managed to play its part in mobilising the first and second contingents to South Africa. The mobilisation was difficult as the NZMF had no mobilisation experience, few equipment stockpiles, and limited Defence Stores Department staff.¹⁸³

Although the initial contingents had been hurriedly assembled and equipped, not all equipment was fit for purpose, with Lieutenant Colonel Alfred William Robin, Commanding Officer of the first contingent, reporting that "equipment, clothing and boots" after two months of service "are now in a bad state".¹⁸⁴ As a military organisation unprepared for such an endeavour, such shortfalls could only be expected. However, with a further eight contingents mounted between January 1900 and April 1902, the Defence Stores Department overcame the initial difficulties it encountered with the first two contingents and provided exceptional service in equipping subsequent contingents. An example of the equipment provided to the first five contingents is shown in Figure 2.1.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Ian McGibbon, *The path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand, 1840-1915* (GP Books, 1991), 109.

¹⁸⁴ Lieutenant Colonel A.W Robin, "To Defence HQ 21 and 27 January 1900, ANZ AD34 4," (1900).

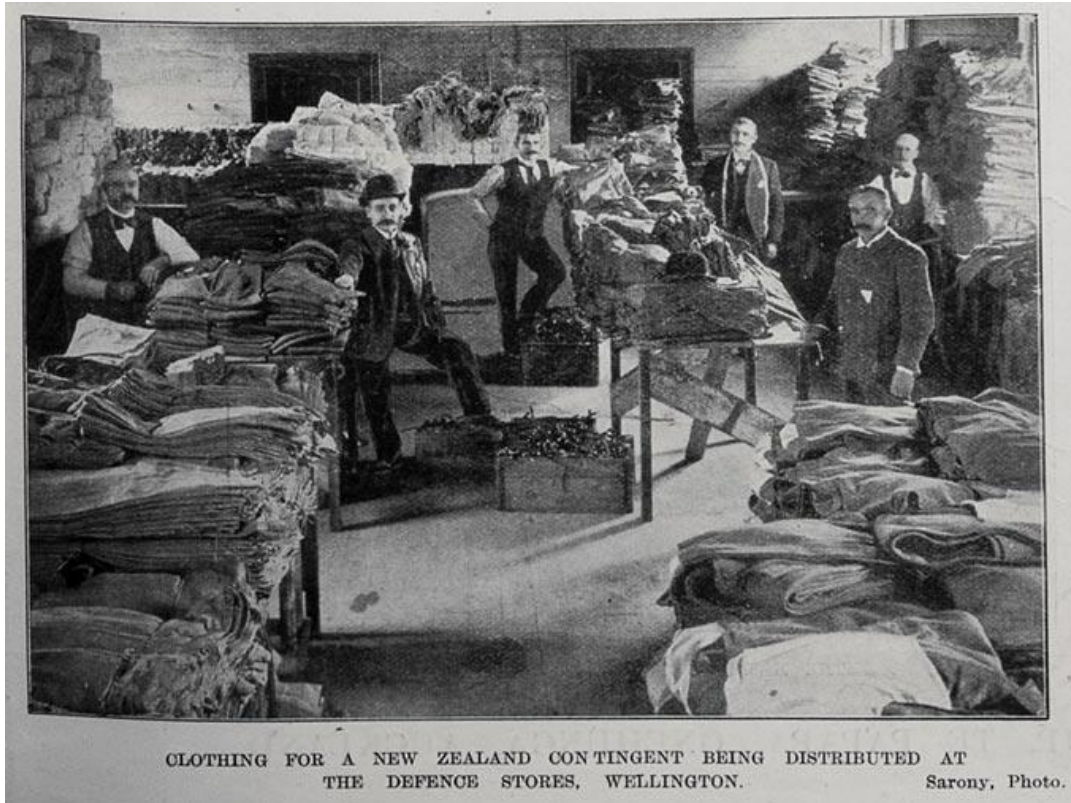
¹⁸⁵ "Equipping our Contingents some interesting figures," *Evening Post, Volume LX, Issue 116*, 13 November 1900, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19001113.2.43.9>.

.303 Ball, rounds	244540	
.303 Blank, rounds	12610	
Maxim Ball, rounds	6300	
Maxim Blank, rounds	5000	
Revolver Ammunition, rounds	17072	
Sword Bayonets and scabbards	1188	
Carbines	1188	
Infantry Waist Belts	1178	
Braces	1138	
Water Bottles	1134	
Oil Bottles	1114	
Canteens and Covers	1614	
Haversacks	1194	
Pouches 40 Round	2186	
Slings	1117	
Saddles Complete with all Accoutrements	682	First Four Contingents only
Spurs	1362	
Stable Head Stalls	1627	
Nose Bags	1484	
Horse Blankets	1466	
Horse Brushes	1325	
Curry Combs	1297	
Forage Cords	1581	
Canvas Horse Covers	718	
Forage Nets	1626	
Horse Shoes	3237	
Boots	2590	
Khaki Greatcoats	1527	
Felt Hats	1492	
Khaki Jackets	2879	
Jerseys	1340	
Cord Pants	2854	
Canvas Shoes	2571	
Serge Trousers	1355	
Cholera Belts	3827	
Drawers	3909	
Grey Shirts	4116	
Undershirts	2856	
Socks, pairs	4413	

Example of equipment provided to the first five contingents to South Africa. *Evening Post*, Volume LX, Issue 116, 13 November 1900

Although dependent on England for weapons and specialist military equipment, the Defence Stores utilised New Zealand industry as much as possible for many clothing and equipment items. Competitive tenders were advertised for New Zealand's industry to equip each contingent. Initially limited to manufacturers in Wellington and Christchurch, tenders became nationwide following complaints from Auckland business leaders.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ "The Tenders for Supplies," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume XXXVIII, Issue 11844, 23 December 1901, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19011223.2.47>.



Clothing for a New Zealand Contingent being distributed at the Defence Stores, Wellington. Auckland Libraries Heritage Images Collection

The surge of activity in preparing contingents for service in South Africa was not unique to New Zealand, with almost every other colony sending troops to aid the British war effort in South Africa. The point of difference with New Zealand's war effort was that it was notably free from many of the scandals brought upon by bribery and corrupt dealings of contractors and Government officials that resulted in official inquiries into the quality of clothing, boots, accoutrements and alleged wasteful expenditure reported by the press in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom.¹⁸⁷ The *New Zealand Times* noted in a 1901 opinion piece,

After the manner in which the seven several contingents left these shores, it is evident that there will be no need to make any changes in the personnel of the Defence Stores Office staff. During the whole time, and in the face of exceptional difficulties, Mr J. O'Sullivan, the Defence Storekeeper, ably assisted by his staff, turned out the whole of the officers and men in such a way as to command gratifying encomiums from Lord Roberts and generals who came into contact with them in

¹⁸⁷ "Army Contracts," *Register (Adelaide, SA: 1901 - 1929)* (Adelaide, SA), 19 February 1902, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article56228640>.

South Africa it was universally agreed that our, men were the "best dressed, and equipped" of all the colonial troops in the field.¹⁸⁸

The Defence Stores Department initially equipped the contingents out of its Buckle Street Store in Wellington. As contingents were raised in the South Island and Auckland, O'Sullivan and his staff demonstrated their flexibility and commitment by shifting their operations to those locations to supervise equipment distribution directly to the contingents in their regional mobilisation camps. To oversee the equipping of the Eighth Contingent in Auckland, O'Sullivan's Assistant Frederick Silver prepared and distributed the kit for the Auckland men at their Auckland Camp with the observation that Silver was "as sleepless as a time-piece and as methodical as a cash register".¹⁸⁹ For the Tenth Contingent, O'Sullivan and an assistant established themselves at the Tenth contingents South Island mobilisation camp.¹⁹⁰ The Defence Stores Department concluded its contribution in mobilising New Zealand's contingents to South Africa as it stated by working long hours into the night. As Tenth Contingent prepared for departure on 19 April, the *Christchurch Star* wrote on 18 April 1902 that

Last night the Defence Stores staff were working "eyes out" to equip the men with all the necessary items of uniform and other gear that a soldier requires, and 150 men were fitted in a very short time.¹⁹¹

As Sir Arthur Douglas, the Under-Secretary for Defence prepared to depart on six months of sick leave in England, he thanked the Defence Stores Department for their work and commented on "the excellent manner in which Mr O'Sullivan and the staff had fulfilled their duties, especially when they were called upon to equip South African contingents on very short notice".¹⁹²

For O'Sullivan outfitting, the contingents for South Africa were not the only priority as the war in South Africa had generated growth of Volunteer units and general interest in military

¹⁸⁸ "Defence Staff Efficiency," *New Zealand Times*, Volume LXXI, Issue 4409 16 July 1901, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM19010716.2.3>.

¹⁸⁹ "Eighth Contingent In Camp," *Wanganui Herald*, Volume XXXVI, Issue 10544,, 17 January 1902, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WH19020117.2.35>.

¹⁹⁰ "The Tenth Contingent ", *Press*, Volume LIX, Issue 11244,, 9 April 1902, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19020409.2.51.1>.

¹⁹¹ "The Tenth Contingent ", *Star (Christchurch)*, Issue 7380, 18 April 1902, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS19020418.2.61>.

¹⁹² "General News," *New Zealand Mail*, Page 61 (Supplement), 8 October 1902, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZMAIL19021008.2.120.5>.

matters resulting in better organisation and training and, through the Defence Stores Department, a modest increase of equipment, marginally improving the effectiveness of the Volunteers.¹⁹³ Conscious of the need to economise and balance with the necessity to outfit contingents for South Africa, the Defence Stores Department found it necessary to initially utilise stock that was reaching the end of its life to satisfy the need of the volunteers. Using such old stock led volunteer units to bemoan the quality and age of equipment received from the Defence Stores Department through the press. In one instance, a Taranaki unit received belts that had initially belonged to the 14th *Buckinghamshire Regiment*, a regiment that had left New Zealand in 1866.¹⁹⁴ The South Wairarapa Mounted Rifles protested the cavalry cloaks that bore the *Royal Irish Fusiliers* insignia with the legend "Condemned" printed boldly across the backs. Received from England many years earlier and despite some effort to repair and make serviceable, the "coats look thoroughly disreputable, being mouldy and well ventilated" and were described as "garments are unfitted for the use of horsemen".¹⁹⁵

However, leveraging off the recommendations of the 1900 Defence (Secret) Committee and the experiences and lessons learnt in South Africa, by 1903, the Volunteers had been equipped with the Magazine Lee Enfield rifle, but financial restraints had left many units short of waterproof sheets, mess-tins, haversacks and entrenching tools.¹⁹⁶ Despite these shortfalls in essential equipment, the issue of standard khaki field service uniforms to most units provided standardisation across the force that had never been seen before.¹⁹⁷

In anticipation of future mobilisations, Parliamentary estimates voted for in 1900 provided funds for the erection of Mobilisation Stores at Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin;¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ J. A. B. Crawford, *The role and structure of the New Zealand Volunteer Force, 1885-1910* (1986).

¹⁹⁴ "How to encourage Volunteering," *Bay of Plenty Times, Volume XXIX, Issue 4089*, 17 December 1900, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BOPT19001217.2.12>.

¹⁹⁵ "Carterton," *New Zealand Times, Volume LXXI, Issue 4427*, 6 August 1901, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM19010806.2.57.3>.

¹⁹⁶ J Babington, "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the) by Major General J.M Babington, Commandant of the Forces," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1903 Session I, H-19* (1903): 5, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1903-I.2.3.2.36>.

¹⁹⁷ Babington, "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the) by Major General J.M Babington, Commandant of the Forces," 5.

¹⁹⁸ Vote 116, Item 8 included £2000 for Building stores in four centres "Appropriations chargeable on the public works fund, and the government loans to local bodies account for the year ending 31 March 1901," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1900 Session I, B-07a* (1 September 1900): 68, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1900-I.2.1.3.8>.

- In Wellington, a Mobilisation Store completed in 1911 was constructed at Buckle Street, Mount Cook.
- In Christchurch, a Mobilisation Store completed in 1905 was constructed in King Edward Barracks.
- In Dunedin, a Mobilisation Store completed in 1907 was constructed at St Andrew's Street.

In Auckland, no finance was allocated for a Mobilisation Store as the existing Defence Store office at O'Rourke Street and magazines at Mount Eden were considered suitable and available for storage purposes.¹⁹⁹ In 1903 the Police expressed an interest in taking over the O'Rourke Street building as accommodation for the Auckland Police Commissioner. Following an inspection by Defence Storekeeper O'Sullivan, arrangements were made to transfer the Defence Stores Department from O'Rourke Street to Mount Eden and hand the building over to the Police.²⁰⁰ However, it was soon discovered that insufficient space in the magazines required the erection of an additional building for the Defence Stores Department adjacent to the magazines.²⁰¹

As an organisation, Defence Stores Department was never a large organisation. With a meagre strength of thirteen men in 1899, the department's centre of mass was in Wellington, consisting of.

- Defence Storekeeper (also Police Storekeeper).
- Assistant Defence Storekeeper.
- Defence Stores Clerk.
- Defence Stores Storeman.
- Armourer.
- Assistant Armourer.
- Arms Cleaner x 2.
- Magazine Keeper x 2.

In Auckland, there was two staff responsible for the northern military units.

- Magazine Keeper.
- Assistant Magazine Keeper.

¹⁹⁹ "Defence Forces of New Zealand (Report on the), by Colonel A.P Penton, RA, Commandant of the Forces," 7.

²⁰⁰ Wellington Defence Storekeeper, "Defence Store Commission (Commission of Inquiry re Defence Stores), July 1915 - September 1915," *Archives New Zealand Item No R3898696* (1915).

²⁰¹ "Contract let for the erection of a Defence Store," *Auckland Star*, Volume XXXV, Issue 147, 21 June 1904, [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS19040621.2.37.](https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS19040621.2.37;); "Public Works Statement by the Hon W. Hamm-Jones, Minister for Public Works," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1905 Session I, D-01* (29 August 1905), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1905-I.2.3.2.1>.

Dunedin, with a single staff member.

- Caretaker, Powder Hulk.

In addition to this permanent staff, eight part-time magazine keepers were paid out of the Defence Stores Department vote to manage the Defence Forces magazines across New Zealand.²⁰² As equipping the contingents to South Africa required a surge of effort, men from the Permanent Militia were regularly drafted in to assist, and later, casual labourers at the rate of 8 shillings a day were employed.²⁰³ The practice of utilising casual and part-time workers to supplement the full-time staff continued through to 1914.²⁰⁴ As the work tempo of the Defence Stores Department increased, the Magazine Keeper's position in Auckland was upgraded in 1901 to include the duties of Defence Storekeeper for Auckland with two Arms Cleaners increasing the Defence Stores Department Staff in Auckland to four. The responsibilities for New Zealand Police stores, a legacy of the Armed Constabulary era, ceased in 1901, with a Foreman and an additional seven Clerks and ten Arms Cleaners increasing the Defence Stores Department staff in Wellington to twenty.²⁰⁵ Early in 1904, with the surge required to support the war in South Africa passed, Cabinet decided to reduce the Defence Stores Department's staff levels by retrenching three Clerks, four Arms Cleaners and an Armourer from Wellington and an Arms Cleaner from Auckland.²⁰⁶ Although this reduced the staffing level of the Defence Stores Department, it was not to the pre-war levels acknowledging the increasing responsibilities of the Defence Stores Department.

As a result of the recommendation of the Defence (Secret) Committee of 1900, four Mobilisation Storekeepers, one each in Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago, were

²⁰² Class XIII – Defence Department, Vote No 67 Stores and Magazines "Appropriations chargeable on the consolidated fund and other accounts for the year ending 31 March 1901," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1900 Session I, B-07* (1 September 1900), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1900-I.2.1.3.7/3>.

²⁰³ "The War Commission," *New Zealand Herald, Volume XL, Issue 12401*, 24 October 1903, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19031024.2.67.46>.

²⁰⁴ James O'Sullivan, "Report of the Director of Equipment & Stores for the year ending 31 March 1914," *Archives New Zealand Item No R22432126* (8 May 1914).

²⁰⁵ Class XV – Defence Department. Vote No 72 Stores and Magazines "Appropriations chargeable on the consolidated fund and other accounts for the year ending 31 March 1902", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1901 Session I, B-07* (1 September 1901): 89, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1901-I.2.1.3.9/3>.

²⁰⁶ "Retrenchment in Defence Department," *New Zealand Herald, Volume XLI, Issue 12462* (Wellington), 5 January 1905, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19040105.2.46>.

employed within the Permanent Militia on a part-time basis from 1901. Under District Command, the duties of Mobilisation Storekeeper were in addition to their regular duties, with soldiers seconded to this role compensated with an additional £50 per annum.²⁰⁷ The Mobilisation Storekeepers were absorbed into the Royal New Zealand Artillery (RNZA) on its formation in 1902. Having Permanent Force Gunners as Mobilisation storekeepers was not ideal, resulting in the Officer Commanding Dunedin raising concerns that such duties interfered with the soldier's regular duties and requesting that a civilian be employed as Mobilisation Storekeeper.²⁰⁸ Following a reorganisation of military districts in 1908, the mobilisation storekeepers were reorganised into the Militia Staff.²⁰⁹ After a District reorganisation, the Defence Stores Department absorbed the mobilisation storekeeper's positions in Auckland and Wellington.²¹⁰ The Mobilisation Storekeeper posts in Christchurch and Dunedin were upgraded to permanent positions, with an additional permanent Mobilisation Storekeeper position established at Nelson.²¹¹

There was a delineation of responsibilities between the Permanent Militia and the Defence Stores Department on who was responsible for maintaining and repairing Ordnance (Coast, Garrison and Field Artillery, ammunition, ancillary equipment) and small arms, machine guns and associated ammunition. In practice, the Defence Stores Department became involved with managing Artillery and its ammunition.²¹² Additionally, the Defence Stores Department Armourer had prepared pamphlets to allow Permanent Militia Artificers to repair the Small Arms on the issue to the Permanent Militia.²¹³ With the introduction of Bolt

²⁰⁷ Class XVII – Defence Department. Vote No 60 Militia Staff "Appropriations chargeable on the consolidated fund and other accounts for the year ending 31 March 1902 ", 87-88.; "Personal Items," *New Zealand Herald, Volume XLIV, Issue 13481*, 7 May 1907, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19070507.2.68>.

²⁰⁸ Lieutenant] Officer Commanding Permanent Force M M Gardner, Dunedin,, "Complains that P F Gunner is detailed to assist Mobilization Storekeeper and as it interferes with his Permanent Force Work, asks that a civilian be appointed," *Archives New Zealand Item No R24743895* (14 March 1905), .

²⁰⁹ "General Order Constituting Military Districts and Sub District," *New Zealand Gazette No 24*, 8 July 1908.

²¹⁰ "Appropriations chargeable on the consolidated fund and other accounts for the year ending 31 March 1909," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1908 Session I, B-07* (1 September 1908), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1908-I.2.1.3.8>.

²¹¹ Driver F.E Ford had been detailed as part time Mobilisation Storekeeper since 1904, taking over the position in a full time capacity as a civilian in 1908. "H Battery NZFAV," *Nelson Evening Mail, Volume XLII, Issue XLII, Page 3*, 16 March 1908, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NEM19080316.2.25>.

²¹² Hon. Defence Minister, "Return of Ordnance and Ammunition in New Zealand," *Archives New Zealand Item No R24448736* (30 June 1904); Hon. Defence Minister, "Return of Ordnance and Ammunition in New Zealand," *Archives New Zealand Item No R24750839* (30 June 1907).

²¹³ Defence Storekeeper, "Forwarding report of Armourer on instructing Permanent Militia Artificers in mechanism of Martini Henry Rifle and makes certain recommendations thereon ".

Action rifles and Maxim Machine Guns, the complexity of these weapon systems required the NZMF to seek the secondment of AOC Armourer Sergeants from the United Kingdom in 1900.²¹⁴ Two AOC Armourer Sergeants, Bertram Buckley and John Hunter, were recruited and arrived in New Zealand in 1901.²¹⁵ As uniformed soldiers, Buckley and Hunter were administered under the Militia and Volunteer vote of the Defence budget and initially came under the control of the Commandant of the Forces.²¹⁶ Following the death of Mr E.H Bradford, the long-serving Defence Stores Department civilian armourer, in 1902, it was soon found that further support was required for Buckley and Hunter, and the United Kingdom was approached to provide another AOC Armourer.²¹⁷ 2nd Class Armourer Sergeant William Edward Luckman was selected by the War Office and arrived in New Zealand in late 1903. Unlike Buckley and Hunter, who were administered as part of the Permanent Militia, Luckman was administered as part of the Defence Stores Department, where he assumed the mantle of Chief Armourer.

1906 -1909

1906 was a significant year of transformation for the Defence Stores Department with the passing of the Defence Act Amendment Act 1906 on 28 October establishing the long-awaited Defence Council, which took effect in January 1907.²¹⁸ For the first time, the Defence Council provided for the NZMF a headquarters with staff functions, including,

Hon. Minister of Defence: Military policy.

Chief of the General Staff: Field organisation, military operations, staff and instructional duties, training and education, intelligence, mobilisation, war regulations, examination of officers.

Adjutant and Quartermaster-General:

²¹⁴ "Two armourer sergeants imported from England," *Archives New Zealand Item No R24403217* (1902), .

²¹⁵ "Buckley, Bertram," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1900, https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE19463207.

²¹⁶ Minute from Major General Babington to Minister of Defence 8 May 1903 "Luckman, William Edward," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1902, 416, https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE21154244.

²¹⁷ Minute from Major General Babington to Minister of Defence 4 May 1903, "Luckman, William Edward," 420.

²¹⁸ "Defence Act Amendment Act 1906 (6 EDW VII 1906 No 41)," 1906, accessed 30 December 2021, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/daaa19066ev1906n41250/.

(Adjutant-General section): Recruiting and organisation, veterinary, promotion, peace regulations, discipline, musketry, appointments, medical, remounts.

(Quartermaster-General section): Movements, tenders, transport, quarters, supplies, contracts.

Inspector-General: Review generally and report on the practical results of the policy of the Council; to inspect and report annually on the efficiency of officers and men, on the handling of troops, on the suitability of armament and equipment, on the condition of the fortifications of the colony, and generally on all that affects the readiness of the Forces for war.

Finance Member: Control of all expenditure, compilation of estimates, issues of money services, imprests, and acceptance of tenders.

Secretary: Printing, stationery, books, forms, decorations, central registry, Parliamentary and Ministerial business, control of clerical work and office, Army List, promulgation of General Orders, claims, payments of capitation, returns, &c, as provided for by regulations.

The following additional duties are carried out at Headquarters but under the control of the Council:

Director of Artillery Services (Ordnance): Responsible for Artillery armament, fixed coast defences, and supplies for ordnance.

Director of Engineer Services: Responsible for erection and maintenance of forts and all works, barracks, rifle ranges, drill halls, and submarine mines.

Director of Stores: Responsible for clothing and personal equipment, accoutrements, saddlery, harness, small-arms and small-arms ammunition, machine guns, material, transport, vehicles, camp equipage, and all stores required for the Defence Forces.²¹⁹

On 26 December 1906, it was announced in the *New Zealand Times* that James O'Sullivan had been confirmed as the Director of Stores for the colony of New Zealand.²²⁰ An announcement soon followed O'Sullivan's appointment in the *New Zealand Gazette* that he had been appointed as Quartermaster and an Honorary Captain in the New Zealand Militia.²²¹

Cognisant that an efficient Defence Force could only be maintained if sufficient monetary recognition and advancement prospects could be offered, the Defence Council introduced a

²¹⁹ "Defence Forces of New Zealand report by the Council of Defence and by the Inspector-General of the New Zealand Defence Forces for the year 1907.."

²²⁰ "Defence Matters - Director of Military Stores," *New Zealand Times*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 6091, (Wellington), 26 December 1906, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM19061226.2.5>.

²²¹ "New Zealand Militia Honorary Officer appointed," *New Zealand Gazette No 45*, 23 May 1907, 1615.

classification scheme defining the pay and allowances for those connected to the force. This classification for the Director of Stores pay was on par with a Major's. Other Defence Stores Department staff pay was equivalent to that received by Senior Non-Commissioned Officers.²²²

Rank.	Pay.		House Allowance.	Pay, including Increments.		
	Minimum.	Maximum.		After One Year's Service as such.	After Three Years' Service as such.	After Five Years' Service as such.
<i>Officers.</i>						
O.C. District ...	£ 325	£ 400	£ 50	£ 350	£ 375	£ 400
Major ...	300	350	50	300	325	350
Captain ...	225	290	25	225	275	290
Lieutenant ...	175	215	25	175	190	215
<i>Warrant Officers.</i>						
Staff Sergeant-majors	150	180		150	170	180
<i>Store Department.</i>						
Director of Stores ...	300	350	...	300	325	350
Storekeepers ...	150	180	...	150	170	180
Saddler ...	150	160*				
Storeman ...	150	170*				
Fireman ...	150	190*				
Arms-cleaner ...	106	156*				
Labourers	8s. per diem				

* Increases of £5 per annum.

NOTE.—Previous service in equal grade to count, but dependent on efficiency and report, and if required qualifying examination before the increment is granted.

1907 Pay and Allowance Classification Scheme. Source – AJHR H-19 1907

Aside from the organisational changes underway, the Defence Stores Department was still required to support the military's routine functions, including the re-equipment following the war in South Africa. By 1907 this re-equipment and redistribution of equipment resulted in the Defence Stores Department holding a stockpile of over 17,000 Snider, Martini-Henry and Remington Lee rifles, carbines and accoutrements, and just under a million rounds of obsolete ammunition. The disposal of this stockpile was the most significant disposal of Arms and Ammunition undertaken by the Defence Stores Department throughout its existence which had the unintended consequence of arming Pathan tribespeople on the borders of British India.

²²² Pay and allowances "Defence Forces of New Zealand report by the Council of Defence and by the Inspector-General of the New Zealand Defence Forces for the year 1907.," 8.

A Board of Survey initiated by the Defence Council weighed up the options for the disposal of the stockpile of obsolete weapons.²²³ Dumping the entire stock at sea was considered, but an anticipated outcry from the New Zealand press, who might have viewed this means of disposal as another example of needless government waste, ruled out this option, and the sale by a tender was decided upon as the most practical means of disposal.²²⁴

Notice of the tender was published by O'Sullivan, in the New Zealand press from 4 June 1907, with 14 June set as the final day for bids.²²⁵ The Tender Board accepted the highest tender in July 1907 with all the arms purchased by a Manchester firm through their New Zealand agents. The consignment was loaded onto the *S.S. Mamari* at Wellington, which sailed directly to London via the *New Zealand Shipping Company's* usual route. The mail carried on the same voyage was a notification to the War Office in England providing complete shipment details. Providing these details to the War Office was not obligatory and only made on O'Sullivan's initiative. O'Sullivan's attention to detail in dispatching the New Zealand firearms to England proved wise when in May 1909, the *Calcutta Englishman*, the leading daily newspaper in India, published an article stating that Weapons bearing Australian and New Zealand markings had been smuggled across the Pathan border.²²⁶ While the *Calcutta Englishman* was accurate in its report, due to careful accounting by the Defence Stores Department and O'Sullivan's attention to detail, no fault could be attributed to New Zealand, with all fault due to shady British second-hand arms dealers.

Further enhancing O'Sullivan Defence Stores Department organisation was the authorisation for the appointment of permanent District Storekeepers in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin with the following appointments made:

- Mr William Thomas Beck – District Storekeeper, Auckland.²²⁷

²²³ "Defence Forces of New Zealand: Report by the Council of Defence and extracts from the report of the Inspector-General of the NZ Defence Forces, for the year ended 28th February 1908," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1909 Session II, H-19* (28 February 1909), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1909-II.2.4.2.28>.

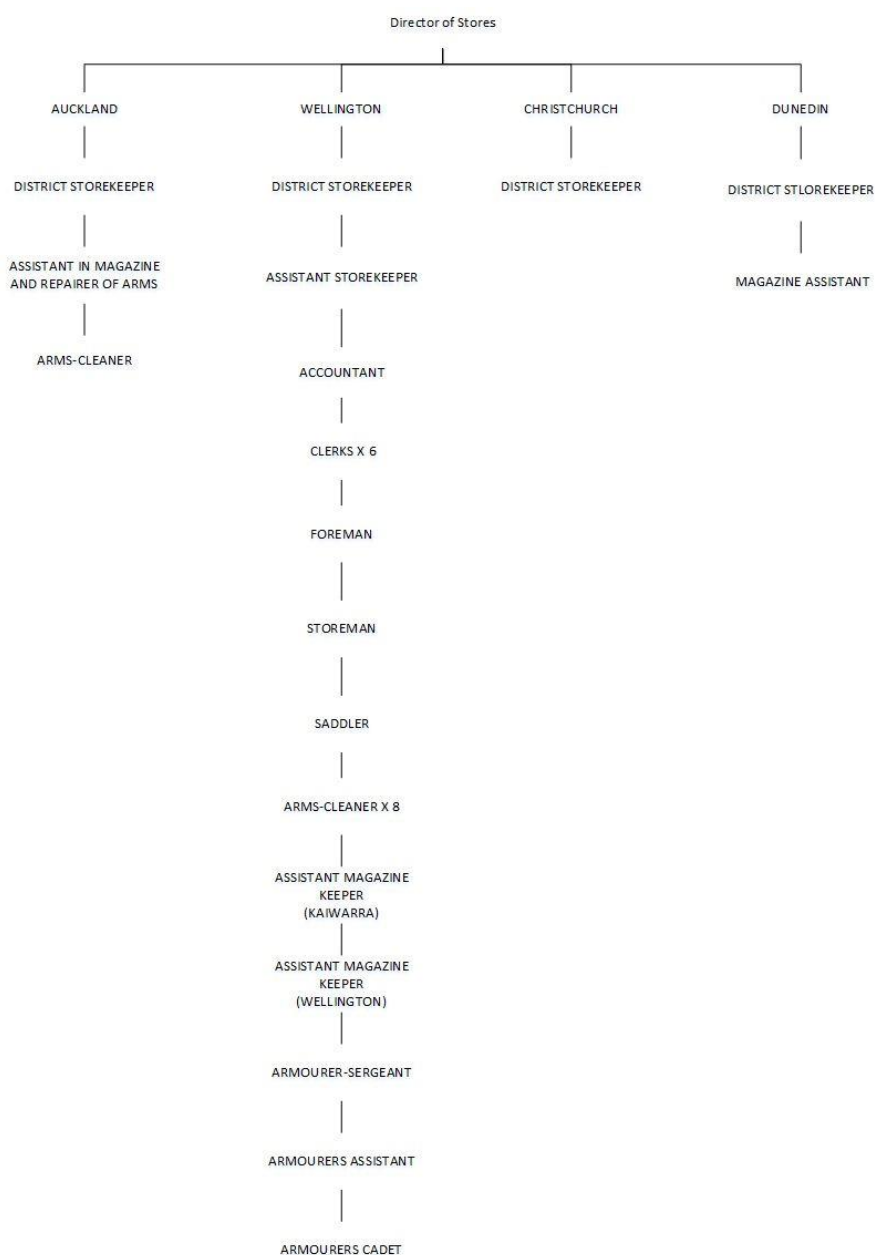
²²⁴ "The Smuggled Rifles." *Star*, Issue 9546, 19 May 1909

²²⁵ "Obsolete Arms," *New Zealand Times, Volume XXIX, Issue 6231*, , 10 June 1907, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM19070610.2.12>.

²²⁶ "Australasian Arms smuggled into India," *Evening News (Sydney, NSW)* 12 May 1909, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/12162436>.

²²⁷ Beck had entered the torpedo corps as a private in 1891, and soon became a non-commissioned officer. For some time, he was in charge at Port Chalmers. In 1903 he was placed in charge of the Auckland Defence Store. "Our Defenders – Beck" *Observer*, Volume XXIX, Issue 8, 27 December 1908, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TO19081107.2.52>

- Mr Arthur Rumbold Carter White – District Storekeeper, Christchurch.
- Mr Owen Paul McGuigan – District Storekeeper, Dunedin.²²⁸



Defence Stores Department Organisation Chart 1907, Source AJHR H-05 1907

²²⁸ McGuigan was a West Coaster of considerable administrative ability, serving in the Permanent Artillery since 1896 was appointed as Otago District Storekeeper in May 1908. "Persons, Plebs & Plutes," *NZ Truth*, Issue 832, 22 October 1921, [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTR19211022.2.5.](https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTR19211022.2.5;); "Personal Matters," *Evening Post*, Volume LXXV, Issue 104, 2 May 1908, [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19080502.2.42.](https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19080502.2.42)

1909-1914

The passing of the *Defence Act 1909* heralded a transformation of the Defence Forces of New Zealand, establishing a military system that influenced the organisation, training and recruitment of the New Zealand army into the early 1970s. On 28 February 1910, The Act abolished the existing Volunteer system, creating a citizen-based Territorial Army from the units, regiments and Corps of the Volunteer Army.²²⁹ The Territorial Army's personnel needs were to be maintained by a Compulsory Military Training (CMT) system, requiring the registration of all boys and men between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one years of age.²³⁰ The challenge for O'Sullivan and the Defence Stores Department, an organisation already markedly transformed since 1900, was to continue to transform to meet the needs of the growing citizen army that New Zealand was creating.

Since 1905 there had been a modest increase in the personnel strength of the Defence Stores Department with an Accountant, Clerk, Saddler Assistant Armourer and Armourer Cadet now included in the establishment.²³¹ 1909 saw further expansion in the Defence Stores Department in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. Auckland gained an Armourer Sergeant, Armourers Assistant and Arms Cleaner. The Small Arms Tester and his assistant at the CAC Factory at Mount Eden were also placed under the Defence Stores Department. In Christchurch, where there had been a minimal Defence Store presence, the organisation was increased to include an Armourer Sergeant, an Assistant Armourer, Saddler and a full-time Magazine keeper. Dunedin gained an Assistant Armourer and labourer.²³² Table 5 illustrates the Defence Stores Department's permanent staff growth between 1899 and 1914.

²²⁹ Peter Cooke and John Crawford, *The Territorials* (Wellington: Random House New Zealand Ltd, 2011), 153.

²³⁰ Paul William Gladstone, Ian McGibbon, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland; Melbourne; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 2000), 109-10.

²³¹ "Nominal Roll of person employed in each department (Other than postal and railways), giving length of service as on 31 March 1907, and salaries for financial year 1907-9 chargeable on the consolidated fund," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1907 Session I, H-05* (1 August 1907), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1907-I.2.4.2.5>.

²³² Class X Defence Department, Vote 64 Stores and magazines "Appropriations chargeable on the consolidated fund and other accounts for the year ending 31 March 1910," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1909 Session I, B-07* (1 September 1909), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1909-II.2.1.3.6>.

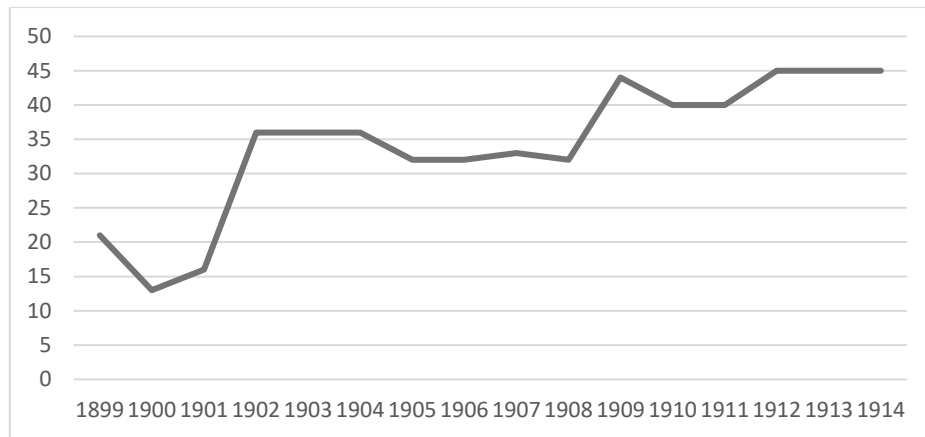


Table 5 - NZ Defence Stores Department strength 1899-1914. Sources AJHR B-7, 1898-1913

The new Army required a continuous effort by the Defence Stores Department to ensure that as recruits were inducted, there were sufficient stocks of clothing and equipment to outfit and sustain the Army into the future. The main Defence Store in Wellington, due for completion in 1911, immediately required expansion, and the mobilisation stores in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin expanded to include clothing stores, with stocks also provided for some regimental and battalion headquarters. Tenders were sent to the local industry to manufacture and supply the necessary uniforms and boots.²³³ Orders were placed overseas to supply specialist military equipment not available in New Zealand, with preparations made for the receipt, inspection and distribution of all equipment as orders arrived in store.²³⁴

As the Defence Stores Department prepared for the realities of supplying the new Army, the modest personnel growth provided some respite, as did a shift of responsibility as the Army expanded its overall logistic capability. One of the functions that the Defence Stores Department had provided to the military was those of the commissariat, where the Defence Stores Department provided and purchased rations, forage, and fuel. The Defence Store excelled in the commissariat role, leading to complaints from the Wellington Storekeepers Association that the Defence Stores Department provided unfair competition to grocers.²³⁵ The British ASC was established in 1888 to assume the commissariat role, with Canada

²³³ "Tenders for the Supply of Military Boots," *New Zealand Gazette No 74*, 22 September 1911, 2835.;

²³⁴ Section 30 – Clothing and Equipment "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand: Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces for the period from 7th December 1910 to 27th July 1911," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1911): 5, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1911-I.2.4.2.30>.

²³⁵ "Untitled," *Auckland Star*, Volume XL, Issue 289, 4 December 1909, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS19091204.2.10>.

following suit in 1901 and Australia in 1903. There had long been discussions on creating a New Zealand Army Service Corps (NZASC), and on 12 May 1910, the NZASC was gazetted as a fully designated component of the Defence Forces of New Zealand.²³⁶ Building the NZASC took some time, and under the guidance and leadership of British ASC officer Captain Henry Owen Knox, the NZASC was beginning to take shape by 1912. Further boosted by the secondment of four ASC NCOS in 1912, the NZASC was fully prepared to support the camps of 1913.²³⁷

In 1910 Field Marshal Viscount Kitchener inspected New Zealand's Forces at the bequest of the New Zealand Government. Generally satisfied with the reforms to date, several recommendations were made on the organisation of the Headquarters and forming a professional Staff Corps to administer the force.²³⁸ In the *History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*, Bolton states that Kitchener recommended the formation of an Ordnance Corps and that his opinion found favour with the government.²³⁹ However, although the *Memorandum on the Proposals applied to New Zealand* does recommend that the Director of Stores be a Captain in the New Zealand Staff Corps, there is no recommendation for forming an Ordnance Corps.²⁴⁰ Work on implementing Kitchener's recommendations was rapidly undertaken and further boosted with the arrival of Major General Alexander Godley as the Commandant of the NZMF in December 1910.²⁴¹ In his first year, Godley revitalised New Zealand's military organisational framework and settled the critical command and staff appointments, promulgating the *Regulations (Provisional) for the Military Forces of New Zealand*, which included reorganising the Headquarters Staff (see below).²⁴²

²³⁶ Julia Millen, *Salute to service : a history of the Royal New Zealand Corps of Transport and its predecessors, 1860-1996* (Wellington : Victoria University Press, 1997, 1997), 42-49.

²³⁷ Millen, *Salute to service : a history of the Royal New Zealand Corps of Transport and its predecessors, 1860-1996*.

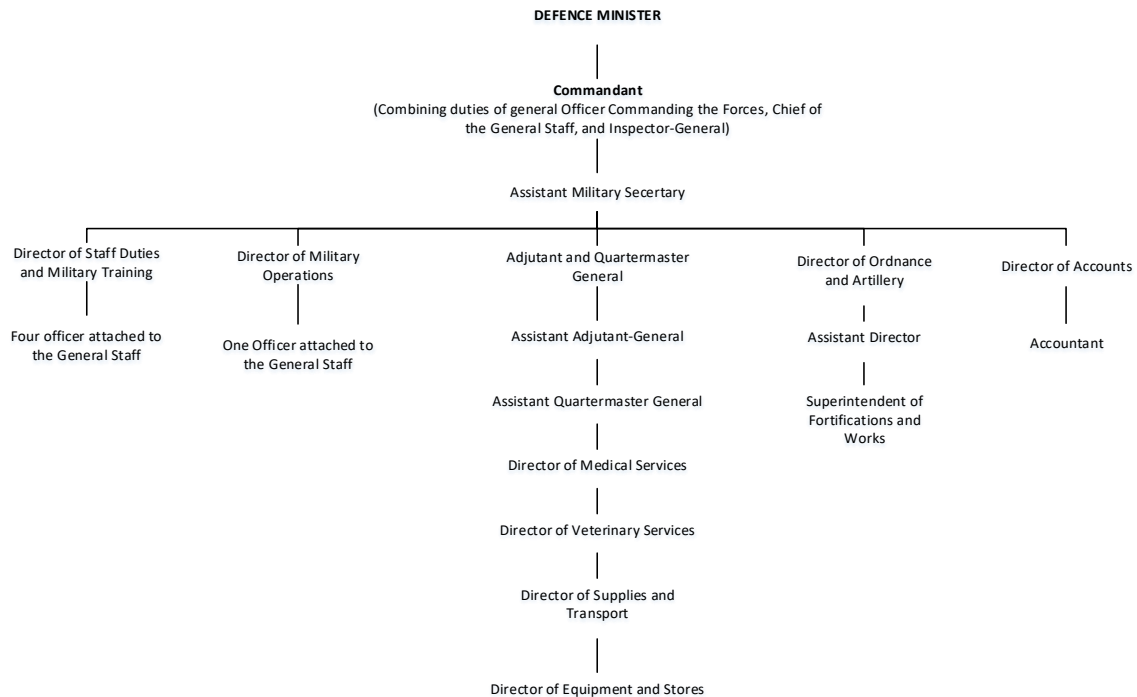
²³⁸ Paul William Gladstone, Ian McGibbon, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland; Melbourne; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 2000), 369.

²³⁹ Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*, 53.

²⁴⁰ "Memorandum on the Act of 1909 applied to New Zealand on the lines set out by the Field-Marshal, and its expansion to meet the recommendations contained in his letter of 2 March 1910.," Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1910 Session I, H-19a (28 February 1910):7, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1910-I.2.3.2.30>.

²⁴¹ Paul William Gladstone Ian McGibbon, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland; Melbourne; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 2000), , 201-03.

²⁴² "Regulations (Provisional) for the Military Forces of New Zealand ", New Zealand Gazette 5 May 1911.; Terry Kinloch, Godley: The man behind the myth (Exisle Publishing, 2018), 73-77.



Organisation of the Headquarters Staff, New Zealand March 1911. Source AJHR H19 1911

In sync with these provisional regulations, in September 1911, O'Sullivan was promoted to Honorary Major as the Director of Equipment and Stores.²⁴³ The Director of Ordnance and Artillery remained a separate branch, with the regulations (provisional) detailing the division of responsibilities between the two directors. Included in the Director of Ordnance and Artillery responsibilities was the organisation and training of the New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps, an organisation that did not yet exist. In 1914 this responsibility was transferred to the QMG.²⁴⁴ As the Director of Ordnance and Artillery asserted responsibility for the management of Artillery Stores, O'Sullivan's Assistant Director of Stores, Frederick Silver, was formally transferred to the Artillery Staff as the Artillery Stores Accountant and replaced by Edward Coady, a clerk in the Defence Stores Department. With the Director of Equipment and Stores established as a function in the Army Headquarters Staff, the Assistant Director of Stores (Coady) and the District Storekeepers in Auckland (Beck),

²⁴³ "Appointments, Promotions, Transfers, Resignations and Retirement of Staff and Territorial Force Officers," *New Zealand Gazette No 74*, 21 September 1911, 2824.

²⁴⁴ "Regulations for the Military Forces of New Zealand," *New Zealand Gazette, Issue 6*, 26 January 1914, <https://rnzaoc.files.wordpress.com/2018/08/Regulations-for-the-Military-Forces-of-New-Zealand.-1914-1.pdf>.

Christchurch (White), and Dunedin (McGuigan) were appointed as members of the District Headquarters Staff were granted Honorary Rank as Lieutenants.²⁴⁵

With Lieutenant Colonel Knox from the British ASC seconded to the NZMF as the Director of Supply and Transport, Godley came close to appointing another British officer as the Director of Equipment and Stores. In January 1911, Colonel J.L Wheeler, Army Ordnance Department (retired), offered his services as the Director of Equipment and Stores. After thirty-four years as an ordnance officer in the British Army, he was recently retired in New Zealand. Having served in various ordnance roles, including an operation post as the Chief Ordnance Officer in China during the Boxer Rebellion, participating in the relief of the British legation at Peking, Wheeler was highly experienced "in the provision, control, issue and inspection of arms, ammunition, equipment and ordnance stores of every description".²⁴⁶ On receiving Wheeler's application, Godley was highly positive and applied to the Minister of Defence that Wheeler be appointed as the Director of Equipment and Stores, stating that

The work and responsibilities of the Department of Equipment and Ordnance Stores will be enormously increased under the new scheme. Not only will it be our chief spending Department, but it will also, from the nature of its business, be the department which will be subject to the most searching criticism on the part of those who will make it their business to call public attention to the economy or otherwise of our administration.²⁴⁷

Godley considered O'Sullivan's service to date as the Director of Equipment and Stores as admirable but had doubts that O'Sullivan was a proper fit and despite his experience, did not have the necessary military experience to cope with the requirements the expansion of the military demanded. Godley also believed "that the Stores Department would benefit by a new start under an experienced officer with no local connections". In recommending Wheeler's appointment, Godley pointed out to the minister that the appointment required no additional funding, as only nine of the ten Imperial officers approved had yet been

²⁴⁵ "Territorials -McGuigan Promotion," *Evening Star*, Issue 14597, 20 June 1911, [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD19110620.2.7](https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD19110620.2.7;);"Appointments, Promotions, Transfers, Resignations and Retirement of Staff and Territorial Force Officers," *New Zealand Gazette No 81*, 21 September 1911, 3024.

²⁴⁶ "Colonel J L Wheeler A O D applies for position of Director of Equipment [and] Ordnance Stores," *Archives New Zealand Item ID R24763490* (Wellington) 1911.

²⁴⁷ "Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores - Proposals for appointment of," *Archives New Zealand Item ID R24763374* (Wellington) 1911.

obtained, and Wheeler's appointment substituted for the tenth officer.²⁴⁸ However, despite Godley's support of Wheeler's appointment as the Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores, it was not approved as no appropriation had been made for the appointment. If approved, it potentially could have changed the shape and development of the Defence Stores Department and how it responded to the events of 1911-14.

As letters of instruction and regulations could sometimes be interpreted differently, a conference of the three District Storekeepers was held at the Defence Stores Department at Wellington in August 1913 to ensure the Defence Stores Department in all districts were working to the same agenda. Based on this conference, O'Sullivan described the district storekeepers as

Officers with a keen sense of their responsibility regarding Government property, and take a personal interest in their work, without which a Storekeeper or Quartermaster Sergeant is useless.²⁴⁹

As the transition from Volunteer Force to Citizen Army continued, it was identified that the current Regimental Quartermaster Sergeants lacked a range of skills related to the care, maintenance and accounting responsibility of equipment.²⁵⁰ A course of action to create a professional Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant cadre was undertaken with thirty young men selected from the various military districts to undertake three weeks of intensive training at the Defence Stores Department in Wellington.²⁵¹ With instruction conducted under O'Sullivan's supervision, experienced Defence Stores Department staff conducted practical and theoretical training. The course was thorough with the Curriculum, including instruction on,

- Weapon storage, inspection, maintenance and accounting,
- Methods of storage, inspection and maintenance of leather items such as horse saddlery and harnesses.
- Correct methods of storage, inspection and maintenance of canvas and fabric equipment.
- Instruction on the packing of stores.

²⁴⁸ "Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores - Proposals for appointment of," Archives New Zealand Item ID R24763374 (Wellington) 1911.

²⁴⁹ O'Sullivan, "Report of the Director of Equipment & Stores for the year ending 31 March 1914."

²⁵⁰ "Arms and Uniforms," *New Zealand Times*, Volume XXXIII, Issue 7978 (Christchurch), 8 December 1911, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM19111208.2.104>.

²⁵¹ "Defence System," *Otago Daily Times*, Issue 13786, 22 November 1911, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT19111122.2.80>.

- Instruction on the keeping of accounts and maintenance of documentation.

Examinations were held on the various subjects in which instruction had been given.

Records show that at least 18 of the 30 candidates passed the exams successfully and were appointed Quartermaster Sergeants in the New Zealand Permanent Staff under General Order 112/10.²⁵² This course of instruction was notable as, although an Army School of Instruction had been established with the primary focus on Tactics and Staff duties, this course in the duties of Regimental Quartermaster Sergeants was the first dedicated stores' trade-related course conducted in New Zealand.



Portrait of Defence Stores Staff and Quartermaster Instructors who are being drafted to the various districts. Auckland Libraries Heritage Images Collection

FRONT ROW: Mr Hulbert Clerk Defence Stores, Lieutenant White District Storekeeper Christchurch, Lieutenant McGuigan District Storekeeper Dunedin, Mr Coady Assistant Director of Stores, Major O'Sullivan Director of Stores, Colonel Knox QMG, Captain Browne AQMG, Lieutenant Beck District Storekeeper Auckland, Mr Ford District Storekeeper Nelson, Mr Williams Accountant Defence Stores, Mr McIntyre Foreman Defence Stores.

SECOND ROW: Mr Hopkinson Clerk Defence Stores, Quartermaster Sergeants Baddily, Dean, Pearce, Pride, Muschamp, Wilson, McKenzie, Spence, Robinson, Grahame, Coffey, Heald, Mr McCormish, Saddler Defence Stores.

THIRD ROW: Quartermaster Sergeants Robertson, Bates, Finlayson, Austin, Warrant Officers McNair and Kibblewhite, Quartermaster Sergeants Bates, Davies, Denton, Butler.

FOURTH ROW: Quartermaster Sergeants Black, Stewart, Collins, Adams, Mead, Bould, Sharpe.

By 1911 Armourer Sergeant Major Luckman, having had his secondment extended several times, was well established as the Chief Armourer of the NZMF. His Armourers provided

²⁵² Appointment of Quartermaster Sergeants, New Zealand Military Forces, General Order 112/10, (Wellington, 1911).

inspection, maintenance, and repairs in Armourers workshops in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Although on secondment to the New Zealand military, Luckman, Buckley, and Hunter were still Armourers in the AOC and required to maintain their professional proficiency. New Zealand Armourers trained under Luckman's supervision required a trade structure and recognition of their proficiency in sync with the AOC. General Order 118 was released on 1 May 1912, establishing the New Zealand Ordnance Corps (NZOC) and providing a career path from Apprentice to Armourer Sergeant Major for Armourers of the Defence Stores Department.²⁵³ Regimental Armourers remained as members of their parent Regiments or Battalions. Some of the more obscure duties that the Defence Stores Department Armourers were responsible for included the maintenance and repair of bicycles and the first military aircraft in New Zealand, the Bleriot monoplane *Britannia*.²⁵⁴

N.Z. ARMOURERS.

G.O. 118.

1912.

General Order 21/08 is hereby cancelled in so far as it relates to N.Z. Armourers, and all Armourers are posted to the N.Z. Ordnance Corps, for which the following establishment is approved. Dated 1st May, 1912 (11/2990.)

Establishment.—N.Z. Armourers.

1912	Armourer-Sergeant-major (W.O.)	Armourer-Quartermaster-Sergeants.	Armourer-Staff-Sergeants.	Apprentices.
	1	3	5	2*

* Or more, as the exigency of the service requires.

The scale of pay will be as follows:—

No.	Rank.	Pay per Diem (7 days per week).	Remarks.
1	Armourer-Sergeant-major (W.O.)	s. d. 12 0	No allowance other than travelling, as laid down in the Financial Instructions and Allowance Regulations.
2	Armourer-Quartermaster-Sergeants	10 0	
3	Armourer-Staff-Sergeants	9 0	
4	Apprentices	3 6	

Increments in pay of Armourer Apprentices will be as follows: First year, 3s. 6d. per diem; second year, 4s. per diem; third year, 5s. per diem; fourth year, 6s. per diem; fifth year, 7s. per diem.

Appointments to the rank of Armourer-Staff-Sergeant will be made on passing the necessary qualifying examination.

Boys will be enrolled between the ages of fifteen and eighteen years as apprentices, and will serve as such for five years.

New Zealand Defence Forces General Order 118, 1 May 1912. Personnel File John Boyce, Archives New Zealand

As an organisation predominantly staffed by civilians, the Defence Stores Department was, with the passing of the *Public Service Act of 1912*, placed in the unsatisfactory position of

²⁵³ NZ Armourers, *New Zealand Military Forces, General Order 118/12*, (Wellington, 1 May 1912), 44-45.; "Boyce, John - WWI 35094, WWII 4239 - Army," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1914.

²⁵⁴ O'Sullivan, "Report of the Director of Equipment & Stores for the year ending 31 March 1914."

having its civilian staff operating under the authority of the Public Service Commissioner.²⁵⁵ Until 1913, the Defence Stores Department civilian staff had been appointed and administered directly by the Defence Department. However, with this act, the role of the Public Service Commissioner took over these administrative functions. The exception was that the senior Defence Store staff also held honorary ranks tied to appointments within the military command chain under the Adjutant and Quartermaster Generals Branch meant they worked for two masters.

Throughout the Volunteer era, annual camps were always conducted around Easter. As each regiment was permanently issued with its essential equipment, camp equipment had been centralised and was provided on request by the Defence Stores Department. Previously, much of these camps' planning had been on an ad-hoc basis with little standardisation of equipment and quantities required. With the advent of the Territorial Army, accurate forecasting of camp equipment requirements was conducted with scales based on the new organisational structures adapted and introduced for use in the camps in 1913 camps.²⁵⁶

Nature of Stores	Brigade Staff	Scale, including officers and Guard			
		Mounted Rifles	Field Artillery	Garrison Artillery and Field RE	Infantry
		Per 120	Per 100	Per 100	Per 100
Axes, felling, helved	1	1	2	1	1
Axes, pick	1	2	3	2	1
Buckets, water	12	25	20	20	20
Basins, washhand	12	23	20	20	20
Boilers with lid, 9 gal		1	1	1	1
Boilers with lid, 20 gal		1	1	1	1
Candlesticks, bayonet	3	23	20	20	16
Choppers, meat		1	1	1	1
Crowbars (if required)	1	1	2	1	1
Dishes, meat		23	20	20	15
Kettles, camp		20	15	15	15
Lanterns, stable	14	6	6	6	2
Racks, arm, tent (large loop)		20	4	20	14
Spades	2	4	4	2	2
Shovels	2	4	4	2	2
Tents, circular, complete	12	23	20	20	16
Marquees	2	1	2	2	
Ropes, picket, 20 yards	1	5	3		
Brooms, bass	2	4	4		
Screens, latrine					
Sheets, ground	12	100	100	100	100
Rakes, iron, 16 in	2	4	4		

Note. —A battalion of Infantry is allowed two marquees; Squadrons of Mounted Rifles and Field Ambulances are allowed, each, one marquee and one tent (operating).

Table 6 - Example of Camp Equipment Scale. AJHR H-19 1913

²⁵⁵ Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*, 54.

²⁵⁶ Section 44. Supplies at Annual Training-camps, Sub Para (e) Camp Equipment. "H-19 Report on the Defence Forces of New Zealand for the period 28 June 1912 to 20 June 1913," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1913): 15, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1913-I.2.5.2.34>.

A postcard of the Divisional Camp held at Takapau in 1914 illustrates the quantities of tentage and camp equipment required to be provided by the Defence Stores Department.



Takapau Divisional Camp, 1914. Te Papa (1362454)

Although its senior staff held honorary rank, the Defence Stores Department was still a civilian component of the military, providing essential Base and Depot support with no role in the Field Army. From 1913, to address this organisational deficiency, temporary Ordnance Depots were established for the 1913 Brigade camps. The Defence Stores Department assembled the required equipment, dispatching it by train for receipt by the temporary Ordnance Depots. Suitable personnel were selected from within the Territorial Army and provided a fortnight course of instruction in their duties under the Director of Equipment and Stores.²⁵⁷ The establishment of the temporary Ordnance Depots for the 1913 camp was.

- Ordnance Officer, District Storekeeper for Auckland Lieutenant Beck, acted as the Ordnance Officer for the Camp at Cambridge. In other camps, the Ordnance Officer role was carried out as a dual Supply and Ordnance Officer role by Territorial Officers
- Two clerks
- Four issuers

²⁵⁷ Section 44. Supplies at Annual Training-camps, Sub Para (n) Ordnance Corps. "H-19 Report on the Defence Forces of New Zealand for the period 28 June 1912 to 20 June 1913."

Successfully streamlining the requisition, distribution, return, and refurbishment of camp equipment, clothing and other Ordnance Stores for the 1913 Brigade camps, the Ordnance Depots were judged a success. The concept was repeated at the 1914 divisional camps with the Regional Defence Storekeepers acting as the Ordnance Officers and an increased ordnance staff of six clerks and 12 issuers.²⁵⁸

Eager to evaluate the progress made over four years, the New Zealand Government requested the War Office to send a senior officer to New Zealand to inspect the forces. The Inspector-General of the Overseas Forces, General Sir Ian Hamilton, with his staff, responded to the request and, in early 1914, inspected 70 per cent of the force.²⁵⁹ Noting that the Territorial Force was "well equipped; well-armed", Hamilton's report recommended that New Zealand look at what was being undertaken in Australia as a model of how an Ordnance department could be developed.²⁶⁰ Supporting Hamilton's comment on the equipping of the force, O'Sullivan's annual report for the year ending 31 March 1914 was positive, highlighting the Defence Stores Department's favourable position with expanding stocks including Small Arms, Ammunition and ancillaries, clothing and web equipment of the latest patterns, wagons for the ASC and medical stores and supplies for the Medical and Veterinary Corps.²⁶¹

Since 1900 the Defence Stores Department had transformed into a cohesive national organisation with modern infrastructure, including near new buildings in Christchurch, Dunedin and Wellington. Unlike in 1900, where the Defence Stores Department sat between a divided Defence Secretary and Commandant, in 1914, the Director of Equipment and Stores sat alongside the Director of Supplies and Transport (DST) on the staff of the QMG Branch. The development of the Defence Stores Department could have taken a different path if Godley's recommendation that Colonel Wheeler, AOD (retired), be appointed as the Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores had been approved. If

²⁵⁸ Section 64. Supplies at the Divisional Training-camps. "H-19 Report on the Defence Forces of New Zealand for the period 20 June 1913 to 25 June 1914," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1914): 18-19, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1914-I.2.3.2.29>.

²⁵⁹ Terry Kinloch, *Godley: The man behind the myth* (Exisle Publishing, 2018), 89. .

²⁶⁰ "Military Forces of New Zealand (Report by the Inspector General of the Overseas Forces on the)," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1914 Session I, H-19a* (1914), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1914-I.2.3.2.30>.

²⁶¹ O'Sullivan, "Report of the Director of Equipment & Stores for the year ending 31 March 1914."

approved, this could have allowed the Defence Stores Department to have started in 1911 under an experienced officer with no local connections to influence his decisions. With Wheeler's appointment never approved, the influence he might have had on the Defence Stores Department will never be known, but under O'Sullivan, the Defence Stores Department staff, although mainly civilians, were well-led and motivated with a keen sense of responsibility towards their jobs. Although the team was small, it was talented, providing a diverse range of specialist stores and maintenance skills to the military. Following the mobilisation for South Africa, the system of competitive tenders encouraged by the government had matured the relationships between the Defence Stores Department and the manufacturing industry to the stage where instead of relying on stores from England, New Zealand manufacturers and industry were able to respond to many requests for military equipment. The Brigade and Divisional Camps had proven the Defence Stores Department's ability to move and distribute the men and materiel required to support large contingents while laying the foundations of a military Stores organisation. The Defence Stores Department's development since 1900 would unknowingly be validated by military historian Glyn Harper, who in his 2015 book *Johnny Enzed* stated,

In all aspects of required military equipment, from boots and uniforms to webbing, ammunition and weaponry, in 1914, New Zealand had ample stocks on hand to fully equip the Johnny Enzed's of the Expeditionary Force.²⁶²

²⁶² Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: the New Zealand soldier in the First World War 1914-1918* (Auckland, New Zealand: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2015, 2015), 29.

Chapter Three

The Acid Test

The mobilisation of 1914 was the acid test of the reorganisations and re-equipment that New Zealand's military forces had undergone since the South African war. The military had to mobilise and dispatch an expeditionary force and provide the organisational structures to maintain a sustained reinforcement programme and the coastal defence garrisons and Territorial Army to allow those entities to provide key-point security to respond directly to direct threats to New Zealand. Supporting this tremendous effort was Major James O'Sullivan and his Defence Stores. Sitting on the staff of the QMG as the Director of Equipment and Stores, O'Sullivan had managed the Defence Stores since 1900, with the Defence Stores being a significant contributor to the success of the 1914 mobilisation and subsequent activities.

This chapter will first look at how the military was postured to prepare for mobilisation from March 1914, when General Alexander Godley issued the mobilisation regulations designed to guide the formation of the NZEF. With the political situation in Europe deteriorating and the threat of war imminent, the preparations undertaken at the end of July 1914 to prepare for mobilisation are then examined. Finally, this chapter will overview the Defence Stores' contribution to the mobilisation from August to October 1914.

The possibility of New Zealand contributing an expeditionary force in support of British Imperial efforts on the occurrence of war with Germany had been suggested by Prime Minister Joseph Ward at the Imperial conference of 1907. This offer was reinforced at the 1911 Imperial conference, with Ward stating that New Zealand was "always ready to give its proportion towards an expeditionary force if required".²⁶³ However, the reality was that even in 1911, New Zealand was not in a position to raise an expeditionary force. Appointed as Commandant of the NZMF in 1910, Godley had focused on establishing an efficient territorial army. It was not until 1912 that, comfortable with the growth of the territorial army in a private discussion with Minister of Defence James Allen, Godley agreed that the "real function of the New Zealand Army was raising an Expeditionary Force."²⁶⁴ With

²⁶³ Ian McGibbon, *The path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand, 1840-1915* (GP Books, 1991), 238.

²⁶⁴ Kinloch, *Godley: The man behind the myth*, 81.

Germany identified as the likely foe in a future war, Godley was authorised to plan for the NZEF. In *Godley, the man behind the myth*, Terry Kinloch describes how Godley was surprisingly accurate in his assumptions when identifying three potential tasks for the NZEF, with the assumed tasks being,

The seizure of German possessions in the Pacific, the deployment of a full expeditionary force to protect Egypt against an attack by Turkey or to fight the Germans in Europe".²⁶⁵

As Godley and his staff developed the NZEF plans, the Territorial Army continued to grow and was exercised in the brigade camps of 1913 and divisional camps of 1914. Concurrent with the Territorial Army's growth, the Defence Stores also developed as an organisation as it adapted to support the evolving force with O'Sullivan and the District Storekeepers in Auckland, Canterbury, Nelson and Southland providing direct support to the camps.²⁶⁶ In terms of equipment, O'Sullivan provided in his 1914 annual report a comprehensive breakdown of the available equipment and what was available and what was on order.²⁶⁷ As the 1914 divisional camps entered their final phase, Godley issued the *Mobilisation Instructions 1914*. They were adapted from the British Army mobilisation regulations to suit the structure and organisation of the NZMF, providing for the first time a framework for all commanders, including the Director of Stores and Equipment, on their preparatory peacetime measures and actions to be taken on notice of impending hostilities and through each stage of mobilisation. One thousand copies of the Mobilisation instructions were printed with 100 retained by the Headquarters, 100 copies sent to each of the four District Headquarters and 500 copies retained in the Defence Stores.²⁶⁸

Godley had reorganised the NZMF into a force equipped and organised along the same lines as the British Army and other British dominions. In concurrence with his Australian counterpart, the NZEF was structured to be included within an Australasian Division while retaining its New Zealand identity alongside its Australian cousins.²⁶⁹ Due to the Defence Act

²⁶⁵ Kinloch, *Godley: The man behind the myth*, 81.

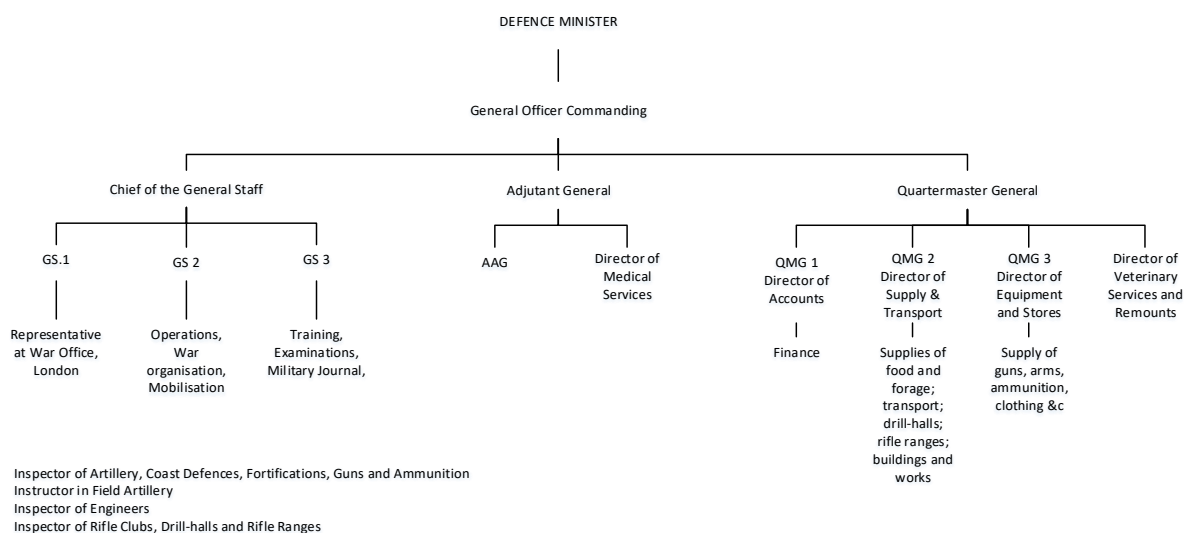
²⁶⁶ Section 64. Supplies at the Divisional Training-camps. "H-19 Report on the Defence Forces of New Zealand for the period 20 June 1913 to 25 June 1914," 18-19.

²⁶⁷ O'Sullivan, "Report of the Director of Equipment & Stores for the year ending 31 March 1914."

²⁶⁸ "Regulations - Mobilisation of New Zealand Military Forces," *Archives New Zealand Item No R22432979* (27 April 1914).

²⁶⁹ Ian McGibbon, *The path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand, 1840-1915* (GP Books, 1991), , 240-42.

1909, only volunteers could serve overseas.²⁷⁰ If the NZEF was raised, the territorial system remained extant, with the NZEF organised as a new organisation on mobilisation. The country was divided into four military districts in 1911, providing a sound organisational and administrative base for the army²⁷¹. Included in each district headquarters, the district Assistant Quartermaster General (AQMG) was responsible to the Officer Commanding of the District for all the district's administrative and logistical needs.²⁷² Assisting the district AQMG were the Assistant Director of Supplies and Transport and the District Storekeepers. The District Storekeepers were Honorary Captains William Thomas Beck in Auckland, Arthur Rumbold Carter White in Christchurch and Owen Paul McGuigan in Dunedin.²⁷³ The District Storekeeper functions for the Wellington military district were provided directly by the Defence Storekeeper in Wellington.²⁷⁴



Organisation of the Headquarters Staff, New Zealand 1914, Source AJHR H19 1914

On mobilisation, each military district was required to contribute a fully equipped infantry battalion, a mounted rifles regiment, artillery, engineers, and medical administrative subunits to the NZEF. The men required were to be volunteers drawn from the permanent forces, Territorial Force and reserves. With the assistance of the District Storekeeper,

²⁷⁰ Wicksteed, *The New Zealand Army: a history from the 1840s to the 1980s*, 12.

²⁷¹ Ian McGibbon, *The Oxford companion to New Zealand Military History*, 319.

²⁷² "Regulations for the Military Forces of New Zealand."

²⁷³ "Appointments, Promotions, Transfers and Resignations of officers on the Staff, Royal New Zealand Artillery and Territorial Force," *New Zealand Gazette, Issue 43*, 30 April 1914, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/nz_gazette/1914/43.pdf.

²⁷⁴ *The Army List*, (S & N Genealogy Supplies, 1915). <https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=7pvHjwEACAAJ>.

military districts were to equip their units for the NZEF with equipment drawn directly from the existing territorial regiments and the regional mobilisation store.²⁷⁵

NEW ZEALAND MILITARY ORGANISATION 1912



Source: Godley, 'The Making of the New Zealand Citizen Army'

By June 1914, the New Zealand military was three years into an estimated seven-year period of reorganisation and growth to reach maximum effectiveness.²⁷⁶ However, the military must have been feeling confident in its growth and achievements since the transition from a disjointed volunteer force into a modern, well trained and equipped citizen army, and with the political situation in Europe deteriorating, it is fair to assume that the military was

²⁷⁵ Cooke and Crawford, *The Territorials*, 193.; "Regulations - Mobilisation of New Zealand Military Forces."

²⁷⁶ H. T. B. Drew, *The War effort of New Zealand: a popular (a) history of minor campaigns in which New Zealanders took part, (b) services not fully dealt with in the campaign volumes, (c) the work at the bases*, Official history of New Zealand's effort in the Great War: v.4, (Whitcombe & Tombs, 1923).

feeling confident in its ability to respond if called upon to do so. By the beginning of June 1914, annual camps had been completed with units returned to their home locations and equipment returned to unit and district stores. Lessons from the camps were noted for inclusion in the training schedule in preparation for the camping season of 1915.²⁷⁷ For the Defence Stores, it was time to reconcile stock with plans to conduct the first stocktake in two years in August, as the 1913 stocktake had been cancelled due to the 1913 strikes.²⁷⁸

Following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, by a Bosnian Serb on 28 June 1914, Europe entered a period of crisis as negotiations were undertaken to avoid further conflict. However, by 28 July, efforts to ensure peace failed, with Austria-Hungary declaring war on Serbia. Observing events in Europe, New Zealand's Defence Headquarters messaged the District Headquarters on 30 July to prepare precautionary preparations for war. This initial telegram was followed up on 1 August with instructions to "prepare partial Mobilisation Schemes".²⁷⁹ Further instructions were released from New Zealand military headquarters to district headquarters on 2 August, stating that:

In the event of it being decided to prepare an Expeditionary Force for service outside of the Dominion, the following instructions will take effect on receipt of a wire from this office, and you are requested to make immediate preparations in anticipation of the receipt of this wire.²⁸⁰

These instructions contained broad information on the composition of the Force and that each district was required to furnish,

A complete Mounted Rifles Regiment, and a complete Infantry battalion, in addition to other technical units. The Mounted Rifles Regiment to consist of Headquarters, a full Machine Gun Section, and three Squadrons, each Squadron to be drawn from an existing Mounted Rifles Regiment. The Infantry Battalion, in like manner, to consist of Headquarters, a full machine Gun Section, and four Companies, each company to be drawn from an existing Infantry Battalion. All establishments are to be calculated from

²⁷⁷ "H-19 Report on the Defence Forces of New Zealand for the period 20 June 1913 to 25 June 1914."

²⁷⁸ A. W. Robin, *The Hon. the Minister of Defence, referring to your minute of 31/8/15 on Defence Stores Commission's report*, ed. New Zealand Defence Force New Zealand Ministry of Defence (1915).

²⁷⁹ Minute from Major C.M Gibbon G.S 2 "Army Department - Outbreak of War - Mobilisation and Precautionary Measures- Fitting Out of Troop Transports - August 1914," *Archives New Zealand Item No R26095552* (1914), http://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE32104308.

²⁸⁰ 23/60/C.G.S HQ NZ Military Forces to District HQs 2 August 1914;"Army Department - Outbreak of War - Mobilisation and Precautionary Measures- Fitting Out of Troop Transports - August 1914," 1.

War Establishments – Expeditionary Force 1914. The Mounted Rifles Regiment is to be considered as a British Cavalry Regiment for the purpose of this establishment.²⁸¹

On 3 August, the QMG Colonel Alfred William Robin issued comprehensive instructions on what equipment, Territorials and Reservists were expected to proceed to the rendezvous points with. Men active in the territorials were to “carry with them their uniform, accoutrements, arms, haversacks, water bottles and all articles on regimental issue” with Reservists to “draw regimental equipment and arms from their regiment.” Keeping track of equipment transferred from units to the NZEF was anticipated with guidance to quartermaster staff on how to record the transfer of equipment to the NZEF in the regimental ledgers provided.²⁸²

The intention was to mobilise the NZEF in the shortest time possible with the volunteers and equipment drawn directly from the Territorial Army. Under the direction of the District Headquarters, the Defence Stores and District Storekeepers were to provide a supporting role to the District Quartermaster Staff, providing the stores to establish the mobilisation camps and additional stocks to cover shortfalls or increases on top of existing entitlements. The mobilisation system and its hurried preparations soon faced their test as on 7 August 1914, New Zealand's parliament announced that an Expeditionary Force of between 7,000 to 8,000 men was to be mobilised for overseas service.²⁸³ The enthusiasm for the mobilisation was overwhelming, and within hours of the announcement that New Zealand was going to war, thousands of men flowed into recruiting offices to volunteer for service. As men queued up at recruiting offices, the District Headquarters, having had several days to prepare, set into motion the existing plans to establish the NZEF mobilisation camps.

Godley's assumption that one of the tasks of the NZEF was to be the seizure of German possessions in the Pacific was proved correct as New Zealand immediately raised a force to seize German Samoa. As part of a broader plan to end German influence in the Pacific, it had earlier been agreed that New Zealand's responsibility was to seize German Samoa while concurrently, Australia was to seize German New Guinea. By 11 August, the New Zealand

²⁸¹ 23/60/C.G.S HQ NZ Military Forces to District HQs 2 August 1914; "Army Department - Outbreak of War - Mobilisation and Precautionary Measures- Fitting Out of Troop Transports - August 1914," 2.

²⁸² AQM Colonel Robin to District Headquarters. "New Zealand General Staff - Expeditionary Force - Mobilisation and Concentration - July 1914- August 1914," *Archives New Zealand Item No R26095520* (1914).

²⁸³ *The Wellington — Mounted Rifles — Regiment 1914-1919 - Official War History of the Wellington Mounted Rifles Regiment 1914-1919*, (Victoria University of Wellington). .

force of 1,413 all ranks were fully armed and equipped by the Defence Stores, with all available additional stores assembled on the Wellington wharf ready to embark.²⁸⁴

Although it took an additional three days before the transports and escorts were ready, this initial mobilisation proved the concept of the NZEF mobilisation plan with the landings and surrender of the German administration accomplished on 29 August 1914.²⁸⁵

Responsible for the upper North Island the Northern Districts Defence Stores were located at Mount Eden; however, Captain Beck, the District Storekeeper, established a mobilisation store at Auckland's main mobilisation camp at Alexandra Park in Epsom. Assisting Beck at the Alexandra Park Camp was Temporary Sergeant Norman Joseph Levien. Enlisting in the 3rd Auckland Regiment, Levien was immediately seconded to the mobilisation camp as the NCO In charge of stores and equipment.²⁸⁶ The work of Beck, Levien and the Auckland Defence Stores is captured in *the History of the Auckland Regiment*, which describes how "in Alexandra Park men shed their civilian clothes and received that weird and wonderful collection of odds and ends that are so essential for the making of the perfect soldier".²⁸⁷ Well into the mobilisation, Beck was posted to the NZEF Headquarters staff as the Deputy Assistant Director of Ordnance Services (DADOS).²⁸⁸ The position of DADOS was a new position that had only recently been included in the organisation tables of British Divisions and one that New Zealand had not anticipated until just prior to the departure of the NZEF.²⁸⁹ As the position of DADOS was entitled to a clerk, Levien was also posted to the NZEF on 1 Sept 1914 as the DADOS Clerk, joining Beck as part of the NZEF main body.²⁹⁰

Christchurch's initial mobilisation camp for the Canterbury, Nelson, Westland and Marlborough Districts was established at Christchurch's Addington Park. Here Captain

²⁸⁴ Stephen John Smith, *The Samoa (N.Z.) Expeditionary Force 1914–1915* (Ferguson & Osborn, Limited, 1924), 17.

²⁸⁵ Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*, 62-63.

²⁸⁶ "Levien, Norman Joseph," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand Record R24169998 & R10919227* (Wellington) 1914.

²⁸⁷ O. E. Burton, *The Auckland Regiment* (Whitcombe and Tombs, 1922), 2.

²⁸⁸ "Reports of GOC (General Officer Commanding) New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) to minister of Defence, 22 August -26 September 1914," *Archives New Zealand Item No R25103247* (1914).

²⁸⁹ Philip Hamlyn Williams, *Ordnance: Equipping the British Army for the Great War* (History Press, 2018), 13.

²⁹⁰ Levien would be commissioned as one of the first officers in the NZEF NZAOC in March 1914. Remaining with the NZOAC throughout the war he would finish the war as the NZ Ordnance Officer United Kingdom "Reports of GOC (general Officer Commanding) New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) to minister of Defence, 22 August -26 Septemebr 1914," *Archives New Zealand Item No R25103247* (1914).; "Levien, Norman Joseph."

White, the Canterbury District Storekeeper, set up the Canterbury District mobilisation store with *the History of the Canterbury Regiment*, recording how “equipment such as uniforms, boots, blankets, rifles, and Mill's web arrived in small lots, and was issued immediately”.²⁹¹ One of the men passing through the Addington camp with an intimate knowledge of the mobilisation process was Captain Edward Coady, the Quartermaster of the Canterbury Regiment.²⁹² The Assistant Director of Equipment and Stores since August 1911. Coady had resigned from his position in Defence Stores to join the NZEF. Coady played an essential role in the annual camps of 1913 and 1914, and it can be assumed that in the excitement of mobilisation, he was satisfied by the contribution of his former department.²⁹³

The Otago and Southland military district established their main mobilisation camp at Dunedin's Tahuna Park. In the *Official History of the Otago Regiment*, it is interesting to note that “Probably three-fifths of the men selected were without previous military training”.²⁹⁴ For the Otago District Storekeeper, Captain McGuigan, and his counterparts in Auckland, Christchurch and Wellington, sizing and fitting these civilian recruits was an additional task not necessary for serving Territorials or reservists. Whereas Auckland, Canterbury and Otago had a dedicated District Storekeeper, the Wellington military district, due to its proximity to the Wellington Defence Stores, relied on that agency to meet their store's requirements. In his 1914 annual report, O'Sullivan stated: “that the time had now arrived for the establishment of a District store at Palmerston North”.²⁹⁵ However, as the Wellington military district established their main mobilisation camp at Palmerston Norths Awapuni racecourse, support continued to be maintained directly from Wellington until February 1915, when a Palmerston North ordnance store was established.²⁹⁶

As the main store and hub of the Defence Stores, the Wellington Depot was a hive of activity as equipment was received from suppliers and then distributed to the District

²⁹¹ David Ferguson, *The History of the Canterbury Regiment, N.Z.E.F., 1914-1919* (Naval & Military Press, 2003), 8.

²⁹² "Personalia," *New Zealand Times, Volume XXXIX, Issue 8825*, 31 August 1914, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM19140831.2.27>.

²⁹³ "Oringi Camp," *Dominion, Volume 6, Issue 1719*, 9 April 1913, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DOM19130409.2.43>.

²⁹⁴ A. E. Byrne, *Official history of the Otago Regiment, N.Z.E.F. in the Great War, 1914-1918*, 2nd ed. (Naval & Military Press, 2003), 5.

²⁹⁵ O'Sullivan, "Report of the Director of Equipment & Stores for the year ending 31 March 1914."

²⁹⁶ "Butler, Alfred Charles - New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps, No.19", *Personal File, Archives New Zealand Record R21099483* (Wellington) 1914.

Stores. Appeals to the public were made to donate items in short supply, such as binoculars and compasses, with small numbers of these items filtering into the Defence Stores.²⁹⁷ A single pair of boots was provided as a free issue, and the practice had been that a second pair could be purchased at reduced prices through the Defence Stores. To ensure that troops were equipped as well as possible, approval was given on 14 August to issue each soldier with a second pair of boots.²⁹⁸ In addition to military stores, the Defence Store was the recipient of donated materials intended to improve soldiers' lives. In Auckland, Captain Beck received 2000 packages of stationery donated by the Collins brothers' stationary firm for distribution on the troop transports once at sea.²⁹⁹ Other gifts included jellies and cakes for distribution to men in the camp. In Wellington, Defence Stores received numerous clothing and food packages from many patriotic charities for distribution to the troops.³⁰⁰

As the NZEF mobilised as a fighting force, enough small arms ammunition for the 7,564 rifles and 16 Machine Guns was dispatched with the NZEF. O'Sullivan provided 172,700 rounds of small arms ammunition to be loaded on each transport as a first-line issue. The reserve for the NZEF totalling 8,829,100 Rounds of small arms ammunition was loaded on *HMNZT Athenic* as stock for the Divisional Ammunition Column. An additional 40,000 rounds of small arms ammunition were provided to each transport as practice ammunition during the voyage.³⁰¹

Concurrent with the mobilisation of the NZEF, the mechanisms for reinforcing the NZEF were under consideration. Instructions from Defence Headquarters detailed that military districts contribute to the reinforcement drafts at the rate of

- 20 per cent six weeks after the sailing of the NZEF
- 5 per cent monthly afterwards

²⁹⁷ "Local and General," *Evening Post*, Volume LXXXVIII, Issue 40, 15 August 1914, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19140815.2.50>.

²⁹⁸ "New Zealand General Staff - Expeditionary Force - Mobilisation and Concentration - July 1914- August 1914."

²⁹⁹ "Acceptable Gifts," *New Zealand Herald*, Volume LI, Issue 15708, 8 September 1914, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19140908.2.8>.

³⁰⁰ "Busy time for women," *Evening Post*, Volume LXXXVIII, Issue 42, 18 August 1914, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19140818.2.115>.

³⁰¹ 23/60/C.G.S NZEF, 1914 SAA Ammunition 18 August. "New Zealand General Staff - Expeditionary Force - Mobilisation and Concentration - July 1914- August 1914."

The reinforcement drafts would spend at least six weeks at a camp formed at Trentham, with permanent camp staff responsible for equipping the reinforcement drafts. Men would be enlisted in the districts and sent to Trentham with a rifle, cap, working suit, kitbag and sea-kit bag. During training at Trentham, the men would be fully equipped by the permanent camp staff. Officers were expected to proceed to Trentham fully equipped.³⁰²

Although the Defence Stores could continue to supply the uniforms and equipment required by the reinforcement drafts to the Districts and Trentham Camp, establishing a depot in Trentham was not seen as necessary as the existing road and rail network could efficiently service it from Wellington with the permanent camp quartermaster staff managing the camp and placing requisitions the Defence Stores as required. In late August 1914, Lieutenant (Temp Captain) Thomas McCristell, New Zealand Staff Corps (NZSC), was appointed Camp Quartermaster of Trentham Camp. As Camp Quartermaster, McCristell, with a cadre of men from the Permanent Staff held back from the Expeditionary Force, would establish the "Camp Quartermaster Stores". The Camp Quartermaster Stores had several responsibilities, including.

Everything movable in camp, except the ASC and its wagons, is kept track of by the Camp Quartermaster—everybody and everything, from a soldier to an electric light bulb. The Camp Quartermaster knows where they all should be; and if they aren't where they ought to be, he generally knows where they are.³⁰³

The work of the Camp Quartermaster Stores was conducted under very trying conditions with Captain McNair, who served as a Quartermaster Sergeant in the Camp Quartermaster Stores from 1915 to 1917, recalling in 1920 that,

it being nothing unusual to finish clothing incoming drafts at 9.30 and 10 pm, then overhaul and check vouchers with packing slips and stock, make out indents for fresh supplies from Wellington, getting to bed at any time between 1 and 2 am in the morning – up again at 5 am – commence again issues of uniforms to troops, and when reinforcements were embarking it meant an all-night sitting, checking ledgers and clothing cards with embarkation rolls until

³⁰² "Army Department - Outbreak of War - Mobilisation and Precautionary Measures- Fitting Out of Troop Transports - August 1914."

³⁰³ Will Lawson, *Historic Trentham, 1914-1917: The Story of a New Zealand Military Training Camp, and Some Account of the Daily Round of the Troops within Its Bounds* (Wellington, 1917).
<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH1Hist.html>.

reveille went, when stores handed in by troops embarking were received and checked.³⁰⁴

Another role of the Camp Quartermaster Stores was training suitable men as Quartermasters for service overseas. Each Regiment was allowed one Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant (RQMS), and each company was allowed one Company Quartermaster Sergeant (CQMS) within each reinforcement draft. Based on their civilian occupations and with due regard to their business ability, McCristell would select suitable men to be trained as RQMS and CQMS. Following a course of instruction, candidates were required to pass an examination, which, if successful, they were deemed qualified for an appointment as an RQMS or CQMS Training included.³⁰⁵

- Training dealing with every duty related to clothing and equipping the men.
- Camp Equipment Training, including the methods of constructing field kitchens, incinerators, latrines, washing and cleaning arrangements, striking and pitching camps, making bivouacs, and billeting men.
- Organising ammunition
- Water supplies, and the drawing and distribution of food to troops.

The tempo of the Camp Quartermaster Stores work was such that "The instructional staff did have their weekends off, but there was no such opportunity for the QM Staff, as issues had to be made every day, Sundays included."³⁰⁶

As the NZEF finalised its preparations before boarding its transport ships, General Godley visited the Defence Stores on 24 September and thanked the Defence Stores Staff for their contribution to mounting the NZEF. *The Dominion* reported that,

In saying "au revoir" General Godley paid tribute to the work of the store staff under Major O'Sullivan, in equipping the Expeditionary Forces. The complimentary remarks of General Godley were greatly appreciated by the store staff, whose work has been extremely arduous. But there is much recompense in appreciation when none is looked for in this time of stress.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ CO.A 8/23/1348 of 22 October 1920, Ordnance Officer Auckland to Chief Ordnance Officer "McNair, Livingston Forsyth," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand 1914-1921*.

³⁰⁵ Lawson, *Historic Trentham, 1914-1917: The Story of a New Zealand Military Training Camp, and Some Account of the Daily Round of the Troops within Its Bounds*, 38.

³⁰⁶ CO.A 8/23/1348 of 22 October 1920, Ordnance Officer Auckland to Chief Ordnance Officer "Livingston Forsythe McNair - New Zealand Army Ordnance Department," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand (Wellington) 1917*, https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE17152855.

³⁰⁷ "Defence Stores Staff," *Dominion, Volume 7, Issue 2264*, , 25 September 1914, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DOM19140925.2.47>.



Official inspection of the troopships at Wellington: Ministers and members of parliament on the SS Maunganui HMNZT No.31 on September 8. Major O'Sullivan is third from the left in uniform. Auckland Libraries Heritage Images Collection

Departing on 16 October, Godley had been at sea for ten days before preparing a handwritten note to Colonel James Allen, the New Zealand Minister of Defence. Reacting to what could only be described as gossip, Godley's note set in motion a series of events that questioned the integrity and performance of the Defence Stores and led to O'Sullivan's removal as Director of Stores. Godley wrote that he had "heard a good deal of talk about the conduct of the Stores at Wellington and criticism of J O'Sullivan", adding that the Coast Defence Commander had spoken to him about irregularities with the Defence Stores. Opening up to Allen, Godley aired his view that he had little doubt "that O'Sullivan and probably some of his subordinates are, like all Quartermasters and Storekeepers feathering their nests to a certain extent". However, Godley balanced this statement by stating that "the equipping of this Force and the South African contingents, by O'Sullivan was extremely well done". Godley recommended that it was the right time for an entity such as the Public Service Commissioner to audit the Defence Stores as the store's accounting system had grown to the stage where he was sure more checks were required. Godley concluded his note to Allen with a caveat that whatever the end state of the Audit, "the good work done by O'Sullivan and his Department should not be overlooked."³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸ "Correspondence Major General Godley to James Allen 26 October 1914," R22319698 - *Ministerial Files - Correspondence with General Godley* (1914).

Following the appointment of Godley as the Commandant of the NZMF in December 1910, he had worked hard with the government and his staff to organise and grow the Territorial Army into a credible well-equipped force. In only two years, the force had grown sufficiently to be in a position to assemble for Divisional sized camps in 1914. Supporting this effort and managing the influx of new stores and equipment, the Defence Stores were an integral component of the military. After receiving the mobilisation regulations in March 1914, Defence Stores was well-positioned to contribute to the mobilisation of the NZEF. By utilising the equipment already on in place within the Territorial Army, the Defence Store was able to focus on providing essential top-ups of uniforms and equipment, allowing the Samoa Expeditionary Force to be prepared and dispatched in just ten days, followed by the main body of the NZEF in two months. Although some of the uniforms and equipment were not optimal for the NZEF operational environments, this was more of an intelligence failure than a failure of the Defence Stores Department. This mobilisation was a significant achievement even by today's standards. However, the success of the Defence Stores Department was darkened by unfounded rumours of misappropriation, which going into 1915, would tarnish the reputation of the Defence Stores.

Chapter Four

Review and Reorganisation October

The mobilisation of the Samoa Expeditionary Force and NZEF had been successfully concluded, allowing the dispatch of the most significant and best-equipped force ever to leave New Zealand. However, the activities required ongoing support to these deployed forces and to maintain war-related activities in New Zealand, allowing little respite for Major James O'Sullivan and the men of the Defence Stores Department. In addition to the reinforcement camps established to train and equip the reinforcement drafts, the Territorial Force was still expected to maintain its training tempo. Additionally, the units mobilised to garrison the coast defence forts and provide security of critical points required ongoing maintenance and equipment support. Despite the Defence Stores Departments' successful contribution to the mobilisation and the subsequent activities, the leadership, organisation and methods of operation of the Defence Stores Department came under intense scrutiny. During 1915, Defence Stores Department endured external review, leading to a leadership change and transition into a uniformed and fully militarised New Zealand permanent military branch. This chapter will first examine the activities of the Defence Stores Department in supporting the military in New Zealand and the concurrent development of the NZAOC in support of the NZEF. As an organisation under intense scrutiny, this chapter will also view the environment in which the Defence Stores Department was expected to operate, leading to a change in leadership and the transition into the New Zealand Army Ordnance Department (NZAOD) and NZAOC in 1917.

The Main Body of the NZEF had barely sailed when the Defence Stores Department was already preparing to support further reinforcement tranches. The initial mobilisation camps across the nation were either completely closed or rerolled to allow the concertation of Infantry and Mounted Rifles reinforcement drafts before the movement to Trentham. Specialist Camps were also established at Avondale and Narrow Neck in Auckland for Māori, Pacific Islanders, and the New Zealand Tunnelling Corp of Engineers. Palmerston North, already a significant hub for Territorial units, saw the Awapuni racecourse become the New Zealand Medical Corps training camp.³⁰⁹ Immediately requiring a surge of new equipment

³⁰⁹ "A unique memorial," *Evening Post*, Volume CVIII, Issue 122, 19 November 1929, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19291119.2.22>.

for the reinforcement drafts and Māori Contingent that were expected to start concentrating in late October, tenders to replenish stocks and provide additional equipment were first advertised on 5 October 1914.³¹⁰ Pre-war arrangements were that the NZEF was to be reinforced on the following basis;

- Ten per cent of the establishment of all arms to accompany the main body (1st Reinforcements).
- Twenty per cent of the establishment of all arms to sail six weeks after departure of the main body (2nd Reinforcements).
- Five per cent of the establishment of all arms monthly after that (3rd and subsequent reinforcements).³¹¹

The 1st and 2nd Reinforcements were provided under this criteria, with the 1st Reinforcements included as part of the main body (8414 officers and men) with the 2nd Reinforcements (2028 officers and men) sailing in December 1914. Based on the lessons learnt in the early months of the war, the Imperial Government requested that New Zealand reinforcement criteria be adjusted to the following rates,

- Infantry- 15 per cent of establishment per month.
- Mounted Rifles – 10 per cent of establishment per month.
- Artillery – 7 per cent of establishment per month.
- Engineers – 40 per cent of establishment per annum
- Headquarters, administrative services and departments – 30 per cent of establishment per annum
- Headquarters, administrative services and departments on the lines of communication – 20 per cent of establishment per annum.³¹²

Allowing for these increases from December 1914, planning considerations were adjusted to prepare for drafts of approximately 3000 every two months.

In February, the 3rd Reinforcements (1713 officers and men) and the Māori Contingent (517 officers and men) were dispatched. The Samoa Relief Force (358 officers and men) was sent in March 1915. Undertaking training at Trentham was the 4th Reinforcements (2273 officers and men), with the 5th Reinforcements (2412 officers and men) about to begin training. Until February 1915, the Defence Stores Department had been reactive, hurriedly

³¹⁰ "New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Maori Contingent," *Evening Post*, Volume LXXXVIII, Issue 84, , 6 October 1914, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19141006.2.96.9>.

³¹¹ *1914–1918 New Zealand Expeditionary Force, Its Provision and Maintenance. Branch of the General Staff, Headquarters, New Zealand Military Forces*, (1920), 6.

³¹² *1914–1918 New Zealand Expeditionary Force, Its Provision and Maintenance. Branch of the General Staff, Headquarters, New Zealand Military Forces*.

facilitating arrangements to provide clothing and equipment to furnish the units and reinforcement drafts as they were constituted. Providing a measure of certainty, allowing for more accurate planning, the Chief of General Staff issued on 19 February 1915 instructions to the Defence Stores Department for the supply of equipment to the NZEF reinforcements by the following dates,

- 6th Reinforcements – 20 April 1915 (1735 officers and men)
- 7th Reinforcements – 15 June 1915 (1693 officers and men)
- 8th Reinforcements – 12 August (2153 Officers and men)³¹³

Between April and July 1915, in addition to the equipment required for the reinforcement drafts, the Defence Stores Department was directed to provide additional equipment for new units constituted, consisting of a further 4916 men.³¹⁴

The provision of clothing and equipment was achieved by utilising existing pre-war contracts. However, as the requirement often outstripped the capability of the existing contractors to supply, competitive tendering was used to meet demand, sometimes resulting in some items of supply being provided by multiple vendors. The Defence Stores Department tendered for clothing and equipment, typically by advertising in all the nation's newspapers requesting the supply of items such as blankets, clothing, cutlery, shoes and boots.³¹⁵ Between 5 August 1914 and 31 March 1915, to meet the requirements of the NZEF, the Defence Stores Department received fifty-three different commodities, totalling over five hundred thousand line items from eighty-four different suppliers.³¹⁶ These stores were then delivered to the Defence Store premises in Buckle Street Wellington, inspected and then redistributed to the various district stores and camps. Although the Defence Stores buildings in Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin were all less than ten years old and designed explicitly as mobilisation stores, the volume of stores arriving from suppliers soon overwhelmed the storage capacity necessitating expansion into hired commercial

³¹³ Defence Storekeeper, "Defence Store Commission (Commission of Inquiry re Defence Stores), July 1915 - September 1915."

³¹⁴ *1914–1918 New Zealand Expeditionary Force, Its Provision and Maintenance. Branch of the General Staff, Headquarters, New Zealand Military Forces.*

³¹⁵ "NZ Expeditionary Forces - Tenders for clothing and Equipment ", *Sun (Christchurch), Volume 1, Issue 247*, 21 November 1914, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/SUNCH19141121.2.90.1>.

³¹⁶ Defence Storekeeper, "Defence Store Commission (Commission of Inquiry re Defence Stores), July 1915 - September 1915."

facilities.³¹⁷ In addition to the NZEF training camps, the dependency of the Defence Stores Department was further increased as elements of the Territorials were also called up for active service to provide additional personnel to staff harbour defences and provide guard forces. Placed on conditions of service similar to the men in the NZEF, the Territorials mobilised for home defence were entitled to the free issue and replacement of uniforms and equipment.³¹⁸

Naturally, the mobilisation of the NZEF provided a surge of interest in the Territorials, with the Territorial camps of 1915 being the largest yet held, with 84.34 per cent of the Territorial Force (21245 men) compared to 83.3 per cent of the Force which attended the 1914 camps.³¹⁹ With a large amount of the available camp equipment, such as tents and marquees allocated to the NZEF camps, supplies were severely taxed for the 1915 camps. The District Storekeepers were required to be resourceful to ensure that the camps were resourced with minimal loss and waste. The erection of huts at the NZEF Camps was completed throughout 1915, and large numbers of camp equipment were returned to the District Storekeepers for use in future camps.³²⁰ As new men were enlisted into the Territorials, the demand for uniforms to clothe recruits joining the Territorials placed additional strain on the already stretched supply chain. To validate requisitions, Quartermaster Sergeants were directed to accompany clothing requisitions with "a statement showing the number or quantity on hand and stating why the requisition is necessary".³²¹ An example of the scale of the clothing required by the Territorial Regiments is provided in a *Form G12 – Territorials: Requisition for Clothing* submitted by the 7th Wellington West Coast Regiment in July 1915, requesting

- 1043 Jackets: Khaki, Woollen
- 1043 Trousers: Khaki, Woollen
- 1043 Greatcoats: dismounted
- 1043 Cap, Forage

³¹⁷ "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June 1915," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1915).

³¹⁸ "Local and General," *Dominion, Volume 8, Issue 2287*, 22 October 1914, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DOM19141022.2.19>.

³¹⁹ "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June 1915," 2.

³²⁰ "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June 1915," 13.

³²¹ "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June, 1915.," ", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1915): 34.

- 1043 Caps, Felt³²²

In isolation, this might seem to be a reasonable amount for a unit reequipping after being stripped to provide troops to the NZEF. However, it must be remembered that in 1915, the Territorial Army was at the peak of its strength with seventeen Infantry Regiments, twelve Mounted Rifle Regiments, as well as Artillery, Engineer, Medical and ASC units. These units required replacement uniforms and equipment from the limited stocks available at the Defence Stores Department.

It is reasonable to assume that the Defence Stores Department expanded to meet the increased demand for its services. However, increases to the permanent staff of the Defence Stores Department in 1915 were limited to a single storeman and two clerks in Wellington.³²³ As in previous years, reliance had been placed on temporary staff who were surged in temporarily to assist the Defence Stores Department during periods of increased activity.³²⁴ With a national footprint extending to all the main centres, the Defence Stores Department remained absent from the vital transport hub and centre of military activity for the lower North Island, Palmerston North. In his 1914 annual report, O'Sullivan had suggested:

The time has now arrived for the establishment of a District Store at Palmerston North, as it is more central for distribution, and cost or railage would be considerably reduced.³²⁵

As the military presence in Palmerston North expanded in later 1914, O'Sullivan's suggestion was acted on, and a mobilisation store was established in Palmerston North to service the Wellington Military District and the growing number of military activities in the lower North Island. The establishment of an additional District Store in Palmerston North was managed by transferring existing personnel employed within the Defence Stores

³²² Defence Storekeeper, "Defence Store Commission (Commission of Inquiry re Defence Stores), July 1915 - September 1915."

³²³ Defence Stores Civilian Stall levels were 1913-31, 1914-33, 1915-36 "Provisional Classification of the Public Service under the Public Service Act, 1912.," *New Zealand Gazette No 63* (Wellington), 22 April 1913, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/nz_gazette/1913/63.pdf; "List of persons employed in the public service on the 31st Day of March 1914," *New Zealand Gazette No 46* (Wellington), 30 April 1914, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/nz_gazette/1914/46.pdf; "List of persons employed in the public service on the 31st Day of march 1915," *New Zealand Gazette No 57* (Wellington), 22 April 1915, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/nz_gazette/1915/57.pdf.

³²⁴ O'Sullivan, "Report of the Director of Equipment & Stores for the year ending 31 March 1914."

³²⁵ O'Sullivan, "Report of the Director of Equipment & Stores for the year ending 31 March 1914."

Department to staff the new store. Alfred Butler, a civilian employee of the Defence Stores Department, was transferred from Wellington to Palmerston North in February 1915 to help establish the Palmerston North Store.³²⁶ Mr Frank Edwin Ford, formerly the Mobilisation Storekeeper at Nelson, was appointed District Storekeeper of the Wellington Military District and commenced duty at Palmerston North on 21 June 1915.³²⁷ Unlike the other District Storekeepers in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin, who held honorary commissions as Captains, Ford was not granted an honorary commission until February 1916.³²⁸ Although the Palmerston North Store was now responsible for the Wellington Military District, Wellington's Fortifications and Trentham Camp continued to be supported directly by the Defence Stores Department in Wellington.³²⁹

The Defence Stores Department was not a young organisation, with the civilian staff in 1915 having an average age of 46. The youngest staff member was 31, and the oldest was 62.³³⁰ In 1914 O'Sullivan, the Director of Equipment and Stores, was fifty-seven, joining the Armed Constabulary as a trooper in 1878. The Assistant Director of Stores, Honorary Captain Edward Coady, was 39 and had served in the Permanent Militia from 1892 to 1900. The three District Storekeepers had also all served in the Permanent Militia. These included:

- The Auckland District Storekeeper Honorary Captain William Beck, 48 who had served from 1891 to 1903.
- The Canterbury District Storekeeper, Honorary Captain Arthur Rumbold Carter White, 39, who had served from 1897 to 1907.
- The Otago District Storekeeper, Honorary Captain Owen McGuigan, 34, who had served from 1896 to 1908.

Given the age of Defence Stores Department Staff, the mobilisation of the NZEF had little effect on the staff levels of the Defence Stores Department except for Coady and Beck. Coady resigned from his position in Defence Stores Department to join the NZEF. Subsequently, he joined the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF) and was killed in action in

³²⁶ "Butler, Alfred Charles - New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps, No.19".

³²⁷ "Personal Matters - F. Ford," *Evening Post*, Volume XC, Issue 66, , 15 September 1915, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19150915.2.42>.

³²⁸ "Appointments, Promotions, Transfers and Resignations of officers on the Staff, Royal New Zealand Artillery and Territorial Force," *New Zealand Gazette*, Issue 47, 20 April 1916, http://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/nz_gazette/1916/47.pdf.

³²⁹ "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June 1915".

³³⁰ "List of persons employed in the public service on the 31st Day of march 1915."

1916.³³¹ Beck was seconded to the NZEF, with his position as Auckland Defence Storekeeper retained for him to return to on his return. Both positions' backfilling was managed internally by O'Sullivan utilising his existing staff.

Under the 1914 reorganisation, O'Sullivan's official military post was QMG 3, while the District Storekeepers were QMG 3's under the District Assistant Quartermasters General (AQMG)³³² This unsatisfactory arrangement had the effect that the Public Service Commission administered all matters relating to policy, pay and advancement. While under Defence regulations, O'Sullivan, Coady, Beck, White and McGuigan were officers subject to military law, which on occasions conflicted with the policies of the Public Service Commissioner.³³³ In his report to parliament on 4 June 1914, Sir Ian Hamilton, the Inspector-General of Overseas Forces, used the example of the Australian Ordnance Department to summarise the management arrangements in New Zealand's Defence Stores Department,

The evils arising from a lack of homogeneity are well exemplified in the existing state of the Ordnance Department, two-thirds of whose members are under the Defence Department and one-third under the Public Service Commissioner. I venture to suggest that not a soul, either in the Ordnance Department itself or outside of it, can be found to defend this system, or, rather, want of system.³³⁴

Adding to the diverse administrative arrangements governing the Defence Stores Department, regular soldiers were also included as part of its establishment. These regular soldiers included the Small Arms Ammunition Testing Officer and Armourers. The SAA testing officer was Captain Arthur Duvall, who, based at the CAC factory at Mount Eden in Auckland with two civilian staff, was responsible for ensuring that the supply of SAA that the CAC manufactured met the required standards.³³⁵ Also under the auspices of the Defence Stores Department were the Armourers of the NZOC. The NZOC had been constituted in May 1912 and consisted of Armourer Sergeant Major Luckman, who had been seconded from the AOC and thirteen Armourers. Aside from Luckman, the armourers of the NZOC had all been trained in New Zealand to a standard where they could be employed to repair,

³³¹ Glyn Harper et al., *For King and other countries : the New Zealanders who fought in other services in the First World War*, First World War centenary history, (Massey University Press, 2019), 257.

³³² "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June, 1915". 32.

³³³ Robin, *The Hon. the Minister of Defence, referring to your minute of 31/8/15 on Defence Stores Commission's report*.

³³⁴ "Military Forces of New Zealand (Report by the Inspector General of the Overseas Forces on the)."

³³⁵ "Duvall, Arthur," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand R22203178* (Wellington) 1898.

maintain and overhaul all New Zealand's military small-arms and machine guns to service standards.³³⁶

While the Defence Stores Department were responsible for Small-Arms and associated ammunition, the Artillery was responsible for the supply and maintenance of the various types of Ordnance (Artillery) and associated ammunition utilised by the Regiment of New Zealand Artillery. New Zealand Garrison Artillery and New Zealand Field Artillery.³³⁷ This functional separation between the Defence Stores Department and Artillery had existed since the 1880s, remaining extant in 1915. With the CAC allowing a measure of self-sufficiency in SAA, the same could not be said for artillery ammunition. In 1911 a cost-benefit analysis was conducted to assess the virtues of locally made-up artillery ammunition versus imported artillery ammunition. It was estimated that by cleaning and refilling casings, inspecting and refurbishing propellant bags, and manufacturing new ones as required, savings of £3,333 (2022 NZD\$633,605) could be made. To achieve these savings, a recommendation that a specialist RNZA Ordnance Corps Section be established to manufacture and modify ammunition was made.³³⁸ General Godley approved the proposal in mid-1914. On 1 March 1915, authority was granted under New Zealand Defence Forces General Order 90 to raise the New Zealand Army Ordnance Section with effect from 1 April 1915.³³⁹

Although New Zealand now had the NZOC consisting of fourteen Armourers and the New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps Section consisting of seven gunners, it was yet to emulate Canada and Australia fully. These nations had followed the British lead and transitioned their Defence Stores Department equivalent organisations into the COC and AAOC.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces from 25th June 1914 to 26th June 1915", 13.

³³⁷ In 1914 the stocks of New Zealand Artillery consisted of a variety of obsolete, obsolescent and current field and fixed coast artillery pieces including 6-Pounder Hotchkiss gun; QF 6 pounder Nordenfelt; QF 12 pounder 12 cwt gun; Ordnance QF 18-pounder; QF 4.5-inch howitzer; BL 6-inch Mk VII naval gun, 6 inch gun Mk V; BL 8 inch Mk VII naval gun."(Capt J O'Sullivan Director of Stores - Return of Ordnance and Ammunition in New Zealand)," Archives New Zealand Item No R24750839 (14 March 1906); Peter Cooke, *Defending New Zealand: Ramparts on the Sea 1840-1950s* (Wellington, NZ: Defence of New Zealand Study Group, 2000, 2000), 833.

³³⁸ Bolton, *A History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps*, 54-56.

³³⁹ *Formation of Army Ordnance Corps Section, New Zealand Defence Forces, General Order 90*, (Wellington, 1 April, 1915). .

³⁴⁰ The COC had been formed in 1903, Rannie, *To the Thunderer His Arms: The Royal Canadian Ordnance Corps*, 24-36.and the AAOC was in the process of formation in 1914 Tilbrook, *To the warrior his arms: A History of the Ordnance Services in the Australian Army* 26-39.

Whereas the COC and AAOC served at home and overseas during the war, New Zealand's Defence Stores Department remained a domestic organisation with no external reach into the NZEF. Although the need for a military Ordnance organisation was identified as early as 1901 and often discussed in the subsequent years, Brigadier General Robin did make recommendations to reorganise the Defence Stores Department in early 1915.³⁴¹ However, these did not gain traction until early 1916 and wartime necessity soon forced the formation of the NZAOC within the NZEF.

Based on many of the logistical lessons learned by the British Army in the Anglo/Boer war, the British Army published doctrine for the provision of Ordnance Services to the British Army in the 1914 *Ordnance Manual (War)*. The concept of operations for British Ordnance Services was that they were to be organised depending upon the general nature of operations and lines of communication. Arranged within convenient distances of Corps and Divisions, Ordnance Depots were to be located to allow units to draw their stores and ammunition from that source. If lines of communication became extended, the establishment of intermediate, advanced, and field depots on the lines of communication was authorised. Ordnance Depots consisted of personnel of each trade, of sufficient numbers necessary to operate a small ordnance depot and workshop.³⁴² Assistant Directors Ordnance Services (ADOS) were responsible for each Corps, with DADOS accountable for each Division.³⁴³

Britain's doctrine at the beginning of the First World War, which New Zealand adhered to, was for forces to be fully equipped with everything necessary to undertake operations.³⁴⁴ Included in the plan was the daily maintenance of Combat Supplies, but no provision for replacing weapons, equipment or clothing was allowed.³⁴⁵ Re-equipment was to happen upon the withdrawal of forces for rest.³⁴⁶ Given this doctrine, the NZEFs Ordnance requirements were minimal. As detailed in *Section 5 of General Order 312 of August 1914*,

³⁴¹ "Munitions and Supplies Board, August 1915 April 1921," *Archives New Zealand Item No R3898765* (1915-21): 2.

³⁴² *Ordnance Manual (War)*, War Office, (London: His Majesties Printing Office, 1914), Appendix 1. <https://rnzaoc.files.wordpress.com/2018/08/ordnance-war-manual-1914.pdf>.

³⁴³ *Ordnance Manual (War)*, 3.

³⁴⁴ *Ordnance Manual (War)*, 5, para 8.

³⁴⁵ Combat Supplies been rations, water, ammunition and animal feed. *Ordnance Manual (War)*, 4 para 9.

³⁴⁶ Philip Hamlyn Williams, *Ordnance: Equipping the British Army for the Great War*, 13.

the initial Ordnance establishment of the NZEF was; one officer, one clerk and a horse.³⁴⁷ Not included in the original organisational table for the NZEF, these Ordnance positions were not added until late August 1914.³⁴⁸ William Beck, the Auckland District Storekeeper, then managing the stores at the Alexandra Park mobilisation camp, was selected as Ordnance Officer and instructed to select a suitable NCO as his clerk.³⁴⁹ Beck selected Sergeant Norman Levien, one of his subordinates at Alexandra Park, as the NCO Clerk and both embarked with the main body of the NZEF, departing Wellington on the troopship TSS Maunganui on 16 October 1914.³⁵⁰

Disembarking in Egypt in December 1914, the New Zealanders immediately trained and acclimatised to the local conditions. Beck established himself as the DADOS of the NZEF with NZEF Order No 9 of 10 December 1914, opening his depot for business.³⁵¹ Beck and Levien had much work ahead to bring the New Zealand units to scale and come to terms with the British Ordnance systems. To understand the British systems and how best to utilise them, Levien was attached to the British Ordnance Depot at the Citadel in Cairo to study the Ordnance systems in use and create Ordnance procedures for the NZEF to adopt.³⁵²

In March 1915, Levien secured premises for a New Zealand Ordnance Depot and warehouse at No. 12 Rue de la Porte Rosette and a warehouse at Shed 43, Alexandra Docks. The New Zealand Forces were provided support from these premises before and during the Dardanelles campaign.³⁵³ On 3 April 1915, Beck received a boost to his small organisation with Levien and Sergeant Thomas Joseph King commissioned as Second Lieutenants in the

³⁴⁷ "Troopships; Embarkation Orders; Daily Field States; and a large chart of 'New Zealand Expeditionary Forces - Personnel' as at 1 June 1915)," *Archives New Zealand Item ID R23486740* (Wellington) 1914.

³⁴⁸ "Army Department - Outbreak of War - Mobilisation and Precautionary Measures- Fitting Out of Troop Transports - August 1914."

³⁴⁹ "Reports of GOC (General Officer Commanding) New Zealand Expeditionary Force(NZEF) to Minister of Defence, 22 August to 26 September 1914," *Archives New Zealand Item No R25103247* (1914).

³⁵⁰ "Beck, William Thomas," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1914, http://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE24368600; "Levien, Norman Joseph."

³⁵¹ NZEF Order No 9 of 10 December 1914 stated that all indents for Ordnance Stores, including petrol and lubricants were to be submitted to the DADOS Ordnance Depot. "Appendices to War Diaries, I - LXII," *Archives New Zealand Item ID R23486739* (Wellington) 1914, http://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE28730233.

³⁵² "Levien, Norman Joseph."

³⁵³ "Levien, Norman Joseph."

NZAOC.³⁵⁴ King, a qualified accountant, was appointed as the Officer in Charge of the Ordnance Depot at Zeitoun Camp. Levien assumed the position of Officer in Charge of equipment, small arms, accoutrements and clothing.

Appointed as the DADOS of the Australian & New Zealand Division, Beck was the first ashore when he landed with Godley's Headquarters at ANZAC Cove at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915.³⁵⁵ Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick, ADMS, another New Zealander, who was part of the Headquarters landing party, describes the events on that day,

We were all ready to land but were kept waiting and waiting until about 9.00 a.m. Some barges were moored alongside and a string of boats outside of these on the starboard side. Colonels Braithwaite, Chaytor and Manders, Major Hughes and Captain Beck and I got into the first boat. We were frightfully hampered by our kit – overcoat, revolver, glasses, map case, haversack, three days rations, firewood, Red Cross satchel, water bottle – like elephants. It was a certainty that we would drown if we got sunk. After waiting, a steam picket boat came along in charge of a very fat rosy midshipman. He took our string of boats in tow, and we were off. Our boat grounded about 50 feet from the shore and we all hopped out. Of course, I fell into a hole up to my neck. I could hardly struggle ashore and when I did the first thing I saw was Beck sitting on a stone, roaring with laughter at us. Billy Beck was the first New Zealander to get onto Gallipoli.³⁵⁶

As the DADOS of the Australian & New Zealand Division, Beck was assisted by Staff Sergeant Major Elliot Puldrom, Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant of the Auckland Mounted Rifles, who had been transferred into the division headquarters to be his assistant.³⁵⁷ For the next three months, Puldrom assisted Beck with the strenuous work of landing and organising stores and managing the depot staff. Beck was also a bit of a character, and *The Hawera & Normanby Star*, 24 June 1916, had this to say about Beck's service at Gallipoli:

Finally, there was Captain William Beck, an ordinary officer. "Beachy Bill" was in charge of the store – a miserable little place – and whenever he put his nose out of the door bullets tried to hit it. The Turkish gun in Olive Grove was named after him, "Beachy Bill." The store was simply a shot under fire, and Bill looked out and went on with his work just as if no bullets were about. He was the most

³⁵⁴ "Grants of Temporary Rank, Appointments and Promotions of Officers of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force," *New Zealand Gazette* 8 July 1915.

³⁵⁵ Although New Zealanders were serving in the Australian Division, Beck is credited as being the first New Zealander of Godley's force to land at Gallipoli, Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story* (Auckland [NZ]: Sceptre, 1990), 109-10.

³⁵⁶ Percival Fenwick, *Gallipoli diary: 24 April to 27 June 1915* (David Ling, in association with Auckland War Memorial Museum, 2000), 8.

³⁵⁷ "Puldron, Elliot", *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1914.

courteous and humorous, and no assistant at Whiteley's could have been more pleasing and courteous than the brave storekeeper on ANZAC Beach. General Birdwood never failed to call on Captain Beck or call out as he passed on his daily rounds, asking if he were there, and they all dreaded that someday there would be no reply from a gaunt figure still in death. But Captain Beck was only concerned for the safety of his customers. He hurried them away, never himself.³⁵⁸



Captain Beck at the Ordnance Depot, Gallipoli. Ref: 1/2-000582-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

/records/22536460

By July, the strain of the constant shelling was taking a toll on Beck's health. In correspondence to the Minister of Defence on 2 July, Godley noted that:

I am sending Beck to Alexandria and cabling for Levien in his place: the former's nerve is quite broken down, and he wants a rest from shells. He has been shelled out of his dug-out on several occasions, has had many close shaves, and his stores repeatedly wrecked, and this, on the top of all his hard work, and has

³⁵⁸ "Brave New Zealanders," *The Hawera and Normanby Star*, Volume LXXI, Issue LXXI, (Hawera), 24 June 1916, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HNS19160624.2.26>.

been rather too much for him. Now that the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force has taken over all our stores, this should work without difficulty.³⁵⁹

On the 13th of July 1915, Beck was listed on Casualty List No 50 and replaced as DADOS on 1 August 1915 by Levien. Beck left Gallipoli for duty in Alexandria, boarded as "incapacitated for military duty", and was invalided back to New Zealand on the *RMS Tahiti* on 20 November 1915. He was struck off the strength of the NZEF on 19 February 1916 and transferred to the reserve list of officers with the rank of Captain, resuming his pre-war duties as Auckland District Storekeeper.³⁶⁰

In October, King assumed the position of DADOS of the Australian & New Zealand Division at Gallipoli, a position he retained until December.³⁶¹ The expansion of the NZAOC as a unit of the NZEF began in earnest in late 1915. Initially earmarked as the future DADOS of the NZ Division, King was also invalided back to New Zealand, requiring a suitable replacement to be found. On 1 February 1916, Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Henry Herbert, a successful businessman who had previously served as Commanding Officer of the Pioneer Battalion, was transferred into NZAOC and appointed New Zealand Division, DADOS and Officer Commanding of the NZEF NZAOC.³⁶² Taking command of an organisation in its infancy, Herbert was to build the NZAOC from the ground up. In his brief section on logistics in *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign*, Ian McGibbon states, "The New Zealand Division slotted into the BEF's vast logistic system."³⁶³ While this statement is not incorrect, it does understate the role of Herbert and the NZAOC in providing the linkages which enabled the New Zealand Division to integrate and become part of the vast and evolving British logistical system. Herbert soon learnt the responsibilities of Ordnance were more than the ordering, accounting and management of stores and included liaison with higher Corps ADOS and the DADOS of neighbouring British and Australian Divisions. Within the New Zealand Division, his department's duties also included the management of the Divisional baths and laundries,

³⁵⁹ Major General Godley, "Correspondence Major General Godley to James Allen 2 July," R22319698 - *Ministerial Files - Correspondence with General Godley* (1915).

³⁶⁰ Beck was mentioned in Dispatches by the Commander in Chief, Mediterranean, Sir Ian Hamilton on the 26th of August 1915, this was followed up with the awarding of the Distinguished Service Order for distinguished service in the field during operations in the Dardanelles, which was recorded in the London Gazette of 8 November 1915. "Beck, William Thomas."

³⁶¹ "King, Thomas Joseph," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1914.

³⁶² "Herbert, Alfred Henry", *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1914.

³⁶³ McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign*, 176.

Salvage Company, boot repair and armourer's shops.³⁶⁴ With a core of experienced men, many of whom had served at Gallipoli, Herbert crafted the NZAOC into a small yet efficient organisation supporting the NZEF and residual units until 1921. Herbert and the NZ Division departed Egypt for France in March 1916. Levien did not travel with the Division to France. Remaining in Egypt, he oversaw the establishment of the NZAOC Middle East Section while closing the Alexandria depot and disposing of the vast stockpile of stores accumulated during 1915. Levien and two NZAOC Other Ranks embarked for England on 10 May 1916.

Appointed as the NZEF Chief Ordnance Officer in the United Kingdom, he established the United Kingdom-based NZAOC organisation supporting the New Zealand Training camps and Hospitals in England.

From the early days of the mobilisation, gossip circulated, questioning O'Sullivan's integrity and the Defence Stores Departments' business practices. Some business community members expressed dissatisfaction with the past and present methods adopted by Defence Stores Department. Aware of such gossip as early as October 1914, Godley recommended that an audit of the Defence Stores Department be conducted in a note sent to the Minister of Defence, James Allen. It was not until July 1915 that pressure from outside of the military forced Allen, under the *Commission of Inquiry Act 1908*, to have a Commission of Inquiry (COI) appointed by the governor-general to investigate the business methods adopted by the Defence Stores Department, in particular procedures related to the purchase of stores.³⁶⁵ Probing the Defence store from July through to August, the Commission questioned over forty witnesses, including Brigadier General Robin, O'Sullivan, key appointment holders in the Defence Stores Department and representatives of many businesses with relationships with the Defence Stores Department.

Ensuring that the Defence Stores Department's business affairs had been carried out on strictly business lines, the Commission examined every aspect of the Defence Stores Department's operation from 10 December 1914 to 7 July 1915. Paying particular attention to,

- The Organisation of the Defence Stores Department

³⁶⁴ "Deputy Assistant Director of Ordnance Services (DADOS) - War Diary, 1 August 1916 - 31 June 1918," *Archives New Zealand Item No R23487667* (1918).

³⁶⁵ Defence Storekeeper, "Defence Store Commission (Commission of Inquiry re Defence Stores), July 1915 - September 1915."

- The Defence Stores Department accounting procedures
- Tendering procedures
- Receipt of goods
- The system of checking claims from suppliers
- The system of accounting for stores on the issue to units or sub stores of the forces
- Tendering procedures³⁶⁶

Considering that the Commission was only established on 15 July, it had rushed its investigation, concluding it by the end of August. Furnished with the Commission's report, the Minister of Defence sought feedback from Robin on 31 August 1915. By 9 September, Robin provided a detailed response to the report, providing numerous replies to thirty-seven of the points raised by the Commission. Robin's first response protested the Commission's assertion that the higher officers of the department had not taken the responsibility necessary "to obtain a nice equilibrium," stating that,

I absolutely protest against this statement. The higher and highest officers have taken full responsibility otherwise, how could the Expeditionary Force have been organised, equipped, transported, trained, and be found efficient and ready for service as reported by high authorities abroad. How could it have been possible to have arranged, months before, up to hour and day for the sailing of each daft without a single hitch or accident?³⁶⁷

Concerning the supply of clothing and equipment as part of the same reply, Robin further stated that,

In no case has the supply of clothing or equipment failed to be available on the dates set out in orders. The only exception, if it can be termed such, was a balance of second, pair of boots called for before the due date on account of an abnormally wet period of ten days.

On the territorials and reinforcements, Robin added that:

The Territorials were successfully equipped for training camps in larger numbers than in the previous year. Also, unexpected additions in numbers of reinforcements were called-up at short notice.

On the tendering process, Robin added that,

³⁶⁶ "Reports of GOC (General Officer Commanding) New Zealand Expeditionary Force(NZEF) to Minister of Defence, 22 August to 26 September 1914."

³⁶⁷ Robin, *The Hon. the Minister of Defence, referring to your minute of 31/8/15 on Defence Stores Commission's report*, 1.

The best means were employed, otherwise the above-mentioned results would not have been obtained. I personally spoke with many businessmen, who agreed that the method of periodical contracts and quotations was the best way.³⁶⁸

In one statement, the Commission criticised the accounting system in place and internal organisation of the Defence Stores Department, assuming that it was based on Imperial regulations for controlling military stores dating from 1878. Again, Robin corrected this statement clarifying that,

The New Zealand Stores system was inspected by Colonel Kilpatrick of the British War Office, and he approved thereof. General Godley and Colonel Knox (who was Quartermaster for three years) also examined and approved of it. The Director of Stores (O'Sullivan) holds the written commendation of the two latter Officers with regard to that system.³⁶⁹

In discussing the Director of Stores position, the Commission correctly stated that this position was not clearly defined. Robin clarified O'Sullivan's situation in that,

Except for the interference by the Public Service Commissioner, he is filling the position under the designation of QMG3. This is the pith of the whole question. This dual control cannot tend to efficiency. If the control of the Public Service Commissioner is to continue all officials under the Public Service Commissioner should only be so as regards pay and advancement; in all other matters, they must be under the Commandant under regulations, Major O'Sullivan is under military law as an Officer.³⁷⁰

Based on Robin's replies and remarks, it is evident that the Defence Stores Commission investigation was not impartial and poorly conducted with a lack of depth, leading to the assumption that the commission members approached the investigation with preconceived ideas about the Defence Stores Department. Despite the points highlighted by the report that Robin easily rebutted, it is apparent that the Defence Stores Department had the military's confidence. Robin reported to Allen in December on the Defence Stores Enquiry that,

³⁶⁸ Robin, *The Hon. the Minister of Defence, referring to your minute of 31/8/15 on Defence Stores Commission's report, 1.*

³⁶⁹ Robin, *The Hon. the Minister of Defence, referring to your minute of 31/8/15 on Defence Stores Commission's report, 2.*

³⁷⁰ Robin, *The Hon. the Minister of Defence, referring to your minute of 31/8/15 on Defence Stores Commission's report.*

It must be satisfactory to you to note that there is no real ground for the alarmist reports which last year, and during the early part of this year, were so freely circulated.³⁷¹

Following Robin's correspondence, Allen updated Godley with the news that the "Stores Department, about which there was an inquiry, has come fairly well out of it".³⁷² It must be remembered that Godley's private conversations and reaction to gossip summarised in his correspondence to Allen in October 1914 helped fuel speculation about irregularities in the Defence Stores Department.³⁷³

Regardless of the Defence Stores Commission investigation, it had already become apparent that the increased work that the Defence Stores Department had taken on supporting the war effort could be better organised and distributed.³⁷⁴ A solution adopted by New Zealand in August 1915 was establishing a new department, the Ministry of Munitions, under the management of the Hon A.M Myers.³⁷⁵ As Minister of Munitions, Myers had taken over responsibility for supplying the stores and equipment required by the Defence Department to the point where they were delivered to the Defence Stores Department. To assist Myers, he established a board of advice to which he appointed,

- Mr A.H Miles, a partner in the firm of Murray, Roberts and Co
- Mr A Mackintosh, of Dalgety and Co Ltd
- Mr G Wilson of the firm Messrs Aitken and Wilson³⁷⁶

Working on a gratuitous basis, the Board of Supply had the mandate to obtain all supplies of equipment, food, fodder and other material required by the military as expeditiously as possible to the point where the Defence Department received them.³⁷⁷ It took several months for the Board of Supply to fully integrate into the Supply system, and even by December 1915, Robin, the Public Service Commissioner and the Myers were still undecided

³⁷¹ "Munitions and Supplies Board, August 1915 April 1921."

³⁷² "Correspondence James Allen to Major General Godley 4 January," *R22319698 - Ministerial Files - Correspondence with General Godley* (1916): 8.

³⁷³ "Correspondence Major General Godley to James Allen 26 October 1914."

³⁷⁴ "H24 Military supplies and munitions. Memorandum regarding organization of industrial power for production of Military Equipment," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (16 June 1916), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1916-I.2.2.5.35>.

³⁷⁵ "Task of Magnitude," *New Zealand Times, Volume XL, Issue 9127* (Auckland), 20 August 1915, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZTIM19150820.2.55>.

³⁷⁶ "Defence Supplies," *Evening Post, Volume XC, Issue 32* (Auckland), 6 August 1915, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19150806.2.94>.

³⁷⁷ "Courts Martial and Courts of Inquiry Military Supplies Purchase Board- Establishment of ", *Archives New Zealand Item No R22430449* (1915).

on the best way forward for the Munitions Ministry to take over more of the Defence Stores Department responsibilities.³⁷⁸ However, the main sticking point was that the Board of Supply were unwilling to continue working with O'Sullivan.

1915 had not been kind to O'Sullivan, and after being found at no fault following the Stores Commission enquiry, he still faced a toxic relationship with the Board of Supply. The year's strain affected his health suffering two mental breakdowns, which following an inspection of the Auckland Military District, forced him on an extended leave break from 18 October 1915.³⁷⁹ On hearing that O'Sullivan was to resume work early in January 1916, the Board of Supply reacted by sending the following message to Myers,

We understand that O'Sullivan has been instructed to resume duty on 4th January although his leave does not expire until 18th. Our opinion is that he should not be allowed to resume duty under any circumstances. The Board are of the opinion that his reinstatement would not be to the advantage of the department and would force the Board to seriously consider its position.³⁸⁰

This ultimatum placed the military in a difficult position. O'Sullivan's long service and experience had been highly beneficial to the Defence establishment, and based on the Stores Commission report findings, there was no justification for his removal.³⁸¹ This impasse continued until February, when negotiations between Robin and the Board agreed upon several initiatives agreeable to both parties, allowing progress to be achieved. Robin proposed to the Board that an "Inspecting Quartermaster" post be created to provide the Commandant with an advisor on Military equipment specifications. This post was seen as necessary due to O'Sullivan's long service. It allowed him to remain in the service for eighteen months until his planned retirement while moving him to a post amicable to the board. The Director of Equipment and Stores and AQM3 post was to be filled by a suitably qualified officer.³⁸²

³⁷⁸ "Munitions and Supplies Board, August 1915 April 1921."

³⁷⁹ "Reports Report on equipment etc. Auckland District Major O'Sullivan," *Archives New Zealand Item No R22432211* (1915).

³⁸⁰ "Munitions and Supplies Board, August 1915 April 1921."

³⁸¹ Memorandum Robin to Minister of Defence, December 1915. "Munitions and Supplies Board, August 1915 April 1921."

³⁸² Memorandum for the Hon James Allen from Robin, 17 February 1916. "Munitions and Supplies Board, August 1915 April 1921."

The officer selected to replace O'Sullivan was Lieutenant (Temporary Captain) Thomas McCristell. A professional soldier with a flair for administration, McCristell had been pre-war Adjutant to the 2nd Battalion, 17th (Ruahine) Regiment before being appointed as the Camp Quartermaster at Trentham Camp.³⁸³ McCristell's appointment was part of a reorganisation of the Defence Stores Department, which had seen the Assistant Director of Equipment and Stores, honorary Lieutenant Robert Williams and the District Storekeepers, Honorary Captains White and McGuigan and Honorary Lieutenant Ford attached to the NZSC as of 13 February.³⁸⁴ McCristell's appointment took effect as of 10 April 1916 when he was formally appointed to O'Sullivan's post as the redesignated Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores and QMG (3) with the honorary rank of major.³⁸⁵ O'Sullivan was appointed to the new position of Deputy Inspector, Equipment and Ordnance Stores.³⁸⁶ Updating Godley, Allen reported that

Captain McCristell has been placed in O'Sullivan's position, the latter being made Inspector of Ordnance Stores. I should think O'Sullivan has been more enquired into than any other officer in the department, but nothing very detrimental has come out about him; however, it seemed to me to be wise, especially in view of the fact that the Supplies Board -which is under the control of the Hon. Mr Myers, was so determined about it, that he should give up his position as head of the Stores. I have every confidence that McCristell will do well there.³⁸⁷

Although Allen still held O'Sullivan in high regard, Godley's response was less optimistic, and he made it clear that he did not hold O'Sullivan in the same esteem as Allen replying,

I am sorry, but not altogether surprised, to hear about O'Sullivan. I think you know my feeling about him, which is that considering the class of man he is, and the opportunities he has had, one can only be astonished at his moderation. Ninety-nine out of a hundred in his position would have made a large fortune.³⁸⁸

1916 was a much different and transformative year for the Defence Stores Department as it transferred functions to the Ministry of Munitions and reorganised them to align with

³⁸³ "McCristell. Thomas James," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1914.

³⁸⁴ "Appointments, Promotions, Resignations and transfer of officers of the New Zealand Staff and Territorial Force," *New Zealand Gazette No 47*, 20 April 1916.

³⁸⁵ "Appointments, Promotions, Resignations and transfer of officers of the New Zealand Staff and Territorial Force."

³⁸⁶ "Director of Ordnance Stores," *Dominion, Volume 9, Issue 2741* (Wellington), 8 April 1916 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DOM19160408.2.34>.

³⁸⁷ "Correspondence James Allen to Major General Godley 13 April ", *R22319698 - Ministerial Files - Correspondence with General Godley* (1916): 1-2.

³⁸⁸ "Correspondence Major General Godley to James Allen 24 March," *R22319699 - Ministerial Files - Correspondence with General Godley* (1916).

military requirements. Under McCristell, the relationship with Myers had improved and was maturing. Myers, in his 1917 annual report, commented that.³⁸⁹

It is further satisfactory to be in position to report the fact that the operations of my department have been greatly facilitated by the capable and courteous assistance afforded throughout the period under review by the military authorities generally. This in particular applies to the Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores (Major McCristell).

Under the Ministry of Munitions, a Military Supplies Purchase Branch took control of purchasing all clothing and equipment required by the military.³⁹⁰ This relieved the Defence Stores Department, allowing it to focus on managing the military's equipment.³⁹¹ By the end of 1916, the District Storekeepers, an appointment whose name was a legacy of the Gorton era of 1869-79, were all redesignated as Assistant Directors of Equipment and Ordnance Stores.³⁹² In much correspondence referring to the Defence Stores Department, the term Ordnance Department and Ordnance Store became an increasing part of the New Zealand military vernacular. In his annual report for 1915-16, Robin laid out his future intent for the Defence Stores Department in that:

In this section of the Q.M.S. branch certain amount of dual, control still necessarily exists. I am, however, glad to acknowledge the assistance given me by the Public Service Commissioners in this respect during the past year. As experienced and returned officers and non-commissioned officers become available this section will in time be staffed by military personnel, and assume its true relation to the military forces of the Dominion.³⁹³

The return of experienced officers included Captain Beck, who in April was discharged from the NZEF, attached to the NZSC and resumed his duties as the Auckland Military District Storekeeper.³⁹⁴ Invalided to New Zealand in May 1916, Captain King initially remained posted to the NZEF Home Service Branch but temporarily attached to the Defence Stores

³⁸⁹ "H24 Munitions and supply department," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (16 June 1917): 8, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1917-I.2.2.4.61>.

³⁹⁰ "H24 Munitions and supply department," 1.

³⁹¹ "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces, From 26 June 1915, to 31st May 1916," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1916), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1916-I.2.2.5.22>.

³⁹² "Defence Forces - Otago District Appointments," *Evening Star, Issue 16237* (Wellington), 5 October 1916 <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD19161005.2.45.;>"H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces, From 26 June 1915, to 31st May 1916."

³⁹³ "H-19 Defence Forces of New Zealand, Report of the General Officer Commanding the Forces, From 26 June 1915, to 31st May 1916," 12.

³⁹⁴ "Beck, William Thomas."

Department as the Accounting Officer.³⁹⁵ In September, King was also discharged from the NZEF, attached to the NZSC and appointed as the Assistant Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores.³⁹⁶ Beck and King provided the Defence Stores Department with two very different views of the evolving Defence Stores Department. Beck, for example, had long service with the pre-war Defence Stores Department and war experience as the DADOS with the NZEF. King, who had no pre-war experience with the Defence Stores Department, contributed new ideas and procedures gained while the NZAOC in Egypt and Gallipoli. This combined knowledge and experience is what McCristell needed during 1916, as a significant focus of his effort was drafting *Ordnance Procedures for the New Zealand Defence Forces*.³⁹⁷

As 1916 ended, the reorganisation of the Defence Stores Department, which had been a long-discussed, was nearing fruition. Robin clarified the need for the reorganisation, describing how:

The (Defence Stores) Department has never been under the Public Service Commissioner. Many of the officers and employees come under the Public Service Commissioner, and a dual control of the personnel has been the result. The change is not to get away from the Public Service Commissioners, but to bring the old Stores Section into line with all Army methods and to prepare to properly handle the immense amount of ordnance, arms, guns, equipment and stores of all sorts due in the Dominion on demobilisation of the Expeditionary Force; also to properly control these articles when re-issued to the territorial Force.³⁹⁸

Signalling the end of the Defence Stores Department era was the resignation of O'Sullivan in January 1917.³⁹⁹ In what must have been a bittersweet and challenging decision, O'Sullivan had provided thirty-nine years of continuous service in the Defence Department, seventeen of which were the head of the Defence Stores Department. Joining the service as an Armed Constabulary Trooper who was sent into the field with only "his Snider and 100 rounds, two blankets, WP Sheet, greatcoat and haversack", O'Sullivan must have been satisfied that

³⁹⁵ "King, Thomas Joseph."

³⁹⁶ "Personal Matters," *Evening Post*, Volume XCII, Issue 56, , 4 September 1916, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19160904.2.12>.

³⁹⁷ "Regulations - Ordnance Services (New Zealand)," *Archives New Zealand Item No R22433015* (1916).

³⁹⁸ "Administration and Miscellaneous - Reorganisation defence stores," *Archives New Zealand Item No R22430541* (1917).

³⁹⁹ "Retired on Superannuation," *Evening Post*, Volume XCIII, Issue 28, 1 February 1917, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19170201.2.78>.

because of his contribution, the New Zealand soldier of 1917 (including two of his sons) was as well-equipped and supported as those in any other modern army.⁴⁰⁰

From January 1917, the old Defence Stores Department remained in existence only in name as McCristell put the pieces together for the final establishment of New Zealand's military Ordnance Services. The *Ordnance Procedures for the New Zealand Defence Forces* drafted in 1916 were released on 23 January 1917.⁴⁰¹ These procedures provided the New Zealand military with regulations concerning Ordnance Services. It was a forward-looking document and can be considered the New Zealand's military's foundation store accounting procedures. With no reference to the legacy of the Defence Stores Department, these regulations were a procedural reset intended to future-proof New Zealand's Ordnance services. With procedures in place, McCristell had to lay out the organisational framework for the new Ordnance Services.

In line with the British Army Ordnance organisation, the New Zealand Ordnance Services were to consist of the,

- Officers organised into the NZAOD as,
 - Directing Staff.
 - Executive Staff.
 - Inspectorial Staff.
- Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and soldiers organised into the NZAOC,
 - Clerical and Stores Section.
 - Armourers Section.
 - Armament Artificers Section.⁴⁰²

It must be noted that from 1917 there were now two NZAOCs whose only relationship was in name and had no technical relationship. The NZEF NZAOC was formed in 1915 and

⁴⁰⁰ "Major James O'Sullivan," *Free Lance, Volume XVI, Issue 867*, 16 February 1917, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZFL19170216.2.36>.

⁴⁰¹ organised into five sections covering all the Ordnance administrative and accounting required of the New Zealand Military: Section 1 – Administration, Section 2 – Charge of Storehouses, Magazine and Workshops, Section 3 - Charge of Stores, Section 4 – Small-arms and machine guns, Section 5 Supply and Receipt of stores and clothing, Section 6 – Transmission and consignment of Stores, Section 7 – Stocktaking, survey and sales of stores, Section 8 – Receiving, issuing and Accounting "Regulations

⁴⁰² "New Zealand Army Ordnance Department and New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps Regulations," *New Zealand Gazette No 95* (Wellington), June 7 1917, 2292-93.

disestablished in 1921.⁴⁰³ Although a few NZEF NZAOC men joined the home service NZAOC post-war, it was not automatic and only if vacancies permitted it.⁴⁰⁴

McCristell, King, Beck, Ford, White and McGuigan were to form the officer core of the NZAOC on its formal establishment. McCristell added to his officer strength by having two officers appointed as ordnance Officers in Trentham and Featherston Camps in March.⁴⁰⁵ While intended to absorb the existing Defence Stores Department, the NZAOC was a much larger organisation organised along military lines. Although McCristell had a core of officers available, he did not have experienced Warrant Officers, NCOs and soldiers to fill the ranks of the NZAOC.⁴⁰⁶ To lay the foundations of the NZAOC, McCristell began to shape his NZAOC cadre in February 1917.

From his time as Trentham Camp Quartermaster, McCristell knew of two Senior Non-Commissioned Officers with the skills and experience to assist him in forming the NZAOC, Staff Sergeant William Manning and Quartermaster Sergeant William Ramsey. Like McCristell, both these men had long served in administrative roles in the British Army. Applying to the Chief of the General Staff for the transfer of Ramsey from the Trentham Camp Quartermaster Staff to the NZAOC, McCristell explained that:

QMS Ramsey is over age for service with the Expeditionary Force but is medically fit for home service. His work and experience in the Imperial Army will be of great assistance to me in the formation of an Ordnance Corps and bring into line of the present establishment with the principles laid down for Ordnance Corps at home.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰³ Robert McKie, "Ordnance at the Front - The New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps in the NZEF, 1914 to 1920," *The Volunteers: New Zealand Military Historical Society* 46, no. 1 (2020): 7-24.

⁴⁰⁴ "Gossage, Charles Ingram," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1914; "O'Brien, John Goutenoire", *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1914.

⁴⁰⁵ "Establishments and Recruitment - Establishment - Ordnance Corps in NZEF [New Zealand Expeditionary Force] Camps," *Archives New Zealand No R22433700* (1917).

⁴⁰⁶ 1917 strength of the Defence Store was twenty five permanent staff and fifteen temporary staff, the initial 1917 strength of the NZAOC and NZAOC officer and men was to be 195. "B-07 Appropriations chargeable on the consolidated fund and other accounts for the year ending 31 March 1918," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1 January 1917), <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1917-I.2.1.3.5>.

⁴⁰⁷ "Ramsey, William," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1915, http://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE19121712.; "Manning, William Henry," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1915.

Manning and Ramsey transferred into the NZAOC and were appointed as Conductors in February.⁴⁰⁸ Following the transfer and attestation of Manning and Ramsey into the NZAOC, between March and May, Artificers of the Royal New Zealand Artillery, the Artillery Ordnance Corps Section and the Armourers of the NZOC were also successively transferred into the NZAOC. On 31 May 1917, regulations constituting the NZAOD and NZAOC, backdated to 1 February 1917, were approved and published in the New Zealand Gazette on 7 June 1917, concluding forty-eight years of service provided by the Defence Stores Department, replaced by the NZAOD and NZAOC.⁴⁰⁹

With the organisation arrangements formalised, the transfer of the permanent and temporary civilian staff of the Defence Stores Department was now undertaken. For the forty Defence Stores Department permanent and temporary civilian staff employed under pre-war conditions of the service, there were many budgetary and superannuation-related issues complicating their transfer. Their transfer required the Public Service Commissioner to sign approvals for each staff member affected to facilitate their transfer into the NZAOC, releasing them from the authority of the Public Service Commission.⁴¹⁰ Concurrent to this, McCristell signed acceptance documents for the same men, accepting them for military service in the NZAOC and detailing the ranks they were to be attested into the NZAOC.⁴¹¹ The Temporary Staff employed under wartime conditions of service, many of whom had been returned from the NZEF as unfit for overseas service but fit for home service, were simply re-attested and transferred into the NZAOC. The initial one hundred and thirty-two men transferred into the NZAOC up to July 1917 were allocated a unique NZAOC regimental number alphabetically with Private Hugh John Adams from the RNZA Ordnance Corps

⁴⁰⁸ In the Army Ordnance Corps, the appointment of Conductor had become a senior and responsible position. When required, the holder was a pillar of knowledge. "NZAOC Conductors 1917-1931," "To the Warrior his Arms" History of the Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps and its predecessors, 2018, accessed 6 November 2018, <https://rnzaoc.com/2018/11/06/nzaoc-conductors-1917-1931/>.

⁴⁰⁹ "New Zealand Army Ordnance Department and New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps Regulations," *New Zealand Gazette*, No 95, June 7, 1917.

⁴¹⁰ An example of a civilian member transferred from the Defence Stores to the NZAOC was William Ross, Ross had joined the Defence Stores as a temporary staff member in 1912 and appointed to the permanent staff in 1915. He was formally attested into the NZAOC as Sergeant on 20 July 1917 "Ross, William James Frederick - New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1899, https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE21127551.

⁴¹¹ "Fitzgerald, Denis - New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps, No.38," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand Record R21099483* (Wellington) 1914.

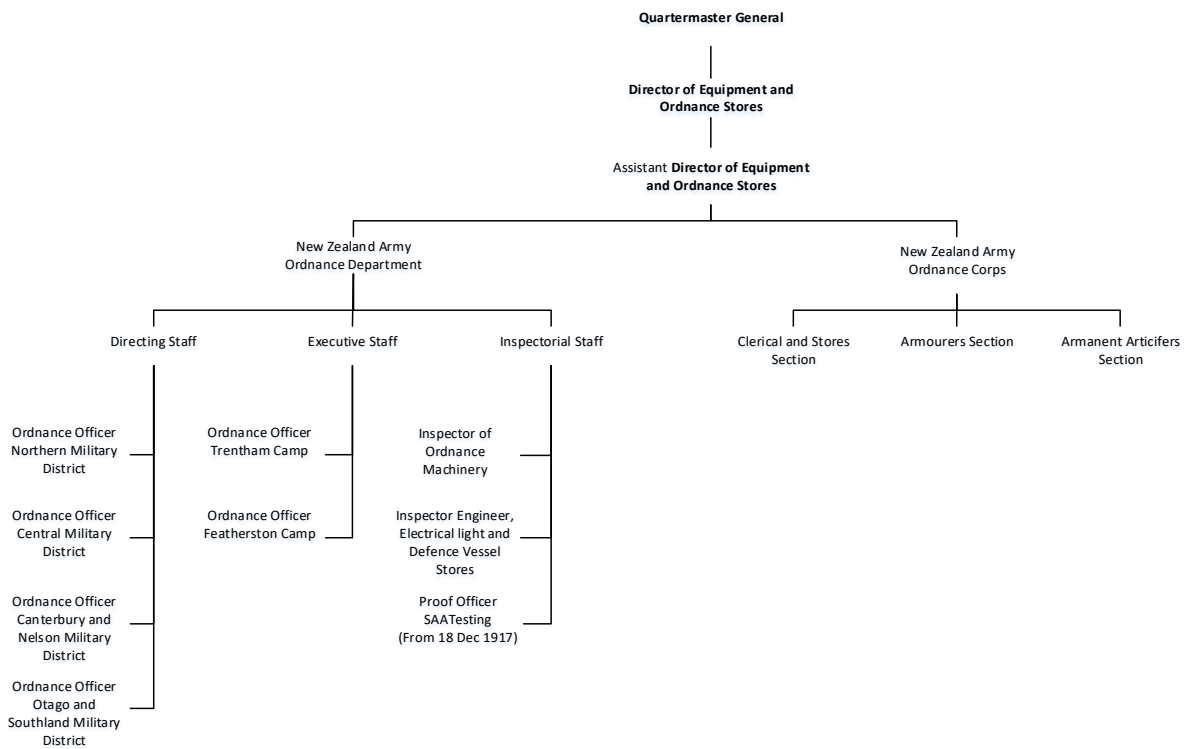
Section allocated regimental No NZAOC 1.⁴¹² From 16 July 1917, all subsequent soldiers joining the NZAOC were allocated an NZAOC Regimental number on a sequential basis.⁴¹³

To summarise this chapter, the Defence Stores Department had successfully managed the mobilisation of the NZEF and immediately facilitated the provision of supplies for the reinforcement drafts, garrison troops, and the Territorial Army. The first year of the war had identified areas for improvement that provided momentum to reorganise the Defence Stores Department into the NZAOC. The doctrine that initially drove the organisation of the NZEF had not included an Ordnance stores component, and in late August 1914, as an afterthought, the Auckland District Storekeeper, Captain Beck, was attached to the NZEF as the DADOS. Over the next year, Beck's organisation evolved into the NZEF NZAOC, which supported the NZEF until 1921. However, progress at home would not be as decisive. As 1915 progressed, the Defence Stores Department came under increased scrutiny. James Allen, the Minister of Defence, realised that the tempo of work required across the logistic spectrum, including the work undertaken by the Defence Stores Department, could not be maintained and established the Ministry of Munitions to manage New Zealand's wartime logistic efforts. The Ministry of Munitions had assumed the provisioning and purchasing functions undertaken by the Defence Stores Department by the end of 1916. More damaging to the reputation and morale of the Defence Stores Department was the climate of suspicion that blurred the Defence Stores Department's achievements. Often personally aimed at O'Sullivan, numerous rumours and gossip circulated that the Defence Stores Department was taking procedural shortcuts and was institutionally corrupt. Investigated by a Commission of Inquiry, the new Ministry of Munitions had already addressed the minor faults the Defence Stores Department found by the Commission. The rumours of misconduct were dismissed as unfounded, with the Defence Stores Department and O'Sullivan retaining the confidence of the military hierarchy. However, confidence in O'Sullivan was not shared by the Ministry of Munitions, leading to his replacement as the head of the Defence Stores Department by Major Thomas McCristell. With the military realising that the time was right to militarise the Defence Stores Department and establish

⁴¹² "Adams, High John," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1895, https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE25698215.

⁴¹³ "Orecchio Natale - New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps, Nos.134," *Personal File, Archives New Zealand* (Wellington) 1917, https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE21447508. Officers transferred into the NZAOD were not allocated regimental numbers. "Livingston

Ordnance Services as a permanent component of the New Zealand armed forces, in the first months of 1917, McCristell oversaw the transition of personnel and responsibilities from the Defence Stores Department to the military Ordnance services. After forty-eight years of dedicated service to New Zealand's military forces, the Defence Stores Department officially transitioned into the NZAOD and NZAOC on 1 February 1917.



New Zealand Ordnance Services – 1917. Source New Zealand Gazette No 95, 7 June 1917

Conclusion

It is a common assumption to attribute the successful mobilisation and maintenance of the NZEF solely to the organisational and staff work of General Alexander Godley and his staff, which from 1911 transformed New Zealand's military forces into a well-organised and equipped citizen army. However, as this thesis has illustrated, the success of the mobilisation was a combined effort that pivoted on the plans and staff work of Godley's staff and the contribution of the Defence Stores Department. The mobilisation culminated with New Zealand's military evolution, initiated by the *Militia act of 1845*, which empowered New Zealand Police and Magistrates to call up eligible men for military service. From this initial act, the shape and size of New Zealand's military forces adapted to meet real and perceived threats. Initially dependent on the British Imperial Garrison, from 1862, New Zealand's military forces began to emerge as a more independent force based on a constabulary model supported by Volunteer and Militia units allowing the complete withdrawal of British Forces in 1870. New Zealand's forces were primarily focused on internal security, with the Royal Navy's control of the seas providing the young colony with a sense of security from external threats.

As the European powers grew their empires in the latter half of the nineteenth century, New Zealand maintained a careful eye on the Pacific ambitions of France, Germany and the United States at the limits of Britain's Empire. Anxious about the expanding Russian Empire, New Zealand's coastal defences were strengthened, and the military was reorganised to counter this perceived threat. With the threat subsiding, the 1890s was a period of stagnation for New Zealand's military forces, from which it was awakened in 1899 with contingents of volunteers raised and dispatched to the war in South Africa.

The South African War and its lessons were a turning point for New Zealand and its commitment to the British Empire. From 1900 the military underwent successive doctrinal, organisational and equipment transformations with the *Defence Act of 1909* dispensing with the legacy volunteer system and replacing it with a citizen Army to be grown and maintained through Compulsory Military Training. By the time Godley took up his duties in December 1910, the foundations for transforming New Zealand's military forces had been set. In concert with the Defence Minister, Godley refined the organisation and training of the military so that by 1914 New Zealand was to mobilise a contingent that was

"comparatively the largest, best trained and equipped to be dispatched from this country in the 20th century."⁴¹⁴ While the evolution of New Zealand's military forces is well recorded, this thesis is focused on the less well-known contribution of New Zealand's Defence Stores Department.

In addressing the support provided by the Defence Stores Department, the first question examined is what the state of the Defence Stores was in 1914 and how had it evolved as part of New Zealand's military forces from 1840. Leadership, personnel, and equipment are required for a military force to be effective. Since 1845 the various Militia and Defence Acts enacted by New Zealand's legislative authorities have provided the framework to lead, train and equip New Zealand's military forces. As the Defence Department agency responsible for equipping and maintaining the NZMF in 1914, the Defence Stores Department had evolved in concert with the New Zealand military. Governor Hobson appointed the first Storekeeper responsible for Militia arms and accoutrements in 1840; however, this post was disestablished in 1844, with the Colonial Secretary then overseeing the issue of arms and equipment to the Militia. By 1848 with Imperial units now garrisoned in New Zealand, most of the Militia units were stood down and their arms and equipment placed into storage. The *Militia Act of 1858* reinvigorated the Militia, with Captain H.C Balneavis, the Deputy Adjutant General of Militia and Volunteers, taking charge of all Militia and Volunteers arms and equipment. The *Colonial Defence Act of 1862* saw responsibility for military stores pass from Balneavis to the QMG of the Colonial Defence Force. Initially, military stores were managed under two branches, the Colonial Store Department and the Militia Stores Department. However, by 1865 these were rationalised into a single Colonial Store Department.

The Armed Constabulary Act of 1867 combined the police and military into one organisation supported by Militia and Volunteer units, with Colonial Store Department remaining extant. With Imperial units due to complete their withdrawal from New Zealand in 1870, New Zealand had already acquired a large amount of war materiel, which required ongoing management and maintenance. Under the auspices of *the Public Stores Act of 1867*, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Gorton was appointed as the Inspector of Defence Stores in

⁴¹⁴ Colin Richardson, "General Sir Alexander Godley, The last Imperial Commander," in *Born to lead? Portraits of New Zealand commanders*, ed. Joel Hayward Glyn Harper (Exisle, 2003), 46.

1869, bringing the Colonial Store Department into his fold. Under Gorton, the foundations of an enduring Defence Stores Department were laid as it was consolidated into a functional department with roles and appointments standardised and standard operating procedures for managing stores across the military introduced. As Gorton's responsibilities expanded to become the Inspector of Stores for all government stores, the Defence Stores were cited as the standard to be achieved when managing government stores.

Following Gorton's retirement in 1877, the leadership of the Defence Store passed to his deputy, Sam Anderson. Under Anderson's leadership, the Defence Stores supported the 1881 Parihaka expedition, with Anderson gazetted as Quartermaster with the rank of Captain in the New Zealand Militia in 1882. As the Russia Scare intensified in 1885, Major General Whitmore pushed through *the Defence Act of 1866*, creating the Permanent Militia and splitting the Volunteer forces from the Constabulary. The expansion of coastal defences introduced a new range of artillery pieces, ancillary equipment and ammunition types into the military inventory. The 1890s were a challenging time for Anderson, with a recession forcing redundancies within the Defence Stores, while the introduction of new small arms and ammunition ensured that a steady work tempo was maintained. As the nineteenth century closed, the Defence Stores faced a test of their worth with the mobilisation of contingents for South Africa. With limited mobilisation stores, the Defence Stores Department successfully met the challenge and outfitted the first contingent allowing it to depart on time. Anderson passed away in December 1899, with the Defence Stores baton of leadership passed to James O'Sullivan.

The New Zealand commitment to the South Africa War saw the Defence Stores under O'Sullivan's leadership outfitted and equipped 6500 soldiers for service in South Africa. Thoroughly aware of the shortfalls of the Defence Stores, O'Sullivan was well placed to lead the Defence Stores as it evolved to meet the needs of a rapidly changing military focused on contributing to Imperial Defence. Over the next 14 years, as the military reorganised and reequipped, O'Sullivan oversaw the Defence Stores' concurrent development. New Storage infrastructure was constructed in the main centres, with District Storekeepers and staff appointed to maintain the growing stocks of modern military materiel. In 1911, O'Sullivan was appointed as an Honorary Major and the Director of Equipment and Stores. Due to the efforts of Gorton in establishing Defence Stores, Anderson in maintaining it, and O'Sullivan's

management since 1900, the Defence Stores was an adaptable organisation meeting the needs of an evolving military so that by 1914, the Defence Store were in an optimal state to support the mobilisation of the NZEF.

With the state of the Defence Stores in 1914 established, the next question is how soon was the NZEF equipped following the notice to mobilise? The initial mobilisation of the NZEF was conducted remarkably fast and efficiently. The first 1413 men of the Samoa Expeditionary Force were fully armed and equipped by the Defence Stores and assembled on Wellington's wharf within a week, with the main body of over 8000 men ready to go within a month. What allowed the NZEF to mobilise at such a pace was that Godley had meticulously planned and executed the growth of New Zealand's military forces based on an educated assumption that the tasks of the NZEF were to be:

The seizure of German possessions in the Pacific, the deployment of a full expeditionary force to protect Egypt against an attack by Turkey or to fight the Germans in Europe.⁴¹⁵

The NZEF had been designed to be organised and equipped to serve as part of a more significant allied force, With the Territorial Army organised as a pool of men and materiel staffed and equipped against standard British division organisational tables. The Brigade and Divisional camps of 1913 and 1914 had brought the territorial units together to allow the conducting of collective training. Most importantly, the camps practised the logistics of moving many troops, horses and equipment from dispersed locations to central locations. As part of the plan, O'Sullivan and the Defence Stores ensured that the Territorial units were fully equipped with the District Storekeepers, ensuring that the weapons and equipment on issue to district units were stored and maintained correctly.

Adapted from the British Army mobilisation regulations to suit the structure and organisation of the New Zealand military, New Zealand's mobilisation instructions were issued in March 1914. The mobilisation instructions provided a framework for all commanders, including the Director of Stores and Equipment, on their preparatory peacetime measures and actions to be taken on notice of impending hostilities and through each stage of mobilisation. Implemented on 1 August 1914, unit commanders were provided broad information on the composition of the NZEF. Further orders were issued on

⁴¹⁵ Kinloch, *Godley: The man behind the myth*, 81.

3 August detailing what equipment was to be drawn from Territorial units and issued to new units to be formed as the NZEF. The Defence Stores were detailed to establish mobilisation Camps with Stores depots stocked with additional mobilisation stores to backfill shortfalls and supplement regimental equipment not held by the territorial units. Prepared for the mobilisation from 30 July, the mobilisation camps were ready to receive the thousands of volunteers who had flowed into the recruiting offices within hours of the announcement of war on 7 August. Despite all the preparations, there were shortfalls in uniforms and equipment that required O'Sullivan to appeal to the New Zealand manufacturing industry to bring forward orders and work overtime, with most supply deadlines to be met, allowing the NZEF to sail on schedule and as well-equipped as possible.

Finally, what was the overall contribution of the Defence Stores in dispatching and maintaining the NZEF from 1914 to 1917? From the earliest days of New Zealand raising its first military force, there was always an appreciation that New Zealand was in an isolated position with stores, a valuable commodity requiring care and maintenance to ensure their availability in times of need. Formalised as a Defence Department organisation in 1869, the footprint of the Defence Stores Department, often with limited personnel and resources, can be found behind all the activities of the NZMF up to 1917.

The most significant contribution the Defence provided to the mobilisation of the NZEF was its years of experience. The mobilisation for the war in South Africa was a significant achievement for New Zealand and the Defence Stores. This experience had a significant effect on O'Sullivan, and the Defence Stores, with the establishment of regional mobilisation stores and the appointment of mobilisation storekeepers, approved in 1900. As the Territorial Army grew from 1909, the mobilisation stores had morphed into the District Defence Stores and provided valuable support to the Territorial Army as it became established. By 1911 it was identified that the skill sets of unit quartermaster staff were lacking, and a more professional approach to their training was required. Addressing this skills shortfall, the Defence Stores Department conducted an intensive course of instruction in store management for 29 candidates in November 1911. The successful graduates were appointed to the Permanent Staff as Quartermaster Sergeants and posted to each Infantry and Mounted Rifles Regiment on completing the course. Although not part of the Defence Stores staff, these new Quartermaster Sergeants became part of an increasingly networked

military stores network, relieving the District Storekeepers of some responsibilities while closely cooperating in other areas. This relationship between the unit quartermaster and the Defence Stores proved its worth in the build-up and conduct of the annual camps and, ultimately, the smooth functioning of the mobilisation camps in August 1914.

The Defence Stores' support for the NZEF did not conclude with the sailing of the NZEF main body on 16 October 1914. As the NZEF main body sailed, the Defence Stores had little respite and immediately began the provision and supply of clothing and equipment for the NZEF Camps and reinforcement drafts that were to be dispatched to the NZEF every month for the remainder of the war. The Defence Stores had managed its part of the mobilisation with few problems. However, its conduct during the mobilisation was questioned in some quarters, leading to allegations of corruption and misappropriation. Although the Defence Stores Commission of Enquiry was conducted in 1915, the seedier allegations were not quantified and found to be unfounded, and the Defence Stores retained the military's confidence.

Within the NZEF, the Defence Stores provided Honorary Captain William Beck, the Auckland District Storekeeper. An afterthought in the planning of the NZEF, Beck was seconded to the NZEF from the Defence Stores as the Deputy Assistant Director of Ordnance Stores (DADOS) for the NZEF. The Defence Storekeeper in Auckland since 1903, Beck was well respected and put his experience to good use providing the Ordnance Support required by the NZEF as it established itself in Egypt. Ordnance services to support the NZEF had not initially been anticipated, and under Beck's tutelage, the embryonic NZEF NZAOC was established with the commissioning of two NZAOC officers from within the NZEF in March 1915. As the DADOS of the Australian and New Zealand Division, Beck was the first New Zealander of Godley's Force to step ashore at Gallipoli, where he remained until evacuated due to illness in August 1915. Beck's illness was such that he was evacuated back to New Zealand. However, the NZEF NZAOC continued to provide Ordnance support to the NZEF until disestablished in 1921. Discharged from the NZEF, Beck resumed his appointment as the Auckland District Storekeeper, now re-titled as the Assistant Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores. The Defence Stores Beck returned to was in a state of transition. The Defence Stores Commission inquiry's fallout forced O'Sullivan to be replaced by Major Thomas McCristell. McCristell was a professional soldier with a flair for administration who

had set up the Quartermaster Stores at Trentham. Critically, McCristell had the knowledge, experience and personality that allowed him to regain the confidence of the new Ministry of Munitions, which had taken over the Defence Stores' purchasing and provision functions.

An intriguing aspect of the Defence Stores Department was that it was predominately an indigenous organisation that, although influenced by store procedures and systems of the British army, had little Imperial influence guiding it forward. This is in contrast to the many units of the New Zealand Forces that from 1900 relied upon instructors seconded from the British Army to bring them up to speed with modern techniques. Despite this, and under the leadership of Gorton, Anderson and O'Sullivan, the Defence Stores had met the logistic needs of New Zealand's military forces since 1867. The crucible of this service was the support provided to the mobilisation and maintenance of the NZEF. This support was something that the Defence Stores was well placed and in a suitable position to support. The Defence Stores' contribution was multi-faceted, drawing on its years of experience and lessons learnt from experiences such as the South Africa mobilisation, with many of the preparations for the 1914 mobilisations conducted in the years leading up to 1914. From the time of Godley's appointment, the preparations of the Defence Stores became a concurrent activity in tune with the reorganisation of New Zealand's armed forces. These preparations included the receipt and issue of new weapons, uniforms and equipment to the Territorial Army, the training of Quartermasters and the testing and refinement of store procedures at the annual camps, which set the stage for an efficient mobilisation. The success of the Defence Stores should have been celebrated, but the steady tempo of activities required to maintain the NZEF precluded this. An unfortunate side effect of the success of the Defence Stores Department was the rumours and accusations against the organisation, with O'Sullivan personally targeted. Following the Defence Stores Commission enquiry, few faults were found with the Defence Stores apart from minor infractions. The tempo of work in maintaining the NZEF necessitated the reallocation of some of the Defence Stores' responsibilities to the Ministry of Munitions and a new Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores.

Never a fully uniformed component of the NZMF, the Defence Stores had from 1862 nonetheless always been an integral component of the Military establishment. While the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia transformed their equivalent Defence Stores

organisations into a uniformed Ordnance Corps), New Zealand was slow in following this lead. Although this path has been discussed many times since 1900, the military seemed comfortable with the service provided by the Defence Stores Department, so the status quo remained. It was not until the external criticism that followed the Defence Stores Commission report and a pragmatic realisation that the Defence Stores Department established in 1862 had run its course, and it was time to bring New Zealand's military storekeeping into line with Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom. As of 1 February 1917, in a seamless transition, the Defence Stores Department ceased to exist as an organisation, and the NZAOC was established as a component of New Zealand's Permanent Forces to continue its work. Unfortunately, despite the long service of the New Zealand Defence Stores Department, especially its contribution to supporting the mobilisation and maintenance of the NZEF, its story has been taken for granted, unrecorded and forgotten as part of New Zealand's military-historical narrative. It is hoped that this thesis will help to correct this serious omission.

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