
A qualitative content analysis of the New Zealand troopship
publications 1914-1920

by

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Abstract

This study is a qualitative content analysis of the magazines and newspapers produced on New Zealand troopships between 1914 and 1920. It begins with an account of the troopships, the printing of the magazines and the individuals involved. The bulk of the study is concerned with a thematic analysis of the troopship publications from a cultural historical perspective. These themes are; troopship life, army life, attitudes to war, national identity, race and gender.

The content analysis and interpretation considers the magazines as media products of a particular social group and examines the ways in which this group represented itself. The roles of official discourse, propaganda and resistance in the troopship publications are analysed and the interactions between these and the functions of the publications are explicated. The conclusion assesses the publications' position in the context of discussions of cultural rupture and continuity and finds that they emphasise the latter.

Keywords:

New Zealand, World War One 1914-1918, Magazines, Newspapers, Troop transports, Qualitative Content Analysis, Cultural History.

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Part 1 - Introduction

The journey from New Zealand to the battlefields of the First World War took six to ten weeks. During this voyage, the men and women of New Zealand's armed forces lived in cramped conditions on crowded troopships and found various ways to occupy their time. One diversion was the production of newspapers and magazines. A large number of these publications were produced (See Appendix B). They contain news, stories, cartoons, jokes and shipboard gossip. They were intended to bolster morale, act as souvenirs and also to disseminate propaganda about the war and the values of the social group they were produced by and for.

The troopship publications are cultural artefacts that were made by a large group of New Zealand's population of the Great War period for their own consumption. One in ten of the population served in the armed forces. The majority were European males aged between 19 and 45, thus representing a large sample of the dominant social group of this time. These texts represent how they publicly wrote about themselves. Many of the issues they addressed are still discussed today such as the idea of national identity, the meaning of Anzac Day and the reasons for and against war.

The publications have yet to be investigated or used as sources for research. This study attempts to remedy the former by a systematic qualitative content analysis. The latter is addressed by a cultural historical theoretical perspective which is offered as one possible interpretative approach to the publications. This study examines the ways in which the troops of the 1st New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) wrote about themselves. It is hoped that it will be of benefit to social historians, military historians, publishing historians and media historians.

This introduction outlines the theoretical and methodological approaches of the study and reviews the literature in the field. Sections 2-4 provide background material about the production of the magazines. Section 2 contains an account of the conditions on board the troopships. Section 3 discusses the physical and stylistic characteristics of the publications. Section 4 is concerned with the personnel who produced them. Section 5 comprises the bulk of the study and explicates the analysis and interpretation of the magazines. This is arranged thematically and examines troopship life, army life, attitudes to the war, ideas of national identity, and gender and race. The conclusion presents a summary of the study.

i) *Theory*

The theory underpinning the interpretation in this study is set within the framework of cultural history. This is a multidisciplinary approach which draws on theoretical approaches drawn from anthropology and literary theory (Appleby, 1994:219). It is concerned with interpretation and the contextual meaning of cultural products and practices rather than their reduction to laws or deterministic socio-economic conditions. It is generally based on non-quantitative methods of analysis.

The accent in cultural history is on close examination - of texts, of pictures, and of actions - and on open-mindedness to what these examinations will reveal, rather than an elaboration of new master narratives or social theories ...

(Hunt, 1989:22)

Within this broad framework, there are varied epistemologies and theoretical approaches. Roger Chartier has characterised cultural history as "the study of the processes by which meaning is constructed" (1988:14). The contents of the troopship publications are examples of how a culture publicly represented itself to its members and constructed meanings for its practices and products. This study will apply the following theoretical approaches which are central to cultural history.

a) *Meaning in power*

At the heart of the work of Michel Foucault is power as an organising principle. Power is the royal road to the study of culture. He locates it not within class or gender or institutions but within discourse. Discourse is not just the expression of ideas. Its procedures shape and form social activity. Discourse becomes power.

I am supposing that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous awesome materiality.

(Foucault, 1977:148)

This notion of power is located in the official discourse and propaganda that is found in the publications. As censored and officially sanctioned productions, the magazines contain texts which reveal the structures of power and control prevailing in both civil and military life during this time.

b) *Meaning in resistance*

An extension of Foucault's theory of power and discourse is resistance and discourse. This is characterised in the social field by Michel de Certeau in terms of "the clandestine forms taken by the dispersed, tactical, and make-shift creativity of groups or individuals already caught in the fields of 'discipline'" (1984:xiv-xv). He focuses on "antidiscipline" within the context of a consumer society. This is the avoidance of the technologies of power as constructed in discourse. This is a useful theoretical tool with which to analyse the construction of resistance to the army, war and discipline in the troopship publications. Parody, satire and humour are deployed throughout the texts to challenge the power embodied in military institutions as well as the official and propaganda texts that are used as instruments of control.

ii) *Statement of the problem*

The problem may be stated as having two components. The first of these is that these resources have been underused, if used at all, by researchers. No systematic overview has been undertaken. Historians are, therefore, unaware of the value of these resources. This study is an attempt to establish a body of information about their characteristics and the conditions of their production and consumption. This will proceed by a combination of qualitative content analysis and historical research.

The second part is that few cultural analyses of New Zealand during the Great War era have been written. Research has concentrated on military history and a relatively minor social history component. There is little understanding of the ways in which the media products of the time articulate the concerns of those who produced and consumed them. This study also offers a cultural historical interpretation of these sources as a possible example of how such media artefacts could be used in writing New Zealand history about World War One.

iii) *Hypotheses*

The proposed study is designed to establish information about the characteristics of and background to the troopship publications. It is also designed to examine the following hypotheses.

- 1) The texts illustrate the public face of military and social power and control within the armed forces of New Zealand during World War One.
- 2) The texts simultaneously illustrate resistance to this power and control while remaining within acceptable and publicly approved boundaries.

- 3) These boundaries and cultural attitudes change over time as the strains of war and loss were felt by the members of the communities that produced these texts.

iv) *Definition of terms*

"Troopship publications" in this study refers to those magazines, newspapers or souvenir editions that were written and published by and for the men and women of New Zealand's armed forces during the time they spent aboard transport ships either going to Europe or returning to New Zealand between 1914 and 1920.

v) *Review of the literature*

These publications have figured very little in New Zealand writing about World War One. The longest discussions are by Smith (1924:105-112) and Leary (1918:212-224) and these concern only the magazine of the Samoa (N.Z.) Expeditionary Force, *The Pull Thro*. Some references are found in bibliographies (e.g. Baker 1988:285) but even important writers such as Pugsley (1991:1998) make no reference to these publications. The Official Histories make no mention of them. There are no studies of the journals themselves.

Kent (1987) has produced a very broad survey of the Australian troopship magazines which is more descriptive than analytical. The related genre of trench journalism has been treated at length by Audoin-Rouzeau (1992) and Fuller (1991) for the French and British armies respectively. These authors follow a similar approach to that of the present study.

A number of studies have been written about New Zealand's involvement in the war from a social historical perspective e.g. Baker (1988) has studied conscription and Boyack (1989) the attitudes of the New Zealand troops.

The texts and social practices associated with Great War memorials and Anzac Day have been treated by Maclean and Phillips (1990) and Sharpe (1981). However, a cultural historical approach has yet to be applied to this period of New Zealand's history.

The literature of the cultural history of the First World War has burgeoned over the last thirty years with authors such as Fussell (1975), Winter (1995) and Eksteins (1989) examining such cultural products as literature, mass media, war memorials and artworks for the various meanings contained within these artefacts. This literature uses methodologies and interpretative frameworks taken from literary, social

and media studies to generate inter-disciplinary approaches to the history of the war. The present study applies such an approach to the New Zealand troopship journals in an attempt to view the traditional themes of New Zealand historical writing from new perspectives.

...they are not to be lightly discounted and, used in conjunction with other sources as a check and a balance, can make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the First World War.
(Fuller 1990:20)

vi) *Methodology*

Qualitative content analysis is widely used in the social sciences as a methodological technique. According to Neuman "content analysis is a technique for gathering and analysing the content of text" (1991:272) where content refers to words, pictures, symbols or messages. Text is the medium of the message and may include books, commercials, films or photographs. Its emphasis was initially quantitative but it has evolved to become " ...a method for describing and interpreting the artefacts of a society or social group" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999:117) It is widely used in the social sciences and is applicable to the troopship publications as the productions of a social group.

The procedure involves the establishment of a set of categories and gathering instances that fall into these categories through a coding procedure. The data gathering phase of the study proceeded by a close survey of the extant magazines. Standardised coding units and forms were used to capture specimens of the themes found in the magazines (See Appendix A)

The interpretation of the data is concerned with what Alasuutari describes as "unriddling".

In qualitative analysis unriddling means that, on the basis of the clues produced and hints available, we give an interpretative explanation of the phenomenon being studied. Like solving riddles, we should be able to come up with an answer that should not be in contradiction with any of the observations about the case.
(Alasuutari, 1995:16)

The specimens noted above will be considered within the framework of the sorts of discourses associated with power, resistance and mediated cultural attitudes. The interpretative point of this study is to lay bare the ways in which the troopship publications, as media artefacts, represent the social and cultural realities of those who produced and consumed them.

Part 2 - The Troopships

A troopship is a big grey vessel that steals into a wharf and there lingers to collect a large number of soldiers.
 ("About a troopship". *Tiki Talk*. 1917:5)

A major part of New Zealand's war effort during 1914-1918 consisted of transporting the troops to the battlefields in Europe and the Middle East and then bringing them back at the conclusion of hostilities. Given New Zealand's geographical isolation, these long journeys were part of every serviceman and woman's experience. The voyages are often described on a firsthand basis in diaries and memoirs (e.g. Williams 1998, Malthus 1965, Brereton 1926). Some historians such as Pugsley (1991) and Boyack (1989) have described the troop transports but with reference to their particular concerns; military discipline in Pugsley's case and the lack thereof in Boyack's. Little has been written about the ships and the journeys the troops made in them. This section is concerned with providing background to the conditions under which the magazines were produced. It discusses the vessels used as transports, the routes and length of the journeys and the conditions on board.

i) *Vessels chartered*

During the course of the war the New Zealand Government chartered a number of vessels to carry troops. The first forces were dispatched to Samoa on the 15th August 1914 on board the *Moeraki* and the *Monowai*. The *Moeraki* had formerly carried passengers to and from Australia while the *Monowai* was a New Zealand coastal passenger ship. Cargo ships and similar passenger ships were chartered as the war went on. Some were discharged or transferred to imperial charter after one journey (e.g. *Star of India*, *Knight Templar*) while others were used throughout the war (e.g. *Willochra*, *Tofua*).

Twenty seven vessels operating in or around New Zealand waters were chartered as transports from these companies; U.S.S Company, the N.Z.S. Company, Alliance S.S. Company, Verdala S.S. Company, Shaw Savill & Albion, Knight S.S. Company and Huddart Parker.

In addition sixteen vessels which operated overseas were chartered from these companies; Shaw, Savill & Albion, White Star Line, Union Castle Line, Federal Steam Navigation, C. and D. Line, N.Z. Ship Co., These included such ships as *Balmoral Castle*, *Devon*, *Remuera* and *Corinthic*.

ii) *The journeys*

New Zealand's geographical isolation meant that the troops faced a long journey to the battlefields of the Sinai and Europe. The trip from Wellington to the Suez could take 35-40 days. Reinforcements going to France could take from 60 to 80 days depending on the route and the weather. The average voyage would thus be approximately 5 weeks for reinforcements going to the Middle East and 10 weeks for those going to Europe.

A variety of routes were used. The Middle East bound transports usually sailed across the Tasman Sea with possible stopovers in Hobart and Albany. They then crossed the Indian Ocean to Colombo before entering the Red Sea and disembarking at Suez. The Main Body in 1914 followed this route but disembarked at Alexandria. The transports going to Europe usually followed the route across the Tasman Sea to Hobart and Albany before sailing to Capetown. They then went up the West Coast of Africa with perhaps a break at Freetown and from there to England. The other route went from New Zealand across the Pacific Ocean and through the Panama Canal. From there they went to England (McKinnon 1997:77). The majority of these reinforcements went via Capetown with only 10 going through the Panama Canal. The 23rd and 24th Reinforcements in 1917 went via Cape Horn and Capetown.

The ships traveled in convoys and were escorted by naval vessels to ward off German raiders and U Boats.

iii) *Shipboard conditions*

Conditions on board the troopships during these voyages were uncomfortable and cramped as many diaries, letters and memoirs point out. "The dormitories are very closely packed and there is little room aboard for exercise" (Pilling 1933:13); "Cleaning ... is rather a difficult task as the alleyways between the bunks are only 2ft wide" (Williams 1998:12), "... the object being to crowd as many as possible into the spaces provided ... six men have an area of 15 square feet of floor space to dress and undress in ..." (Pugsley 1991:5). As there were often up to 1200 men on a single ship, the atmosphere in the confined quarters became fetid and contributed to the miseries of sea sickness.

Military routines were carried out on board the transports with a constant round of inspections, drilling and exercises. Soldiers did hours of guard duty watching for U Boats. Parades, fatigues and training were carried out beginning with Reveille at 6.30 am. "During the days the boys are fully occupied with physical-jerks, parades and lectures ..." (Ingrim 1987:20). Sundays were given over to some free time along with

church parades. Censorship was practised on letters and in general full military discipline maintained.

Various diversions were arranged to alleviate the boredom and routine of the journey. Concerts were often given which included songs, sketches and recitations. Sports were also popular with such events as tug-of-war, wrestling, quoits and boxing being popular and the results of these competitions were often featured in the troopship magazines. The ceremonies involved when a ship crossed the Equator were also often mentioned in the magazines as a welcome diversion. Lectures and educational classes were also offered on many transports especially those bearing returning drafts.

Food and water were a much commented on aspect of shipboard life and the subject of many complaints. The best food was given to the officers and the diet of the "Other Ranks" was often monotonous and insubstantial e.g. shore leave at a port was often seen as a chance to obtain fresh fruit and other delicacies. Fresh water was also at a premium on the ships and many noted the difficulties of washing and shaving with sea water. The absence of beer was also a common complaint

Shore leave at a port was always an issue for the troops on these ships. "Virtually every New Zealand troopship had problems with deserters, men over-staying leave, drunkenness and riots aimed at getting the authorities to grant leave." (Boyack 1989:149). Leave was welcomed as a temporary respite from army discipline, a chance to "see the sights" and an opportunity to drink liquor. Women were also a diversion on shore leave with responses ranging from genteel conversation to the wholesale invasion of brothels. As Boyack points out, shore leave was in many ways inimical to the maintenance of discipline and led to many soldiers facing charges for offences ranging from petty vandalism to desertion.

In conclusion, life on a troopship consisted in the main of hard work, unremitting discipline, boredom, bad food, cramped living conditions and seasickness. The production of the magazines offered a welcome diversion both for those who produced them and their audience.

Part 3 - The Troopship Magazines

To cater to the imagination and desires of the variety of human nature such as is to be found on a troopship with the limited material and facilities such a life affords, is a task not generally met with in journalistic circles, and has indeed proved almost a Herculean one. ("Ourselves". *The Kiwi*, 1917:1)

The troopship magazines were produced from October 1914 until 1920. They range in character from simply printed news sheets (e.g. *The Waitomo Screecher*, 1915) to lavishly illustrated monograph sized souvenir editions (e.g. *The Roll Call*, 1916). While varying widely in format and appearance they exhibit some common characteristics and purposes. This descriptive chapter is concerned with the production of the magazines, the reasons for their existence, their distribution and types, the sort of material they contained and the styles in which they were written.

i) Production

The material for the magazines was solicited from the troops on the transport. Appeals for contributions were often initially included in the daily routine orders and then in subsequent issues of the magazine itself.

"To this end the Editor puts in a plea for everybody's help. If you come across a scrap of news ... you are seized with a longing to write a poem – well, send it to The Gunner and awake to fame the morning after publication"
(Editorial. *The Gunner*, 1914. p. 1)

These contributions would be hand written on whatever paper came to hand and deposited with the editor(s). Fair copy would be made on a typewriter, usually borrowed from the Orderly Office as these machines were rare in the New Zealand Army during World War One.

Printing was either done at sea or held over until the transport arrived at a port. The presses used on the troopships were often small devices which were used in peace time to print menus and notices. Obtaining paper and other materials was also difficult. These magazines tend to be

physically smaller and contain few, if any, illustrations compared to those which were printed ashore.

“... we had no intention of producing anything other than a small twelve or sixteen page sheet printed on the ship's small platen press. This however was found to be impracticable ...”

(Editorial. *The Crusador*, 1916. p. 1)

The sizes of the print runs of magazines published at sea were therefore limited and fewer of them have survived when compared with those printed on land. Some only survived for one issue (e.g. *The Pip*, 1914) while others ran to several (e.g. *The Willochra Wanderer*, 1916 which made five issues).

“On account of the limited supply of paper and the difficulties of printing on board ship, only 50 copies of the “Te Taniwha” have been printed.”

(Editorial. *Te Taniwha*, 1914. p. 1)

The magazines printed ashore tended to feature more refined and varied typography and a greater use of illustrations including photographs. They were often intended as souvenir compilations of the transport magazine and can run up to fifty pages (e.g. *The Roll Call*, 1916 44 pp.) These magazines were printed in Albany, Colombo, Capetown, London and New Zealand if the transport was carrying a returning draft. They often featured nominal rolls of the troops on the ship and some blank pages for autographs thus highlighting their function as souvenirs.

ii) *Reasons for production*

The magazines were produced for several reasons which were often explicitly stated in editorials. The motivations behind their production are in keeping with those outlined by Fuller (1990) and Audoin-Rouzeau (1992) in their analyses of British and French trench journalism of which the New Zealand transport magazines are a variant.

These were to provide news and gossip, alleviate boredom and so increase morale, and to provide a souvenir. These functions overlap and can often be seen at work within the space of a single poem or paragraph.

The news function of the magazines can be seen in the "War news" sections many carried. These were often based on wireless reports and are of dubious accuracy, so much so that wireless reports and war news were often spoofed.

"Today's official communique states that the Allies have captured 250 metres of Champagne and are highly elated (No wonder! 250 metres of Champagne! – enough to elate the whole army.) Reports of violent fighting between Lille and Nancy. (Perhaps we can name the sergeant to blame.)"
 ("Late War News". *The Last Post*, 1916:4)

News from New Zealand such as the formation of the National (coalition) Government of 1915, the introduction of conscription in the form of the Military Service Bill of 1916 and the Prohibition Poll of 1919 was also featured.

The magazines also provided "local" news such as profiles of any noteworthy individuals on board and gossip (e.g. "Tales out of school". *Our Ark*, 1917:23 and the various "On dit" sections present in many magazines).

The inclusion of such news and gossip functioned to decrease the isolation felt by the troops during their long voyages. Gossip and profiles also served to promote a greater sense of comradeship and *esprit de corps*.

"... we hope that the "Ventilator" will assist in strengthening the confidence and comradeship which prevails in all ranks on troopship No. 38 ..."
 (Editorial. *The Ventilator*, 1916:1)

Boredom was (and remains) a major feature of military life and perhaps nowhere more so than on the transports. Along with sports, lectures and training, the magazines offered a source of diversion which ameliorated to some extent the morale corroding ennui that was an inevitable feature of these voyages. Many editorials take great pains to point out that the magazines are designed to entertain and that any comments about individuals should be taken in a spirit of fun and diversion.

"But in all our nonsense there is no malice, no desire to hurt, and nothing that will leave any sting. If in anything that appears we have had a sly dig at any one's peculiarities or foibles, we feel sure the victim will laugh as heartily as any other of our readers."
 (Editorial. *The Crusador*, 1916:1)

The magazines were also intended as souvenirs. Most of the troops were not professional soldiers and expected to return to civilian life after the war. The magazines were often self-consciously offered as a memento of one part of their readers' lives.

"As a souvenir, this paper will be a reminder of the time spent on board and a record of the passing events, and one that, in the dim vista of the future, will conjure up recollections of this epoch in our lives."
(Editorial. *The Straggler's Echo*, 1917:1)

Another reason for the production of the magazines was that it was a tradition in the New Zealand Army that had begun with the Boer War transports. Many editorial comments refer to this tradition and the expectation that a particular reinforcement or returning draft should produce a magazine.

iii) *Types and Distribution*

The troopship magazines may be broadly divided into two types. The first group is comprised of those that were printed in several issues while the second (and larger) group is made of single issue publications. The latter were more often intended as souvenirs although this function is mentioned in editorials for multi-issue publications also. There were also some differences in terms of distribution.

The multi-issue magazines were often sold on board for a relatively nominal sum with the proceeds going to further issues or the canteen funds. *The Waitomo Screecher* (1915) sold for 6d. *D3* (1916) and *The Navua Mix-up* (1916) went for threepence. The editor of *The Willochra Wail* (1915:2) felt compelled to write in his defense:

"We recognise that the price charged for copies of the paper published on the ship is to a certain extent prohibitive; but this is necessary in order to defray expenses already incurred. It is our intention reissued ... at a very much reduced cost"

Editors encouraged their readers to take out subscriptions if possible, thus ensuring some income in advance of further production costs. As mentioned above, these were often produced in small numbers and copies were passed from hand to hand. Thus size of print runs is no real indication of actual readership.

The single issue souvenir magazines were often printed after the members of the reinforcement draft had been separated and assigned to their various frontline units. In the case of returning drafts, the troops had returned to their homes or in some cases, hospitals. This caused some distribution problems and subscribers were encouraged to forward their contact details to the editors so that they could be sent their copies.

iv) *Material*

The material submitted by the troops came in a variety of genres. They provided prose, illustrations, poetry, song lyrics and in one case, a musical score (*The Bulldog's Bark*, 1917:14). The tone of the material also ranges from the serious to the frivolous across these genres. Kent (1987:5) notes that, in the Australian troopship magazines, "... serious topics were almost always tackled in verse form." This does not apply to the New Zealand publications where prose and drawings were used as much as verse to address grave concerns such as death, discipline, duty and war.

Certain types of literary form were very common. Most magazines contain at least one if not several alphabets where phrases are arranged alphabetically in order of the first word from A to Z. These may be lists of names which mock the people involved or more general topics to do with the troopship in general.

Acrostics were also popular and these would often satirize individuals or army life such as this somewhat morbid example:

S – Sleep my pretty one, sleep.
 E – Eat a hearty breakfast.
 N – Number of firing party.
 T – Tie a bandage over his eyes.
 R – Ready! Present! Fire!
 Y – You are requested not to send flowers.
 ("Hints to young soldiers by our memorising system". *The Devon Windsail*, 1916:8)

Fictional stories, often of a sentimental nature or illustrating the absurdities of military life, were popular. Factual accounts of the journey and the ports visited are common also. Further prose contributions found in many magazines include editorials, "Letters to the editor", "On Dit" or "We are told" (gossip, rumour and friendly insults), parodies of Routine Orders, spoof literary notes, accounts of crossing the Equator, sports and concerts, Anzac Day services and war news.

Drawings and photographs are usually found in those publications which were printed on shore, due to the technical limitations of printing on the ships. These include caricatures, usually of officers or NCOs (Non Commissioned Officers), sketches of noteworthy sights from the voyage and cartoons illustrating the drolleries of military life. Photographs include scenes of ship life such as sports, concert parties, sights from the voyage such as the Panama Canal, notable individuals and various units, are often found in souvenir editions, enhancing the memento function of the publication.

Verse and song are also found in most of the magazines. The poetry ranges from the humourous ("The first meal aboard". *Tiki Talk* 1917:38, "My vaccinated arm". *The Navuan Nautilus* 1917:11) to the extremely serious ("The call". *The Waitemata Warhorse* 1916:2, "New Zealand's dead". *Epilogue*, 1920:16). Some items occur in several journals (e.g. "Rejected" in *The Monsoon*, 1916 and *The Ulma Roarer* 1916) which indicates a shared body of verse and song amongst the troops.

The songs found in the magazines are usually settings of new words to well known melodies such as hymns or popular songs of the day. These are usually satirical or extol the warlike abilities of the particular reinforcement unit. (e.g. "Song to the tune of Loveland" *The Navooan* 1916:7, "Aotearoa" *The Navuan Nautilus* 1917:4). Shipboard concerts often featured such songs. *The Willochra Wanderer* (1916) contains a supplement entitled "Ribald Rhymes" which contains fourteen such songs that were presented at concerts. "Adrift on the Briny" is set to the melody of "What a friend we have in Jesus", "Bill Massey's Army" to "The Church's one foundation" while "Memories of Table Bay" utilizes the more secular air "She's proud and she's beautiful".

A common feature of these magazines, especially those intended as souvenirs, is the inclusion of nominal rolls. This became more common as the war progressed and more effort was put into the publications. The nominal rolls list the members of the particular reinforcement or returning draft that was on the ship. They often include the name, rank and serial number of the soldiers. The crew of the ship is often included in this roll. Along with these rolls are often found blank pages set aside for autographs and contact details of people on the ships. Sometimes headed "shipmates of mine" these rolls and autograph pages emphasise the role of the publications as souvenirs and ways of maintaining comradeship, a quality important for an army's morale. As the reinforcements on the ships were split up when they arrived at the camps in Europe or the Middle East and set to frontline units piecemeal, the publications could be a means for people to stay in touch with each other in the course of their service in the army.

v) *Style and Language*

There is a variety of tones and language styles found in the troopship magazines. A full analysis of these aspects of the magazines is beyond the scope of this essay but some broad characteristics may be noted. Satire, parody and irony are juxtaposed with passages of great solemnity. There are self-consciously high flown literary styles along with bland journalism. The language ranges from the extremely formal to the colloquial. This mosaic effect is derived from the content being produced by a wide variety of individuals with differing backgrounds and abilities.

Some editors emphasised this patchwork effect by mixing different forms and styles haphazardly while others chose to place them in homogenous groups. The souvenir editions give the impression of great variety as they are usually compilations of several magazine issues. Their editors included as many contributions as possible in order to enhance their functions as keepsakes.

Mock-heroic writing is often used to deflate the absurdities of military life. A favorite technique is the use of a pseudo-Biblical style to describe the troopship's journey or some incident from it (e.g. "The story of a great journey" *The Waitemata War Horse* 1916:6, "The stranding of the Ark" *Our Ark* 1917:11). This ironic register creates a humorous effect through the use of an overly pompous tone to describe mundane matters. It is also found in much of the humorous poetry which often uses archaic ballad forms and language to satirical effect.

Parody is a favoured device in much of the humorous writing and many examples draw on the popular press of the day. "Nature notes", "Answers to correspondents" and fake advertisements often deploy the language and style of their newspaper originals to satirical effect. "Ladies Columns" are popular and capture the somewhat breathless tone and language of fashion writing to describe troopship life to humorous effect (e.g. "Ladies column" *The Roll Call* 1916:18-21, "Fashion notes" *Na-Poo Perhaps* 1918:4).

Other sources of parody include literature with the works of poets such as Tennyson, Shakespeare and Banjo Patterson being used. One notable instance of such literary parody is a sustained recreation of Samuel Pepys' Diary written as if he was a passenger on a troopship (*The Willochra Wanderer* 1916 nos. 1-5). Military language is also often parodied and turned on itself in mock Routine Orders (e.g. *Te Awapo* 1916:3).

Serious pieces on such topics as duty, discipline and the dead are written without exception in a formal and "high" style. The vocabulary often includes archaisms such as "o'er", "betwixt", "thy", "thou" and so on. The lighthearted pieces, both poetry and prose, are free with slang and the demotic of the time.

Humourous pieces often reproduce speech phonetically particularly if the speaker is Maori (This aspect is developed further in Section 5, part 5 below). This representation added to the humour and also signified the class and status of a story's characters. The effect is heightened when the rough speaking character manages to outwit his clearly socially or militarily superior protagonist. This is one of the oldest and most effective comic devices in literature and is often found in the troopship magazines.

Part 4 – Editors and Contributors

An editor who knows his business refrains as a rule from writing anything about himself. He gets clever people to write for him, and takes the credit for their brains.

("Introductory". *The "Waitemata" War Horse* 1916:1)

A full analysis of the individuals who contributed to and produced the troopship magazines is beyond the scope of the current essay. Such an undertaking would involve extensive biographical research but would be of great interest for historians of print culture in New Zealand. This section confines itself to an examination of some characteristics of the committees that produced the magazines and the contributors who provided material. It is very difficult to identify the latter as they often wrote under *noms de plume* if they provided any name at all. John A. Lee and Ormond Burton are known to have written for such periodicals as *The Chronicles of the NZEF* but these journals fall outside the scope of this essay as they are not troopship publications. The editors, printers, secretaries, sub-editors and others who produced the magazines are also often known only by initials or not at all. Despite this, some information about the individuals involved with the magazines can be gleaned.

It was usual for a committee to be established to supervise the production of a troopship magazine. This might be formally organised with a treasurer, business manager, secretary and other such functionaries (e.g. *The Willochra Wail* 1915, *The Ventilator* 1916, *Tiki Talk* 1917, *The Fag End* 1918.). In some cases there is no record of such a committee and only a few names are recorded (e.g. *The Warrimoo Washout* 1915, *Quinn's Post*, 1916, *The Mokoian*, 1917). In general, the magazines produced earlier in the war do not name individuals. *Sapper's Shrapnel* (1918:1) was unusual for its time in that it was published in 1918 and describes itself as "Edited and published by the N.C.O.'s and sappers of the 36th N.Z.E.".

In 41 of the magazines surveyed (115 titles), individuals are named as editors. The proportions of the various ranks involved are as follows:

Privates	17% (This category includes troopers and gunners).
N.C.O.s	29%
Officers	54% (4 of these officers were chaplains).

The position of editor was thus held mainly by officers and N.C.O.s which reflects the army hierarchy. It may also explain the conformist sentiments which are often expressed in editorial copy.

In the magazines surveyed, 189 individuals were named as being involved in producing the publications in some capacity such as manager, secretary, editor, printer etc. The proportions of ranks involved are as follows:

Privates	23%
N.C.O.s	44%
Officers	33% (10 of these officers were chaplains).

These proportions also reflect the structures of power held in the army. The high percentage of N.C.O.s is accounted for by the fact that they held such positions as secretary, business manager or sub-editor which are in some ways analogous to their roles in the army as daily administrators of army life.

The contributors, however, were drawn from all ranks. Where they can be identified it is the officers and N.C.O.s who tend to contribute the serious items which reinforce the conventions of army life. Those of the "PBI" (Poor Bloody Infantry as they were known) tend to be more humorous and mocking of the superior ranks and army routines. This highlights the role of the magazines as outlets for subversion for those at the bottom of the army hierarchy. Although the publications were highly controlled and censored by the army authorities, they did allow some latitude in their expression. They could be seen as an acceptable way of expressing grievances which might otherwise be nursed and erode morale.

The number of chaplains (or "sky-pilots" as the troops called them) involved in the production of the troopship magazines indicates their role in the maintenance of morale and "spiritual comfort" of the troops. They were often appointed as censors and many acted in this capacity in the publication of the magazines. Four chaplains are named as editors while the rest held various positions on the committees responsible for the publications. *Lights Out* (1917:20) contains "...an account of the work of Padres on an outward-bound transport ...". These include three Church Parades on Sundays, afternoon "sing-songs" and talks in lieu of Evening Services, providing writing and reading materials, censoring letters, arranging concerts and sports, and "... the compilation and preparation of matter for a magazine ...". That the anti-religious sentiments noted by Boyack (1989:197-9) do not appear in the troopship publications is hardly surprising considering the amount of control wielded by the Chaplains.

One notable individual involved in producing a magazine was Clutha McKenzie (1895-1966). He was blinded at Gallipoli and sent to New Zealand to recover. He sailed to Europe on the *Athenic* as part of the 27th Reinforcements to take up the editorship of the "Chronicles of the N.Z.E.F." in London. While on board he edited *Ye Ancient Athenian* of which 3,000 copies were printed. He contributed a letter to the magazine in which he asked the soldiers on board to support the "Chronicles" and which also mentioned the economics of producing a service magazine.

It is a paper which, like this present effort of ours, tries to clear the cost of publication. So far it has not managed to do so ... Moreover, I hope its editorial staff will receive contributions from the fellows who have sent articles to this paper.

("A personal letter" *Ye Ancient Athenian*. 1917:8)

After the war it was mainly due to McKenzie's lobbying that the official histories were produced (McGibbon 2000:287).



Seasick victims

Submarine alarm -
The careful man.



The exciteable man.

Lt Jones-Smythe: "And, aw! what would you say was the most effective cover you saw on the peninsula?"
ANZAC: "Well General Blanks dug out wasn't half bad ye know!"

The sleepy man



Physical drill



Sketch of the absent minded man,
who drank his gangle!

Part 5 - Content Analysis

The following section examines the content of the troopship magazines and interprets the qualitative data gathered in the coding process. It is arranged into five broad thematic sections which are further divided into aspects of these themes.

Theme 1 – Troopship life

“Cursed is he who is aboard a transport for he shall see naught and know nothing.”

(*The Willochra Wail*, 1915:4)

A major theme in the troopship literature is that of troopship life itself. The contributors to these magazines commented at length upon the shared experience. As has been described in Section 2 above, troopship life was uncomfortable, cramped and overshadowed by threat of U Boat attack. Diaries and letters, as shown by Boyack (1989) and Pugsley (1991), present a picture of discomfort, boredom and resentment. Most published accounts and memoirs tend to ignore the difficulties of shipboard life, although Archibald Baxter’s “We will not cease” (2000) is unsurprisingly frank about the voyage.

As publicly mediated documents, the magazines also present a cheerful gloss on transport life. There is little variation in the ways the soldiers wrote about the experience in their magazines. In keeping with the magazine’s intention to entertain, transport life is treated humourously. Another function of the magazines was as souvenirs both for the troops and their relatives at home. It is a commonplace of Great War historiography that there was an unbridgeable gulf between the experiences of the troops and those of civilians (Audoin-Rouzeau 1992:92-127) and the cheerful tone of the magazines is an example of how this gap was maintained. Making light of the privations of the troopships also served to preserve morale (see opposite “Unhappy moments in our daily life” *The Kiwi* 1917:9).

Clear examples of what life on a transport was like can be seen in the satires on Ship’s Standing Orders. These invert the routines of transport life and mock the routines and deprivations of shipboard life by presenting them in their opposite form.

Daily Routine

8 a.m. – Reveille (optional).

9 a.m. – Breakfast (Stew and curry barred).

9.30-10.30 – Smoko and rest.

10.30-1045 – Morning Tea (served on parade decks by ship's stewards).

10.45-12. – More smoko and quiet games. Inspection of officers' quarters by ship's orderly sergeant and corporal of the day.

12-1 p.m. – Luncheon (no onions).

1 p.m.-3 p.m. - Smoko and social talk.

3-3.15 p.m. - Afternoon tea (as per morning syllabus).

3.15-5 p.m. - Smoko some more and entertainment by officers.

5 p.m.-6 p.m. – Fresh water bath and dress for dinner.

6-8 p.m. – Dinner (limited to seven courses).

8-10 p.m. – Concert by officers and ship's crew.

10-11 p.m. – Supper.

11-12 p.m. – Cigars and nightcaps. Lights out, discretionary.

("Standing Orders" *Our Ark*. 1917:22)

This imagined life, similar to that on an ocean cruise, makes light of the food, the tiresome routine and the authority of officers. The mention of items such as stew, curry and onions indicate the monotony of the diet on the ships. This is often mentioned in the magazines in satirical terms along with laments about the lack of alcohol on board.

In the troopship, O my darling,
Think not I am growing stout.
Rations are not very huge dear,
And the beer has quite run out.
("The Trooper's Song" *The Pip* 1915:3)

Kent (1987:8) believes that there is a "... strong element of ritual in the complaints about the food, such as one finds in any school ..." in the Australian troopship magazines and this seems true of the New Zealand publications as well. The lighthearted nature of the comments about food does, however, ignore the many outbreaks of direct protest that happened on the ships. "These 'riots', 'demonstrations' and 'mutinies', as they have been variously labelled in the diaries and letters of New Zealanders, occurred on most sailings." (Pugsley 1991:16). Many of these were protests over food and were settled by the officers giving the men a hearing and then taking steps to improve the diet. The ritualistic nature of complaints about food in the magazines masks a deeper and ambiguous layer of interaction between soldiers and officers.

The major diversions on the ships consisted of concerts, sports and the rituals associated with crossing the equator which are described in the magazines in detail. They are usually reported in a straightforward manner with little satirical intent. These entertainments offered a chance to mock or settle scores with officers and other troops and the humour is often found in the items themselves, rather than the way they are reported in the magazines.

The concerts consisted of recitations, sketches, speeches and musical items. The music and songs of the New Zealand Army in the First World War await investigation and a full analysis is beyond the scope of this study.

In the main, the songs consisted of popular tunes of the day such as "He won't be happy till he gets her", "I want a girl from Sydney Town" and "Mother of mine". A popular practice was to set topical words to familiar melodies. These might describe incidents during the voyage or mention individuals. The following words were set to "The long, long trail" a song popular in the British and Dominion armies during the war.

There's a long, long trail a-winding
Round the hill at Table Top.
Where the motors went honk, honking
And the corks went off pop, pop.
But the long, long night was ending,
As we made our homeward tack.
We could hear the barmaids calling,
"Come back, Anzac, come back".
("More whispers" *Ribald Rhymes* 1916:8)

The reports in the magazines provide names of the entertainers and sometimes commented on the success or otherwise of their efforts. As the war progressed, the Y.M.C.A. became more prominent in army life. Members of this organisation often instigated and assisted with these concerts. The magazines published later in the war sometimes feature photographs of the costume parties and "Pierrot" sketches that were part of the concerts. Female impersonation was often a major part of these concerts and magazine reports often comment on the charms or otherwise of the impersonators.

The resources allocated for troop entertainment increased as their value in sustaining morale was realised. As R.C. comments in *Te Awapo* (1917:2) "A ship without a musical programme is like a dog without a tail. All happy ships own a sing-song party of some sort." The

importance of these concerts on the troopships is remarked by C.M.C. in a concert review.

Life on board a transport does not permit of much change, and amusements of any kind are therefore more than ordinarily welcome. There are many of our number who will entertain very pleasant recollections of those moonlit evenings when we were regaled with song and music and forgot, for a time, the sterner phases of our life. ("Our concerts" *The Link*. 1918:6)

The importance of sports for the troops was recognised from the start of the war. The men on the ships were typical of their time in that most of them were very interested in sports, especially rugby. According to one officer " ... most of our men would sell their souls for football [Rugby]." (Weston 1918:252). The importance of sport for the male culture of New Zealand of the time has been noted by Phillips (1996). Sporting prowess supported notions of manliness and national pride. The associations of sport with military ability were often made and it was a source of pride to many in the New Zealand army in World War One that their rugby team saw off all challengers.

The lack of space on the transports precluded such games as rugby but many other sports were keenly followed and reported in the magazines. Boxing matches, wrestling, Tug-'o-War, obstacle races, potato races, quoits and chess are just some of the sporting events that were organised on the ships. Of these boxing was the most popular and received the most attention in the magazines with detailed reports of the bouts being printed and the winners' names carefully recorded (*The Crusador* 1916:14-15, *The Ulima Roarer* 1916:4, *Te Kiwi* 1917:7-8, *Ye Olde Lyste* 1919:13-16). The following extract shows the interest in boxing as well as the mock-Biblical style in which many journey accounts were written. The adjective "British" indicates to some extent the way in which these troops saw themselves even at the end of the war.

That the tedium of the voyage might be lessened to the warriors were there set up several Committees of Sports, and great was the entertainment resulting therefrom. For upon the centre hatch arose a boxing ring and soon the sport dear to British hearts the world over did wax fast and furious therein, and many and bloody were the bouts and difficult the task of the judges.

("The Nautical Antics of the Naughty 39ths" *Lights Out*. 1918:13)

Sport provided exercise and entertainment for the troops on the transports. Officers took part in these diversions as organisers and as participants. The reports of the sporting events mention the enthusiastic interest taken in them and the entertainment they provided. With such

events as blind boxing and pillow fighting, the emphasis of these events was on entertainment.

A welcome break in the monotony of the voyage was afforded by a sports gathering ... Intense interest was manifested by the men and the officers themselves took as active participation in the various events ... an immense amount of amusement was derived therefrom.
 ("Sports at sea" *The Navuan Nautilus*, 1917:12)

The significance of sport for the troops can be seen in the often lengthy reports included in the magazines. The articles often run to two or three pages and are meticulous in their accounts of the activities and participants. Fuller (1991:94) summarises the importance of sport in the British and Dominion armies of the period as "... an affirmation of community, an area of some autonomy ... an opportunity for a sort of creativity, and a displacement of real anxiety ...". The reporting of sport in the magazines highlights the importance of these factors for the troopship participants and is an index of these communities' real interest in sport.

One aspect of troopship life that is well reported in the magazines is the ancient nautical tradition of "Crossing the line". When a ship crosses the Equator it is traditional for a kind of Saturnalia to occur. The ship's lower ranks dress up as King Neptune and His Court, hold mock trials of their superiors and ritually humiliate them with a shaving ceremony and a ducking in specially constructed tanks (Henningsen 1961:52-60). This temporary reversal of roles acts as an instrument of humour and entertainment as well as a means of subversion.

The troopship magazines often have reports of these ceremonies and the charges which were laid against the officers. *The Magazine of the Sixth Reinforcements* (1915:18-19) devotes two pages to this mock court and reports the punishments meted out to the officer with glee. Major Morrison was charged with forbidding leave, Captain Faris with not issuing rum, Canteen Lieutenant McKnight with not keeping cigarettes and beer and so on. The dousing of three military policemen attracted particular notice as did the escape of three Red Cross sisters. The report concludes with "The afternoon proved a real enjoyment to all and the principal performers deserve every thanks for their efforts."

A report in *The Roll Call* (1916:22) mentions further charges against officers which indicates the nature of these ceremonies. "Lieut. Potter ... of being seen on deck unaccompanied by a nurse ... Padre Watson (censor) with reading other people's letters ... Lieut. Cook was arraigned for failing to attend a daylight parade at Cape Town. The subtle meanings underlying these charges are some of the treasures of our voyage." This

last phrase indicates the souvenir function of the magazines. The in-jokes and cliquey references of the troops confined to the ships are preserved here for the reader to return to in later years. The subversive nature of this mock-court is best captured in this report's final paragraph: "Charges were also preferred against several N.C.O's and men, but the vulgar crowd much preferred seeing an Officer being lathered and shaved than have one of the rank and file have such an indignity thrust upon him."

Such ceremonies promoted community cohesion and morale on the ships. The jokes and situations behind the mock charges were known to those troops and the willingness of the officers to participate drove down barriers, even if only briefly. The records of them in the magazines show once again the role of these publications in enhancing morale and providing a souvenir unique to the individuals who were aboard the ships.

Much of the material in the magazines concerns the quotidian round of troopship life. In-jokes, references to individuals and their doings or foibles, and accounts of public events such as sport events and concerts fill their pages. They bring a cheerful and lighthearted tone to the conditions and routines on the transports which were uncomfortable and demanding. In this, they fulfill the functions so many of them claim in their editorials: to provide entertainment, support morale and act as a souvenir of a unique time in the lives of the men and women who were carried on the troopships.

Theme 2 – Army life

Who takes us from our happy home,
And forces us afar to roam,
Across the beastly ocean's foam?
The Army.
("The Army" *Ye Ancient Athenian* 1917:4)

The soldiers on the troopships were not professional or career soldiers. They were civilians who had entered army life for the war. For many of them the rigorous discipline and routines of army life were new experiences and they reacted in a variety of ways, many of which are reflected in the magazines. They reflect viewpoints which range from acceptance of the normative strictures of the army to rejection. This rejection is found in the use of humour and satire in the magazines as an outlet for the frustrations and annoyances that arose when civilians found themselves compelled to follow orders and endure harsh and often arbitrary discipline.

Boyack (1989) and Pugsley (1991) have described and analysed these reactions through official records, diaries and letters. Boyack, in particular, stresses the anti-authoritarian, ill-disciplined and criminal aspects of the soldiers' experiences. The troopship magazines are official publications in the sense that they fell under army censorship and were produced in the main by authority figures such as officers and N.C.O.s. They contain complaints and express frustrations about the writers' situations through humour. In allowing the magazines to be published, the army authorities in effect provided a kind of safety valve which allowed soldiers to express their views and feelings without undermining the hierarchy and discipline required in the army.

This section examines the ways in which the soldiers expressed themselves about army life within the magazines. It concentrates on the themes of discipline, rank and censorship.

i) Discipline

Discipline is an important part of army life. It is "... the means by which control and order are exercised over members of the armed forces, ... the basis of effective military organisation. It serves to maintain law and order ..." (MacGibbon 2000:146). The soldiers on the troopship were civilians who had completed several months or less of basic training before being sent overseas. They were transported in cramped, overloaded ships where their days were filled with monotonous routines. The maintenance of discipline under these conditions and with this human material became an important issue for the army authorities.

Several of the magazines reflect this by including serious pieces about the need for discipline and its importance in the lives of soldiers. The Editorial of *The Pip* (1915:1) states: "First and foremost we are proud of the good discipline that has been maintained ... strict discipline is essential ...". *The Warrimoo Wash-Out* (1915:3) contains the text of a letter from the officer commanding the 7th Reinforcements congratulating the men for the good behaviour when on shore leave in Freemantle. The issue was still treated seriously in 1918 in a Returning Draft's magazine.

As long as we can escape some irritating duty, or ignore some little detail ... we are quite happy ... but what a petty, mean way of looking at life. Instead, if we could but see the other side of the question, and realise Jones and Brown doing their duty are, after all, the truest type of patriot."
 ("True discipline" *The Search Light* 1918:1)

This passage must be seen in the light of the near mutinies of 1918 and 1919 when New Zealand soldiers believed the demobilisation process was being held up. Pugsley (1991:293) notes that the return voyages to New Zealand were "...marked by impatience and frustration." With the war over and many men travelling home with their English brides it became difficult to maintain military discipline.

Many humorous references are made to "being on the mat" i.e. appearing on charges before an officer for offences that might range from having an undone button on parade to assault (see opposite "The Major reads the King's Regulations" *The Gunner* 1914:6). The penalties ranged from extra fatigues to a spell in the "clink" or brig.

Each morn we rise, assisted with a curse,
Threatened with clink and oft-times worse
By that hardfaced, ancient stranger,
H Company's Sergeant-Major.
("A Private's Execration" *Ye Ancient Athenian* 1917:10)

Spoofs of "Standing Orders" inevitably grant the privates a life of freedom and leisure while the N.C.O.s and officers are forced to act as their servants. This is a reversal of the normal relationships and activities that prevailed on the ships.

The troopship magazines are strewn with such satirical subversions of the idea and practice of discipline. The writings act as a defence mechanism against the often irrational and unpredictable ways in which army discipline was enforced on its unwilling victims. At the same time the magazines' function as authorised publications' subject to military censorship and control exhibit, the limits to which such opposition could be taken. They are a counterpoint to the serious pieces in the magazines which reinforce the idea of discipline as a patriotic duty. Complaining about army life, or "grousing", is a time-honoured way of venting frustration within the armed forces. It was ignored by the authorities because it was an institutionalised and ritualised means of releasing annoyance which might otherwise escalate into open dissent.

This happened on many occasions in the New Zealand Army during the Great War, as noted by Boyack. In those instances, the troops formed delegations to approach their officers, refused orders or went on drunken sprees. The texts concerning discipline in the magazines are actually assisting in its maintenance by making light of it. They are a long way

from mutiny or the kinds of sentiments found in the more militant French trench journalism discussed by Audoin-Rouzeau (1992).

ii) Rank

Army life is a matter of hierarchies. The officers are a minority who wield absolute power. Below them are the more numerous N.C.O.s who enforce this power and carry out its demands. The majority of the army is constituted by those who have no rank as such. They are the privates, troopers or gunners. They are at the complete control of those who outrank them and must follow orders without question and show due respect to those of superior rank.

This hierarchy can be difficult to impose on an army quickly assembled from civilians as New Zealand's was during the Great War. Equality is a fundamental part of the New Zealand male ethos (Phillips 1996) and the troopship magazines reflect an ambiguity about the notion that rank automatically entitles a person to respect. This is part of the notion of discipline but is important in its own right as it touches on one of the reasons why the war was fought. It was partly seen as a struggle against Prussian militarism which embodied the idea that rank is the ultimate criteria of worth. The ironic sobriquet "Our democratic army" found in the magazines is an acknowledgement of the difference between a civilian army created in time of emergency and a well disciplined and maintained standing army such as those found in Europe. This, in turn, indicates the perception that New Zealand's democracy was quite different from Germany's regime and worth preserving.

As with discipline, the notion of rank is made light of in various ways. Many magazines contain passages which mock the foibles or characteristics of their leaders (*Sapper's Shrapnel* 1916, *Tiki Talk* 1917, *Ye Ancient Athenian* 1917). These occur in a variety of forms from poetry to alphabets and prose descriptions. The observations made are of such things as moustaches, baldness, the loudness of a Sergeant's voice, popularity with women and eating habits. They have the ritualised quality of insults found in schools or other such institutions. The tone is affectionate and praise is often offered. Harsh criticism of abilities is absent which is not surprising considering the intent of the magazines to offer lighthearted diversion, the climate of pervasive censorship and the preponderance of N.C.O.s and officers involved in producing the publications.

New Zealanders were famous for their relaxed attitude to officers in terms of forms of address and saluting. "The New Zealanders believed it was servile to salute someone who had not earned respect and prided themselves on their reluctance to salute ..." (Boyack 1989:194).

The constant reminders about saluting in Routine Orders are proof of this tendency. The magazines contain many anecdotes, probably apocryphal, which show this tendency to ignore formality.

Distinguished General (visiting Sling Camp after arrival of 24ths) to private on guard: I wish to see Major Finnis.

Private (poking his head inside door of hut): Say Finnis, here's a bloke wants to see yer.

("Our democratic army" *The Bulldog's Bark* 1917:21)

Jokes and anecdotes abound which show a wily private outwitting an officer while staying within the bounds of acceptable respect. The non-ranker's advantage is in the wit of a reply or the literal interpretation of a question or order.

Officer of the Watch: "What would you do in case of fire, sentry?"

Sentry: "If it was a small fire, sir, I'd try to put it out."

Officer: "Oh! And what would happen if it was a big fire?"

Sentry: The ship would probably burn down, sir!"

("Funny isn't it?" *The Link* 1918:10)

Scene in *Zealandic* dental room.

(Private in chair, undergoing examination.)

Captain: "Your teeth are in a filthy condition, my man. Have you no toothbrush?"

Private: "No!"

Captain: No what?"

Private: No toothbrush!"

(*The Parting of the Ways* 1918:15)

The above joke is also found in *Ye Ancient Athenian* (1917:13) which indicates a shared body of jokes and anecdotes drawn on in the making of the magazines. As in any organisation, there was a large body of cliched stories which were circulated. There are more such items in the later magazines which indicates the larger numbers of soldiers made familiar with them as recruitment increased. Many of these would have been common to the Allied armies and contact with British and Dominion forces in the battle zones allowed them to be taken up by New Zealanders. Swapping such hoary and cliched jests not only made light of rank and army life in general but also increased cohesiveness by making the tellers and hearers part of a community with a shared culture.

The references to rank in the troopship magazines indicate their role in shaping a sense of community and pride. The publishing of the mockery showed the senior ranks could take a joke which in turn was sign of their "whiteness" or quality as men. Thus they could be respected not as

officers but because they were "good blokes", a very important concept in male culture of the time.

iii) *Censorship*

The aspect of army life and military control mentioned most often in the magazines is that of censorship. Military censorship of letters and parcels was designed to suppress information which might be of use to the enemy or lower morale. Letters were passed on to officers unsealed and they struck out any passages which they deemed to compromise security before sealing them and sending them on. Soldiers believed that all their letters were censored but only a minority were. This led to much self censorship (Boyack 1989:65).

The troopship magazines were also subject to censorship and most of them contain material which mocks the absurdities of the system. This can be seen in many of the magazine titles. It was forbidden to mention ship's names and they were officially known by numbers. Many titles contained the name of the ship e.g. *The Tahiti Times* (1914) produced on the *Tahiti*, *The Willochra Wail* (1915) produced on the *Willochra*, *The Navua Mix-Up* (1916) produced on the *Navua*, *The Ancient Athenian* (1917) produced on the *Athenic* and so on. Acrostics might be used to give away the name of a ship. Such flouting of authority was ignored by the hierarchy, due to the benefits the magazines were thought to provide.

The magazines were subject to a large degree of self-censorship because of the numbers of officers involved in their production. The trench journalism of the British Army was "... allowed considerable freedom to speak outside matters of military intelligence." (Fuller 1991 p. 20) and the same applies to the troopship publications. Stringent censorship would have detracted from their roles in reinforcing morale and maintaining unit cohesion.

Censorship was felt most keenly by soldiers as their privacy was violated in the name of military security. Their letters to wives and families were read by strangers who also had complete control over their lives. This intrusion into an area of life which was held to be semi-sacred in civilian life aroused many comments from the new soldiers of the 1st N.Z.E.F.

These comments were expressed in the form of poems, mock letters and selections from letters supposedly excised by the censor highlighting the absurdities of the system.

The Censor reports that a good deal of misunderstanding exists regarding information contained in letters. He asks us to publish samples of passages which were struck out, and gives the reason for so doing:

<i>Matter Expunged</i>	<i>Reason</i>
I love you, Susie, with all the strength of an affectionate disposition.	Information regarding dispositions of troops Not to be given.
If you don't leave my Missus alone I'll break your head when I get back.	Future movements of troops not to be disclosed.
Cannon to the right of us, Cannon to the left of us, Cannon in front of us. (<i>The Blast</i> 1917:12)	Must not betray position of Artillery.

Such examples abound in the magazines from those produced by the Main Body in 1914 to the last Reinforcements of 1918. Not all of this commentary dwelt on the bad aspects of censorship. The final stanza of "The Censor" (*The Fag End* 1918:28) points out the advantages:

Who is a blessing in disguise?
The Censor!
A good excuse unto our wives?
The Censor!
When writing home becomes a strain –
Forget about it all, and blame –
The Censor!

Censorship symbolised the complete control the army had over soldiers and was an inescapable fact of military life. Dealing with this intrusive surveillance of privacy in a humourous manner lightens it and makes what would be unacceptable in civilian life become tolerable in the army experience. By mocking censorship while still operating within its bounds, the troopship magazines display a wide ranging freedom of commentary on army life.

The treatment of army life in the troopship magazines reflects many of the functions they were intended to fulfill while at the same time their treatment of these topics seems to undercut the order and discipline on which the army was founded. In fact, the satire and grouching found in the magazines acts as an acceptable way of expressing frustrations and

grievances. The pervasive lighthearted tone undercuts the very serious issues such as discipline, hierarchy and censorship which were intrusive and often humiliating novelties to the civilian soldiers of the New Zealand Army in World War One. Serious problems were dealt with by the troops in their own ways such as strikes, drunkenness and rioting. The magazines act as acceptable and self-policed ways of expressing subversion and resistance to the strictures of military life.

Theme 3 – Attitudes to war

I do not wish for glory or renown – this is my only wish –
 A safe return to those I revere and love.
 I was not moulded for a soldier's lot, but hearing now
 The victim's call, have answered – For hearth and race and liberty.
 ("The Call" *The Waitemata War Horse* 1916:2)

Within a week of war being declared to a cheering crowd in Wellington, 14,000 men had volunteered. The war was greeted with great enthusiasm although this ebbed over the next four years and some groups such as Socialists, unionists, some Maori and various religious groups resisted it consistently. The application of conscription in the form of the Military Services Act of 1916 highlighted the shortages in manpower caused by the voluntary system. The war had been transformed from the "Great Adventure" into an arduous duty to be avoided if possible (Baker 1988:46-52). Volunteers were a minority (38%) of eligible men of military age. "Their diaries and letters show that those who enlisted in 1914-15 were enthusiastic and keen, while many of those who enlisted after 1915 were either conscripted or motivated by a reluctant feeling that it was their duty to go." (Boyack 1989:6).

This reluctance is not found in the troopship magazines but a more complex attitude to the war does emerge over the period covered, especially in connection with combat experience. The texts in the publications discuss the reasons for the war and the consequences of its costs within officially prescribed limits which are determined by censorship. This section examines the ways in which the magazines dealt with the reasons for the war, its human cost and combat. It must be remembered that the transports after 1915 contained soldiers who had seen combat and were returning, along with the majority who had not. The Returning Drafts of 1918-1920 were veterans. These differences of experience shape the various responses to the war.

i) *Reasons for war*

There are as many reasons for going to war as there are individuals who go but some common reasons may be discussed. These are often found in the troopship magazines. Poetry is usually the mode in which sentiments such as patriotism, duty and sacrifice are expressed. Verse allows a rhetorical distancing which is conducive to the expression of such sentiments. The righteousness of the cause is often emphasised. Sacrifice is another common idea and the idea of each "individual doing their bit". After the Gallipoli campaign of 1915 the "Anzac ideal" is consciously evoked as an incentive.

We love our King and country and the freedom of the law,
And go to their assistance the way we've done before;
We owe them our existence from where our fathers came,
And we'll fight like men of Anzac to uphold our father's name.
(*"The men of Anzac"* *The Bulldog's Bark* 1917:9)

Many such examples in the magazines express similar sentiments. The idea of fighting for England is notable and common which complicates the "birth of nationalism at Chunuk Bair" thesis expounded by Pugsley (1990).

Excoriation of the Kaiser and things Germanic was common during the Great War. The theme of "Hunnish frightfulness" was fed by a sophisticated and successful British propaganda campaign (Sanders & Taylor 1982) and Germans in New Zealand were harried and persecuted (Baker 1988:26). Such sentiments are often found in the troopship magazines.

Some of this is in a lighthearted vein and makes fun of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, or "Big Willie" and "Little Willie" as they were termed. Most of it is serious and lays the blame for the war on the Kaiser. He is generally consigned to Hell (e.g. "When we go marching into Germany" *The Ulma Roarer* 1916:5, "The Kaiser's Fall" *Our Ark* 1917:10). An interesting example of such anti-German sentiment is found in the magazine of a returning draft of troops who had been part of the occupation army in Germany.

Roll on, Rhine! Roll on!
 Empty thy sullied fame into the sea.
 Hang low thy head because of the stain
 O'er shadowing thy brow
 Caused by thy country-men
 Foes of the civilized world,
 Thou river of scenic beauty!

...

Our work is done. We leave this Fatherland of thine
 Leave thy banks and world-famed spans
 For the fern clad slopes of our own peerless Wanganui.
 ("J'accuse!" *Homeward Bound* 1919:32)

The claims of German *Kultur* are here undercut by the actions of the Germans in the war and the "peerless Wanganui" is preferred to the Rhine. The Old World of Europe has been an experience of carnage and horror for the New Zealand soldiers whereas home remains "fern clad" and untouched by war.

The motivation to go and fight is often expressed in terms of duty and contrasted with "slacking". The few references to Conscientious Objectors are scathing. *The Ionicall Magazine* (1918:48) contains an approving story about violence offered to Objectors who were forced to work in France. A poem in *The Fag End* (1918:20) describes a wounded Australian's bitter reaction to his country's rejection of conscription.

The serious pieces about war often talk of the need for all to do their duty and avoid any shirking. The poem "Rejected" occurs in two magazines (*The Ulima Roarer* 1916:7, *The Monsoon* 1916:7) and describes the frustration felt by a man who has been rejected as medically unfit. It illustrates the attitude to shirking but also invokes the notion of "mateship" which was an important part of morale and unit cohesiveness; "... mateship was everything if one was to survive ..." (Pugsley 1991:105). It was an important element of civilian male culture (Phillips 1996) and is offered as a common motive for going to war.

I went straight along and sez I'd lend a hand.
 I couldn't go on workin' bein' afraid they'd say I was shirkin',
 While me mates are showin' the way to Kingdom Come,

...

Aw, it's not becos I'm sighin' for a mighty way of dyin',
 Or a medal or a pit in German loam,
 It's becos I hear 'em callin, seem to see me cobbbers fallin',
 An' me - I'm Jonah, for I've got to stay at 'ome.

The phonetic, demotic language adds to the pathos as it represents the voice of an "average bloke" who wanted to be with his mates and do his bit.

The church is enlisted on the side of the struggle very rarely in the troopship magazines. Rev. F. D. Briscoe wrote in "When war is righteous: A sermonette worth reading" (*Te Karere* 1917:26);

But is not war, in its judicial aspect, but capital punishment on a large scale? The same state which takes up the sword to protect itself from the murderer at home, may also wield the sword against the oppressor, the tyrant, the murderer abroad, and claim in so doing to wield the Almighty vengeance of God.

Such sentiments seem out of place in the magazines which were designed for entertainment and usually contain lighthearted material. They do, however, represent part of the official discourse of the time concerning the justice of the war. It is this official discourse which is found in the magazines when the war is discussed.

ii) *The cost - Memorial texts*

Of the 100,000 New Zealand men and women sent overseas by November 1918, 18,000 were killed, 12,000 of these in France. The impact of war came to New Zealand relatively late compared to the European combatants after the 1915 Gallipoli campaign where nearly 3,000 men died. References to the dead are few in the earlier magazines and become more common in later years. They are especially common in souvenir editions of the magazines which adds a sombre layer to their function as mementos. It is not only the amusing incidents, the comradeship and the exotic sights that are being remembered. As private keepsakes the magazines preserve the memory of the dead in the way that public memorials do on such occasions as Anzac Day. That is they act as "...foci of the rituals, rhetoric and ceremonies of bereavement." (Winter 1995:78).

The "rightness of the cause", the nobility of their sacrifice and the need to remember the dead is often stressed which is common in memorial discourse (Maclean & Phillips 1990). This is an attempt by the living to make the deaths meaningful in some degree. The texts in the troopship magazines often emphasise the distances that New Zealand troops traveled to take part in the war. In this, they echo the line found on many New Zealand memorials "From the uttermost ends of the Earth".

Scattered in many a foreign field they lie
 'Mid earth rent battlefield with poppies starred,
 Red coloured for the blood which ran unbarred
 By aught of selfish thought – for all their cry
 Was but of liberty – none blenched to die.
 ("New Zealand's dead" *Epilogue* 1920:16)

Most of these texts are in the form of poems which are traditional in form and style. Their tone is serious and often high flown with very formal diction. Winter (1995) has argued that the language of mourning and memory during and after World War One used traditional tropes, styles and forms as opposed to the more radical "Modernist rupture" idea propounded by Fussell (1975) and Eksteins (1989). The latter writers are more concerned with "high art" rather than the sort of popular culture found in the magazines but Winter's thesis is supported by the troopship magazines' memorial texts.

The dead of Gallipoli figure in several poems and are significant as the casualties of this campaign were the first to bring home the human cost of the war to New Zealanders. Despite being a military defeat, Gallipoli became a potent symbol of heroism and sacrifice even before the first Anzac Day ceremonies in 1916. The dead of Gallipoli were held up as

examples of sacrifice and nobility that should inspire those who remain.

iii) *Combat*

Few of the soldiers on the troopships (with the exceptions of the Returning Drafts) had any experience of combat. The magazines they produced have little to say about this area of military experience which is in some ways the defining purpose of a soldier's existence. This was true of the trench journalism of other armies; "... this theme of combat occupies only very limited space in soldiers' writings." (Audoin-Rouseau 1992:75). This is perhaps due to the indescribable nature of many of their experiences, a desire to put such memories behind them and, obviously, a lack of such experiences on the part of many of those who wrote for the magazines.

This is in contrast to a publication such as the *Chronicles of the N.Z.E.F.* which often featured long and detailed descriptions of battles such as Messines and Passchendaele. The contrast highlights the function of the troopship magazines as souvenirs rather than news organs.

Where the magazines do touch on combat, they tend to highlight the amusing aspects of it. "Anzac anecdotes" (*Te Kiwi* 1917:11) is a typical example and has a selection of stories from the frontline which tend to concentrate on the comical side of being lice-ridden. However, another register is found in "The Sunday hate: A night in the trenches" (*The Fag End* 1918:24). This is a description of a typical night in the trenches which avoids the comic and gives some idea of the tensions and dangers of the frontline in descriptive prose. It reads in a similar way to the many travel pieces that fill the magazines and is written in a self-consciously literary style.

The omission of texts about combat from the magazines is an indication of their intended roles. As morale boosters, they would gain little from being filled with descriptions of carnage and as souvenirs to be kept in peace time, they tended to concentrate on humour and pathos rather than on the ghastliness of the trenches. This would also account for the lack of such writings in the magazines produced by returning drafts who had been in combat.

The treatment of war in the troopship magazines is shaped by their intended roles and the ways in which official discourse permeates them on certain topics. The reasons for joining and fighting the war are presented in terms of patriotism and duty. The dead are honoured in traditional ways and their deaths given meaning by stressing the righteousness of the cause for which they fell. The terrifying, grisly and irrational aspects of combat are omitted and the humorous and positive emphasised. There is no room for subversion of these modes or tropes in

these public documents as there is for other aspects of troopship life. Such undermining would question the reasons for the war and the human cost involved. This type of public interrogation of the war was almost impossible in civilian life, as witnessed by the persecution of Conscientious Objectors and others who expressed doubts about the war. In the censored, hierarchical and minutely regulated life of the army, such public questioning would have been tantamount to mutiny and the full force of authority would have been brought to bear on it.

Theme 4 – National identity

Some may pay the cost supreme
For valour and for right,
But New Zealanders are proud to be
Fighting for England's rights.
("The Soldiers from Maoriland" *Te Kiwi*:20)

There is much controversy over the genesis of nationalism and national identity in New Zealand. The Great War has been seen by many as a significant passage in the development of these ideas. There are, however, a range of responses to this idea. Some locate Gallipoli at the heart of the origins of New Zealand national identity; "This was when we began to think for ourselves and for the first time to put New Zealand's interests first." (Pugsley 1998:357). Others take a more minimalist approach which acknowledges the conflict's importance while placing it in a developmental context; "Like the South African War, but more so, the First World War was a powerful stimulus to national feeling." (Sinclair 1986:170). A full account of the development of national feeling in the New Zealand army during the war is beyond this study but the troopship magazines present texts about attitudes to England, Empire and New Zealand that are of interest for the debate on the origins of nationalism and national identity in this period.

Many of these texts could be seen as propaganda about the value of England and Empire. The troopship magazines themselves could also be said to constitute propaganda. They were certainly subject to censorship and depended on the co-operation of authority figures such as officers, chaplains, the Ship's officers and Y.M.C.A. representatives. Within these bounds, their writers have freedom to express a wide range of responses to their experiences. The lack of such freedom when writing about "England", "Empire" or "The Dead" (see Sec. 2 above) allows official discourse to dominate these themes.

i) *England*

As the "Mother Country", England was highly regarded in European New Zealand culture at this time. The ties linking the countries were economic, political, cultural and genealogical. As one of Britannia's dutiful daughters, Zealandia (the feminine personification of New Zealand) looked to London for guidance in most matters and automatically became involved with Britain's declaration of war.

The war produced an ambiguity in this feeling as evidenced by the many writers who have commented on the New Zealand attitude to English troops. The mistakes of Gallipoli were blamed on English blundering and subsequent experiences such as the Battle of Passchendaele, strengthened the idea that the English military was a class-ridden, bungling institution. The soldiers who spent leave in England also had mixed reactions to "Blighty". "The New Zealanders found the British excessively class conscious and the environment depressing." (Boyack 1989:99).

If so, none of this found its way into the troopship magazines. References to England are positive and reflect the permeation of these publications by official discourse. This is particularly notable in the later magazines especially those published by returning drafts, many of which bid a fond farewell to England. These sentiments of attachment to Britain are usually expressed in verse as the preferred literary form in these publications for grave or serious ideas.

The phrase "Mother country" is common, along with similar phrases which use familial imagery to describe the relationship between England and New Zealand.

Farewell, shores of England,
My dear sweet motherland,
...
Oh, home of all my fondness,
God speed thee now, goodbye.
("Farewell, shores of England" *The Search Light* 1918:5)

This imagery also expresses the many family links that existed. Figures are not available for the New Zealand Division but 14.9% of the Main Body were born in Great Britain. The figure was 20.5% for the eligible men in New Zealand at October 1915 (Baker 1988:241). Thus many of the soldiers had relatives in Great Britain and diaries and letters often contain accounts of these visits.

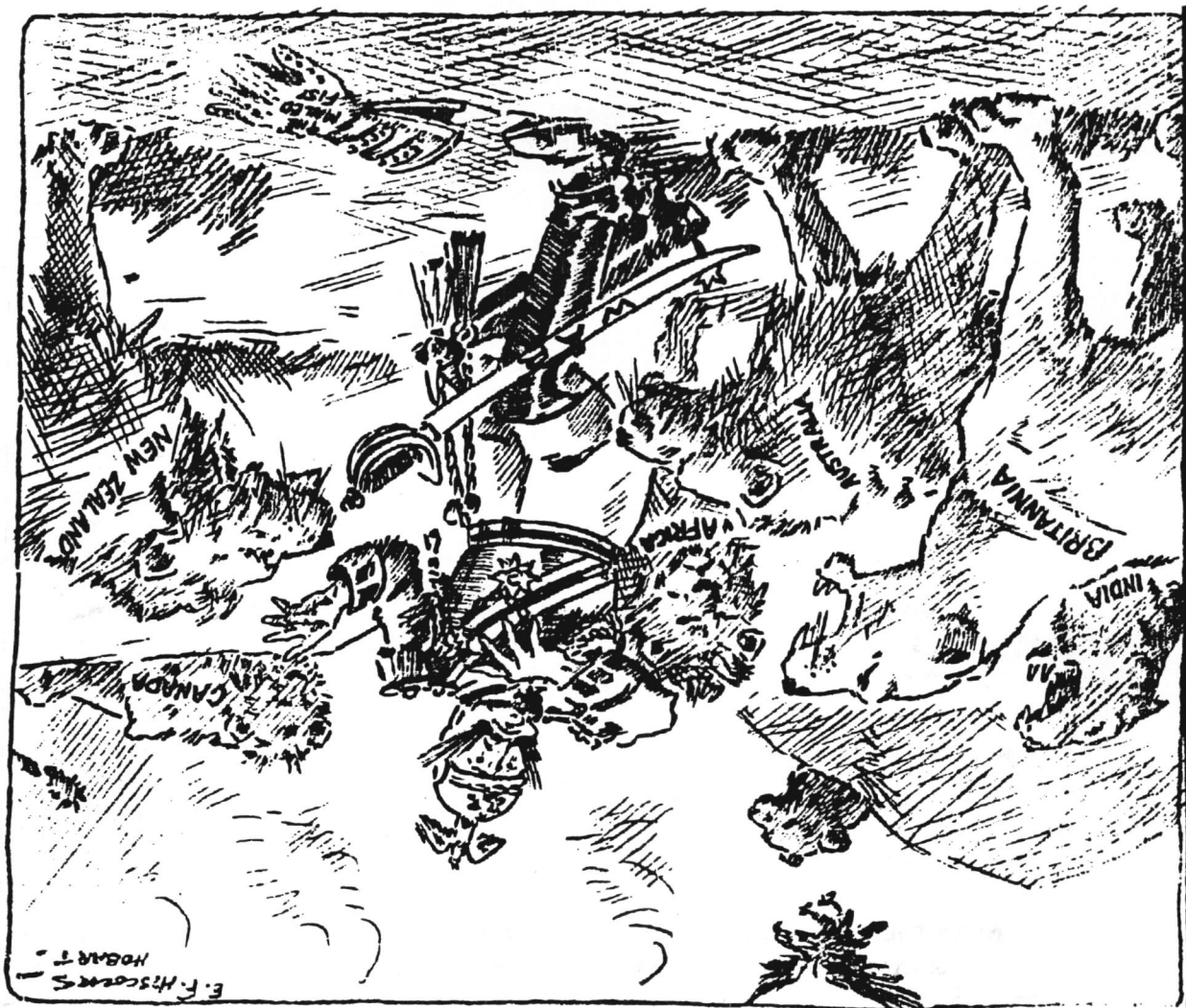
As an exhortation to combat, England is often invoked. The war is expressed as a defense of "England's rights" or as being fought for "England's sake" (*The Navooan* 1916 p.7). England's defence is written as a patriotic duty. These poems express the idea that England's wars are New Zealand's wars. This viewpoint was little opposed in New Zealand at this time and functioned as a powerful incentive to join up.

It could be said that these poems have propaganda value. They are produced by soldiers and printed in officially sanctioned and censored publications. Their value as propaganda lies in that they are the productions of ordinary soldiers. The troops had a derisive attitude to propaganda which appeared in newspapers and other official outlets (Boyack 1989:195-197) but the same sentiments might be treated more seriously when coming from one of their own. It is also possible that the somewhat overblown and grandiose sentiments of the texts about fighting for England were greeted with derision. They certainly seem out of place to some extent in publications which are meant to offer light diversion and the preservation of happy memories.

Along with these propaganda pieces which invoke common ideals and ideas, there are texts which contain more personal responses to England. Through visiting relatives, convalescing or taking leave, New Zealand soldiers often spent some weeks or months in the "Home Country" and the responses in the magazines were positive. The landscape, architecture and people are praised. A detailed shared knowledge is assumed in "Farewell to London" (*Homeward Bound* 1919:13) where a "sentimental digger" mentions 19 different London suburbs in connection with women of his acquaintance. This lighthearted poem, as well as being a traditional male boast, is also a nostalgia evoking a list of places where its readers would have spent pleasant times. Even a hospital was a better place than the front line and "Blighties" (wounds which required treatment in England) were usually greeted with some joy by the victim and some envy on the part of his fellows (*Shell shocks* 1919:15). These poems evoking England are thus clearly part of the role of the magazines as souvenirs.

ii) *Empire*

The notion of belonging to the English Empire was important to many New Zealanders at the time (Sinclair 1986:94-108). It is a more abstract idea than those associated with England or New Zealand as it involves a sense of belonging to an invisible yet powerful union. Whereas individual countries can be experienced in reality, "Empire" itself remains more of an idea or feeling than a physical entity. There are fewer references to the Empire in the magazines than to New Zealand or England.



The Gunner

The references to the Empire in the troopship magazines are in serious contexts. Poetry is the usual medium and the context is usually that of justifying the war and invoking ideals of duty. These pieces reflect official discourse and have propaganda value.

A common image is evoked by a drawing in *The Gunner* (1914:[8]) entitled "A Modern Daniel" (see opposite). It shows the Kaiser surrounded by lions each one of which is named for a country of the Empire. He drops a sword inscribed "war" and "The Mailed Fist" gloves as he cowers. The pride of "Imperial lions" has vanquished the foe. This type of imagery emphasises the collective and supportive nature of the Empire which, in turn, reinforces its value as an ideal worth fighting for. There is no dissent in the troopship magazines about this ideal. It is not parodied or mocked as other aspects of the war are. This official discourse is supported by the nature of the magazines as censored and militarily controlled publications.

The lack of such spoofs of this theme underscores its propaganda function. Other modes and themes of official discourse were much parodied but some such as "the Dead", "England" and "Empire" were exempt. If the inclination to mock these ideas existed (*pace* Boyack), then it did not appear in the troopship magazines. The regime of self-imposed and official censorship would have filtered out such subversion of a critical point of official propaganda; the idea that the Empire was worth defending.

The anonymous editor of *The Navooan* (1916:1), "Published when it suits the editor and pockets are low", finishes his leading piece with a quotation from "...our late, great Poet Tennyson";

Britain's myriad voices call
Sons, be welded, each and all
Into one Imperial whole;
One with Britain heart and soul
One fleet, one flag, one life, one throne,
Britain, hold your own.
(Opening of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition by the Queen)

This neatly encapsulates the theme of Empire as a unifying cause. The "myriad voices" are in agreement, or the "Imperial whole", and acclaim the centrality of Britain. "One life" evokes the idea of sacrifice for the cause. This text works on several propaganda levels by being placed in a troopship magazine at the end of an editorial which commended the 16th Reinforcements as being "... firmly resolved to be in it for all they are worth." These were the themes in the press which the soldiers despised but they were treated seriously in their own publications as well.

iii) *New Zealand*

Unlike the references to "England" and "Empire" those made to New Zealand are usually not in the context of propaganda or official discourse. They often occur in poetry and later in the war as it became evident that the struggle would last for years and involve long absences from home. It is as "Home" or the "Homeland" that New Zealand is usually mentioned with longing, nostalgia and, in the case of returning drafts, anticipation.

Star-crowned by the Southern Cross,
 Bush-clad on each valley and height,
 Where the days follow fast,
 And the seasons slip past,
 And life is a purple delight.
 A land which will always be Home,
 No matter how far I may be,
 A rich, smiling land,
 With gifts in each hand,
 Fair gem of the Southern Sea.
 ("Maoriland" *The Bulldogs' Bark* 1917:11)

The pastoral theme here is found in many texts about New Zealand. The bush, the mountains, the birds are often invoked. This is a "pastoral of the wild" more than the traditional pastoral which is often set in well ordered landscapes. The wildness and untamed nature of the land act as a distinguishing feature signifying the uniqueness of New Zealand. Naming native plants and birds also heightens this.

It is a commonplace that New Zealand soldiers discovered a sense of their difference from Australians, Canadians, British etc. and that this contributed to the growth of national identity during the inter-war period (Sinclair 1986:156-173). The poems using this version of the pastoral reflect a sense that New Zealand and its people form a distinct place and community. A sense of difference is brought out strongly in "Our silent army", an article signed P.G.C. (*The Link* 1918:3) where he contrasts the extroverted character of the English Tommy with the laconic and taciturn New Zealanders. The proverb "still waters run deep" is quoted and he concludes; "He is more of a thinker than one would judge him to be; let

us leave him, then, to himself." This article certainly supports the idea that New Zealanders began to see themselves as unique during the war.

New Zealand was where the soldiers had left their loved ones and families and many texts refer to this separation both as a discomfort but also as a reason to fight. The war is seen as a defense of the "...snow-capped mountain/And the smiling golden plain" ("Aotearoa" *The Link* 1918:17) and the people of New Zealand. Yet it is also in defence of England the Empire, or to stem "the frightful Hun". The interrelationship of these themes is demonstrated in this verse;

Sadly we've left behind us
The ones we love so dear,
The wives sweethearts and mothers,
Who tried to hide their fear.

They sped us on our way,
And for us will daily pray.
Mothers have we of our own,
And gladly for their sake
We'll fight for good and right.
("Our boys of the fertile country" *Ye Ancient Athenian* 1917:14)

There is a distinctive tone to the texts about New Zealand featured in the magazines produced by returning drafts from 1918 to 1920. A new note is expressed in them where they anticipate the return to New Zealand but are also aware of the uncertainty that awaits them there. The editorial in *Homeward Bound* (1919 p. 1) implores the soldiers to apply the spirit of war to peace;

With the same earnestness that we summoned to defeat the ambitions of the Hun we must face the problems of peace that will confront us at home. We must again turn up our collective shirt sleeves and buckle to, ever making that little land of our birth – our inheritance from those we have left sleeping – what it is, God's country.

The uncertainty of the future after the war is reflected in an article entitled "The returned soldier's influence on the future of N.Z." (*The Search Light* 1918:11). It catalogues many of the fears felt about the returning soldiers such as "...unsettled for steady work ... a restless disposition ...moral fibre weakened by indulgence ...". Part of the motivation behind the popular Prohibition movement in New Zealand after the war was the idea that returned soldiers were drunkards. The 6 p.m. closing time for hotels was a legacy of this fear.

This article responds to these fears point by point. The soldiers have seen vice in other lands and will therefore fight it in New Zealand. Their travels have made the troops appreciate New Zealand and "... the justice of its laws, the virility of its men, the virtue of its women, the prosperous condition of its working classes and the grandeur of its scenery ...". The theme of duty to the state is invoked and the experiences and knowledge gained on the soldiers' travels will benefit the country.

This is a strand of official discourse aimed at the troops. The overriding idea is duty as it was during the war. Their duty now is not to the Empire or England or even the Right Cause but rather to their own country. The idea of duty minimises the rupture between war and peace and provides a sense of continuity which would aid the transition from military to civilian life.

The texts about England, Empire and New Zealand in the troopship magazines are thus intertwined in many cases and fulfill a number of functions from emotional release to propaganda. They indicate a sense of differentiation emerging among the New Zealand troops during the war. Patriotism includes England and Empire but an equally important motivation for fighting is the defence of New Zealand. Accounts of the origin of national identity during this time must take into account the ways in which these ideals cooperated to ensure a sense of duty.

Theme 5 – Gender and Race

A great part of the population is anxious to know the European in order to make money out of him. These native Dragomans become a nuisance, and altogether they are not the sort of people the British and Australasian soldier ought to allow to become familiar.
 ("The people of Cairo" *The Ventilator*:p. 4)

As European males, the soldiers who produced the troopship magazines constituted a microcosm of New Zealand's dominant social group. However, women were present on the ships from August 1915 and the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps sent 550 women overseas (MacGibbon 2000:470). The returning drafts, especially after the Armistice, often carried English women who had married New Zealand soldiers. The soldiers also came into contact with women at various ports and when on leave from the front line.

There was a diversity of cultures on the troopships but the overall numbers of non-Europeans were small. In total, only 2,468 Maori served during the war along with 500 Pacific Islanders from Samoa, Tonga, Niue, The Cooks, Fiji and the Gilbert Islands yet the magazines make

many comments about these groups which are very small minorities among the 100,000 who were sent overseas.

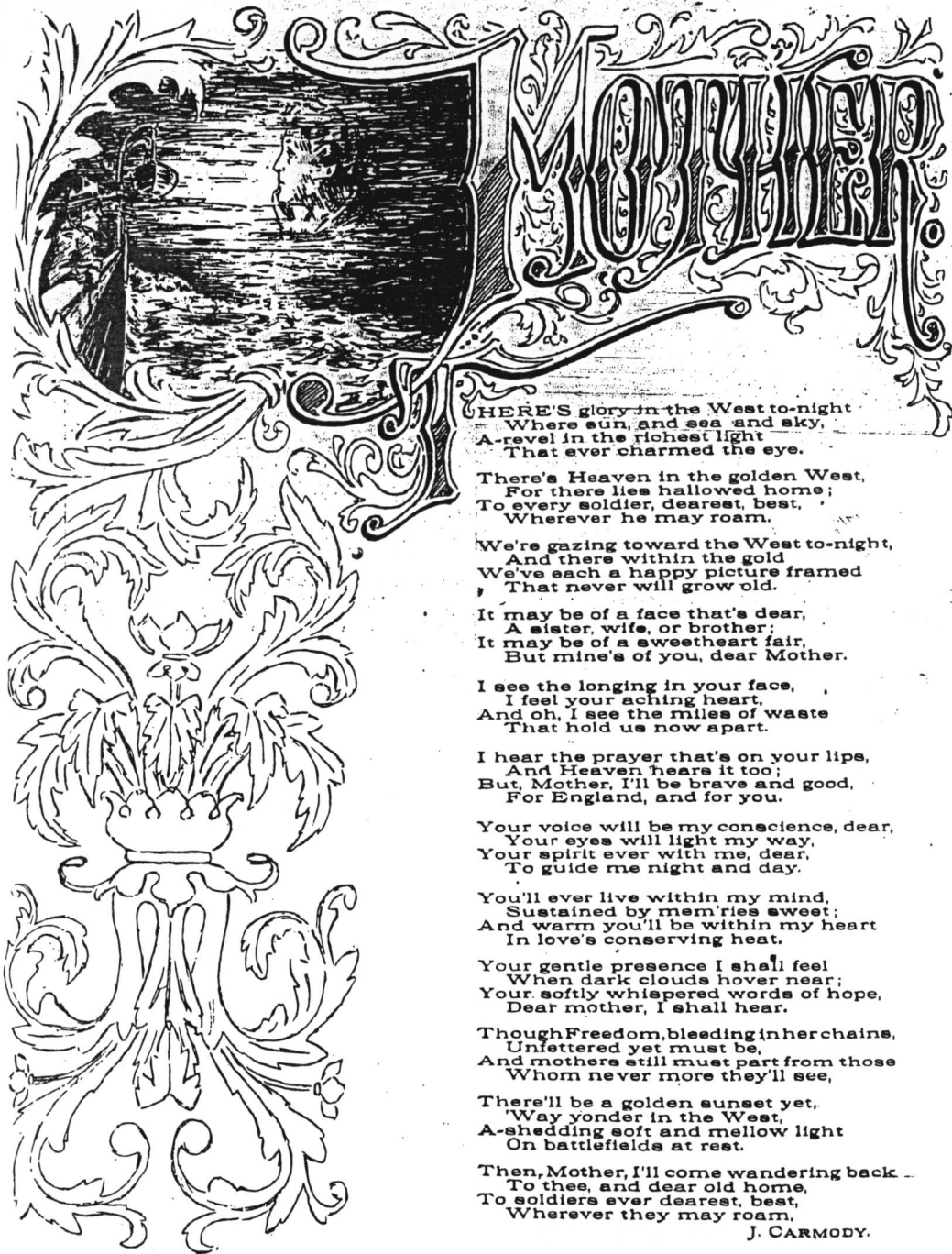
The cultures and places the troops came into contact with are also much discussed in the troopship magazines. The urge to "see the world" was a common reason for enlisting (Barker 1988:17) and impressions of their journeys illustrate the role of the publications as souvenirs. The pleasant times of peace, which are more prominent than the horrors of warfare (see Section 3 above), are preserved as mementos, illustrating the ways in which this group regarded others.

This section is concerned with how the texts illustrate gender and race. It charts a movement from familiarity and regard to alienation and contempt, reflecting values characteristic of many European males of the time. Although this hegemony was being challenged by diverse groups and individuals including Suffragettes, some Iwi, some religious organizations, Socialists, Unionists and Conscientious Objectors, this challenge is almost absent from the magazines.

i) Gender

There is a strong element of misogynistic humour in some of the texts. "Sweethearts and wives" (*The Fag End* 1918:17) takes on some of the style of Herrick to comment on women's fidelity, "Why we stay single" (*D3* 1916:3) portrays wives as chivvying shrews while Private D. F. Paterson's prize-winning stump speech on women (*The Crusador* 1916:9) proposes "... to 'de-agonize' woman in three stages, viz., old maids, young maids and married men's wives." This misogyny could take a more active form such as the riot of the Wazzir in 1915 where New Zealand soldiers took part in the sack of Cairo's red light district. However, this discourse is infrequent in the magazines where women are usually idealised and symbolise home, comfort and peace.

The most common version of the feminine is in the maternal role. Motherhood is addressed directly and also invoked in the many references to "Sons". These may include "Sons of Britain", "Sons of Maoriland" and so on but the maternal symbolism adds weight and power to such writings, many of which are propaganda.



HERE'S glory in the West to-night
Where sun, and sea and sky,
A-revel in the richest light
That ever charmed the eye.

There's Heaven in the golden West,
For there lies hallowed home;
To every soldier, dearest, best,
Wherever he may roam.

We're gazing toward the West to-night,
And there within the gold
We've each a happy picture framed
That never will grow old.

It may be of a face that's dear,
A sister, wife, or brother;
It may be of a sweetheart fair,
But mine's of you, dear Mother.

I see the longing in your face,
I feel your aching heart,
And oh, I see the miles of waste
That hold us now apart.

I hear the prayer that's on your lips,
And Heaven hears it too;
But, Mother, I'll be brave and good,
For England, and for you.

Your voice will be my conscience, dear,
Your eyes will light my way,
Your spirit ever with me, dear,
To guide me night and day.

You'll ever live within my mind,
Sustained by memories sweet;
And warm you'll be within my heart
In love's conserving heat.

Your gentle presence I shall feel
When dark clouds hover near;
Your softly whispered words of hope,
Dear mother, I shall hear.

Though Freedom, bleeding in her chains,
Unfettered yet must be,
And mothers still must part from those
Whom never more they'll see,

There'll be a golden sunset yet,
Way yonder in the West,
A-shedding soft and mellow light
On battlefields at rest.

Then, Mother, I'll come wandering back -
To thee, and dear old home,
To soldiers ever dearest, best,
Wherever they may roam.

J. CARMODY.



The direct addresses to "Motherhood" are sentimental and bordering on the lugubrious e.g. the poem "Mother" (*Tiki Talk* 1917:28) is illustrated with a drawing of a woman waving goodbye in the shape of New Zealand (see opposite). Her head is bowed and a scroll entitled "Roll of Honour" is on her back. The following two stanzas indicate the tone used in addressing "Mothers" and also the call of duty;

I see the longing in your face,
I feel your aching heart,
And oh, I see the miles of waste
That hold us now apart.

I hear the prayer that's on your lips,
And Heaven hears it too;
But, Mother, I'll be brave and good,
For England, and for you.

Jim the Penman's verse letter "To my comrades' mother" (*The Parting of the Ways* 1919:16) is presented as a form of many such letters that were written. It emphasises the bravery of this "worthy son of Maoriland" and offers the consolation of a final reunion.

And though your Mother-heart yearns deep,
For a face belov'd to shine with homing joy,
While your tired eyes, bereaved in sorrow weep,
In a gloried vision you'll kiss your noble boy.

The sacrifice made by mothers is acknowledged and appreciated as a common trope of wartime propaganda but is deployed in the troopship magazines more as a memorialising text.

The efforts made by women to aid the war effort in other ways are also acknowledged in the magazines where the nurses on the ships are described in glowing terms. An illustration "The Red Cross nurse" (*Lights Out* 1918:10) is captioned "A noble type of good, heroic womanhood". The Civvie in "War, women and munitions" (*The Ventilator* 1919:6) praises the women who worked in the ammunition factories of England and this magazine also contains an account by a nurse of her duties during the war.

Another common way to invoke and idealise women is found in the many farewells and addresses to the women left behind at home "For honour and for her" (*The Navuan Nautilus* 1917:9) is a typical example. It stresses the bravery of the women who have to wait at home and urges the reader to revere their image. The theme of purity is carried on in the final verse;

She toils, she waits, she prays, till side by side
You stand together when the battle's done.
O keep for her dear sake a stainless name,
Bring back to her a manhood free from shame.

Such sentiments about women and purity should be seen in the light of the venereal disease infection rate of the New Zealand army. In 1917 the rate of infection was 134 per 1,000, a rate 5-6 times greater than that of the English Army. The New Zealand soldiers were relatively well paid and often availed themselves of prostitutes (Boyack 1989:139). This passage reads as anti V.D. propaganda in that sense but the sentiments about waiting and yearning to be home are common to many of the texts which deal with women. This attitude to women is indicated in the margins of these texts in such veiled cautions as "For honour and for her".

The idealising of the women of New Zealand reaches its apogee in "The folks who come to meet us at the station" (*Na-Poo Perhaps* 1918:7) where the returning men are denied heroic status and instead this is transferred to the women who waited at home. The demotic speech ("as", "bloomin'") makes the text appear as the simple tribute of an "ordinary bloke" and so signifies its appropriateness.

It's the women of New Zealand
Who have waited through the years.
And toiled and suffered bitter desolation:
And yearned for our returning,
Smiling through a mist of tears –
It's them 'as done their duty to the Nation.

ii) *Maori*

The troopship magazines contain two responses to Maori. Boyack (1989) makes the point that Maori were given the status of "honorary whites" throughout the war in recognition of their participation. The casual and often brutal racism manifested by New Zealand troops (see below) did not apply to Maori who were regarded as "civilised". A general order from General Godley in 1914 as the Main Body was encamping in Egypt makes this clear; "The natives in Egypt have nothing in common with the Maoris. They belong to races lower in the human scale ..." (Pugsley 1998 p. 75). Archibald Baxter quotes an officer who lectured the troops in

South Africa; "You men are accustomed to a different attitude on the matter of colour in New Zealand. I've heard that you look on your Maoris as social equals ..." (Baxter 2000:82).

The social conditions and attitudes that Maori endured in this period are beyond the scope of this study but the troopship magazines tend to support the idea that Maori were above other races although not on the same level as Europeans. There is a propaganda value in some of the writings concerning Maori when discussing their martial prowess.

If this particular Maori Reinforcement (the 13th) is a fair sample of those who have gone before and of those to follow, New Zealand need never fear that the Maoris will be lacking in the soldierly attributes which have made her sons famous. These men are a credit to their race ..."
"The Maoris" *The Waitemata Wobbler* 1917:8)

The paternalistic tone of this is in keeping with the attitude of the time and of the majority of the troops. The rest of the article has extolled the Maori for their drill technique and boxing contests yet half the article is about Maori and gambling and emphasises the "happy go lucky" character of the Maori – a stereotype still invoked.

The style of many texts concerning Maori contribute to this caricature. They are written in a "cod-Maori" style which is intended to be humorous. The "comical" speech adds distance and reinforces the Maori social position as inferior to the Pakeha by emphasising the laziness and cunning of the Maori, which are part of the insouciant stereotype.

"The Maori's dream" (*The Bulldog's Bark* 1917:16) tells in verse and a tortured style how a Maori soldier manages to kill the Kaiser. He returns to England to meet King George who congratulates him;

King Chorg, he firrim te krasses,
He trink to te Maori son;
"Koora ruk to you an Noo Seeran,
No more fitim the Hun."

On the other hand the Maori warrior traditions are often mentioned in a more serious style. Other aspects of Maoritanga receive sober treatment such as an account of poi dances (*The Link* 1918:7), Maori migration (*The Last Post* 1916:6) and the burial at sea of a Maori officer (*Tiki Talk* 1917:11). Maori language is also used in some poems, usually with a translation into English.

These are the two viewpoints of Maori presented by the magazines. They are either noble, dignified warriors descended from Rousseau or idle sharpsters without a care in the world. Social interactions were more complicated and admitted many gradations of opinion as the diaries and letters of the time indicate but the media construction of these interactions as found in the troopship magazines oscillates between these two poles. This supports the official discourse expressed in "Brothers in arms" (*The Navua Mix-Up* 1916:2); "Let our white soldiers also remember that there is no colour line in New Zealand and that all men there are free and equal". The troopship magazine texts maintain this attitude by deploying simple but relatively positive stereotypes about Maori which acknowledge the "honourary white" status but also exclude complex reactions and interactions.

iii) Other cultures

If Maori, or at least those who fought, were on the "right side" of the "colour line" other non-European people and cultures were viewed far less favourably. The magazines contain little of the overt racism which Boyack (1989) has chronicled in letters and diaries in that they rarely use terms like "nigger" and "darkie" but generally treat non-Europeans as alien inferiors.

One notable piece entitled "The people of Cairo" is from *The Ventilator* (1916 p. 4). For the most part, it is a dispassionate account of the various ethnic groups that inhabit Cairo. It is offered as useful advice in the same way prophylactic and V.D. lectures were part of shipboard life. Relations between the Anzac troops and the people of Egypt were often tense (Pugsley 1991:19). The New Zealand soldiers tended to regard the local people of Egypt and the Sinai as subhuman objects fit only for sexual exploitation or violence. This culminated in the massacre at Surafend in 1918 when members of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles killed approximately thirty Arabs as revenge for the death of a trooper. Women and children were driven from the village first before the soldiers commenced the slaughter and bodies were mutilated and thrown into a well (Pugsley:286-88). Frustration at delays in returning to New Zealand may have been a factor but the nature of the massacre indicates racist overtones.

One account in a troopship magazine of a meeting with locals in the Canary Islands contains a reference to violence. Told in a pseudo-Biblical style, "Ye warriors return" (*The Ventilator* 1919:7) gives an account of "foreign men of dark hue" who came out to the ship in canoes

to trade. "Dire disputes arising betwixt the warriors and the dusky traders, the latter being filled with fear, did in trembling gather unto themselves their possessions and flee ...". According to Boyack (1985:7) "In Colombo and South Africa it was a common occurrence for the troops on transports to bombard natives." This incident, which occurred after the war, seems to continue this tradition.

Many of the accounts of voyages in the magazines make very little reference to the people encountered. Architecture, food and drink are the main concerns (*The Blast* 1917:38-41) along with the technological wonders of the Panama Canal (*The Ionicall Magazine* 1918:16, *Napoo* 1919:10) which is a reflection of the role of the troopship publications as souvenirs. The soldiers also had very little, if any, time ashore at the ports they visited. They often had very little contact with the local people except as purchasers of food, drink, souvenirs or sex. Where the soldiers did spend some time with non-Europeans as in Egypt and the Sinai they reacted with contempt and violence (Boyack 1989).

The texts in the magazines reflect official discourse about race. In keeping with the egalitarian self image of the time New Zealand troops objected to the treatment of Blacks in South Africa (Baxter 2000) but were also of "... an age when theories of racial superiority and inferiority, of racial classification of civilization were widely accepted ..." (Sinclair 1986 p. 196). The Empire which the New Zealand troops were defending was built on exploitation and oppression of non-Europeans. The ambivalence of the troops is caught by the few derogatory comments in the magazines and also by the following extract;

"Let our white soldiers on this ship exercise a good forbearance towards our native soldiers. 'Liberte, Egalite, Fraternitie' is the motto of Republican France. It can equally well be our motto, although we are an Imperial people."
(*The Navua Mix-Up* *ibid.*)

Part 6 - Conclusion

In taking our leave of you we wish you and all old members of the N.Z.E.F. a happy and prosperous future. May each one leave upon the scroll of time a record as proud and clean as that established by the Division in which, in however humble a capacity, he has been privileged to serve.

(Editorial *The Ventilator* 1919:4)

The troopship magazines of the 1st N.Z.E.F. are complex media products which performed a variety of functions in the unique *milieu* in which they were produced and consumed. Their texts illustrate the subtle and overlapping interactions between the discourses of power and resistance. On one hand, they acted as propaganda channels for official views on the war and its justification, the conduct of the troops and attitudes to gender and racial hierarchies. On the other, they deployed satire, parody, humour and gossip to subvert and challenge these politically and socially sanctioned conceptions. These two strategies are not discrete but overlap and interpenetrate each other, often within the same text.

The roles of the magazines also illustrate this dialogic process. As entertainment, they alleviated the boredom and inactivity of the troops during the long voyages. This bolstered morale. They also fostered *esprit de corps* by being inclusive. All ranks contributed items and the in-jokes, gossip and vocabulary helped make their readers feel part of a special and valuable community.

The magazines also functioned as outlets for the frustrations and annoyances experienced by the troops at sea. Couched in humorous form, the references to poor food, tiresome drilling, the lack of privacy and the rigours of army discipline can be seen as the routine and ritualised complaints of any confined and disciplined community (Kent 1987:8). The ritualistic nature of these pieces does not detract, however, from their function as outlets. If anything, this further strengthens a sense of community by creating a sense of shared hardship.

The magazines were intended to be souvenirs for the soldiers. The war dislocated many people's lives and was recognised at the time as an important historical event. One out of ten people in New Zealand during World War One was sent overseas. Many were killed and many more were damaged physically and psychologically. The troopship publications were self-consciously made to be kept as mementos. This was commonly referred to in editorials, even in those magazines which were not published as one-off souvenir editions. The inclusion of

nominal rolls and blank pages for autographs were functions of this keepsake role.

This individualised aspect of the troopship magazines worked alongside their public, communal functions. As mementos, they emphasise the positive aspects of the war experience. They were intended to bring back happy memories in later years rather than the unspeakable horrors of modern, industrialised warfare. James Sargent, editor of *The Parting of the Ways* (1919:2), hopes that the magazine "... will be acceptable as a

record of pleasing and memorable experiences. May it therefore be a record of pleasant

Outside of this area, the writers enjoyed much latitude as can be seen in the diversity of topics and styles found in the publications. The more significant censorship or screening was a self imposed regime which barred interrogation of such topics as the war, the role of women and the equality of races. As media products produced by and for a social group the troopship publications confirm the mores and attitudes of that group. They were not intended to be divisive critiques. They were rather intended to unify a diverse group of individuals and help make novel and often disturbing experiences meaningful.

The Great War is often seen as a watershed in European and world history. Cultural rupture, fragmentation, and discontinuity are common themes in historical analyses of the war (Hynes 1991) but this perspective is one that emerges from studying the artistic and cultural élites of the time.

Implicit in the work of Fussell, Eksteins, Hynes and others is the assumption that the opinion of the intellectual elite either anticipates or reflects the impact of the war on society in general.
(Lloyd 1998:3)

Broader studies of the mass culture of the time suggest continuity and an invigorated sense of tradition are far more significant responses to the shock of the war for most of the people who experienced it. The texts of the New Zealand troopship journals can certainly be seen as expressions of this reaction.

Appendix A – Methodolgy

i) Themes and Codes

The following themes and codes were developed after a survey of 12 troopship magazines.

Anzac Day (Code = AD)

Keywords - Anzac, Gallipoli, Dardanelles, Chunuk Bair, Helles.

Sport (Code = ST)

Keywords - Rugby, football, boxing, exercise, games.

Opposition to war (Code = OW)

Keywords - Volunteers, conscripts, conchies, conscientious objectors, pacifists, pacifism.

Gender/Race (Code = GR)

Keywords - Women, nurses, mothers, wives, Egypt, South Africa, Cape Town, Colombo, Suez Canal, Panama Canal, Maori.

Memory and mourning (Code = MM)

Keywords - Remembrance, The Fallen, The Gallant Dead, Forgetting, Death

Troopship life (Code = TL)

Keywords - food, drill, seasickness, disease, space, work, crew.

Army (Code = AY)

Keywords - Officers, discipline, fatigues, sergeants, NCOs, punishment.

National identity (Code = NI)

Keywords - New Zealand, England, Australia, Allies, France.

Reasons for war (Code = RW)

Keywords - War, struggle, conflict, justice, Germany, Central Powers, Turkey, cause.

Entertainment (Code = ET)

Keywords - Show, song, gambling, drink, troupe, orchestra, recitation.

ii) Sample coding form

Title of publication

Place/Publisher/Date

Reinforcement or Draft number/title

Composition of units on transport

Name of ship

Date sailed/arrived

Ports stopped at on way

Form of publication

Names of contributors/editorial staff/committee members

Nominal roll (Y/N)

Roll of Honour (Y/N)

Languages used

Coding:

Appendix B – List of troopship publications

This list does not claim to be complete. It is compiled from Bagnall (1970), *Nominal rolls of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force with alphabetical index* (1914-1919) and the following libraries and collections;

McNab Collection, Dunedin Public Library
Auckland Research Centre, Auckland City Central Library
Turnbull Library
Kippenberger Military Archive and Research Library
The University of Auckland Library

Title	Units	Ship
Albatross (1915)	2nd Rein. NZRB	Tofua
The Arrower (1914)	Main Body	Arawa
The Athenian Lyre (1914)	Main Body	Athenic
Te Awapo (1917)	20th Rein. 2nd Draft	Opawa
The Blast (1916)	3rd Btn. NZRB	Ulimaroa
Bubbles from the Thir(s)ty Sevenths (1918)	37th Rein.	Maunganui
The Bugle Call (1916)	12th Rein.	Mokoia
The Bulldogs' Bark (1917)	24th Rein. Rt. Wing	Devon
Camouflage (1918)	43rd Rein.	Matatua
Cheerio (1918)	Returning Draft	Paparoa
Corinthic Mail (1919)	Returning Draft	Corinthic
The Crusader (1916)	13th Rein.	Tofua
D3 (1916)	D Co. 3 Btn. NZRB	Ulimaroa
Deep Sea Roll (1916)	15th Rein.	Waitemata
Les Depeches de la Mer (1914)	2nd Rein.	Willochra
The Devil's Own Rag (1916)	13th Rein.	Willochra
The Devon Windsail (1916)	17th Rein. 2nd Draft	Devon
Digger (1918)	41st Rein.	Ulimaroa
Digger Junior (1918)	41st Rein.	Ulimaroa
Dominion Afloat (1916)	16th Rein.	Aparima
Dry Rations (1915)	7th Rein.	Aparima

Echoes of A. Company (1917)	27th Rein.	Tahiti
Epilogue (1919)	Returning Draft	Rimutaka
The Fag End (1918)	40th Rein.	Tahiti
Father Neptune's Day (1917)	21st Rein.	Waitemata
The Flare (1917)	30th Rein.	
Fresh Tracks (1917)	29th Rein.	Ruahine
From Maoriland to Blighty (1917)	31st Rein.	Tahiti
The Grey Funnel (1917)	32nd Rein.	Willochra
The Gunner (1914)	Main Body	Limerick
The Home Trail (1919)	Returning Draft	Adolph Woermann
Homeward Bound (1919)	Returning Draft	Ruahine
Homeward Bound (1919)	Returning Draft	Briton
Horse Marines (1917)	31st Rein.	Tofua
Te Huia (1917)	33rd Rein.	Athenic
The Ionicall Magazine (1918)	37th Rein.	Ionic
The Kai Courier (1919)	Returning Draft	Kaikoura
Te Karere (1917)	28th Rein. 2nd Draft	Ulimaroa
Kia Tupato (1916)	19th Rein.	Maunganui
The Kit-Bag (1916)	14th Rein.	Maunganui
Te Kiwi (1917)	28th Rein. 1st Draft	Waitemata
The Kiwi (1917)	25th Rein.	Tofua
Klink (1917)	25th Rein.	Turakina
Knight Templar Spectator (1915)	4th Rein.	Knight Templar
The Last Post (1915)	Returning Draft	Rotorua
Lights Out (1918)	39th Rein.	Athenic
The Link (1918)	34th Rein.	Ulimaroa
Long Trail (1916)	18th Rein.	Tofua
The Magazine of the Sixth Reinforcements (1915)	6th Rein.	Tofua
The Maltameter (1918)	40-43 Mtd. Rifles	Malta
The Maunganui Mirror (1914)	Main Body	Maunganui
Maunganuian (1915)	5th Rein.	Maunganui
Memoirs of the Ocean Flyer (1919)	Returning Draft	Paparoa
The Moa (1917)	22nd Rein.	Aparima
The Mokoia Chronicle (1916)	12th Rein.	Mokoia
The Mokoian (1916)	4th Btn. NZRB	Mokoia
Mokoian (1917)	29th Rein.	Mokoia
The Monsoon (1916)	12th Rein.	Ulimaroa

Napoo (1919)	Returning Draft	Rimutaka
Napoo Perhaps (1918)	Returning Draft	Tahiti
The Navooan (1916)	16th Rein.	Navua
The Navua Mixup (1916)	3rd Maori Rein.	Navua
Navua Nose Bag (1917)	7th Rein.	Navua
Navuan Nautilus (1917)	22nd Rein.	Navua
New Zealand's Black watch (1918)	42nd Rein.	Tofua
Nomad (1917)	22nd Rein.	Mokoia
Ocean Lyre (1918)	37th Rein.	Maunganui
Oilsheet (1916)	19th Rein.	Tahiti
Oily Rag (1915)	5th Rein.	Aparima
Orari Tatler (1914)	Main Body	Orari
Our Ark (1917)	21st Rein.	Ulimaroa
Our Grins (1917)	23rd Rein. 1st Draft	Ruapehu
Pakeha (1916)	17th Rein.	Pakeha
Pakeha Mark III (1917)	24th Rein.	Pakeha
The Parting of the Ways (1919)	Returning Draft	Zealandic
The Periscope (1915)	1st Rifle Bde.	Maunganui
The Pip (1915)	3rd Rein.	Tahiti
Port Light (1918)	36th Rein.	Willochra
Quinn's Post (1916)	9th Rein.	Maunganui
Remuerian (1918)	38th Rein.	Remuera
The Roll Call (1916)	18th Rein.	Willochra
Ruahinean Review (1918)	43rd Rein.	Ruahine
Sapper's Shrapnel (1916)	36th NZ Eng.	Balmoral Castle
The Search Light (1918)	Returning Draft	Ulimaroa
The Short Cut (1917)	29th Rein. A Co.	Mokoia
Soldiers Pie (1917)	32nd Rein.	Maunganui
Stragglers Echo (1917)	26th Rein.	Willochra
The Surcingle (1915)	6th Rein. Mtd. Rifles	Tofua
The Tahiti Herald (1918)	Returning Draft	Tahiti
Tahiti Magazine (Ms. only) (1915)	2nd NZRB	Tahiti
The Tahiti Times (1914)	Main Body	Tahiti
The Tahiti Truth (1915)	3rd Rein.	Tahiti
The Tahitian (1916)	11th Rein.	Tahiti
Tahitian Tatler (1915)	5th Rein.	Tahiti
Tahitian Truth (1916)	14th Rein.	Tahiti
Tainui Tidings (1919)	Returning Draft	Tainui

Tales of a Tub (1917)
 Te Taniwha (1914)
 Tiki Talk (1917)
 Tofuan (1916)
 The Uluma Roarer (1916)
 The Ventilator (1916)
 The Ventilator (1919)
 The Waitemata Warhorse (1916)
 Waitemata Wobbler (1917)
 The Waitomo Screecher (1915)
 Warrimoo Gargle (1915)
 The Warrimoo Memoirs (1916)
 The Warrimoo Washout (1915)
 Te Whakanui (1917)
 Willochra Tatler (1916)
 The Willochra Truth (1916)
 The Willochra Wail (1915)
 The Willochra Wanderer (1916)
 Ye Ancient Athenian (1917)
 Ye Olde Lyste (1919)

27th Rein.	Tahiti
Main Body	Star of India
23rd Rein.	Corinthic
4th Rein. NZRB	Tofua
15th Rein.	Ulimaroa
3rd Rein. NZRB	Tahiti
Returning Draft	Giessen
10th Rein.	Waitemata
21st Rein.	Waitemata
4th Rein.	Waitomo
7th Rein.	Warrimoo
9th Rein.	Warrimoo
7th Rein.	Warrimoo
26th Rein.	Maunganui
10th Rein.	Willochra
18th Rein.	Willochra
8th Rein.	Willochra
Returning Draft	Willochra
27th Rein.	Athenic
Returning Draft	Kigoma

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