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**‘Soldiers and Shirkers’:  
An analysis of the dominant ideas of service  
and conscientious objection in New Zealand  
during the Great War.**

A thesis  
submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree  
of  
**Master of Arts in History**  
at  
**The University of Waikato, New Zealand**  
by  
**Steven Loveridge**



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**The University of Waikato February 2009**

## Abstract

During the First World War, ideas of duty and sacrifice were a dominant characteristic of public discourse in New Zealand. Specifically, concern centred on a perceived inequality of sacrifice, which saw brave soldiers die on the front lines, whilst other men remained on the home front, apparently avoiding duty. This thesis charts the prevailing and powerful ideas that circulated during wartime New Zealand around these two stereotypes; on the one hand there was the soldier, the ideal of service and duty; on the other, the conscientious objector, a target for the derogatory label of 'shirker'.

While there are a few select critical works which examine the experiences of New Zealand World War One conscientious objectors, such *We Will Not Cease* (1939) and *Armageddon or Calvary* (1919), there is a near complete absence of studies which examine the home front and ask how conscientious objectors were perceived and consequently judged as they were. It is the contention of this thesis that ideas around the soldier and the 'shirker' were interrelated stereotypes and that both images emerged from the process of mass mobilisation; a highly organised war effort which was largely dependent for its success upon the cooperation of wider civilian society. In sum, the thesis examines and analyses the ideas within mainstream New Zealand society as they appeared in public sources (notably newspapers, cartoons and government publications), and in doing so, tracks how social mores and views towards duty, sacrifice and service were played out at a time of national and international crisis.

## Acknowledgements

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## **Chapter One: Introduction**

On the 15 of August 1914, as the advance guard of the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces (N.Z.E.F.) departed from Wellington, the Prime Minister, William Massey, addressed the crowd that had gathered to see the soldiers board, proclaiming, ‘when the Empire calls it is for the citizens of the Dominion to respond, and when the Empire calls it is for citizens to obey.’<sup>1</sup> A few days later a visual translation of this mindset was published in the *New Zealand Observer* cartoon *The Magnet That Draws* (see fig. 1). The cartoon shows the various ships of the dominions of the British Empire being drawn to a magnet over the British Isles labelled ‘The Empire’s Call’. This comprehension of how nations and citizens should respond to the outbreak and demands of war was one that became dominant within New Zealand and was upheld throughout the First World War. During this period the concept of an expected response to ‘the call’ determined how New Zealanders were expected to behave as well as how some would be perceived, judged and reacted to. This thesis examines two aspects of this concept as it played out in New Zealand society. The first of these is a broad survey of the dominant ideas which became established as the ‘correct’ response to the call. The second aspect is an analysis of how men who refused to enlist in the armed services were comprehended and reacted to for their perceived ‘incorrect’ response to the call.

Throughout wartime this perception of response divided citizens into two distinctive categories. Those who wholeheartedly served the war effort, whether in active or support roles, were lauded for their contribution, whilst those who opposed or were perceived as neglecting or failing ‘the call’ were vilified, becoming objects of social ridicule or loathing. The individuals and groups cast as belonging to the latter category in the New Zealand context included unionists, citizens of Germanic descent or heritage and conscientious objectors (C.O.). Of these categories C.O.s were particularly salient and their stance and behaviour attracted public ire. Arguably theirs was amongst the most visible of the socially unacceptable responses; whereas men in khaki were plainly involving themselves, those who refused the uniform made an at least equally strong and visible statement about their involvement in the conflict.

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<sup>1</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 August 1914, p. 17.



THE MAGNET THAT DRAWS.

**Figure 1**  
*The Magnet That Draws.*  
Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 22 August 1914, p. 13.

What society thought of these ‘statements of involvement’ and why, is the question this thesis intends to answer. In other words, this thesis aims to track and analyse the socially dominant ideas that circulated during wartime New Zealand around both those who involved themselves and those who distanced themselves from the war effort.

There is a niche (and a need) for such a study. The relationship between war and human social structures is a significant area of scholarship; yet while there have been numerous studies which have focused on the impact of New Zealand on the war, there have been few concerned with the impact of the war on New Zealand. For the historian, warfare requires investigation beyond the dates of battles, the size of the guns used and questions of who won or lost and why. Indeed, there is another side to war; namely the cultural, political, economic and social structures that saw the battles, guns and strategies come into existence. No war has ever been solely fought by the military: instead societies are interwoven with wars, whether it is in preparing for, causing, supporting or protesting them. In turn wars impact upon societies, feeding back into their structures and operation. It is this dynamic of war and society that is the concern of this thesis.<sup>2</sup>

Within the New Zealand context the events of 1914 - 1918 mark a period of remarkable social effort and development. During the First World War nearly one in ten New Zealanders were shipped overseas. This is a significant number not only in terms of those who went and what they experienced, but also for the society that mobilised, sent and, with New Zealand’s 58 percent casualty rate, suffered the losses of those who went.<sup>3</sup> With the deaths of 16,697 members of the N.Z.E.F. - 18,166, when those who died from war related conditions are included - approximately 15 in every 1,000 New Zealanders were killed.<sup>4</sup> To place these numbers in a less clinical sense: hardly a New Zealand family was exempt from or unaffected by the events of

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<sup>2</sup> As such this work could be thought of as falling under James Belich’s descriptions of the ‘new history of war’ outlined in *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> New Zealand Army, *New Zealand Army* (Christchurch: Wyatt & Wilson Print Ltd, 1990), p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> By way of comparison Britain lost 16, Australia 12 and Canada 8 in every thousand of its citizens. See John Crawford & Ian McGibbon, ‘Introduction’ in *New Zealand’s Great War New Zealand, The Allies and The First World War* edited by John Crawford & Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007), pp. 16-28.

that conflict. The meaning behind these figures makes the impact the war effort had upon society a topic that demands attention.

In comparison to the weight and significance of these events there are presently precious few published works exclusively devoted to investigating the connection between the New Zealand social landscape and the Great War; and it has been recently claimed that 'New Zealand historians have not given this great national effort the attention it deserves.'<sup>5</sup> This is in contrast to scholarship upon the battlefield side of the conflict which attracts much more attention - the Gallipoli campaign in particular generates a great deal of popular and academic interest within New Zealand and Australia. In such a way New Zealand's connection with the First World War could be said to have followed the same pattern as France's and Germany's: the First World War has been largely overshadowed by the experience of the Second.<sup>6</sup> New Zealand's official history of the Great War contains four volumes which have been described as 'inadequate', contrasting with the far more extensive material and nature of the Second World War's fifty official volumes.<sup>7</sup> Social historians have perhaps been guilty of thinking of the war as an interruption to their object or subject of study or have examined the war as a bridge to modernity; an event to highlight long term trends or to separate nineteenth century colonialism and twentieth century themes. As such the social impacts of the war are rarely studied in their own right but tend to be subsumed into overarching national narratives.

There are noteworthy exceptions to this rule of neglect. For example, Paul Baker's examination of the New Zealand experience of conscription in *King and Country Call*.<sup>8</sup> Using statistics, newspapers, photographs and personal accounts, Baker explores how the issue of conscription highlights how New Zealand society understood and reacted to the war. There are also growing numbers of papers in

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<sup>5</sup> John Crawford & Ian McGibbon, 'Introduction', p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> This pattern of the experience of the Second World War dominating the First is identified by Gail Braybon and the revisionist response to this pattern is a major theme in Gail Braybon, 'Introduction' in *Evidence, History and the Great War Historians and the Impact of 1914-18* edited by Gail Braybon (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 1-29.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, 'New Zealanders in the AIF: An Introduction to the AIF Database Project' in *New Zealand's Great War New Zealand, The Allies and The First World War* edited by John Crawford & Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007), pp. 394-405.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Baker, *King and Country Call New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988).

journals and edited works which have taken aspects of the home front as their topic. Many examples are found in *New Zealand's Great War New Zealand, The Allies and The First World War* which features numerous studies on the relationship between New Zealand society and the War.

The state of scholarship on the other major subject of this thesis – World War One conscientious objection - is also undeveloped. While there are some studies on New Zealand C.O.s of the Great War<sup>9</sup>, these works are dominated by a focus on the individual accounts and experiences of C.O.s. First published in 1939, *We Will Not Cease* remains New Zealand's most famous account of a C.O., Archibald Baxter, and has, according to Michael King, obtained the status of 'classic antiwar literature.'<sup>10</sup> Another notable example is Harry Holland's endeavour to record the experiences of C.O.s of the period in *Armageddon or Calvary*.<sup>11</sup> At the date of submission, historian David Grant had just published a new study of the fourteen New Zealand C.O.s who were sent to the front lines in France during the First World War, entitled *Field Punishment No.1*. In short there has been little questioning of the relationship between the war, New Zealand society and C.O.s. Again Baker's work is a notable exception in that his study of conscription covers those who opposed, challenged and resisted conscription. In the context of this thesis, then, there is little secondary work to set the trend for examining mainstream New Zealand wartime society, let alone how that society perceived C.O.s.

At this point it would be prudent to fashion some definitions. The first term that requires an explanation is that of 'conscientious objector'. The question of what constitutes genuine or legitimate conscientious objection raises an array of new questions. Is there an obligation, innate in citizenship, to fight for the nation, if required? Did these (and do) men have a right to resist compulsion? Were these men

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<sup>9</sup> Examples of works examining WWI C.O.s include Margaret Tate, 'A Forgotten Hero', *The Manawatu Journal of History*, No.4 (2008), pp. 23-32. Paul Baker, 'Prisoners of Conscience', *New Zealand Listener*, Vol. 163, No. 3024 (25 April-1 May 1998), p. 70. Nigel Benson, 'Fighting a better, brutal fight, in 'Impressions', in *Otago Daily Times*, 16 August 2007, p. 33. P.S. O'Connor, 'The Awkward Ones-Dealing with Conscience, 1916-1918', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.8, No.2 (October 1974), pp. 118-136. Christopher Pugsley, 'Silent Battle of Wills', *New Zealand Listener*, Vol. 213, No. 3546 (26 April-2 May 2008), p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Archibald Baxter, *We Will Not Cease* (Auckland: Cape Catley Ltd, 2003), p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> H.E., Holland, *Armageddon or Calvary: The Conscientious Objectors of New Zealand and "The Process of their Conversion"* (Wellington: The Maoriland Worker Printing and Publishing Co. LTD, 1919).

genuine or were they pragmatic, claiming a special status to avoid danger and hardship? Were C.O.s, as some claimed, selfishly placing their own petty ideas before the greater needs of the war effort? Is there a difference between religious, political or philosophical motivations for objection? Any answer to these questions would be subjective, and C.O.s remain individuals that can be (and are) perceived in numerous ways.<sup>12</sup> However, as this is a study of the dominant ideas around those who claimed C.O. status rather than of whether the groups or individuals in question held legitimate or sincere objections to participation, the debate is largely moot and I will leave that question to the political theorists and philosophers. This study then, elects a broad understanding, using the term ‘conscientious objector’, to refer to any individual or group who claimed to object to involvement in the war.

Besides C.O.s, the other element in this study is the mainstream society that comprehended and reacted to C.O.s as it did. Historically the First World War has been viewed as a war between nation-states and this term also warrants definition.<sup>13</sup> A state is a governing entity which claims sovereignty over an area and the term is often inclusive of the legal and political institutions used to enact that governing body’s authority. A nation is a human community which claims a common bond through a shared identity. This identity may be based upon cultural, religious, racial, historic or geographic grounds. A nation-state is a fusion of these terms - a ruling structure that reigns over an area containing people claiming a shared or common link. The doctrine of the nation-state is significant in examination of the world in which the Great War was fought. By the war’s outbreak the nation-state had emerged in many regions of the globe as an influential centre for economic organisation, legal authority and identity. In short the state and its institutions had become one of the central agents by which individuals were organised.

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<sup>12</sup> David Grant’s work *Out In The Cold*, which examines conscientious objectors in New Zealand during the Second World War, confronts a similar issue in comprehending objectors, asking; ‘were they shirkers, renegades, fascists, communists or anti-authority, or merely irresponsible, selfish or scared?’ David Grant, *Out in the Cold Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors in New Zealand during World War II* (Auckland: Reed Methuen Publishers LTD, 1986), p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> It might be argued that the New Zealand in question was less of a nation-state, a term which somewhat implies autonomy and self-determination, and more of a subordinate to or outpost of the British Empire. Indeed the narrative that a unique and independent New Zealand identity was forged on the battlefields of the war is a well used idea in both popular and academic work. However, for ease of comparison to other participating nation-states I have retained the term.

In a historical context the two world wars mark interesting periods for the structure and operation of the nation-state in the way that, and to the extent that they tightened the relationship between the state and the nation. This trend has been identified by scholars such as Paul Kennedy.

‘Even liberal, democratic systems insisted on conscription. Citizens’ loyalties were claimed totally; dealing with the enemy was treason, and all prewar trade was frozen. Controls were imposed upon industry and investment, currency dealing, even labor strikes, as the state-at-war sought to extract the maximum production possible from its people.’<sup>14</sup>

More specifically, Christopher Capozzola has identified the Great War as a period crucial in developing the shape of modern United States citizenship.

‘The United States had always asserted the authority to coerce men into offering their lives for the nation-state...twenty-four million men and their families experienced a direct exercise of state power as they filled out their forms; they created new places for the federal government in their lives as they sought to enlist, to be exempted, to obtain their military paychecks, or to enforce the draft against recalcitrant neighbors.’<sup>15</sup>

However, this study cannot and does not intend to be an exhaustive survey of the entire nation and the sum of its comprehensions of service and objection. For starters that world is gone with not all views recorded and not all records surviving; historians are left with only the remnants to interpret as best as they can. Rather, this work focuses on ‘mainstream’ ideas. These are the opinions, conceptions and representations that are dominant within a society, widely reproduced by virtue of being either held by the majority or by those with authority and which have evolved to be the most likely or acceptable to be expressed in public. They are also those ideas which assert, either subtly or bluntly, the most pressure upon members to conform to them. These conventions are not omnipresent; societies tend to have subcultures, fringes or undergrounds that possess, sometimes radically, different ideas and conventions to the mainstream. In the context of this thesis there were several groups and individuals whose views were not synchronised, and sometimes clashed, with the

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<sup>14</sup> Paul Kennedy, *Preparing For The Twenty-First Century* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), pp. 125-126.

<sup>15</sup> Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 21-22.

mainstream. There have been some interesting studies completed upon non-dominant discourses.<sup>16</sup>

In studying the dominant views I have often turned to cultural sources: photographs, newspaper editorials, cartoons, poems, etc. These sources provide a record of the society under examination, giving accounts of what was being said in public. The use of cartoons is worth elaborating on in so far as their use complements the thesis's approach. Cartoons have been an often overlooked historical resource.<sup>17</sup> Thomas Kemnitz has suggested 'historians have been slow to explore the possibilities of cartoon material as evidence', which is a curious development, considering the opportunities the medium offers in the study of the past.<sup>18</sup> Cartoons are not official, bureaucratic or 'top down' historical sources; indeed, they are created for their contemporary audiences rather than with the intent of recording the present for the benefit of the future scholars. Adding to the mystery of why cartoons have been neglected is the fact that the value of the medium for historical research has long been noted. In 1906 M. Spielmann argued that:

'current national opinion frequently becomes modified, and history may qualify – it may even radically alter – the view of the day; but the record of how public matters struck a people...is surely not less interesting to the future student of history, of psychology, and of sociology, than the most official record of the world's progress.'<sup>19</sup>

It is precisely for these reasons that there can be rich rewards in using cartoons to examine the past.

Firstly, cartoons capture parts of the past that can be neglected, or poorly expressed in other records (at least in social and cultural terms). Cartoonists rely on creating a

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<sup>16</sup> Examples of work studying non-dominant social discourse include Megan Hutching's examination of women who opposed the war or Gwen Parsons's examination on the range of discourses in wartime Christchurch. See Megan Hutching 'The Moloch of War: New Zealand Women who Opposed the War' in *New Zealand's Great War New Zealand, The Allies and The First World War* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007), pp. 85-95 and Gwen Parsons 'Debating the War: The Discourses of War in the Christchurch Community' in *New Zealand's Great War New Zealand, The Allies and The First World War* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007), pp. 550-568.

<sup>17</sup> It is worth mentioning some of the exceptions here. Works that make significant use of cartoons to assist understanding of New Zealand during the First World War include Baker's *King and Country Call*, Whitehead's *A Cartoon War* and Ian Grant's *The Unauthorized Version* and *Between the Lines*. See the list of sources for the full details.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Milton Kemnitz, 'The Cartoon as a Historical Source' in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol.4, No.1 (1973), pp. 81-93.

<sup>19</sup> Kemnitz, p. 81.

connection with a mass audience via a succinct, imaged summary which highlights public issues or sentiment. This record of issues in mainstream social or cultural terms is beneficial to any type of cultural study. Secondly, cartoons effectively display the ‘colour’ of the period, often far more effectively than any written description could. As former Prime Minister Sir John Marshall, himself a subject (victim?) of caricature, put it: ‘a good cartoon can convey, at a glance, a wealth of information; it can epitomise an idea better than a thousand words; it is remembered when words are forgotten; it is instant enlightenment.’<sup>20</sup> It is my hope that the reproduction of images in this thesis allows the reader to see firsthand what ideas and depictions the nation was circulating rather than relying solely upon less cultural sources or secondary analysis.

There are, however, some obvious pitfalls here. Sir Gordon Minhinnick, a cartoonist of some repute himself, stated that ‘cartoonists are not normally noted for their cold objectivity; they take sides.’<sup>21</sup> This presents a chicken-egg question for the historian: should these sources be studied as a reflection of contemporary opinion, or as attempts to shape it? This is an issue I return to in chapter three, upon analysing popular depictions of C.O.s. There are, of course, very real concerns on how any type of cultural material can be used to understand the past, many of which contain a clear bias or only represent, or endorse, one interpretation of the world, sometimes eliding or marginalising alternative viewpoints.<sup>22</sup> James Belich has argued that when we study history where the sources have been created by the dominant party, we cannot uncritically point to such ‘evidence’ as proof of our position or conclusions: ‘we must confront this historiographical problem, not sneak past it in the cloak of pragmatic empiricism. Our understanding of the ideology of the historiographically dominant-group need not be sympathetic, but it must go beyond the mere detection of bias.’<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ian Grant, *Between the Lines A Cartoon Century of New Zealand Political and Social History, 1906-2005* (New Zealand Cartoon Archive, 2005), p. vii.

<sup>21</sup> Ian F. Grant, *The Unauthorized Version A Cartoon History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Cassell, 1980), p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Correspondence from the war zones through official channels allowed the restriction of personal viewpoints or reflections. For example one letter sent home by a soldier read ‘The more one comes into the realities of war, the more one realizes that ... DELETED BY CENSOR’. See Baker, p. 35.

<sup>23</sup> Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, p. 335.

This is certainly the case here; many of the primary sources examined in this thesis were created in an environment containing nationwide censorship and extreme patriotism and propaganda, producing partisan, exaggerated and sometimes fictional accounts of the situation.<sup>24</sup> In other words, the primary sources used are not an objective account of the past (if such a thing exists).<sup>25</sup> Although Belich's position is sound, this thesis utilises dominant sources in a different way. Does it matter if the primary sources accurately summarise what motivated C.O.s or capture, say, the slouching habits the cartoons portray C.O.s as having? The answer to this question depends upon the intention. If this is to present an accurate representation of wartime New Zealand, then Belich is correct: the visual representations are biased and inaccurate and to point to these sources as an objective record of the past would give a very skewed understanding. This is, however, less of a problem in this thesis, wherein the *comprehension* of C.O.s is itself the subject and the aim is to examine what was publicly being said or shown by the dominant party. With this goal, then, these skewed primary sources are useful pieces of the past which can assist in studying C.O.s - not as they were but how they were perceived by mainstream New Zealand. As Kemnitz puts it:

'the usefulness of cartoons as historical sources ... is not lessened by their partisan nature, their preoccupations and occasional uncertainty. Rather, these facets are the essence of historical sources, allowing the historian to explore certain points of view expressed during the period and providing access to selected beliefs and cultural attitudes.'<sup>26</sup>

A focus on these sources and accounts must raise the question of to what extent were these public 'select beliefs and cultural attitudes' the platform from which C.O.s were reacted to? Could it be that other, private, discourses explain why some men were reacted to as they were? Indeed, there are instances of non-public discourse that suggest personal motives for reacting to groups or individuals. Take, for example, an

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<sup>24</sup> Some accounts of German brutality, for example, were entirely false and purposely created to emphasise the diabolic nature of the enemy. For example the reported story that Kaiser Wilhelm II rendered dead soldiers into pig food and margarine. See *Auckland Weekly News*, 28 June 1917, p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Novick has described objectivity as 'one of the central sacred terms of professional historians', something that it constantly striven for but remains unobtainable, comparable to 'nailing jelly to a wall.' See Novick, Peter, *That Noble Dream The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 1, 7, 11.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Kemnitz cited in Sarah Whitehead, 'A Cartoon War: the cartoons of the New Zealand Free Lance and New Zealand Observer as historical sources' (M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, 2006), p. 9.

excerpt from a letter about local shirkers written to Defence Minister Sir James Allen by the secretary of the Waitakere Reform Party: ‘we also have Red Feds and Liberal supporters which wants [sic] thinning out, and this is a good chance for us.’<sup>27</sup> In point, how many men were judged solely or entirely on the ‘package’ of dominant ideas studied in this thesis and how many were judged on less public undercurrents not captured in public records? It would be prudent to assume that pre-war animosities and unspoken motives were a factor and that the label of shirker gave a legitimate platform for many to strike at those deemed, for other reasons, to be undesirable.

However, the question of to what extent unrecorded discourse motivated New Zealanders does not undermine the purpose of this thesis. What a society publicly claims motivates it and what motivates it in reality can be two distinct things. This thesis only professes to examine the former area - those ideas spoken in public. To put this another way, propaganda is sometimes described as taking on a dream-like quality, as the ‘official’ version of the world diverges from reality.<sup>28</sup> In such a way this study could be said to be an analysis of that official dream and how service and conscientious objection were understood within its framework.

The central part of this framework is the idea of an expected response to the existence of war, found in Massey’s speech, as well as other discourses mentioning a ‘call’. The prominent idea that there was an expected standard to which citizen and nation should conform is crucial in understanding the ideas that became grouped around those who were lauded or vilified for what their response was perceived to be. Chapter two, then, is devoted to examining the origin of this call and its connection to the nature of the First World War. Chapter three explores the social dynamics and expected behaviours of service and participation which emerged in New Zealand, the so called correct responses. Chapter four examines mainstream society’s comprehension, representation and reaction to C.O.s and how these emerged from the concept of a failure to conform to the correct response. As such this thesis covers

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<sup>27</sup> Baker, p. 49. ‘Red Feds’ was the popular name for the New Zealand Federation of Labour. See Keith Jackson and Alan McRobie, *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), pp. 243-244.

<sup>28</sup> Paraphrased from Toby Clark, *Art and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century The Political Image in the Age of Mass Culture* (London: The Orion Publishing Group, 1997), p. 73.

both why New Zealand wartime society constructed such a wealth of ideas and imagery to extol and malign members of the nation, as well as the application that these ideas took throughout the war.

## **Chapter Two: The origin of the Empire's call**

Throughout the history of warfare the experience of non-combatants has varied immensely. In some conflicts this experience has included a large degree of isolation from the fighting; a point Eric Hobsbawm illustrates by noting how Jane Austen's novels, set in English society during the early nineteenth century, could be read without any awareness of the Napoleonic Wars which were then unfolding.<sup>29</sup> During the First World War the relationship between conflict and non-combatant would be very different. Instead of divorced isolation the non-combatant was made constantly aware of the wars existence and their activities and goals were expected to conform with the wars needs. The sheer material investment of the nation in the conflict together with the encroachment of the war into public media, such as cinemas, newspapers, posters and popular discourse, meant the war was brought onto the home front and into everyday life.<sup>30</sup> No novel set in England during the First World War could realistically separate a narrative from the war's existence to the extent Austen achieved. The reason for this development is tied to the very nature of the war itself.

The First World War has been described as a war of numbers, measured in the production and expenditure of armaments, the mobilisation of men and, most grimly, in the unprecedented number of casualties.<sup>31</sup> It was a conflict in which the industrialised nations of Europe channelled the full extent of their modern economies, production capabilities, administration and populations towards the task of conquering their rivals via military power. The use of industrial mass production for martial purposes married industry to warfare and turned the factories and farms of the participating nations into another front. The incorporation of industry into the war effort is most apparent upon examining the massive growth in what was becoming the military-industrial complex. Between 1914 and 1918 industries and services were geared towards military means; textile industries became filled with orders for

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<sup>29</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1994), p. 44.

<sup>30</sup> There were several ways the war impacted upon everyday civilian life in material ways. In New Zealand altered economic parameters eroded purchasing power and saw the cost of living increase by 39.35% between July 1914 and July 1918. This saw an increase of the prices on a multitude of primary goods. For example the price on the wool crop was 55% higher in 1916 than the pre-war price. For further examples see Parson, p. 564.

<sup>31</sup> Specifically I am paraphrasing from the start of the BBC and PBS series *People's Century Episode 2 '1914 - Killing Fields'*, 1995.

military garb; railways were requisitioned to transport soldiers; and production and administrative facilities were vastly expanded. This mobilisation and expansion was necessary due to the nature of the armies and weapons fielded.

The first feature here was the sheer size of the forces; Britain originally intended to field an army 100,000 strong but ended up with 5.5 million men serving.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, these armies were extensively equipped: a First World War infantryman carried on average 80 pounds of kit, requiring a second army to produce and distribute this material.<sup>33</sup> During the arms build-up before the war France had a planned munitions output of 10,000-12,000 shells a day, by the end of the war French workers were producing 200,000 shells a day.<sup>34</sup> However even this staggering figure struggled to keep pace with demand; the average French shell expenditure for the 75mm field guns in midsummer 1918 was 280,000 shells a day.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, on the 15 March 1915, British artillery fired more shells than were used in the entire South African War (1899-1902).<sup>36</sup>

This type of effort was made possible by an increase in governmental organisation over the nation. Take Britain for example. Before 1914 the procurement of arms had been handled by 20 clerks, by 1918 this task was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Munitions employing 65,000 civil servants.<sup>37</sup> Britain's three national factories before the war had increased to ninety-five by 1917.<sup>38</sup> As many as two million citizens worked in these factories to make munitions, a staggering amount of labour to mobilise alongside the millions more serving in the armed services.<sup>39</sup> These examples shed light upon the German phrase *materialschlacht* to describe the Western Front as a battle of material and resources.

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<sup>32</sup> Phil Giltner, 'Modernization' in *History in Dispute Volume 16 Twentieth Century European Social and Political Movements First Series* edited by Paul du Quenoy (Detroit: St. James Press, 2004), pp. 171-175.

<sup>33</sup> Giltner, p. 173.

<sup>34</sup> Hobsbawm, p. 45.

<sup>35</sup> Tim Travers, 'The Allied Victories, 1918', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War*, edited by Hew Strachan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 278-290.

<sup>36</sup> Martin Gilbert, *History of the Twentieth Century* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2001), p. 82.

<sup>37</sup> Carter Vaughn Findley, John Alexander Murray Rothney, *Twentieth Century World* 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002), p. 69.

<sup>38</sup> *Britain's Part in the War*, edited by Dowager Countess of Jersey and Sir Edward Cook (London: Victoria League, 1917), p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> *Britain's Part in the War*, p. 10.

This approach of using the resources of the nation - industrial, administrative, economic and organisational facilities - followed on in efforts to secure the central element of any war, soldiers. The mobilisation of soldiers was a crucial task for every participating nation-state and the constant need for more men was directly connected to the nature of warfare used in the Great War. By 1915 fighting in Europe had ground to a halt and the first trenches had been dug. The first five months of the war alone had seen casualties in the millions: France had lost 900,000 men; Germany 750,000, with Russia and Austria suffering comparable losses.<sup>40</sup> The idea of a quick victory began to fade as it became increasingly clear to all participants that the war would not be a short or simple one. Instead the conflict became a war of attrition where nations attempted to grind down their opponents while maintaining their own strength. The German Navy used its U-boats for *handelskrieg* as the British Navy, in turn, blockaded German ports attempting to starve Germany into submission.<sup>41</sup> All sides tried to bring more and more resources to the battlefield to crush the enemy, more shells, more guns and most of all, more soldiers. To secure these resources authorities looked to their populations. The words of one propaganda poster accurately summarised the situation. 'Men, materials and money are the immediate necessities.'<sup>42</sup>

The demand for troops also grew from the need to replace the immense loss of life on the front lines. Commanders on both sides envisioned assaults that would break through the enemy line and end the stalemate. The results of these offences were massacres. Beginning in February 1916 the German attack on the French defences at Verdun eventually cost each side a third of a million men.<sup>43</sup> In July of the same year British offensives at the Somme cost over half a million British lives for a gain of a few square miles of ground.<sup>44</sup> The belief that mobilising more men would bring victory together with the need to replace enormous losses is possibly best embodied

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<sup>40</sup> Christopher Farman, *The World in Arms AD 1900-1925* (Amsterdam: Time-Life Books, 1990), p. 29.

<sup>41</sup> *Handelskrieg* is a German term for trade warfare that has become tied to the use of U-boats during the First World War to disrupt British trading. At its height German U-boats sank 750,000 tons of (mostly British) shipping in a single month. See Stephen Pope and Elizabeth-Anne Wheal, *The Dictionary of The First World War* (New York: St Martins Press, 1995), pp. 219-222.

<sup>42</sup> Peter Simkins, *Kitchener's Army The Raising of the New Armies 1914-16* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 141.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Natkiel, *Atlas of Twentieth Century Warfare* (London: Bison Books, 1982), p. 45.

<sup>44</sup> Findley, p. 64.

by the words of Lord Kitchener that the ‘vital need’ was ‘men and more men until the enemy is crushed [sic].’<sup>45</sup>

Initially patriotic feeling and volunteer spirit was enough to secure this ‘vital need’ in participating nations. However, in order to secure the necessary reinforcement quotas, nation-states that did not have conscription at the beginning of the war ultimately enacted the practise or seriously considered it. Conscription represents the most extreme example of how mass warfare applied the machinery of the state to the citizen, making men part of the war effort by forcing them to be soldiers. It is, after all, one thing to coerce someone into contributing to a war effort as a farmer, factory worker or tax payer, by means of using their labour to feed or supply troops, and quite another to force a man to be a part of a war effort as a soldier. Ultimately it was the civilian that was mobilised to meet the demands of the war effort whether for industrial and agricultural labour or as a soldier.

This approach demanded a previously unprecedented management and coordination of the nation’s population. A visual example of the closer relationship between the individual and national war efforts can be seen in what has remained one of the most salient images of the war, Alfred Leete’s image of Lord Kitchener on recruiting posters (see fig. 2). This image has become one of the most famous visuals of the modern age, its format reused or parodied time and time again. As such it can be hard to recreate the effect it had upon its original audience for whom government was, to varying extents, a remote sphere of the elite in which the masses had little involvement. The concept of being singled out with a pointed finger and of being ‘Needed’ was a novel one and one that marks a change in the relationship between the citizen and the state. In his analysis of Leete’s poster Toby Clark notes that ‘the composition of the poster, with the remarkably direct address of the disembodied face, the inescapable eyes, and the pointing finger, highlights this sudden intensification of the bond between the individual and the state.’<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *New York Times*, 10 July 1915, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Clark, pp. 105-106.



**Figure 2**

*"Your Country Needs YOU"*

Reproduced from - <<http://www.firstworldwar.com/posters/uk4.htm>>  
accessed 21 August 2008

The experiences of New Zealand society during the Great War are consistent with these developments. On the other side of the globe whilst the events of July 1914 unfolded, as a dominion of the British Empire, New Zealand, was formally involved in the war effort through King George V's declaration of war on Germany on the 5 August 1914. The New Zealand Government took immediate steps to put the country on a war footing. This can be seen in the mobilisation of national resources to support the war effort. One of the first of these was money. In 1915 the Government requested authority to borrow £10,000,000 for war purposes; the legislation was passed in a single sitting, without opposition.<sup>47</sup> This agreement was but one of several loans taken out during the war to keep the New Zealand army in the field and one study calculates New Zealand's total war expenditure by 31 December 1918 as \$378,750,000, in U.S. dollars at the pre-war rates of exchange.<sup>48</sup>

The New Zealand's economy was restructured for the war effort. Much of this restructuring was typical of nations participating in the Great War, with an increase of governmental control over industrial production, the economy and populace. In New Zealand this led to the founding of new departments such as the Department of Munitions and Supplies, founded in August 1915, to coordinate national manufacturing and encourage standardisation. The Board of Trade was established in 1915 to investigate the prices on a range of commodities, leading to regulations on the sale of wheat, petrol, timber and meat. In 1917 the National Efficiency Board was created with the aim of improving national efficiency by identifying essential industries and organising labour.<sup>49</sup> There were also several pieces of legislation passed which exercised new governmental powers. The Regulation of Trade and Commerce Act gave the Government the power to fix prices and requisition goods.<sup>50</sup> The Parliamentary Elections Postponement Act suspended national elections for the

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<sup>47</sup> H.T.B. Drew, 'War Finance', in *The War Effort of New Zealand A Popular History of (a) Minor Campaigns in which New Zealanders took part; (b) Services not fully dealt with in the Campaign Volumes; (c) The Work at the Bases*, edited by H.T.B. Drew (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tomes Limited, 1923), p. 235.

<sup>48</sup> Ernest L. Bogart, *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), p. 64.

<sup>49</sup> John E. Martin, 'War economy', in *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History*, edited by Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 581-587.

<sup>50</sup> *Manual of the War Legislation of New Zealand Compromising Acts of Parliament, Proclamations, Orders in Council, and other Instruments passed, issued, and made in consequence of the War, and in Force on 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1916* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1916), pp. 3-11.

war's duration.<sup>51</sup> A range of increases and additional taxes and duties were established on many goods, imports and services for the purpose of revenue gathering.<sup>52</sup> However, probably the most salient piece of legislation in demonstrating governmental control was the 1916 Military Service Act, which established conscription. How this legislation was presented to the New Zealand public is seen in figure 3. The poster highlights the language of obligation authorities applied in how it informs men between 20-46 years of age that 'it is your duty to enrol' and that 'you must do your duty.'

Aside from money the material goods New Zealand produced for the war effort could be arranged into three main categories. The first of these was the production of military goods. When the war broke out New Zealand had the facilities to produce its military clothing needs and small-arms ammunition. However the country was dependant upon the Empire for a range of field equipment.<sup>53</sup> As New Zealand lacked the industrial base to produce much of this equipment the Government used the aforementioned Department of Munitions and Supplies to coordinate manufacture with the Empire. The Department focused on building a surplus of uniforms, woollen goods and boots to ship abroad. Eventually arrangements were made to pay Britain to supply New Zealand forces in the field with munitions and supplies, first by tendering and later by direct purchase.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *Manual of the War Legislation of New Zealand*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>52</sup> Examples of how the cost of the war was passed on to the New Zealand people can be found in Drew, pp. 233-243.

<sup>53</sup> Ian McGibbon, 'Industry' in, *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History*, edited by Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 239-241.

<sup>54</sup> Martin, p. 582.

DOMINION OF



NEW ZEALAND.

# MILITARY SERVICE ACT, 1916.

## ENROLMENT OF EXPEDITIONARY FORCE RESERVE

BY PROCLAMATIONS dated respectively 1st and 2nd September, 1916, the enrolment of the Reserve is directed. Enrolment **MUST** be made not later than 15th September (First Division) or 16th September (Second Division).

### REMEMBER!

IT IS YOUR DUTY  
TO ENROL.

**For the Protection of Reservists,** certificates of enrolment will be issued as soon as practicable after receipt of application on form provided.

**Voluntary Recruits** not accepted for service will have this fact recorded in the Register on supplying proof to the Government Statistician that they have volunteered.

### RESERVISTS' OBLIGATIONS.

The Reserve consists of men not less than 20 and under 46 years of age.

THE National Register is the basis of the Expeditionary Force Reserve Registers.

Men **not already registered** must supply enrolment-card not later than 16th September, 1916.

Men already registered need not supply an enrolment-card, but must, not later than 16th September, 1916, **notify present address** if place of abode has altered since registration.

Men **reaching military age** or **arriving in Dominion** after 16th September, 1916, must supply enrolment-card within fourteen days thereafter.

After enrolment every reservist who **changes his place of abode** must notify new address within fourteen days thereafter.

The Act makes the reservist's obligation to do any of the above things a **personal one**, and he is not relieved by information previously given to recruiting officer or committee.

### REMEMBER!

YOU MUST DO  
YOUR DUTY.

Enrolled men have the **chance of the ballot.**

Men not enrolled may be sent **straight into camp.**

Employers are **forbidden to employ** men who are not enrolled.

Men who fail to notify **change of address** may become liable on a **charge of desertion.**

### EMPLOYERS' OBLIGATIONS.

Employers must not employ a reservist who is not enrolled.  
*Penalty on conviction*—Minimum fine, £20.

Employers must not employ a deserter.  
*Penalty on conviction*—Minimum fine, £50, or imprisonment not exceeding three months.

**ONUS OF PROOF** in every case is **ON THE DEFENDANT.**

**Call at nearest post-office** For cards, forms, information, and assistance.

(By Order.) **MALCOLM FRASER,**  
Government Statistician.

Figure 3

The 1916 Military Service Act

Reference Eph-B-WAR-W1-1916-01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

New Zealand's second, and a more significant, contribution to the war effort was primary goods, particularly foodstuffs. In the same way that civilians became part of a national effort, the nation's agriculture was integrated into the British war effort. As British manpower became increasingly invested in war-crucial industries and the armed services, Britain sought ways to substitute this lost labour.<sup>55</sup> One method of achieving this was an increasing reliance upon imported primary commodities throughout the Empire. New Zealand's agricultural exports to Britain were rearranged in a series of bulk purchase agreements for the entirety of New Zealand's primary exports. These included cheese, butter, frozen beef and mutton, wool, sheep skins, hides, canned rabbits, scheelite, Glaxo and slip wool.<sup>56</sup> The need, production and exportation of these goods were so tied to the war effort that W.D.S. Macdonald, the Minister of Agriculture, described them as 'munitions of war.'<sup>57</sup>

The third category of New Zealand's contribution to the war effort was the mobilisation of soldiers. The news of the outbreak of war in Europe was met with a decision to establish an 8,000 strong expeditionary force and to maintain its strength for the war's duration.<sup>58</sup> However the commitment of reinforcements greatly increased throughout the war and for the most part New Zealand was dispatching roughly 3,000 men every two months.<sup>59</sup> Although the total number of men mobilised was far smaller than the millions raised by some nations, it represents a significant proportion of the population at the time. By the end of the war New Zealand had mobilised over 124,000 men for service and sent over 100,000,<sup>60</sup> out of a total population of 1.1 million. To put this another way; those mobilised for armed service

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<sup>55</sup> It is worth noting that Britain was actually conservative, compared to the German Hindenburg program, in cannibalising its farming labour force. See Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), p. 270.

<sup>56</sup> Martin, p. 582.

<sup>57</sup> Martin, p. 582.

<sup>58</sup> Holland, p. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Christopher Pugsley, *On the Fringes of Hell New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), p. 214.

<sup>60</sup> Figures on the number of troops mobilised vary, ranging from 124,211 to 128,525. See examples in Gary Sheffield, 'Britain and the Empire at War 1914-1918: Reflections on a Forgotten Victory' in *New Zealand's Great War New Zealand, The Allies and The First World War* edited by John Crawford & Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007), pp. 30-48; James Belich, *Paradise Reforged A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2001), p. 96, Lieut- Colonel J.L. Sleeman, 'The supply of reinforcements during the war', in *The War Effort of New Zealand A Popular History of (a) Minor Campaigns in which New Zealanders took part; (b) Services not fully dealt with in the Campaign Volumes; (c) The Work at the Bases*, edited by H.T.B. Drew (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tomes Limited, 1923), pp. 1-21.

represent near 10 percent of the total population; or 19.4 percent of the male population; or roughly 51 percent of the eligible male population.<sup>61</sup>

Consistent with the attrition rate of the conflict 16,781 New Zealanders were killed and 45,000 were wounded; some of whom would face permanent physical and/or psychological injury.<sup>62</sup> These figures represent a casualty rate three times higher than that New Zealand suffered in the Second World War.<sup>63</sup> The casualty rate is heavily skewed towards the Western Front. For example, the 9,315 New Zealand casualties sustained during the Somme offensive, in September October 1916, doubled New Zealand's total number of casualties at that point of the war.<sup>64</sup> New Zealand relied upon a volunteer system to supply soldiers; eventually, however, as with so many other aspects of the war effort, maintaining the reinforcement quota was brought under state jurisdiction, with the introduction of conscription. With the shift from volunteerism to conscription not only social pressure and propaganda were used to encourage men to enlist but state authority and resources were employed to force the issue. Of the troops New Zealand sent to war 91,941 were volunteers and 32,270 were conscripted, roughly one in four.<sup>65</sup>

In summation, as with other participating nation-states, New Zealand's war effort made extensive use of the civilian sector both in securing recruits as well as operating crucial war industries. This practise followed emerging patterns in modern warfare where securing and exploiting financial, industrial, labour, administrative and technological resources were important in achieving victory alongside immediate military strength.

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<sup>61</sup> The Military Service Bill determined eligible men to be of an age 'not less than twenty years and less than forty six years.' See *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1916, No.8, Military Service Act, Section 2. Figures from Sleeman, p. 11.

<sup>62</sup> P.J. Gibbons, 'The Climate of Opinion' in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, edited by Geoffrey W. Rice, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 308-336. The discrepancy of the total to the one on p. 4 is indicative of the range of figures recorded.

<sup>63</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 96.

<sup>64</sup> Baker, p. 95.

<sup>65</sup> Matthew Wright, *Reed Illustrated History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2004), p. 257.

There is, however, a larger point to make in this thesis than to simply list figures and industrial output. When the United States of America entered the war on the side of the Allies, President Woodrow Wilson stated in a speech, on 12 May 1917, that ‘it is not an army we must train for war: it is a nation.’<sup>66</sup> In saying this he had reached the same conclusion that the other warring states had arrived at. With the war effort dependant upon industrial output and popular support, the war drew upon society, becoming a national effort and calling upon citizens to conform to serve that effort. This dynamic would have a major impact on the social landscape of wartime nations by determining expected behaviours for members of the national community, as well in setting a precedent to react to those perceived as failing those expectations by either neglecting or not wholeheartedly supporting the cause. This then is the origin of talk of individual and national obligation to correctly respond to the Empire’s call.

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<sup>66</sup> ‘Wilson Thomas Woodrow 1856-1924’, in *Chambers Dictionary of Quotations*, edited by Una McGovern (Edinburgh: Chambers Harrap Publishers, 2005), p. 916.

### **Chapter Three: The soldier's response to the call**

With the adoption of the call that mass society physically and morally support the war effort, it is unsurprising that social fabrics drastically altered during the wartime years. Throughout the war certain behaviours and activities became dominant within participating nation-states, framed as the proper or correct responses to the war. I have denoted these 'correct' responses as 'the soldier's response to the call'. This is not to say that soldiering was the sole social response to the war, indeed this is far from the case. Rather I use the term 'soldier's response' to denote how the soldier can be seen to embody the mainstream ideal of service. Within New Zealand, this development created a dominant social dynamic which championed jingoistic patriotism, wholehearted contribution to the war and the rejection of anything perceived as opposing or harming the war effort. While this chapter is not a complete survey of the social dynamics that existed in wartime New Zealand, it aims to highlight the dominant ideas and conventions that evolved as appropriate responses to the call which the war had put to the nation.

In examining how the role citizens were expected to play was framed and adopted I have drawn upon a collection of material from the mainstream public arena produced with the intent of consumption by a mass audience. The sources contain recurring messages, sometimes subtle and, on occasion, very explicit lessons, about how citizens should conduct and compose themselves. While the content and messages of these sources may often seem unreal or staged - as if this material was produced by a source unconnected with its audience - Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker suggest that it is we, as a modern audience, who fail to connect with the material. 'The sense of obligation, of unquestioning sacrifice...is no longer acceptable. The foundation on which the immense collective consensus of 1914-18 was based...has vanished into thin air.'<sup>67</sup> In such a way it is not only a gulf of time that separates early twentieth century and early twenty-first century New Zealand, but one of mentality as well.

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<sup>67</sup> Audoin-Rouzeau & Becker cited in Sandy Callister, *The Face of War New Zealand's Great War Photography* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), p. 73.

### Displaying loyalty

A central part of mainstream New Zealand's comprehension of the war, and consequently its effect upon society, is captured in understanding the atmosphere of enthusiasm and participation. When, on 5 August 1914, Governor Lord Liverpool announced, upon the steps of parliament, to a crowd of 15,000 that New Zealand, as a dominion of the British Empire, was in a state of war with Germany the news was met with mass approval.<sup>68</sup> That same evening an estimated 20,000 Wellingtonians gathered in the streets showing a 'remarkable' display of enthusiasm; 'crowds formed themselves in processions and marched in rows 4, 5 and 6 deep, upon military lines.'<sup>69</sup> Feelings of moral outrage at the militaristic aggression of the Central Powers<sup>70</sup> against smaller nations, together with strong ties to Britain fuelled public sentiment that the war was a righteous struggle.<sup>71</sup> *The New Zealand Herald's* announcement of war indicates both the orthodoxy that formed in mainstream New Zealand - which perceived the conflict as a just or righteous war - as well the general enthusiasm for New Zealand to be involved in the conflict.

'Once more this England of ours, mother now of a sea-borne confederation of free dominions, head and chief of an Empire whose desire is for peace and whose love is for liberty, leads us to war for the liberties of the world.'<sup>72</sup>

This desire to play a part in the struggle was felt across society and for many men this meant volunteering for the armed services. Some joined out of feelings of duty, others for excitement and want of adventure, but the overall atmosphere seems to have been a near frenzied desire to participate. One volunteer described his enlistment as an uncalculated act; 'There was a parade called for the Territorials and I volunteered. I don't know why, I think it was because I wanted to be with my mates.'<sup>73</sup> Some seemed to become crazed with enthusiasm. One youth, upon being

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<sup>68</sup> Ian McGibbon, 'First World War' in *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History*, edited by Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 172-175.

<sup>69</sup> *The Evening Post*, 6 August 1914, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> The term Central Powers refers to the alliance of Germany and Austro-Hungary and in October 1914 included Turkey as well.

<sup>71</sup> The fact that Britain had only declared war when Belgium's autonomy was threatened was often cited as an instance of her moral motivation: 'Germany attacked Russia, and Britain did not move; Germany flung her legions across the French frontier, and Britain hesitated: Germany raised her hand against Belgium and Britain intervened.' Such discourse is indicative of how many argued the war was a defence of civilisation and autonomy from militarism. See *New Zealand Herald*, 6 August 1914, p. 6.

<sup>72</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 6 Aug 1914, p. 6.

<sup>73</sup> Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli The New Zealand Story* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1984), p. 34.

denied his mother's permission to go to the war, thrust a bayonet through a piano and threatened to shoot her; another stole his employer's horse to reach Auckland and enlist, where he was arrested.<sup>74</sup> Even those not enlisting felt the effects of the changed atmosphere. Alice Evans, a schoolgirl with seven uncles at the front, described her recollections in near overwhelming terms: 'every dance, every public gathering, everything to do with recruiting was stepped up...we never seemed to be singing any other songs in school but rule Britannia and Britannia rules the waves.'<sup>75</sup> This enthusiasm for participation occurred at the highest level of authority in the nation with the New Zealand Government informing the British Government to 'never hesitate to ask for anything which New Zealand could provide.'<sup>76</sup>

This zeitgeist of mass enthusiasm and national unity within mainstream society marked a distinctive change from pre-war New Zealand's social and political character. In the decades leading up to the Great War, New Zealand was undergoing rapid and radical change. A population of 768,278 New Zealanders in 1900 had grown to 1,095,994 by 1914, one of the world's fastest population growth rates.<sup>77</sup> By 1911 the majority of this population resided in an urban environment rather than a rural one.<sup>78</sup> Cultures were also changing as New Zealanders were divided between old and new ways. As the country lost its frontier nature and became increasingly established there was a fall in the 'jack of all trades' and a growth of educated, professional and specialised workers. The Māori population was largely divided between those living separately from the increasingly established settlers and those calling for the adoption of Pakeha culture. This time of transitions promoted a series of issues and concerns and early twentieth century New Zealand society was characterised by numerous political, ideological and urban/rural differences. Amongst these were widespread debates surrounding issues such as the use of Bibles in schools, the prohibition of alcohol, the relationship between labour and capital<sup>79</sup> and the introduction of compulsory military training (introduced via the cadet services

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<sup>74</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 15 August 1914, p. 6. and 16 September 1914, p. 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Our People Our Century*, documentary, Episode 4 'Families at war', Ninox Television LTD, Wellington, 2004.

<sup>76</sup> Baker, p. 21.

<sup>77</sup> *Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand for the year 1914* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1901), p. 180. Figures are exclusive of the Māori population.

<sup>78</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Viking, 2004), p. 280.

<sup>79</sup> Significant disputes between workers and capital had recently occurred at the 1912 Waihi strike and the 1913 Waterfront strike in Wellington both of which raised public concerns of the threat of industrial action.

in 1911). A snapshot of the New Zealand political landscape in the early twentieth century was recorded in *At Bay - A Political Study* (see fig. 4), which portrayed Premier Richard Seddon, as a boar, surrounded by hounds that mark the various factions and issues of the time.

As the war encroached upon society most factions united under feelings of nationalism and patriotic sentiment. *The New Zealand Observer* suggested that ‘war forges the strongest links of sympathy, affection and brotherhood in the great chain of human union’ and ‘no two men who have fought side by side in defence of each other and of their common country ever become really estranged.’<sup>80</sup> The unifying properties of the war effort were carried to the top of the state when, in 1915, the Liberal and Reform political parties declared a truce, forming a coalition government and suspending national elections for the duration of the war. This unification of opposites was noted at the time in the *New Zealand Observer* cartoon *Steadily, then, shoulder to shoulder* (see fig. 5), which displays various factions putting aside differences and uniting ‘when country calls.’<sup>81</sup> Some aspects of this ‘social unification’ are more complex and the debates took new forms. For example many who pushed for sobriety pledges for the duration of the war had no doubt been involved in the wet/dry debates before the war. Nonetheless, by the end of August 1914 over £100,000 had been donated to the defence fund, some of it from diverse sources.<sup>82</sup> The Bible in Schools League, ‘a source of [social] agitation before the war’<sup>83</sup> ceased its campaign and donated £1000 to the war fund.<sup>84</sup> The Red Feds agreed to cease political activity and had, according to the Prime Minister, ‘taken in a bit of white and blue’ to their colour.<sup>85</sup> On observing this behaviour Cabinet Minister Sir Joseph Ward concluded that: ‘it shows clearly to my mind, what I and every one of us have believed hitherto of New Zealanders – that in times of stress and trouble every class in this country will do what it can to help.’<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 15 August 1914, p. 2.

<sup>81</sup> An added dynamic in the central image of Massey and Ward standing together is how earlier cartoons often emphasised their rivalry, depicting them exchanging blows either in boxing or swordplay.

<sup>82</sup> Baker, p. 19.

<sup>83</sup> Simon Johnson, ‘The Home Front: Aspects of Civilian Patriotism in New Zealand During the First World War’ (M.A. Thesis, Massey University, 1975), p. 23.

<sup>84</sup> Right Hon. Mr Massey, 8 August 1914, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 169, p. 477.

<sup>85</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 August 1914, p. 19.

<sup>86</sup> Right Hon Sir J.G. Ward, 8 August 1914, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol.169, p. 478.



**Figure 4**

*At Bay – A Political Study.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 23 September 1905, p. 13.



Figure 5

*Steadily, Then, Shoulder To Shoulder.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 8 August 1914, p. 12.

The, perhaps inevitable, result of the war overshadowing public debate and the subsequent increase in social unification was a tightening of attitudes upon what constituted the ideal citizen and what behaviour would not be tolerated. In his assessment of patriotism in New Zealand during the Great War Simon Johnson argues that mainstream opinion was formed of two extremes: 'hatred of the enemy and intense loyalty to the forces working to overthrow him.'<sup>87</sup> An added convention of this attitude is how these concepts could, and often did, overlap. That is, loyalty to one's own could be shown by hatred of one's enemies. This attitude is possibly best summarised by J. Vigor Brown Boeufve who concluded, during a campaign in Napier by the Anti-German League, that 'to be truly British we must be anti-German.'<sup>88</sup> One of the major features then of wartime New Zealand was a rejection of anything conceived of as belonging to the enemy. In appealing to the masses to sustain popular support for the war, states presented enemy nations in such a way that war became the only reasonable response. Within the British Empire this largely meant applying nineteenth century conceptions of race to mark the intrinsic difference in morality and character between the British and Germanic peoples. Rather than being portrayed as a nation seeking advantage at a cost to others, Germans were largely conceptualised as a race of brutes and barbarians, 'Huns' who threatened the very foundations of the civilised world.<sup>89</sup> In this vein *The New Zealand Herald* informed the nation of the German nature: 'Possessed by an absolutely satanic spirit, the German mind has become insensate to the codes of humanity and the aspirations of Christendom.'<sup>90</sup> This ideology pointed to the use of chemical weapons, the reported rape, pillage, torture and murder of innocents, the sinking of merchant shipping and the use of bombing raids on cities as proof of its allegations.

With the widespread denouncement of all things German, New Zealanders stripped the country of perceived German influence. In Auckland Coburg Street and Jermyn Street became Kitchener and Anzac Avenue respectfully.<sup>91</sup> German sausage was

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<sup>87</sup> Johnson, p. 108.

<sup>88</sup> Graham Hucker, 'When the Empire Calls' (M.A. Thesis, Massey University, 1982), p. 43.

<sup>89</sup> *The New Zealand Herald* informed its readers that 'The attack of Germany upon civilisation has undoubtedly been made with an enthusiastic approval of the great mass of the German people, which has been systematically and scientifically inoculated with a purely materialistic philosophy.' See *New Zealand Herald*, 7 November 1914, p. 6.

<sup>90</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 10 May 1915, p. 6.

<sup>91</sup> Gibbons, p. 319.

renamed Belgian sausage.<sup>92</sup> In 1918 in Christchurch the bells of a Lutheran church were melted down.<sup>93</sup> Others decried the existence of kindergartens in New Zealand - 'an awkward word and German from end to end' - or the existence of German-made toys in shops.<sup>94</sup> The Anti-German League concluded that the epidemic of infantile paralysis in Auckland during 1916 was a machination of the Kaiser to prevent the strength of future New Zealand armies from growing formidable.<sup>95</sup> Newspapers informed readers of the superiority of British cultural achievements. 'It is all a myth about the German piano being the best. The British piano has always been the best, and, moreover, the birthplace of the piano was England, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.'<sup>96</sup> A more extensive mobilisation of history to justify war with Germany is seen in Ian Colvin's book *The Germans in England* which noted its objective as to 'trace the German power in England from its rise in the time of Henry III to its fall in the time of Elizabeth.'<sup>97</sup> The text represents a near Orwellian approach of interpreting the past for a contemporary political goal arguing that the current war had to be viewed in terms of past German-England interaction and noting that 'when we come to understanding that the Germans were always interfering in English policy for their own ends...then much that was formerly obscure becomes clear.'<sup>98</sup>

Although the text was printed in England it did reach New Zealand and there exists at least one account of its influence on New Zealand readers. Elizabeth Hunter Brown, upon reading the book, informed her adult children that it 'shows how in the days of the Hanseatic League they [Germans] drained the very life blood out of England, till Elizabeth cleared out the Teutonic Vampires.'<sup>99</sup> These cultural 'purges' and revision of historic understanding could be considered a cultural war, fought on the home front and mirroring military actions on the battlefield. In such a way these actions display civilian comprehension of and involvement in the war effort; as soldiers fought the enemy on the front line, civilians must/should fight enemy influence at home.

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<sup>92</sup> J.C. McLeod, 'Activities of New Zealand Women during World War One', (Research Essay, Otago University, 1978), p. 45.

<sup>93</sup> Johnson, p. 98.

<sup>94</sup> Hamish Keith and William Main, *New Zealand Yesterdays: A look at our recent past*, (Surry Hills: Readers Digest Services, 1985), p. 264.

<sup>95</sup> *Otago Witness*, 16 February 1916, p. 66.

<sup>96</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 21 July 1915, p. 10.

<sup>97</sup> Ian D. Colvin, *The Germans in England 1066-1598* (London: The National Review, 1915), p. 226.

<sup>98</sup> Colvin, p. xi.

<sup>99</sup> Brown also noted how this account 'stirred her.' See Baker, p. 20.

In these ‘battles’ some groups and individuals went to lengths to announce what side they were on lest they be considered an enemy. In early 1915 the Dresden piano company changed its name to the Bristol Piano Co. and took out newspaper space to announce that the old name was ‘no longer acceptable for an ALL BRITISH COMPANY [sic].’<sup>100</sup> In Auckland a man advertised that ‘Harry Wilson; milkman of Devonport, has no connection of any kind with Woodrow Wilson, of United States of America.’; the U.S. policy of neutrality was at times argued to be evidence of the U.S. being cowardly or pro-German.<sup>101</sup> In Wanganui a naturalised German pork butcher C. Heinold took newspaper space to deny rumours that he refused to allow his children to sing the national anthem.<sup>102</sup> There was no doubt a pragmatic incentive to proclaim loyalty in that social derision, violence, and in some cases lost income, were possible repercussions against perceived disloyalty. The largest instance of this occurred on the 15 May 1916, in Wanganui, where a mob of an estimated 3,000 people gathered and vandalised German-owned and suspected German-owned businesses, causing an estimated £2,500 worth of damage. Among those businesses targeted were Heinold’s butchery and the newly dubbed Bristol Piano Company.<sup>103</sup>

At Victoria University, public pressure forced modern languages professor George William von Zedlitz from his position. Von Zedlitz was born in Germany but had migrated at the age of seven and had been an active member of Victoria University since 1902. When the war broke out he became a target of newspapers and a focus of anti German feeling. The accusations brought against von Zedlitz run into the hysterical, including that he was a ‘menace to democracy’, ‘obviously a spy’, was ‘signalling to German submarines’ and that he was ‘instilling the aethistical [sic] German “kultur” into the minds of young New Zealanders.’<sup>104</sup> Under public pressure parliament passed the ‘Alien Enemy Teachers Act’ in 1915 which prohibited ‘the Employment of Alien Enemies as Teachers in Public Educational Institutions’, forcing von Zedlitz to resign.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> *Evening Post*, 2 January 1915, p. 9. A copy of this advertisement is included in appendix 1, p. 127.

<sup>101</sup> *Manawatu Daily Times*, 22 February 1917, p. 4.

<sup>102</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 17 May 1915, p. 6.

<sup>103</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 17 May 1915, p. 6.

<sup>104</sup> Keith, p. 265 and *Dominion*, 21 June 1915, p. 6.

<sup>105</sup> *Manual of the War Legislation of New Zealand*, pp. 95-96.

Jingoistic patriotism and calls for sacrifice for the cause together with a lack of real enemies in the home front meant many New Zealanders sought other ways, and targets on which, to outlet the glut of patriotic fervour and the anguish of lost loved ones and countrymen. These proactive demonstrations of unity and rejection of ‘Germanism’ were displays to show loyalty, one of the dominant dynamics of mass society.

#### Service as duty: sacrifice

Although public displays of loyalty were widespread and popular, the dominant convention went beyond simply pledging support; it was not enough to simply assert loyalty or to morally support the war, one must actively assist the war effort. Indeed, those seen to be proclaiming patriotism but not taking any further action became targets for ridicule. The word ‘sacrifice’ became an often used term in public and the idea of giving up something to help the war or placing the war before oneself was lauded. Much of the discourse bluntly stated that New Zealanders only had two choices. For example, the *New Zealand Methodist Times* printed the following two sentence article with no background context or further analysis. ‘Said the old salt to the young apprentice. “Aboard a man-o’-war, my lad there’s only two things-one’s duty, t’others mutiny.’<sup>106</sup> Consistent in this line of thought the *Manawatu Daily Times* stated: ““who is not for me is against me” is a greater truism in the present emergency than at any other period in the world’s history.’<sup>107</sup>

With the idea that national and individual energies should be channelled into supporting the war there was a surge in membership in patriotic societies. The aforementioned Anti-German League, for example, found 1,500 new members within three months.<sup>108</sup> New societies multiplied to an extent where their efforts had to be coordinated by the Government, regulated by the War Funds Act of 1915.<sup>109</sup> Many of the patriotic leagues, societies and organisations had existed before the war, emerging during a unique chapter in the history of the British Empire: ‘characterised by the zest for heroism, adventure, physical assertiveness, the glorification of past history and

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<sup>106</sup> *New Zealand Methodist Times*, Vol. vi, No. 20, 22 January 1916, p.10.

<sup>107</sup> *Manawatu Daily Times*, 12 February 1918, p. 4.

<sup>108</sup> McLeod, p. 44.

<sup>109</sup> *Manual of the War Legislation of New Zealand*, pp. 67-75.

devoted loyalty to the Empire.’<sup>110</sup> Let one example suffice. The Scouts organisation, established in New Zealand in 1908 by Lieutenant Colonel David Cossgrove, emphasised outdoor education, good citizenship and intense patriotism. Its sister organisation, the Girls Scouts, also emphasised loyalty to national institutions, its guidebook stating that everyday a Guide ‘should send a good thought out to our Army and Navy, and pray that they may “always be ready” to protect our vast Empire.’<sup>111</sup> The Guides’ manual also promoted a gendered concept of service and the roles each sex should play.

‘The surest way to prevent war is to be well prepared for it. So encourage your brothers and boyfriends to learn drill, shooting and scouting and when they are old enough, to join some company where they can prepare themselves to stand up for the Empire against all her enemies.’<sup>112</sup>

That the female’s role was to ‘encourage’ the male to fight was a model that would indeed be enacted during the war. With the war promoting patriotic sentiment and with the disappearance of many anti-war groups from the public eye, patriotic societies thrived, feeding back into national enthusiasm.<sup>113</sup>

Consistent with the call for involvement was the general backlash against any perceived as operating with a ‘business as usual’ approach, the general idea seems to be that at all times New Zealanders should be worthy of the soldiers fighting in their name. As such non-war social events attracted disapproval and calls for less frivolous dispositions. For example, one piece of correspondence reveals disgust at a public event: ‘some of the folks here are actually going to have a dance tonight ...and at the office there are lists of dead and wounded starring them in the face...I hope it pours in torrents.’<sup>114</sup> A suggestion was made that patriotic badges could be sold to publicly identify those not contributing.<sup>115</sup> Others protested the continuation of leisure activities and there was a specific backlash against sporting events. The popular call was that sportsmen should ‘play the game for King and country’ and some argued that

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<sup>110</sup> Hucker, p. 1.

<sup>111</sup> Cossgrove, Lieut. Col., *Peace Scouting for Girls* (Christchurch: W. Strange & Co. LTD, 1910), p. 154.

<sup>112</sup> Cossgrove, p. 153.

<sup>113</sup> With the change in public sentiment with the start of the war the Anti-Militarist League disbanded and the Passive Resisters Union dissolved. Others like the Peace Council retreated from public exposure and conducted much of their discourse behind closed doors.

<sup>114</sup> Baker, p. 30.

<sup>115</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 19 August 1914, p. 11.

if sportsmen were 'able to play football they were able to go to the war.'<sup>116</sup> Many framed this with ideas of sacrifice. 'The men who have gone to the front have made considerable sacrifices, and we who stay at home should also made [sic] some sacrifice.'<sup>117</sup> While some argued that sports were an important pastime and necessary to maintain national morale, many sports clubs and unions consented. One example was the Auckland Rugby Union who announced in May 1916 that no player who was over 20 years of age on 1 April would be permitted to play in the union's competition during the war.<sup>118</sup>

Others made private pledges for some type of personal sacrifice by giving up an amusement or luxury. There were many calls to imitate the example of King George V - who pledged to give up alcohol for the duration of the war- and abstain from a pleasure or pastime. Three men were mentioned by the *Evening Post* as having given up all drinks and smoking, the Christmas holiday and race meeting, pictures and other luxuries and, between them, 'contributing' eight sons to the army and a quarter of their income to patriotic funds.<sup>119</sup>

This mainstream concept of sacrifice and understanding of the nature of service should be considered in the context of historical events and the nature of the war. By 1915 the 'honeymoon' phase of the war was over and in many respects the fighting had lost much of its charm. Six weeks after the Gallipoli landings began on the 25 April 1915, New Zealanders learnt that 931 of their husbands, brothers, sons and friends had been killed in the first three days of the campaign alone.<sup>120</sup> The waiting for news of their loved ones, together with the casualty totals, which were regularly updated in newspapers, had profound social impacts upon the home front. One man wrote that 'with a daily list of New Zealanders killed and wounded the horrible character of the war has been brought home to us.'<sup>121</sup> This was compounded by the nature of the deaths. In her study of the Victorian conception of death, Pat Jalland investigates the divergence between war deaths and established Victorian conventions. A 'good Christian death took place in the home surrounded by a loving

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<sup>116</sup> *Evening Post*, 14 May 1915, p. 4.

<sup>117</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 6 May 1916, p. 9.

<sup>118</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 6 May 1916, p. 9.

<sup>119</sup> *Evening Post*, 4 February 1915, p. 2.

<sup>120</sup> Keith, p. 261.

<sup>121</sup> Baker, p. 23.

and supportive family, whose affection expressed itself afterwards in sorrow for its dead.’<sup>122</sup> By contrast ‘War deaths were sudden, violent, premature, ugly deaths of young healthy adults, with bodies often smashed and unidentifiable, and burial at home impossible.’<sup>123</sup> The casualty lists were not the home front’s sole exposure to the war. Concerns were compounded by the visibility of the returned wounded; indeed, anxiety is clearly visible on the faces of a Christchurch crowd witnessing the return of wounded soldiers and the effect of modern war upon the human form (see fig. 6). One woman recalled being devastated when the soldiers she had cheered away returned ‘all mutilated.’<sup>124</sup> New Zealanders also began to be exposed to direct accounts of the fighting. On 21 July 1915 *The New Zealand Herald* printed the thoughts of a returned soldier:

‘What do I think of war? Well, it is kill, kill, kill. No one cares if you are the next to be shot...Your mate may be shot alongside of you, and you will simply remark “Jack’s dead”, and that is all. Then you remove the body from the trench to make room.’<sup>125</sup>

Changing understanding of the nature of the war can also be witnessed in private discourse. One mother wrote the following letter to her son on the 2 May 1915: ‘We are very proud to hear how you all acquitted yourselves so bravely. How glad you would be to get ashore and have “a go” at the enemy.’ Later, after the first lists began to be posted, the same mother wrote on the 30 of May in a style that reveals different concerns. ‘These are anxious times and we are so thankful as day after day passes and your name does not appear in the casualties.’<sup>126</sup> Despite Government attempts to regulate knowledge of the war, the public became increasingly aware of its reality.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Pat Jalland, *Death In The Victorian Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 3.

<sup>123</sup> Jalland, p. 6.

<sup>124</sup> Baker, p. 27.

<sup>125</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 21 July 1915, p. 9.

<sup>126</sup> Baker, pp. 28-29.

<sup>127</sup> For more information on WWI wartime censorship in New Zealand see John Anderson, ‘Military Censorship in World War One: It’s Use and Abuse in New Zealand’ (M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, 1952). In particular the examinations of field censorship pp. 83-84, and censorship of the press, pp. 89-93.



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**Figure 6**  
*The Crowd At Glasgow Wharf*  
Reproduced from *Weekly Press* - 15 September 1915, p. 33.

However, while New Zealanders were, between early to mid 1915, becoming increasingly aware that the war would not be a quick or easy one, it is worth noting that by no means did this lead to protest or calls for peace from mainstream New Zealand. Studying Auckland society in the first year of the war, Kirsty Mathieson looked for signs of war weariness, but found instead ‘renewed vigour and strengthened determination.’<sup>128</sup> As one Aucklander put it ‘our losses have in no way weakened our determination ... indeed the resolve to help has grown stronger than ever.’<sup>129</sup> Even as late as 1918 there were popular calls for increased commitment and effort despite knowledge of the cost of the war; one pamphlet summarising the New Zealand army’s activities stated how the ‘army was dying magnificently to save Europe.’<sup>130</sup> News of the Gallipoli landings casualties actually increased volunteering. Perhaps recruits were inspired by the heroic terms in which the landing was framed

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<sup>128</sup> Kirsty Mathieson, ‘A Study of Auckland Society in the First Year of the Great War’, (M.A. Research Essay, Auckland University, 1979), preface.

<sup>129</sup> Baker, p. 24.

<sup>130</sup> O.E. Burton, *Our Little Bit A Brief History of the New Zealand Division* (1918), p. 3.

and no doubt many had personal reasons for volunteering: to avenge lost loved ones. *The New Zealand Herald* described the surge of recruits as being ‘imbued with a spirit of righteous revenge.’<sup>131</sup> Rather than promoting pacifism or cooling ardour, increased exposure to the cost of the war shifted the dominant understandings of service from ideas of adventure and glory-winning towards notions of grim but necessary national duty, or sacrifice.

It is also at this time that there was a hardening of attitudes towards those seen as not doing enough for the war. It would seem that the frustration and anger of loss was directed not at the war but at those who were not doing more and thus allowing those sacrifices to be in vain. As Belich puts it: ‘If you had risked a son, the feeling was, then other mothers should do so too.’<sup>132</sup> Letters to the editor around this time reflect a hardening of attitudes towards non-participants and the growth of a ‘with us or against us’ mindset. Let one example suffice.

‘No British subject can sit on the rail. It is apparent to any discerning man or woman that unless the British peoples who are scattered over the world proceed to England to assist in this her hour of need they can commence to learn the German language.’<sup>133</sup>

As with other nations New Zealand became increasingly willing to use encouragement, shame (and eventually legal compulsion) to compel men to enlist. One public appeal to duty and shame mimicked the British model and that (in)famous question ‘what did you do to help when Britain fought for freedom in 1915’ was put to Christchurch eligibles, via a tram (see fig. 7). In early 1915 *The New Zealand Observer* expressed an idea that was quickly growing in mainstream society that the entire nation should be participating in bringing about victory and that all men should fight: ‘war should not be left to those who want to fight. War should be waged by the whole manhood of the country.’ Furthermore, the editorial established that the role of those unable to fight was to sustain the war effort in other ways: ‘there is no patriotism in anything else but fighting, helping fighters, feeding fighters, recruiting fighters and treating fighters like fighting cocks.’<sup>134</sup>

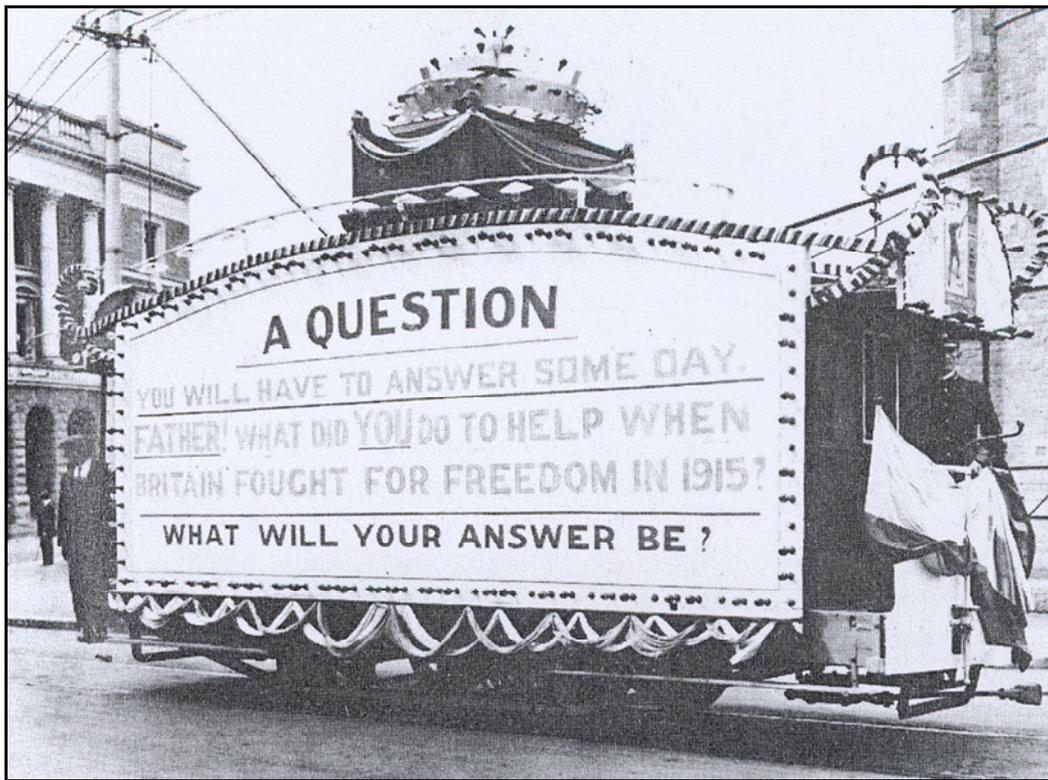
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<sup>131</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 26 May 1915, p. 6.

<sup>132</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 100.

<sup>133</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 13 January 1915, p. 5.

<sup>134</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 6 March 1915, p. 3.



**Figure 7**

*Tram Christchurch 1915*

Reference 7696 1/1, Alexander Turnbull Picture Library 338, Wellington, New Zealand.

The dynamic that the whole of the nation should actively support the war effort through sacrifice quickly grew. The end result of the adoption of this idea was that the demands of the war were interpreted under cultural values. With such an extensive reliance upon the nation, the war effort became a national effort and it was inevitable that that effort would be viewed in cultural terms, with everyday values and beliefs being mobilised to give meaning to the growing number of dead and injured. Many supporters of the war actively recruited aspects of their nation's culture offering orthodox views to explain the fighting. Historian Purseigle Pierre has contended that the conflict 'enlisted the cultural, moral, and ideological commitment of each nation to fight an uncivilised enemy to its total destruction.'<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Purseigle, Pierre, 'Mirroring societies at war: pictorial humour in the British and French popular press during the First World War', *Journal of European Studies*, special issue (September 2001), pp. 289-328.

Within New Zealand the message to sacrifice for the war was identified and integrated into many widely shared beliefs. Some of the ways that pro-war behaviour was justified under contemporary ideas have already been mentioned in passing, such as social Darwinist ideas of character and the revision of history to justify war. While this thesis cannot provide an exhaustive account of how the concept and rhetoric of sacrificing was replicated within various social arenas,<sup>136</sup> how the war message integrated with mainstream religious teaching and gender identity is particularly significant.<sup>137</sup> A brief survey of these areas is justified in that the way these ideas were mobilised were often applied (as the next chapter will examine) to point out the failure of those not correctly responding to the call.

With the war placing huge demands on the nation, mainstream churches sought to explain the meaning of the conflict and ultimately reinforced mainstream ideas and framed them with religious meaning. With sacrificial language, the sanctification of death, the promise of heavenly reward and national rebirth, churches strove to explain the war, its cause, nature and purpose. There were multiple theological perspectives on the conflict. Chaplain-Captain Sullivan, for example, is indicative of those who argued a Gregorian or just war interpretation of the conflict; that a Christian not only could but should fight:

‘Today Christ’s way led [sic] straight to the firing line and into the bayonet charge. Christ asks you to come in His name to avenge intolerable wrongs ... He wants you to come and enlist in the services of your country.’<sup>138</sup>

Others framed the war in near apocalyptic terms as a holy war for civilisation. London Bishop Winnington-Ingram spoke - his words were reprinted in New Zealand - at length of the necessity to kill ‘all’ Germans, ‘lest the civilisation of the

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<sup>136</sup> Some interesting work has been completed examining the impact of war on various social spheres. Examples include works by Allan Davidson, Peter Lineham, Gail Braybon, Annette Becker, Christopher Capozzola and Simon Johnson. See list of sources for full publication details.

<sup>137</sup> One researched example of how the war was understood under contemporary culture in New Zealand is Fiona Hall’s analysis of sport in the *New Zealander’s* understanding of the war. By 1914 sports had become an integral part of New Zealand life and a growing part in a developing national identity. Hall notes the public’s connection between prowess on the sporting field and potency on the battle field. ‘Generally, the public agreed. Sportsmen made good soldiers and those of military age should be at the front, fighting “For King and Country”.... Sportsmen were fit, well disciplined and used to working as a team. They were honourable, obedient and would play the game until the very end.’ See Fiona J. Hall, ‘The Greater Game’ *Sport and Society in Christchurch During The First World War, 1914-1918* (M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1989), p. 18.

<sup>138</sup> *New Zealand Methodist Times*, 22 January 1916, p. 13.

world itself be killed.’<sup>139</sup> Perhaps the strongest religious imagery and language lent to the war was that of the crusades. Here the *New Zealand Herald* continued the European precedent of identifying contemporary conflicts with the trappings and terms of the Crusades,<sup>140</sup> dubbing the A.N.A.Z.A.C. forces fighting in the Dardanelles the ‘New Crusaders’ and proclaiming that their fighting in the holy land linked them to the deeds of past Christian efforts and heroes.<sup>141</sup>

Some, such as Bishop Averill, argued that religious revival or national consecration was the key to victory: ‘What must God think of us when He sees us growing weary and slack and indifferent, instead of calling up all our reserve power and religious enthusiasm to meet the present day of trial.’<sup>142</sup> Another theological perspective was viewing the war as a method of purging evil from the world or as a sign of God’s displeasure with humankind. Furthering this approach a Presbyterian pamphlet entitled *How to end the War*, listed the requirements of victory as observation of the Sabbath, reverence for the sanctuary and obedience to the commands of God.<sup>143</sup> With a similar attitude in mind Rev. J. Dukes urged horse racing be abandoned until the end of the war as it was ‘a sport which today, more than any other in this Dominion, is destroying its morals, wasting its finances, evaporating its intellectual life and...is fast bringing upon us the just judgement of Almighty God.’<sup>144</sup> A similar but distinct line of theological reasoning was to see the war as a divine lesson and as such Anglican Bishop Thomas Sprott upon questioning why the war was continuing despite such massive efforts suggested:

‘May it not be that our God is teaching us that the battle is not always to the strong? That He wishes to teach us, who had forgotten God, that He is allowing this prolonged disappointment in order that we may learn again the secret of that prevailing prayer, which can alone set free the unexhaustible [sic] resources of the wisdom and power of God.’<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> *The Church News for the Diocese of Christchurch*, Vol. XLVI No.12, 1 December 1915, p. 12.

<sup>140</sup> How concepts of righteousness, holy struggle and parallels to the crusades have been employed in post-crusade conflicts is an often noted trend in scholarship on the crusades. For example see Carole Hillenbrand, ‘The Legacy of the Crusades’, in *Crusades The Illustrated History*, edited by Thomas Madden (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), pp. 200-210.

<sup>141</sup> See *New Zealand Herald*, supplement, 15 May 1915, p. 1.

<sup>142</sup> Peter Lineham, ‘First World War Religion’ in *New Zealand’s Great War New Zealand, The Allies and The First World War* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007), pp. 467-492.

<sup>143</sup> Lineham, ‘First World War Religion’, p. 485.

<sup>144</sup> *Auckland Star*, 14 June 1915, p. 8.

<sup>145</sup> Sprott, *Christianity and War Five Addresses Delivered by Dr. Sprott, Bishop of Wellington to the Student Christian Movement Conference* (Wellington: Wright & Carman, 1916), p. 18.

Religious concepts also entered the discourse that the post-war world would be an improved world, claiming that the sacrifice of the war was creating spiritual growth.<sup>146</sup> This idea extended to the frontline where one New Zealander described a chaplain's speech to front-line troops.

'He told us that wonderful things would come out of the war, that when it was over we would be free to build a new and better world. Great spiritual blessings would spring from these times of trouble and sacrifice.'<sup>147</sup>

Religious discourse often went beyond interpretation of the conflict, pro-war churches actively encouraged the nation to take part in the war effort. Ormond Burton, a soldier, and later a noted pacifist, suggested that the role of the Christian church in the conflict should be considered 'the greatest debacle of the war. She was subservient everywhere to the national governments. All over the world Christian ministers closed their New Testaments, preached more paganism and became the recruiting sergeants of the armies.'<sup>148</sup> On 18 January 1915 in Wellington, Bishop Sprott chaired a meeting of all denominations at which it was agreed to copy an English precedent and ring church bells and open church buildings daily at midday to encourage prayer for the war.<sup>149</sup> At the height of volunteering many denominations actively encouraged their members to join up, lionising those who had already left and condemning those who had not.<sup>150</sup>

Along with religious conventions, dominant ideas of female gender identity were applied to understand the war and the role of the New Zealander in it. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century represents an interesting era for female identity and has been described as the 'threshold of a new experience.'<sup>151</sup> During this period there was significant change and talk of female emancipation as women began to occupy new political, moral and economic ground, taking new roles in both public and private spaces. The war effort was itself a major part of this trend, creating new opportunities and identities for women in participating nations hungry

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<sup>146</sup> This attitude of spiritual growth through sacrifice was not confined to the pulpit and entered other public media. The *New Zealand Herald* when speaking of the war proclaimed that '...the valorous and beautiful deeds done daily on the battlefield doubtless vastly outweigh the evil.' See *New Zealand Herald*, supplement, 15 May 1915, p. 1.

<sup>147</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 156.

<sup>148</sup> Allan Davidson, 'New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War', pp. 447-466.

<sup>149</sup> Lineham, 'First World War Religion', p. 469.

<sup>150</sup> Lineham, 'Religion and war', p. 470.

<sup>151</sup> McLeod, p. 1.

for workers. As one British women - Lilian Miles - described it: 'it was like being let out of a cage.'<sup>152</sup> However, while the war may have blurred that Victorian ideal of separate masculine and feminine spheres with separate public and private roles in society, it did not erase it.

In New Zealand women were looked to, and continued, to play traditional roles in supporting the family and promoting traditional mainstream values and morals. With the mobilisation of the nation and its culture, women were looked to not only to play new roles, but to act in traditional ones as well. The war effort and its appeals to mass society very much incorporated New Zealand's conceptions of gender. With the adoption of the growing belief that all men had an active role to play in the war, the role of women was, largely, defined as that of supporting the war effort in other ways. This is an idea perhaps tied to the image of women as the moral vanguard of society. This attitude of separate roles is succinctly summarised on the cover of *Her Excellency's Knitting Book*: 'For the Empire and for freedom, We all must do our bit; The men go forth to battle, The women wait and knit.'<sup>153</sup> Many women took up this support role and held a unique position to exert influence of a private or personal nature; the three sons of the late Premier Richard John Seddon were told by their mother: 'we are at war. I expect you all to go.'<sup>154</sup> One wonders how many unrecorded variations of this message occurred in households throughout the country.

The idea of the female as a supporter, also became heavily tied to calls for sacrifice. As Bishop Averill expressed it 'what greater joy can a mother experience...than the knowledge that her life and example have helped her boy to live a noble life, and, if need be, to die a noble death?'<sup>155</sup> Another writer suggested women could help the war effort considerably by 'being unselfish and encouraging their sons and sweethearts to help maintain the prestige of our glorious Empire.'<sup>156</sup> Many mothers seem to have sincerely taken up this role as a sort of 'proxy martyr' and one mother

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<sup>152</sup> This description was also adopted by Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield for their study of women's experience during the world wars. See Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, *Out of the Cage Women's Experiences in Two World Wars* (New York: Pandora Press, 1987).

<sup>153</sup> Annette Liverpool, *Her Excellency's Knitting Book* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Wellington: Ferguson & Osborn, 1915).

<sup>154</sup> Baker, p. 17.

<sup>155</sup> Baker, p. 29.

<sup>156</sup> *Press*, 23 November 1914, p. 3.

stated when one of her sons was killed she was glad his picture was published so it would be seen that he was not ‘among the shirkers.’<sup>157</sup> Another woman, Mrs Mary Fury of Loughrea, County Galway, Ireland, was acknowledged in New Zealand newspapers as holding the ‘mother’s record in this war’ for ‘giving’ ten sons to the British Army. The piece celebrated Mrs Fury and noted her sacrifice that ‘now they have gone to the war, and she is struggling on alone.’<sup>158</sup> No doubt it was hoped that the printing of this information and the language used would prompt other mothers to imitate the example.

Women also had a growing public influence; by the end of 1915, roughly 29,000 New Zealand men had been shipped overseas and their sisters, daughters, sweethearts, wives and mothers constituted a fair section of the home front population. Some women took active roles in promoting sacrifice not only in the private arena but in the public one as well. A visual example of these public displays can be seen in figure 8, where Otago women and children paraded themselves to encourage men to fight for them. The number of men involved in the fighting makes it likely that many of the women who took these roles were not simply acting from patriotic fervour, but were motivated from personal experience, emotional loss and often co-existing financial hardship. One correspondent to *Press*, ‘Spartan Woman’, suggested a little spirit might be roused if all young ladies carried a supply of white feathers and presented one to each loafer. Furthermore if this failed to promote duty then the ‘useless males’ should be ‘enrolled, made to wear petticoats and sent out to domestic service.’<sup>159</sup> The *Auckland Star* suggested that ‘the young ladies form a crusade, and in the most unmerciful manner ask each and every young man who seems physically fit to go and volunteer at once.’<sup>160</sup> Many followed this advice and there were growing cases of indiscriminate public shaming of young men. Some complained of being confronted in public with accusations of shirking their duty. One man, for example, recalled being told by a fellow tramcar passenger ‘look here, young man, you ought to be doing something for your country.’<sup>161</sup> Some returned soldiers literally had insult

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<sup>157</sup> Baker, p. 30.

<sup>158</sup> *Press*, 3 February 1916, p. 8.

<sup>159</sup> *Press*, 21 November, 1914, p. 5.

<sup>160</sup> *Auckland Star*, 14 June 1915, p. 9.

<sup>161</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 29 May 1915, p. 16.



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**Figure 8**  
Otago Recruitment Drive  
Reproduced from *Otago Witness* - 29 March 1916, p. 39.

added to injury. One man, who was shipped home after being thrice wounded, was told by an elderly women 'if I had my way I'd pack every slacker like you off to the front.'<sup>162</sup> Eligible men across the country found themselves receiving white feathers, as a symbol of cowardice, or circulars. One such pamphlet printed and distributed by the Ladies Patriotic Club read: 'Your country needs you. Will you enlist before we expose you publicly as a shirker and a coward?'<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 24 December 1915, p. 16.

<sup>163</sup> Baker, p. 48.

The social pressure produced by this type of discourse gained a variety of responses. Many men recognising the public mood tried to adapt and there were requests for official badges or certificates to publicly identify oneself as having already volunteered or as having an officially recognised genuine reason for not enlisting to curtail accusations of shirking. The Government did eventually issue badges to identify ‘worthy eligibles.’<sup>164</sup> There was a backlash against some of the more indiscriminate activity. Opposition leader David Ward was met with loud applause when he stated to a crowd that ‘no person has the right to send a white feather.’<sup>165</sup> Another incident saw the Christchurch white feather league chased off the streets by other women.<sup>166</sup> Others responded to the letters to the editor with calls for British fair play and explanations that many men wanted to enlist but were unable to for legitimate economic, logistical or medical reasons. One correspondent reasoned that ‘mean and underhand reflections on our manhood should not be made until the number of men required for our New Zealand forces exceeds the number responding.’<sup>167</sup> This remark was an unintentional prophecy, indeed, when the surplus of volunteers began to dry up there was a change of action.

As the fighting developed into a long war of attrition, the concept of sacrificing for the effort became a prevailing idea within the nation. This message proclaimed that the war had to come before other considerations. The reliance of the war upon the whole of society meant this message encroached into or was adopted by many areas significantly altering the mainstream social fabric.

#### Service as compulsion: conscription

Between August 1914 and November 1916 New Zealand relied solely upon a volunteer system to secure soldiers. However an evolution in the understanding of service together with the pressure to maintain enlistment saw a shift towards conscription. Some of the ‘social seeds’ that promoted the introduction of conscription have already been examined including the wide-spread idea that all men should fight and that participation, sacrifice and enthusiasm for the war effort were

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<sup>164</sup> Reasons thought to generally be acceptable for not volunteering included being recognised as supporting dependants or working in a war vital industry.

<sup>165</sup> Baker, p. 51.

<sup>166</sup> *Otago Witness*, 19 May 1915, p. 4.

<sup>167</sup> *Evening Post*, 4 February 1915, p. 6.

virtues. However there were other dominant ideas that explain the switch from using social pressure to applying legal force to secure reinforcements.

Growing from the idea that all men should take part in the fighting was the sense of injustice, in many people's minds, that some men were failing to do their part. In the eyes of mainstream New Zealand, the volunteer recruitment system had sent a better type of man to the front. This meant that whilst brave men volunteered and fought at the front other men tarried in the home front, creating an inequality of sacrifice. Indeed, by late 1916 with recruitment rates declining, 69% of the eligible population had not volunteered for enlistment.<sup>168</sup> More controversy surrounded the national register taken in 1915 which revealed that of the 195,341 men registered, 78,123 men of military age had stated they were unwilling to serve outside the country and 34,386 stated that they were unwilling to serve at all; this constituted 40% of the eligible population.<sup>169</sup> The feeling that sacrifice was not being fairly distributed was captured in cartoons such as *The "Hands-Uppers" And Others* (see fig. 9), the central image of which shows Allen restraining a soldier from attacking a lounging man with the words, 'no no you wounded soldier. You must not hurt him, you must fight and bleed for him; you see he may have conscientious scruples.' The image also displays some of the dominant conceptions of men who did not enlist showing them to be cowardly, petty, vain or lazy. Some framed this inequality of sacrifice in patriotic terms, a correspondent to the *New Zealand Herald*, 'an Auckland Girl', wrote how she 'was sickened by the sight of hundreds of able-bodied young men lounging round the street corners of Auckland...when our nation is engaged in a life or death struggle.'<sup>170</sup> Others appealed to fairness and social justice, 'my last soon as Gon and I don't see it is far to leve them loafers behind [sic].'<sup>171</sup> Many championed conscription as a practise that would right this imbalance, forcing shirkers to do their part.

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<sup>168</sup> Ian McGibbon, 'First World War', p. 174

<sup>169</sup> Ian McGibbon, 'Conscription' in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, edited by Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 118.

<sup>170</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 8 January 1915, p. 3.

<sup>171</sup> Baker, p. 30.

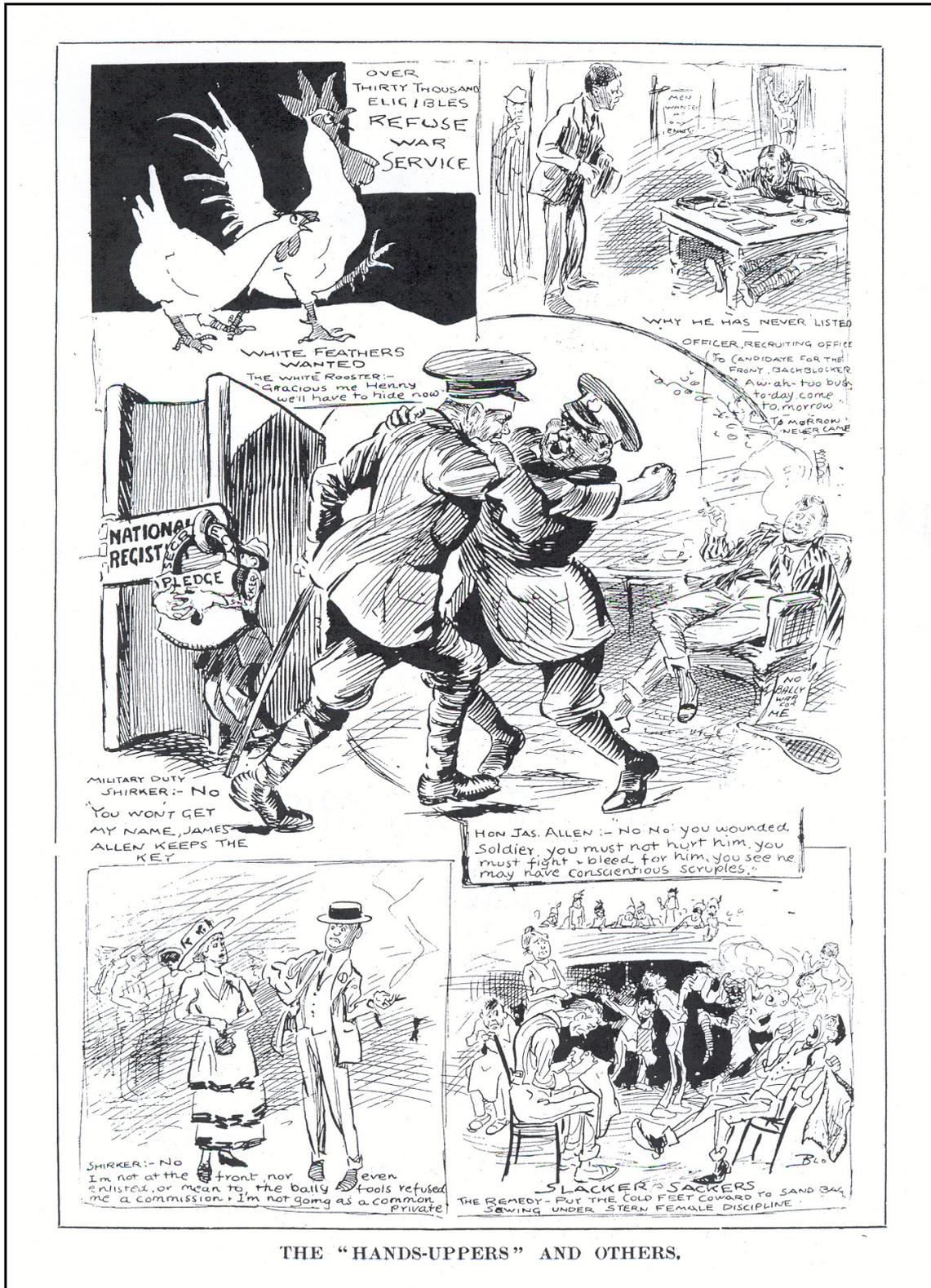


Figure 9

The "Hands-Uppers" And Others.

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 18 December 1915, p. 12.

An implicit premise in discourse surrounding equality of sacrifice is that something should be done to right the inequality and the usual candidate nominated to do this was the state. As one mother appealed: ‘Mr Allen, don’t have our sons and husbands killed for lying cowardly shirkers to hide behind.’<sup>172</sup> During the war there was a growth in statism, the state’s capacity to exert control over the nation and the individual. It could be argued that a nascent and benevolent form of statism existed before the war, with the belief in the obligation of the state to assist in individual welfare. With the outbreak of war, the obligation reversed. Was it acceptable to exercise state authority over an individual to force him to serve the state? The answer, according to mainstream society, was ‘yes’. Arguing a case for conscription in an address to a Wellington crowd in 1916, Professor Hugh Mackenzie’s words carry a strong statist slant. ‘There never was a privilege enjoyed in this world which did not carry with it duties...The State is, in my opinion, justified in calling upon the individual citizen to recognise *their obligation* to the State [sic].’<sup>173</sup>

The *New Zealand Free Lance* cartoon *How to get a move on* (see fig. 10) shows another mainstream conception of statism. A young soldier (with ‘NZ Free Lance’ inscribed on his hat) hands Allen a whip (which spells out conscription) in order to move the reinforcements cart forward and to avoid being ‘bogged’ by ‘the shafters lying down.’<sup>174</sup> Under the strain of the war, it was argued that, if an individual would not take part in the defence of the nation of his own volition, the state had a legitimate interest in forcing him. Therein the state would be acting in the same manner as collecting taxes or enforcing the law, exercising power to ensure the common good. This was largely the response when a group of women questioned Massey on conscription. When one woman claimed that he was driving men at the point of a bayonet, the Prime Minister responded ‘that if men won’t go of their own free will they will have to be driven!’ When another women asked about the place of God in men’s consciences, he rebutted ‘(thumping the table) the State must come first!’<sup>175</sup> With the growth of this attitude, conscription became more likely.

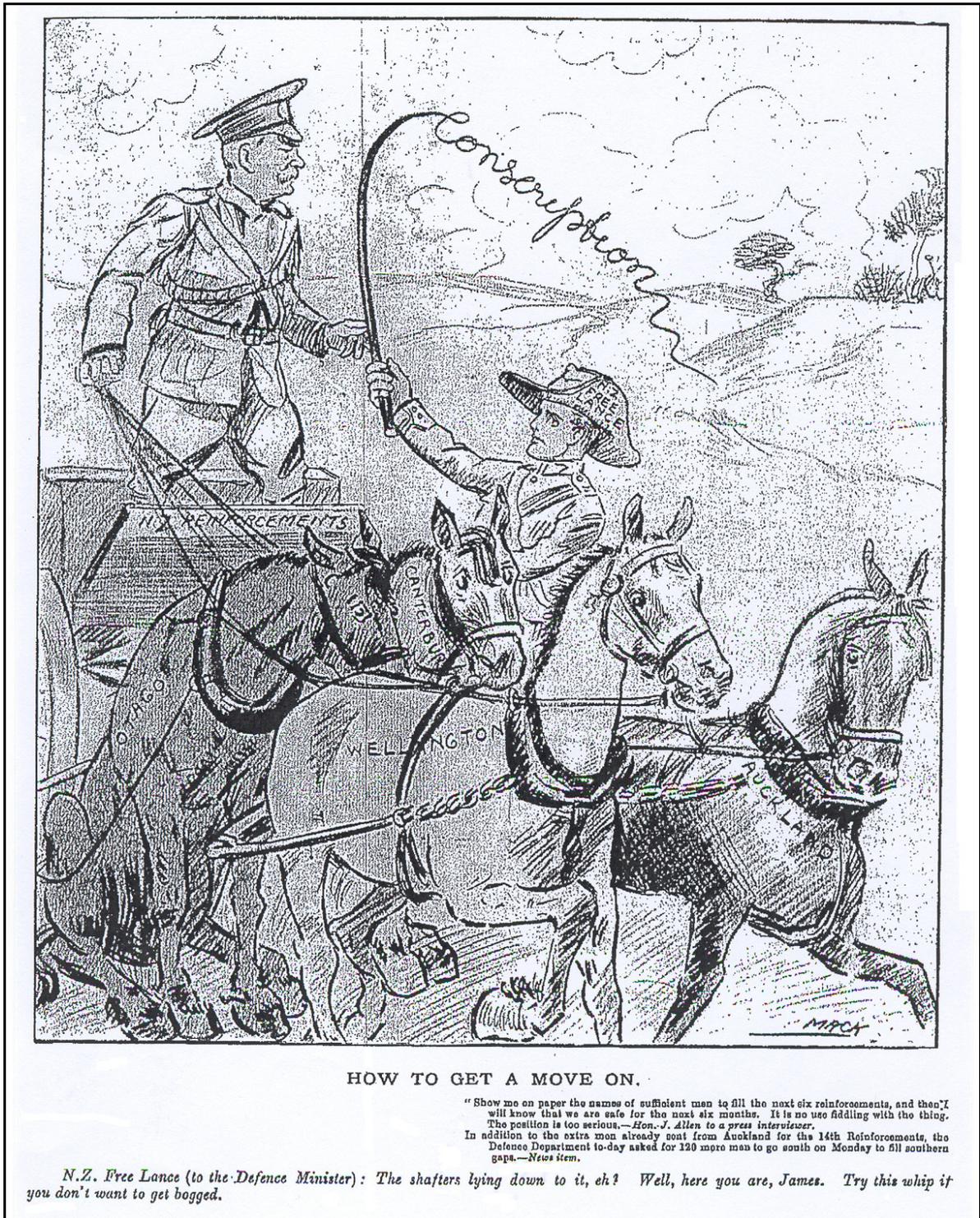
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<sup>172</sup> Baker, p. 30.

<sup>173</sup> Hugh Mackenzie, *Conscription To Be, Or Not To Be? Or The Commandeering of the Lives of our Young Men-two sides of the question* (Wellington: “The Evening Post” Printing Works, 1916), pp. 4-6.

<sup>174</sup> An extra discourse in the cartoon is in how the horses lying down are labelled as ‘Otago’ and ‘Christchurch’. Recruitment in the South Island had taken longer to get underway, leaving the north to make up the shortfall.

<sup>175</sup> *Maoriland Worker*, 21 June 1916, p. 3.



**Figure 10**  
*How To Get A Move On.*  
 Reproduced from *New Zealand Free Lance* - 31 March 1916, p. 3.

Reassessments of the nature of service were exacerbated by a simultaneous growth of concern over the volunteer service. Increased awareness of the nature of the war had eroded the enthusiasm upon which the volunteer system utilised, leading to changed attitudes towards service. Later volunteers tended to be older, lack the near hysteric enthusiasm of ‘Massey’s tourists’ (early volunteers), less ignorant about the reality of the war and were not, complained one officer, ‘looking for a fight.’<sup>176</sup> The motivation for these men was likely either a compelling sense of duty to go despite the horrors, or a sense of shame in not going.

By 1915 there was increasing concern over the ability of the volunteer system to meet recruitment quotas. This concern had grown out of a decline in the number of volunteers and simultaneous increases in the required commitment to the war in terms of soldiers. New Zealand had entered the war with the agreement to field and maintain an expeditionary force of 8,000 soldiers;<sup>177</sup> however this commitment increased throughout the war. On 19 April 1915, the N.Z.E.F. had been expanded to supply 18,500 reinforcements a year and this would not be the last time New Zealand’s commitment was raised. The reinforcement rate was again increased in October 1915, raising the annual commitment to over 30,000 men a year.<sup>178</sup> It was under this pressure that many questioned the ability of the volunteer system to supply the required quota of soldiers for the war effort. Many began to suggest conscription as an alternative to the volunteer system. The *New Zealand Observer* published the cartoon *Good Old Volunteer’s Day Is Done* which portrayed the public suggesting that Allen forget trying to patch up the volunteer system (portrayed as a worn down horse) and to try out ‘this Conscription colt...he’s frothing to get to work.’ (see fig. 11). John McK Graham succinctly summarises the situation wherein the Government was presented with a choice to either maintain the voluntary system or to maintain the country’s military commitment and chose the latter.<sup>179</sup> Conscription was applied on the 16 November 1916, secured under the provisions of the Military Service Bill, passed on the 1 August 1916.

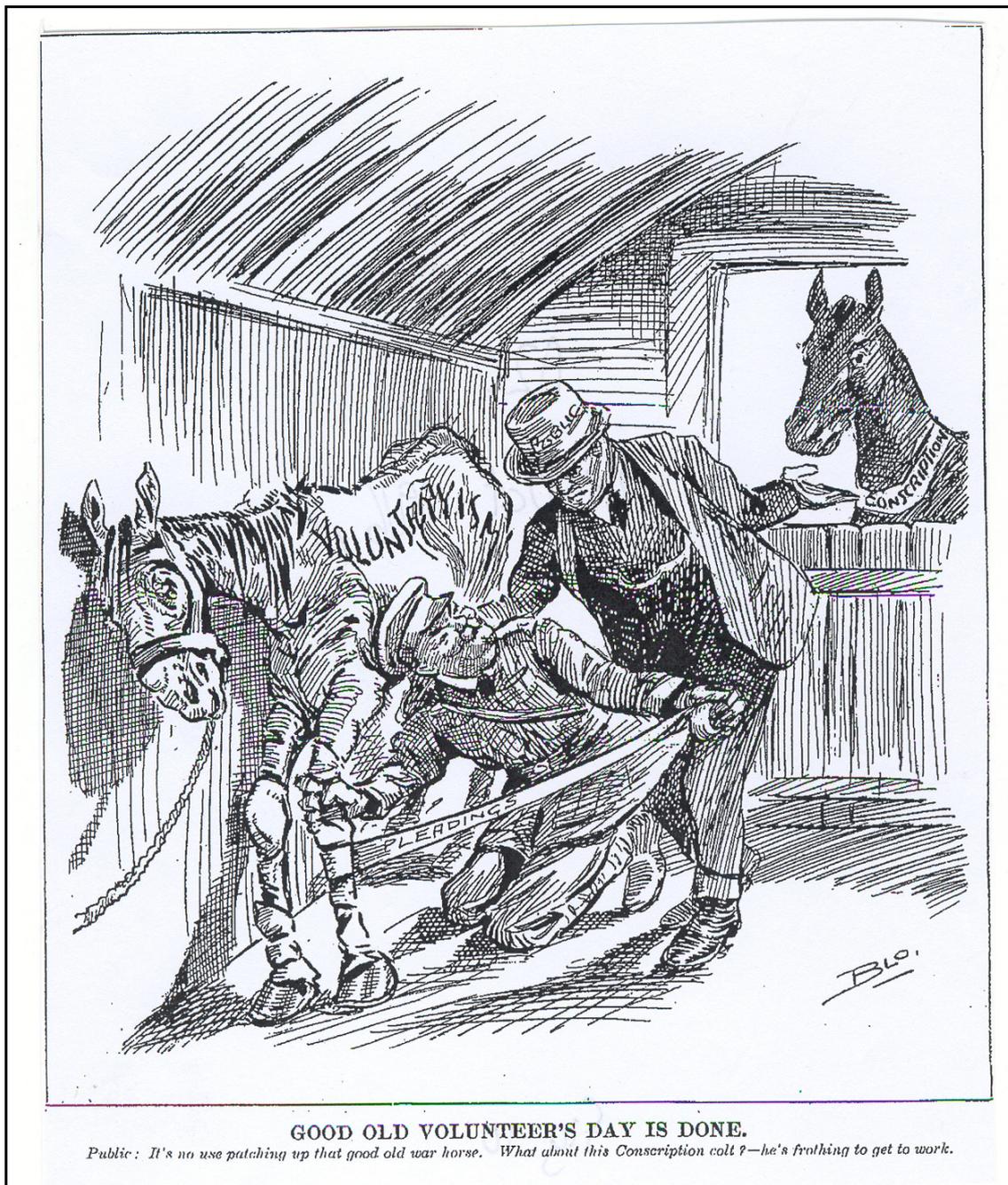
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<sup>176</sup> Baker, p. 37.

<sup>177</sup> Drew, p. 233.

<sup>178</sup> Baker, p. 45.

<sup>179</sup> John McK Graham, ‘The Voluntary System: Recruiting 1914-16’ (M.A. Thesis, Auckland University, 1972), p. vi.



**GOOD OLD VOLUNTEER'S DAY IS DONE.**

*Public: It's no use patching up that good old war horse. What about this Conscription colt?—he's frothing to get to work.*

**Figure 11**

*Good Old Volunteer's Day Is Done.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 28 October 1916, p. 1.

In studying objection to the war the introduction of conscription marks an important turning point in that governmental authority and state sovereignty were added to social pressure to compel men to fight. Conscription is defined as ‘compulsory enlistment for state service, esp. military service.’<sup>180</sup> However the term is popularly used to describe situations of active military service rather than other aspects of ‘enlistment’ included under a strict definition such as, for example, compulsory military training. Under the popular definition New Zealanders have historically been subjected to conscription on three occasions, to date: during the New Zealand Wars, during 1916-1918; and finally between 1940-1945. In terms of the New Zealand Wars, conscription had been secured under the Militia Act of 1858. Based on the English tradition, the act required military service from men who met certain parameters.<sup>181</sup> However, by the end of the New Zealand Wars, though the Militia Act was still in force, New Zealand’s military needs were being met by volunteers. The volunteers were distinct in that they freely gave their service and were willing to fight in any part of the country. The application of conscription in 1916 was crucially different to the previous use of conscription as it would compel New Zealanders not only to fight outside their home district but on the other side of the globe. As such, the use of conscription in the Great War represents a groundbreaking moment in New Zealand’s history of governmental assumption and application of legal power.

With the benefit of hindsight we are aware that conscription would be applied and largely welcomed by mainstream New Zealand.<sup>182</sup> Before the war, however, this would not have been an obvious turn of events. Pre-war New Zealand tended to regard an excess of militarism as a threat to British liberty and as a product of the ‘Old World’, conscription in particular was regarded as ‘a strictly European practice.’<sup>183</sup> Although the question of security and how to achieve it was one of the major debates in early twentieth century New Zealand, it was the fringe which suggested conscription. In 1900 the Hon. Mr McLean went so far as to state that ‘the country

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<sup>180</sup> *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* ninth ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 283.

<sup>181</sup> Men who were between 16 and 50 and lived in centres of population of 1,000 people or more were required to undertake 168 hours of drilling annually, however they could not be compelled to march or fight more than a limited distance from their district. See James Milburn, *New Zealand’s First Experiment with Compulsory Military Training 1900-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1954), pp. 10a-11.

<sup>182</sup> Paul Baker’s analysis of the April 1917 local body elections lead him to conclude that between 60-70% of New Zealanders favoured the introduction of conscription. See Baker, p. 98.

<sup>183</sup> Milburn, p. 17.

would never stand conscription.’<sup>184</sup> This line of thought had been carried into the war by *The Maoriland Worker*, who predicted that any attempt to introduce conscription would lead to ‘disastrous upheavals and eruptions calculated to shake the foundations of the social structure.’<sup>185</sup> Even compulsory military training created much controversy and when it was introduced in 1909 it was claimed to be, or at least marketed as, an alternative to conscription. Cadet training was made compulsory in the 1909 Defence Act which set out to ‘make Better Provision for the internal defence of New Zealand.’<sup>186</sup> All males between 12 and 14, or the date of leaving school, whichever came last were trained in the Junior Cadets where they were to receive ‘not less than 52 hours military training annually.’<sup>187</sup> Between the ages of 14 and 18 or the date of leaving secondary school, whichever came last, boys would be in the Senior Cadets. Between 18 and 21 in the General Training Section and from 21 to 30 years of age men would be in the Reserve and would undergo two muster parades annually. The system insured that, in theory, future volunteers would be at a prescribed level of training and gave New Zealand a pool of martially instilled males to meet future defence needs. The Hon. Dr. Findlay noted that ‘in six or seven years it is estimated the Reserve will amount probably to 50,000, and in ten, twelve or fourteen years will probably reach the numbers of 100,000.’<sup>188</sup> It was hoped this pool of potential soldiers would be the answer to future defence needs. Or as the Governor put it, ‘if the martial spirit thus ingrained in the boy is subsequently fostered and encouraged in the man, the word conscription, so repugnant to the free nation, may well be considered removed from the Colony.’<sup>189</sup>

Even during the war there were several reasons why conscription would be undesirable. It would suggest, as many moralists feared, that the descendants of the colonists had grown soft and had lost initiative. It would be a blow to national prestige that New Zealand was forced to conscript, while other dominions such as

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<sup>184</sup> 26 June 1900, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 111, p. 23.

<sup>185</sup> *The Maoriland Worker*, 1 Sep 1915, p. 4.

<sup>186</sup> *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1909, No. 28, Defence Act, 1909.

<sup>187</sup> *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1909, No. 28, Defence Act, 1909, section 35. & Ian McGibbon, ‘Cadets’, in *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History*, edited by Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 76-77.

<sup>188</sup> 22 December 1909, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 148, p. 1413.

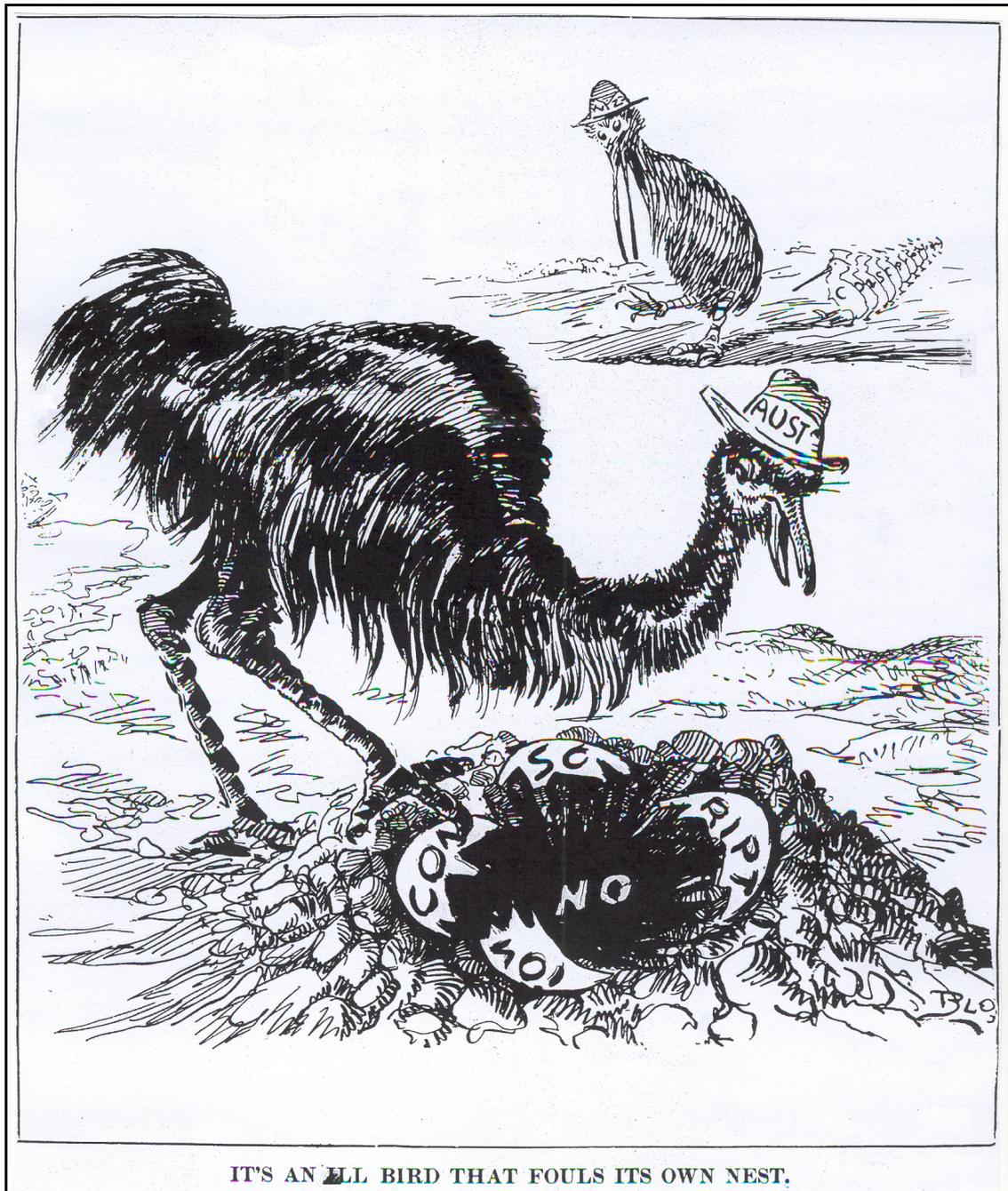
<sup>189</sup> 28 June 1904, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 128, pp. 1-2.

Australia and Canada were still using volunteers.<sup>190</sup> It would be a move towards the militarist society and away from British liberty which, in theory and rhetoric, New Zealand was fighting against and for. This last point was the main argument of members of the Labour movement who consistently spoke out against the establishment and practise of conscription.<sup>191</sup> Ultimately it would show both the nation and the world that New Zealanders had to be forced to do their duty. Ironically when conscription was introduced it was often promoted as a mark of devotion to the Empire and used to mark Australia, as a dominion less committed to the Empire. Examples of this idea are seen in figures 12 and 13. Figure 12 shows a typical depiction of the contrast of efforts being made by the two nations, showing Kiwi birds lining up in an orderly fashion behind a leader, spelling conscription, whilst an Emu destroys an egg labelled conscription. Figure 13, also displays the contrast between national efforts showing, some typical depictions of men who do not enlist as being more concerned with trivia – sports, driving cars, smoking, etc than duty. The difference between the nations is shown in that while Australia permits this, the conscription magnet does not allow these men to get away with such behaviour. The fact that during the war many called for conscription and its introduction was largely welcomed is illustrative of the changed zeitgeist between pre-war and wartime New Zealand society.

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<sup>190</sup> Canada would introduce conscription in 1917 and Australia after two referendums maintained its volunteer system.

<sup>191</sup> Ironically many members of the Labour movement who opposed conscription and were trialled for sedition, such as future Prime Minister Peter Fraser, would oversee the reintroduction of conscription during the Second World War.



**Figure 12**

*It's An Ill Bird That Fouls Its Own Nest.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 11 November 1916, p. 1.



**Figure 13**  
*Will Australia Play The Game-And Conscript?*  
 Reproduced from *New Zealand Free Lance*- 21 December 1917, p. 3.

The 1916 Military Service Bill itself is indicative of how mainstream New Zealand viewed service. The final structure of the Military Service Bill was shaped by social pressures to bring about equality of sacrifice and not allow eligible men to avoid enlistment in several ways. To begin with the Bill applied equality of sacrifice to regions; if a district's recruitment quota was not met by volunteers, men would be conscripted from that district to make up the shortfall. The Bill also separated eligible men into two divisions of which no second division man was to be sent until all first division men had gone. First division was made up of unmarried men, widowers without children and men married after the 4 August 1914. All other men made up second division.<sup>192</sup> Also in line with ideas of social justice and attitudes of fairness was section 35 of the Act, popularly called the 'family shirkers clause',<sup>193</sup> which meant men belonging to families of which no member had gone to war could be called up without being balloted.<sup>194</sup> No eligible man was automatically exempt but individuals, or their employer, could appeal on the grounds that their conscription would cause undue hardship to themselves, others or the public interest (how the Bill understood conscientious objection is examined in chapter three). In these cases the individual could appeal for exemption and his case would be heard by a Military Service Board. The Government reserved the right to earmark individuals as exempt, in which case the Minister of Munitions and Supply could provide certificates which the boards would be obligated to accept.

The Military Service Boards were established to hear appeals if the conscripted felt they had a non-medical reason to avoid service. The boards were purposely designed to have little government input and only a minimal military one, due to the belief that the public would not look favourably on a board with 'too much of the military element on it.'<sup>195</sup> One of the most salient results of the boards' operation was a failure to exercise uniform standards. James Belich notes that 'for some reason you had 24 times the chance of being rejected for goitre in Canterbury as in Auckland' and that among the 1.4% of men rejected for defective intelligence were two teachers, three

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<sup>192</sup> Over time the bill was amended and conscription was applied to larger demographics. For example, in 1917 conscription was applied to married men without children and in May 1918 conscription was extended to include Māori. Age and physical standards were also altered to secure more recruits.

<sup>193</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 22.

<sup>194</sup> *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1916, No.8, Military Service Act, Section 35.

<sup>195</sup> Mr Forbes, 11 May 1916, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 175, p. 47.

lawyers and a chemist.<sup>196</sup> One public scandal emerged concerning the successful appeal of two businessmen, Laidlaw and Gardiner, who applied for exemption because of 'their importance to the commercial life of Auckland.'<sup>197</sup> Laidlaw's exemption, as well as the fickle nature of the appeal boards in general, was the topic of Henry Kirk's poem *The Bloke That Puts The Acid On* (see fig. 14).<sup>198</sup> With minimum Government regulation the boards tended to become populated by members who approached their task as defenders of conscription. One board Chairman privately stated that C.O.s were ineligible for exemption; they were either shirkers who should be deported or cranks who should be in a mental hospital.<sup>199</sup> Another member mentioned how he 'relished the chance to get at shirkers.'<sup>200</sup> This was compounded by how the authorities sometimes failed to understand appealers' positions - one member of the Plymouth Brethren who came before the board was told 'I think I can safely tell you that there is no authority in the Bible against killing.'<sup>201</sup> Another Member of Parliament apparently believed that Christadelphians were Red Feds.<sup>202</sup> Archibald Baxter, described the appeal boards as 'farcical', 'their members usually ridiculing the objectors who were rash enough to appeal.'<sup>203</sup>

The introduction of conscription emerged in the changed social dynamics the war imposed on New Zealand society. With the failure to secure enlistment rates with moral compulsion and a desire to maintain commitment to the war conscription emerged in 1916. This development of compulsory service for males is also indicative of many prominent ideas in society such as calls for participation, sacrifice and gendered understandings of service.

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<sup>196</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 103.

<sup>197</sup> Keith, p. 262.

<sup>198</sup> *New Zealand Watersider*, Vol. 3, No. 26, 1 October 1918, p. 8.

<sup>199</sup> Baker, p. 176.

<sup>200</sup> Baker, p. 115.

<sup>201</sup> M.J. Kelly, *Military Board Appeals Otago Witness Dec 1916 to Feb 1917* (Auckland: Old News Publications, 1993), p. 15.

<sup>202</sup> Hon. Mr Maginnity, 30 June 1916, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 176, p. 365.

<sup>203</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 21.

*The Bloke That Puts The Acid On* by 'The Mixer' - Henry Kirk

The Milit'ry Service board  
Sat in a state the other day  
To refuse or give exemptions-  
Just in the usual way.  
The first case was a wharfie  
Who'd had a wooden leg from birth.  
The Chairman said: 'Exempted;  
Now hop home for all you're worth.'

Chorus  
But the bloke that puts the acid on  
Got up and shouted: 'Bosh!  
A wooden leg, by gosh!  
Such tales will never wash!  
It was our gallant hearts of oak  
That beat the foreign foe,  
And mahogany legs can do the same-  
Why, of course, he's got to go!'

They call'd upon the next case;  
Then a women rose and said:  
'My husband was a miner,  
And I've come to say he's dead.'  
The Chairman said; 'Well, he's exempt;  
He needn't come again.'  
'Oh, thank you,' said the widow,  
And she ran to catch her train.

Chorus  
But the bloke that puts the acid on  
Got up and shouted: 'Hi!  
How dare your husband die?  
He was A1 in July.  
What's that you said?  
"He's in heaven now?"  
Well, just you let him know  
I'll send a squad to fetch him back-  
For, of course, he's got to go.'

They called upon a sailor next,  
And smiling, all serene,  
He stated: 'Gents I'm am sixty-one;  
You've got me down nineteen.'  
The Chairman said; 'What sixty-one?'  
Then, with a thoughtful frown  
He said; 'You're right, you're right;  
I had your papers upside down.'

Chorus  
But the bloke that puts the acid on  
Got up and shouted: 'Say!  
Don't let him go away,  
Tho' his ship does sail today!  
There are men that follow up the sea  
Just as good as him, I know;  
And I'm sure they're a damn sight older-  
So, of course, he's got to go.'

Final Relapse  
The next exemption candidate  
Walked in as though on air.  
The Chairman said: 'How do you do?'  
And placed him for a chair.  
He sounded him, and said: 'You're fit  
To keep the Huns at bay;  
You're just the stamp of man we want-  
I'll pass you as Class A.'

Chorus  
But the bloke that puts the acid on  
Got up and shouted: 'Hey!  
This man can't go away,  
His business would decay!  
We can't afford to let him pass,  
He's wealthy, don't you know;  
And his case is the same as Laidlaw's-  
so, of course, he cannot go.'

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**Figure 14**

*The Bloke That Puts The Acid On*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Watersider* - Vol. 3, No. 26, 1 October 1918, p. 8.

Ultimately, the involvement or investment of so much of New Zealand in the war effort altered the New Zealand national character. According to Ronald Wright ‘walls will go up in times of crisis’ and that ‘the thickest walls are in the mind.’<sup>204</sup> In wartime New Zealand the crisis of the burden of the war promoted the adoption of ideas which became dominant within the social structure. Amongst these was the understanding that the entire nation should proactively participate, and sacrifice, to bring victory. The roles citizens should play and how those roles should be enacted were coloured by mainstream values such as gendered notions that all men should fight. There was also an adoption of unsophisticated and very polarised understandings of loyalty and disloyalty. All of these behaviours and conventions emerged with the expectation that individuals conform to them. There was, moreover, a reduced tolerance for dissent; indeed, there was a willingness to react strongly to those perceived to be harming the war effort. These dominant conceptions were held to be the correct response to the call and the ones that New Zealanders were first encouraged and then compelled to conform to. It is from this platform of dominant idealised service that we can understand how those who did not meet these standards were perceived and judged and why they were reacted to as they were.

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<sup>204</sup> Ronald Wright, *A Short History of Progress* (Melbourne: The Text Publishing Company, 2005), p. 123.

## **Chapter Four: The shirker's response to the call**

Knowing what wartime New Zealand deemed to be the correct response to the call is crucial in understanding how C.O.s were comprehended and why they were reacted to as they were. The social dynamics and conventions that the war promoted led to a polarised society, meaning New Zealanders either conformed to the new conventions or were regarded as failing the nation. There were several groups who were identified as not conforming and were therefore scorned - industrial strikers, New Zealand Germans, disunited politicians, lazy workers (slackers), war profiteers and men who avoided enlisting - in short anyone perceived as harming or not wholeheartedly contributing to the war effort. Of these categories, men who did not enlist or resisted conscription were seemingly among the most popular targets judging by the amount of material which decried them. The eligible man who did not enlist clashed with many dominant social conceptions such as gendered ideas that men should fight, calls to display active support for the war as well as the drive to create equality of sacrifice. This meant there was a significant amount of popular ideology with which to mock unenlisted men. Additionally there was a willingness to depict C.O.s, with a list of physical and character flaws to deride their position. Overall, there was little intellectual engagement or social debate concerning the legitimacy of C.O.s or their principles and reasons for refusing service. Rather, mainstream perception, judgement and reaction to C.O.s was largely based upon the fact that they were not fighting rather than their reasons why.

These dominant ideas were believed to be the shirker's response to the call. Ultimately C.O.s and mainstream society found themselves fundamentally opposed and the latter perceived and reacted to the former under orthodox ideas of service, duty and equality of sacrifice. This dynamic can be seen recorded in the official sources, popular representation and the wartime experiences of C.O.s.

### Official discourse on conscientious objectors

Although this thesis has not, and does not, directly focus upon the motivations and principles of those who claimed the status of ‘conscientious objector’ a brief history of that subject is in order so as to evaluate the position the New Zealand Government would adopt towards C.O.s. Before the war anti-militarism had been one of the major issues of the New Zealand political landscape. For a variety of reasons early twentieth century New Zealand had grown increasingly concerned with national security. Explanations for the growth of this concern are undoubtedly linked to events that suggested the need to secure the country’s borders such as the realisation of Japanese power with their shock victory over Russia in 1905, concerns over other European colonial interests, the fear that Chinese migration - the ‘yellow peril’ - might swamp New Zealand. Additionally, no doubt, the slowing of internal development also must have encouraged New Zealanders to look out onto the global scene and assess their place in it. In meeting these concerns New Zealand looked to England, heavily relying on British naval strength in assessing its security. However there were further apprehensions that the British Navy could not guarantee assistance to an isolated outpost of the Empire, tied up, as it might be, in the growing naval race with Germany. Reaction to these concerns had seen a series of reforms and initiatives intended to boost the country’s defence. Amongst those were the purchasing and gifting of a £1.7 million dreadnought, H.M.S. *New Zealand*, to the Royal Navy in 1909 and the introduction of compulsory cadet service for all boys between 12 and 21 in 1911.<sup>205</sup>

Intimately tied, in subject and language, to these concerns with the strength of the nation were concerns with the strength of the ‘race.’ This was the height of New Zealand’s progressive movement, an age when Sir Robert Stout gave public lectures on the virtues of eugenics in securing the future of the race; where Truby King’s ‘Society for the health of Women and Children’, popularly known as the Plunket society, demonstrated how to scientifically raise stronger babies; and public interest in physical culture saw the famous strongman, Eugen Sandow, given a civic welcome by ‘converts and curious onlookers’ upon his visit to Wellington in

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<sup>205</sup> Ian McGibbon, ‘New Zealand, HMS’ in *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History* edited by Ian McGibbon, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 357-358.

1902.<sup>206</sup> Under such a zeitgeist, martial pursuits were often promoted as a remedy to fears of racial degeneration, promising to rebuild citizenship by gifting individuals with healthy physical development and a dutiful disposition thus bestowing the country with a national resource for security concerns. This association of martial activity with strength and social order set a precedent for linking opposition to such schemes with weakness and degeneration.

Many actively pushed for reform to 'strengthen' the country. Formed in 1906 the National Defence League is the most prominent example of an organised group that argued the virtues of martial reforms, including the introduction of compulsory military training. The League enjoyed great political and social influence and counted among its members Prime Minister David Ward, Chief Justice Sir Robert Stout and a number of professional journalists including two members of staff of the *Auckland Herald*.<sup>207</sup> The organisation grew swiftly and at its peak had over 50 branches and 7,000 members.<sup>208</sup> In 1909 the League witnessed its goal as the 1909 Defence Bill was passed with near unanimous M.P. support, establishing compulsory military training for youths via the Cadet Services. Exemption was only permitted upon medical and economic grounds. Though military authority could exempt boys on religious grounds, a Parliamentary vote of 44 - 10 overwhelmingly rejected the proposed amendment to extend exemption to conscientious objectors.<sup>209</sup>

The increase of this apparent militarism saw the growth of significant opposition. Some reacted against specific measures, such as compulsory training, others against the culture of militarism. Some expressed mild disapproval or concern that exposing boys to soldiering might lead to bad habits such as drinking or swearing. Others were more venomous in their condemnation of militarist culture. One anonymous reaction to the military trappings of the Scouts read as follows:

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<sup>206</sup> Caroline Daley, *Leisure & Pleasure Reshaping & Revealing the New Zealand Body 1900-1960* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), p. 13.

<sup>207</sup> Milburn, p. 37. Grant, *Out in the Cold*, p. 13.

<sup>208</sup> Baker, p. 11.

<sup>209</sup> R.L. Weitzel, 'Pacifists and Anti-militarists in New Zealand, 1909-1914', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 7 No. 2 (October 1973), pp. 128-147.

‘Let Mars seduce the boy. Let the bloodstained god of war blast the boy’s fraternalism and flaunt in his soul the cheap aspirations of a proud-strutting, guilt-braided butcher, afire with desire for bloody deeds. A Boy Scout is an incipient assassin, a budding jingo, a germinating butcher of men – a boy being transformed into a blood lusting fool and tool to serve in the great class struggle as an iron fist for the employer class against the working class.’<sup>210</sup>

Compulsory military training in particular became a point of contestation and saw a significant reaction from several groups who argued on political, intellectual and religious grounds. Apprentices in Christchurch’s Addington Workshops, arguing on socialist principles, formed the Passive Resisters’ Union (PRU) and three major Christian-based movements also emerged, the Auckland based Freedom League, the Nation Peace and Antimilitarist Council of New Zealand and the Anti-Militarist League. This added to other social debates of a changing nation; now along with wet and dry, capital and labour, urban and rural divides there were compulsionists and anti-compulsionists.

Although anti-compulsionists were dismissed by Major-General Alexander Godley, who had been tasked with implementing the new defence scheme, as ‘a hopeless minority’,<sup>211</sup> opposition to compulsion involved a significant amount of the populace and garnered public sympathy. Under the 1909 Defence Act any eligible who failed to register faced a £5 fine, lost enrolment as an elector and became ineligible for, Government employment.<sup>212</sup> A 1912 amendment to the Defence Act allowed military custody as a penalty for those who defaulted on paying the fine.<sup>213</sup> However these penalties did not stop a significant segment of society opposing the Act. In 1912, the first full year of the Act’s operation, less than 20 percent of Canterbury’s eligible youth attended training.<sup>214</sup> By the end of the year 3,185 youths were prosecuted for absence from parade of whom 1,923 were convicted. Fines were issued in 1,437 cases and 120 were imprisoned for refusing to pay the fine, leading to outbursts from anti-compulsionists and anti-militarists.<sup>215</sup> In March

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<sup>210</sup> S.G. Culliford, *New Zealand Scouting - The First Fifty Years; 1908-1958* (Wellington: Wright & Carman, 1958), pp. 16-17.

<sup>211</sup> David Grant, ‘Conscientious objectors’, in *The Oxford Companion To New Zealand Military History*, edited by Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 115-117.

<sup>212</sup> *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1909, Defence Act, 1909, Section 51.

<sup>213</sup> *Statues of New Zealand*, 1912, No. 20, Defence Amendment Act, 1912, Section 2.

<sup>214</sup> David Grant, ‘Conscientious objectors’, p. 115.

<sup>215</sup> Figures taken from Weitzel, p. 141.

1912, 1,000 protestors gathered outside Lyttelton jail where a youth had been imprisoned for not paying a fine; for the occasion a song was composed and distributed (see fig. 15).<sup>216</sup>

Perhaps the most significant display of anti-militarism during the period occurred on 4 July 1913 where a crowd of 400 marched on Parliament to protest the treatment of C.O.s, who had refused compulsory service, being held on Ripa Island.<sup>217</sup> Word had reached the mainland that thirteen prisoners were undergoing a hunger strike after having been placed in solitary confinement on half rations for refusing to drill or do military work. The prisoners had announced via a note that:

‘We will stick to our principles to the last. It is now the morning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> July, and ten of us have refused to accept the fifth meal that has been offered us... We are prepared to play the game to the last: all we ask is for you to do the same. Let the world know that this little country is game enough to challenge the power of the military autocracy which is threatening to overwhelm the world, and is ruining the workers of the world.’<sup>218</sup>

Upon their release in July 1913 the Ripa Island prisoners were met by some 2,500 Christchurch citizens.<sup>219</sup> The, now famous, ex-prisoners toured the county speaking of their experiences and public opinion forced the Government to stop incarcerating defaulters in military barracks.<sup>220</sup> In the year ending 30 April 1914 figures for defaulters climbed still higher with 7,030 absent, 4,146 convictions in the Territorials and Senior Cadets and 234 sentenced to detention.<sup>221</sup> The *Manawatu Evening Standard* warned of ‘signs of revulsion of public opinion in favour of the old voluntary system.’<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Weitzel, p. 136.

<sup>217</sup> Ripa Island also appears in some sources with the alternative spelling of Ripapa Island.

<sup>218</sup> Herbert Roth, ‘The Prisoners of Ripa Island’ *Here & Now*, (November 1954), pp. 16-18.

<sup>219</sup> David Grant, *Out in the Cold*, p. 14.

<sup>220</sup> Roth, p. 18.

<sup>221</sup> Figures from Weitzel, p. 147.

<sup>222</sup> Cited in Baker, p. 12.

*Set our children free*  
(Sung to the tune of *John Brown's Body*)

Joey Ward is Premier, but he hasn't long to live,  
He sold our country's children, and a Dreadnought he did give,  
But now we all see through him, just as though he were a sieve -  
And we'll set our children free!

CHORUS:

Glory, glory, hallelujah,  
Glory, glory, hallelujah,  
Glory, glory, hallelujah,  
We'll set our children free!

Now he's got his title, p'raps he doesn't care a hang,  
But all the same we'll close his term of office with a bang,  
We'll turn him out of power, him and all his gang,  
And we'll set our children free!

Don't let a tyrant rule you while there's honest men and true,  
Never let the mili-tary get a grip of you,  
Better send them packing - Godley, Ward, and all his crew,  
And set your children free!

We'll never have the camp life with its immorality,  
We'll never have our children drilled by aristocracy,  
For we are democratic, and we ever will be free,  
And we'll keep our children free!

Cruel war and slaughter has held long enough its sway,  
Burning homes, and killing wives and children where they play,  
But now we have made up our minds that peace shall reign for aye,  
And our children shall be free!

So we'll set the flag a-flying, glorious flag of liberty,  
We will proclaim our freedom to the borders of the sea,  
We all refuse to cringe and crawl or bow to tyranny,  
And our children shall be free.

So good-bye, Ward, get home with all your autocratic crew,  
Your guns and ammunition take, and General Godley too,  
For we've no further use for him, and his and such as you,  
And our children shall be free.

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**Figure 15**

*Set our children free*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Yesterdays A Look at our Recent Past*, p. 19.

In point, by 1914 New Zealand contained a substantial anti-compulsion and anti-militarism presence. Worth noting is the variety of intellectual and philosophical positions used to protest military service. After the war Harry Holland attempted, in *Armageddon or Calvary*, to evaluate the positions C.O.s had taken during the war and concluded that there were roughly four main categories which C.O.s might be grouped into. These were Māori, socialist, Irish or Christian, though there were obviously some overlaps, for example many religious C.O.s also held socialist principals.<sup>223</sup> These groups portrayed a range of political, secular and religious based objections to participation. The Māori C.O.s, many coming from the Waikato, refused to enlist for political reasons, not wanting to fight in what was seen as a Pakeha war. For many the impact upon Māoridom of the New Zealand Wars was still a recent event. Waikato Princess Te Puea succinctly summed up that attitude when she stated:

‘They tell us to fight for king and Country, well that’s all right. We’ve got a king. But we haven’t got a country. That’s been taken off us. Let them give us back our land and then maybe we’ll think about it again.’<sup>224</sup>

The socialist C.O.s argued the war was, rather than a war between nations, a fight between capitalist rulers using workers as soldiers. The Irish C.O.s were Sinn Feiners and objected to fighting for Britain. The Christian C.O.s perceived it as God’s will that they not fight; few came from mainstream churches, most were fundamentalists who would likely have agreed with Stella Benson’s proclamation that ‘one must take either War or Christianity seriously. Hardly both.’<sup>225</sup>

In contrast to the diversity of reasons C.O.s put forth for not enlisting was the narrowness of the definition and recognition of legitimate objection within the 1916 Military Service Bill. The shape of the final copy of the Bill, in regards to C.O.s, was the result of much debate - the *Journals of the Legislative Council* note the multiple readings of the Bill as Parliament debated upon what kinds of allowances to make for C.O.s, if any.<sup>226</sup> Ultimately the nation’s situation was largely unprecedented; the soldiers who had gone to South Africa over a decade earlier had

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<sup>223</sup> Holland, p. 5.

<sup>224</sup> Michael King, *Te Puea A Life* (Auckland: Reed, 2003), p. 78.

<sup>225</sup> Stella Benson, *This Is The End* (London: Macmillan and CO., 1917), p. 160.

<sup>226</sup> *Journals of the Legislative Council of the Dominion of New Zealand from the ninth day of May to the Eighth Day of August 1916* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1916), p. 32.

been volunteers and while the experiments with compulsory training had shown that some of the population opposed compulsion many questions remained. How many would resist conscription? Would objection be limited in light of the German threat? Would those who resisted still garner public sympathy now the country was at war? Though these were real concerns and questions the changed social dynamics of wartime New Zealand saw conscription called for by most of the nation, as a creator of equality of sacrifice that would secure New Zealand's commitment to the war effort. These social desires were consistent with Government ones and the Government was more concerned with creating legislation that would secure soldiers than respecting philosophical sensibilities. In Allen's words, the Bill 'has only one object, and that object is to win the war.'<sup>227</sup>

With this in mind the Act initially made no provision for any conscience-based appeals, including religious ones, and some legislators argued against making allowances. One typical remark stated that: 'It does not seem advisable to allow an appeal on account of religious tenets and doctrines.'<sup>228</sup> Other members of parliament seem to have doubted either the sincerity of C.O.s religious principles or their ability to maintain them once conscripted. As one member put it 'when you put a Quaker to it, he will fight.'<sup>229</sup> Though religious allowances did appear in the final text, it seems there was neither any real consideration of extending legitimate objection past religious reasons and there was much questioning of the legitimacy of a conscience based-objection not built upon religious ideals. As Allen expressed it: 'might I ask how the conscience of that man was cultivated, and whether it was based on sound premises.'<sup>230</sup> Undoubtedly there is an element of realpolitik here with the decision to refuse non-religious objection tempered with practicality, as Allen stated: 'you can test religious beliefs but you cannot test conscientious beliefs.'<sup>231</sup> However with the groundbreaking nature of the legislation and perhaps with memories of the response to compulsory cadet training, a compromise was made. The final version of the Bill contained allowances for legitimate religious

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<sup>227</sup> The Hon. Mr Allen, 30 May 1916, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 175, p. 484.

<sup>228</sup> *Journals of the Legislative Council of the Dominion of New Zealand from the ninth day of May to the Eighth Day of August 1916* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1916), p. 32.

<sup>229</sup> Mr Hornsby, 1 June 1916, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol.175, p. 599.

<sup>230</sup> P.S. O'Connor, 'The Awkward Ones-Dealing with Conscience, 1916-1918', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.8 No.2 (October 1974), pp. 118-136.

<sup>231</sup> O'Connor, p. 119.

objection on extremely narrow grounds, as can be seen in the final text, which stated a man could make a conscience based appeal on the following grounds:

‘That he was on the fourth day of August, nineteen hundred and fourteen, and has since continuously been a member of a religious body the tenets and doctrines of which religious body declare the bearing of arms and the performance of combatant service to be contrary to Divine revelation, and also that according to his own conscientious religious belief the bearing of arms and the performance of any combatant service is unlawful by reason of being contrary to Divine revelation.’<sup>232</sup>

Under these provisions only Quakers and Christadelphians were eligible for appeal. In July 1917 Seventh-day Adventists were added to this group of ‘privileged sects’ after importing written evidence from the United States. Some sects and individuals claimed an unwritten tradition of pacifism or a pacifist interpretation of scripture, but were rejected. In cases of recognised objection, the Act specified that the objector would be offered a non-combatative role:

‘A Military Service Board shall not allow any appeal on the ground specified in paragraph (e) of subsection one hereof unless the appellant shall signify in the prescribed manner his willingness to perform such non-combatant work or services, including service in the Medical Corps and the Army Service Corps.’<sup>233</sup>

This remained a point of contention, not the least for the view that some Military Service Board members took towards C.O.s, but also in that non-combatative work was still under military authority. Many C.O.s must have felt the prospect of assisting the army to kill little more acceptable than themselves killing. By the end of the war Military Service Boards had extended offers of non-combatative service to 73 C.O.s of whom 60 accepted.<sup>234</sup>

The introduction of conscription in 1916 forced the creation of an official position on C.O.s, a group that had until that point been more of a topic for debate in the social arena. The final text of the Military Service Bill captured a situation very different from the reality, where legitimate objection was understood upon narrow religious lines and without an acceptable alternative, in the eyes of those ‘privileged sects’. Ultimately the Bill was a product of dominant conceptions of service. It

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<sup>232</sup> *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1916, No.8, Military Service Act, Section 18 (1) e.

<sup>233</sup> *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1916, No.8, Military Service Act, Section 18 (2).

<sup>234</sup> David Grant, ‘Conscientious objectors’, p. 116.

was designed to insure that shirking would not be permitted and that equality of sacrifice was achieved, while making some allowances for those seen to have genuine religious principles.

### Popular representation of conscientious objectors

The way in which conscientious objection was perceived and framed in official legislation is consistent with its representation in mass media. Both arenas approached the subject with dominant ideas of service in mind and considering the needs of the war effort. As such, analysis of the ideas present in material appearing in the mainstream media provides insight into how mainstream New Zealand comprehended objection. Extensively used by all nations to sustain public support for the war, propaganda was used to motivate the mass society war had grown to depend upon. In the New Zealand context, a nation which, in relation to its total population, enlisted a huge number of its citizens, one of the main thrusts of this material was to promote enlistment. As such, propaganda was used to lionise those who served and demonise those who did not. An examination of these representations and the ideas used in the depictions indicates how New Zealanders framed both service and the failure to provide it.

New Zealand's propaganda methods largely mimicked those of Britain. Prominent individuals were invited to write or lecture upon the war and pamphlets were produced advancing intellectual positions on various aspects of the conflict. In the New Zealand context key examples of these pamphlets include Sir Robert Stout's assessment of the nature of the war and its necessity to defend civilisation against German barbarism<sup>235</sup> or Professor Mackenzie's pro-conscription argument that 'socialists should ...be conscriptionists.'<sup>236</sup> This material most likely found an audience with the more educated in society. However, broader attempts to sway mass opinion were made with more visual and emotive appeals. In studying British propaganda George Robb argues that the imaged poster was an effective medium to export ideas to the masses. 'Its low cost and immediate visual impact made it an

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<sup>235</sup> Sir Robert Stout, *Peace or War? What Ought we to do? Address Delivered by Sir Robert Stout, Chief Justice of New Zealand in the Unitarian Church on Sunday, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 1917* (Wellington: New Zealand Times Print, 1917).

<sup>236</sup> Mackenzie, p. 4.

ideal means of mass propaganda.<sup>237</sup> Posters and cartoons also held the advantages of being easy to mass produce and distribute while making their points quickly and dramatically. Almost twenty years old at the start of the war, cinema was also used to reach the masses and it was one month after the start of the war that the British paper *Kine Weekly* noted that cinema was 'uniquely placed to arouse patriotism and could play an important part in military training.'<sup>238</sup> Film gave the authorities the visual impact of the screen as well as the ability to present the war on their own terms. In such a way images and slogans could be more effective at convincing a mass audience than lengthy arguments or wordy pamphlets.

In examining popular representation of C.O.s I have drawn upon those presented in newspaper cartoons. These were a significant medium both in terms of the size of the audience they reached and how, through cultural mobilisation, they portrayed the war in the terms of everyday values. The two mainstream newspapers that made some of the most extensive use of cartoons during the period were the *New Zealand Free Lance* and the *New Zealand Observer*. Both publications had long utilised highly detailed, emotive cartoons as a window upon current news or issues, in Ian Grant's words, 'aping' 'fashionable publications like *Punch*'.<sup>239</sup> Between 1914 - 1918 the war near entirely monopolised the subject matter of the cartoons. Although cartoons were not absent from other papers of the period, they were used less extensively and dramatically.<sup>240</sup> Some of William Blomfield's cartoons for the *New Zealand Observer* were later reprinted in the collections *Great Cartoons of the War* and the *French War Cartoons of All Nations*, suggesting they left an impression.<sup>241</sup> While circulations figures during the period are, to my knowledge, unavailable the papers were marketed towards and reached a mass audience.<sup>242</sup> The

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<sup>237</sup> George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War* (London: Palgrave, 2002), p. 104.

<sup>238</sup> Nicholas Reeves, 'Official British Film Propaganda' in *The First World War and Popular Cinema 1914 to the Present*, edited by Michael Paris (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp. 27-50.

<sup>239</sup> Ian Grant, *Between the Lines*, p. 2.

<sup>240</sup> Ian Grant notes how the *New Zealand Observer* and *Free Lance* were among the new weeklies to give 'particular prominence' to cartoons. See *The Unauthorized Version*, p. 42. Other papers that used cartoons during the period include *Truth*, *New Zealand Herald*, *Maoriland Worker*, *Auckland Weekly News* and *Auckland Star*.

<sup>241</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 18 September 1930, pp. 13-16.

<sup>242</sup> A history of the publication is available in the jubilee editions. See the *New Zealand Observer* 25 year jubilee 23 September 1905, pp. 3,6 and the 50 year jubilee 18 September 1930, pp. 13-16.

*New Zealand Observer* also alleged it was ‘one of the most popular, prosperous and widely-read papers in the colony’ and claimed circulation in Australia.<sup>243</sup>

The inclusion of these sources once again raises the question of whether these depictions truly represent dominant ideas; are these images a snapshot of public opinion, attempts to shape it, or something in between?<sup>244</sup> I suspect, as a general rule, that it is the first. Both the *New Zealand Observer* and the *New Zealand Free Lance*, modelled their content to fit with ‘public taste’, an approach which Whitehead remarks as a ‘financially sensible notion’.<sup>245</sup> The *New Zealand Observer* in particular modelled itself as a moderate paper for the everyman with the claim that its contents were ‘smart, but not vulgar; fearless, but not offensive; independent, but not neutral; unsectarian, but not irreligious’. The *Free Lance* maintained it was ‘an Illustrated Journal of Information and Racy Comment upon the Topics of the Hour.’<sup>246</sup> Additionally, cartoons tend towards relating to popular opinion; as Ian Grant puts it, ‘at their best, cartoons snatch and preserve the essence of an historical moment. Cartoons are, in a sense, the pulse on the feelings of the day – the quick gut reaction of cartoonists drawing their inspiration from popular sentiment.’<sup>247</sup>

Within these cartoons conscientious objection is reduced to an image to be condemned, married to the archetype of the shirker. In contrast to the range of pacifist philosophies, religious principles and political motivations which C.O.s stood for, the popular comprehension favoured a narrow understanding of conscientious objection as a method used to avoid duty and hardship by bad and inadequate men. While the shirker was an archetype not exclusively identified with conscientious objection, C.O.s lacked a separate model and were amongst the

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<sup>243</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 23 September 1905, p. 6.

<sup>244</sup> This questioning of the role of the political cartoonist in wartime is explored by Mark Bryant who asks whether the (WWII) cartoonist should be regarded as a ‘crusader’; fully committed to expressing his own opinions and prepared to take the consequences? Alternatively is he a ‘white rabbit’ who sees his job as an alternative to military service and has no real political conviction? Or is the cartoonist an ‘organ-grinder’s monkey’: a steady worker toeing the editorial line? See Mark Bryant, ‘Crusader, white rabbit or organ-grinder’s monkey? Leslie Illingworth and the British political cartoon in World War II’ *Journal of European Studies*, special issue (September 2001), pp. 345-366.

<sup>245</sup> Whitehead, p. 10.

<sup>246</sup> This statement of independence framed each edition of the weeklies front pages.

<sup>247</sup> Ian Grant, *Between the Lines*, p. vii.

primary candidates to be identified by the label. The material implies that while not all shirkers are C.O.s, most, if not all, C.O.s are shirkers.

A shirker was a stereotype applied to any man (I have not come across any depictions of female shirkers) who was perceived as withholding duty and ignoring obligation. The archetype was a caricature of the ideal male citizen, possessing poor physical, mental and moral stature. Predominant images of shirkers are of weedy men possessing exaggerated or slack facial features and invariably positioned as slouching with hands in pockets. As well as being presented as failing the dominant ideas of service, the shirker inherited the socio-cultural 'baggage' of mainstream New Zealand and was bundled with that which was wrong with society.

Many of the ideas behind this type of person can be found in contemporary conceptions of the body. In her examination of ideology of the New Zealand body, Caroline Daley notes how, in early twentieth century New Zealand, the bodybuilder Sandow became an idol in that he 'embodied the ideal citizen, someone who was healthy, strong and hardworking.'<sup>248</sup> If Sandow was, at that time, idolised for these attributes the shirker was identified as lacking them and was consequently vilified. Much of the language and ideas of transforming the body, and therefore the person, into something better are replicated in discourse around the war, one newspaper noted that military training would 'save the shirker from himself... converting them into men'. Furthermore it noted that the 'clerks of Auckland' now had 'a golden opportunity of being changed into a man.'<sup>249</sup> How these depictions tie into popular discourse of the time raises a wealth of questions. To what extent does the shirker's weedy frame and ever-present slouch link to concerns that industrial society was degenerating men's bodies? Are the behaviours shirkers are portrayed as displaying connected to social Darwinist concepts of innate character traits? Did audiences at the time mentally contrast the shirker's fashionable attire to the rugged dress of the earlier pioneers? These questions of the cultural values behind visual representations might be the basis for future scholarship. For the purposes of this study the representation of the shirker, and the cultural values tied to it, are a

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<sup>248</sup> Daley, p. 24.

<sup>249</sup> *Auckland Star*, 14 June 1915, p. 9.

distinct, and I argue purposeful, contrast to representations of the soldier and socially dominant conceptions of service.

Several points could be made upon the style of clothes shirkers are portrayed as wearing. Firstly, shirkers are dressed in obviously civilian attire which contrasts with the uniform of the soldier. The elaborate nature of his clothes, which often include a waistcoat, tie, dress jacket and hat, displays a Rousseauian-like fear that the excesses of civilisation has softened men, perhaps also linking to prevalent fears of racial degeneration. The fact that the shirker's clothing is more suited for social events rather than the workplace suggests that he is unproductive, a slacker, and is not, as it were, rolling up his sleeves. Lastly, well-cut clothes show that the shirker, rather than sacrificing luxuries and doing without, remains fashionable and that his failure to participate is not for financial reasons. The idea that the shirker favoured foppish obsessions with trivial pleasure over duty is furthered by how he is often depicted possessing racing tickets and/or cigarettes. The visual expression of these sentiments can be seen in figure 16, where a man, 'It', boasts of his fashionable attire while a woman berates him for not turning his energy and attention towards the war. The overall effect is to present shirkers, in the words of a contemporary newspaper, as 'effeminately aired cocktails.'<sup>250</sup> Another article also noted them as 'the contemptible crowd on Friday night, dressed up in the latest style of clothes...cigarettes in mouths, gaping and glaring and looking for tarts, as they designate women.'<sup>251</sup>

The depictions of the motivations of shirkers are equally unflattering and most cartoons of shirkers do not portray the subject as possessing any type of principled objection to the war, whether sound or not. There were a range of base motivations that shirkers were illustrated as operating under. Some representations showed shirkers as men who simply failed to grasp the gravity of the situation and the needs of the war effort. Often here the shirker proclaims his patriotism but neglects taking a larger or more active part in the war effort. For one example of this see *Attention Your Country Calls* (see fig. 17).

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<sup>250</sup> *Auckland Star*, 14 January 1916, p. 9.

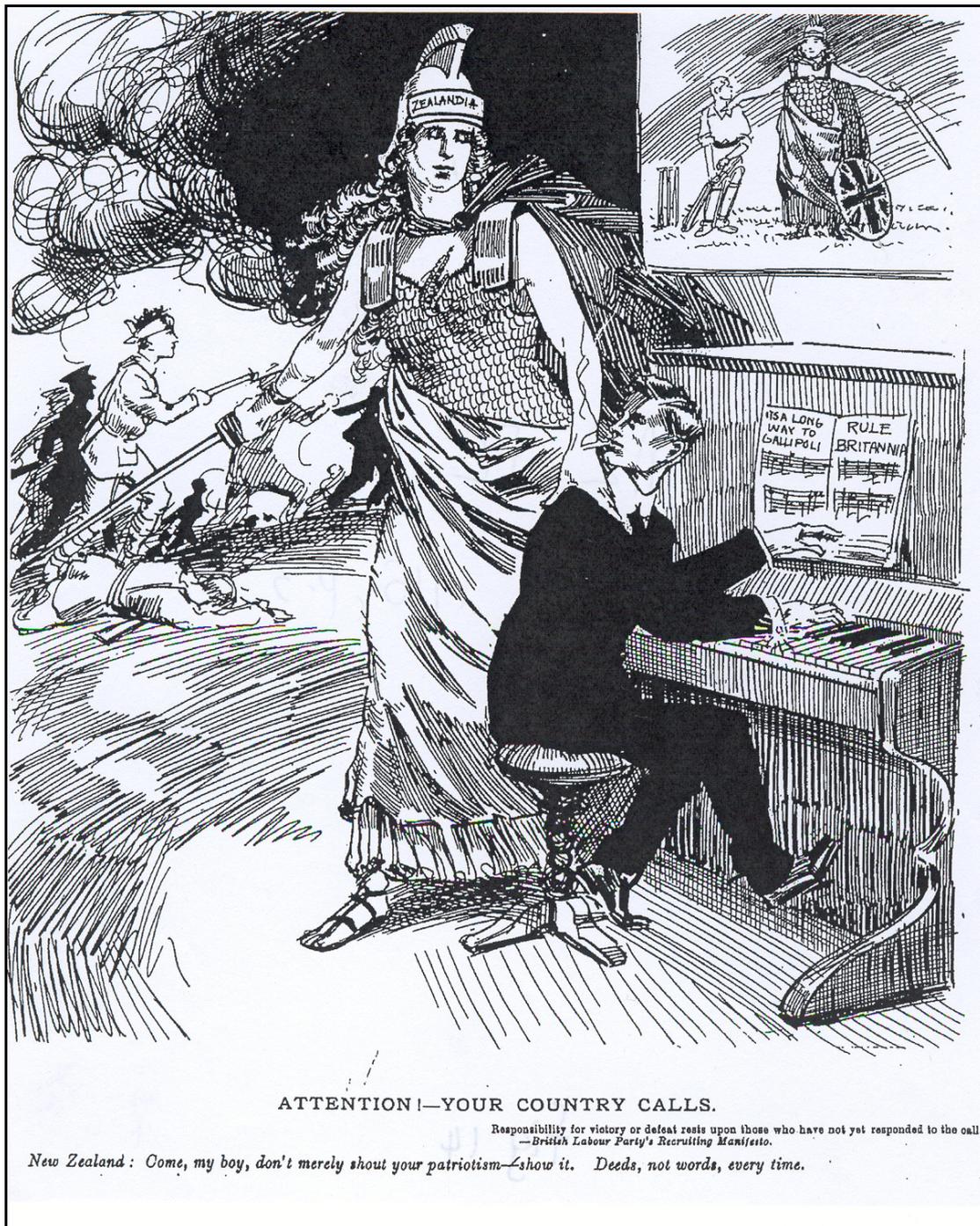
<sup>251</sup> *Auckland Truth*, 29 January 1916, p. 4.



**Figure 16**

Untitled cartoon

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* – 18 May 1918, p. 17.



**Figure 17**

*Attention! – Your Country Calls.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Free Lance* - 15 October 1915, p. 3.

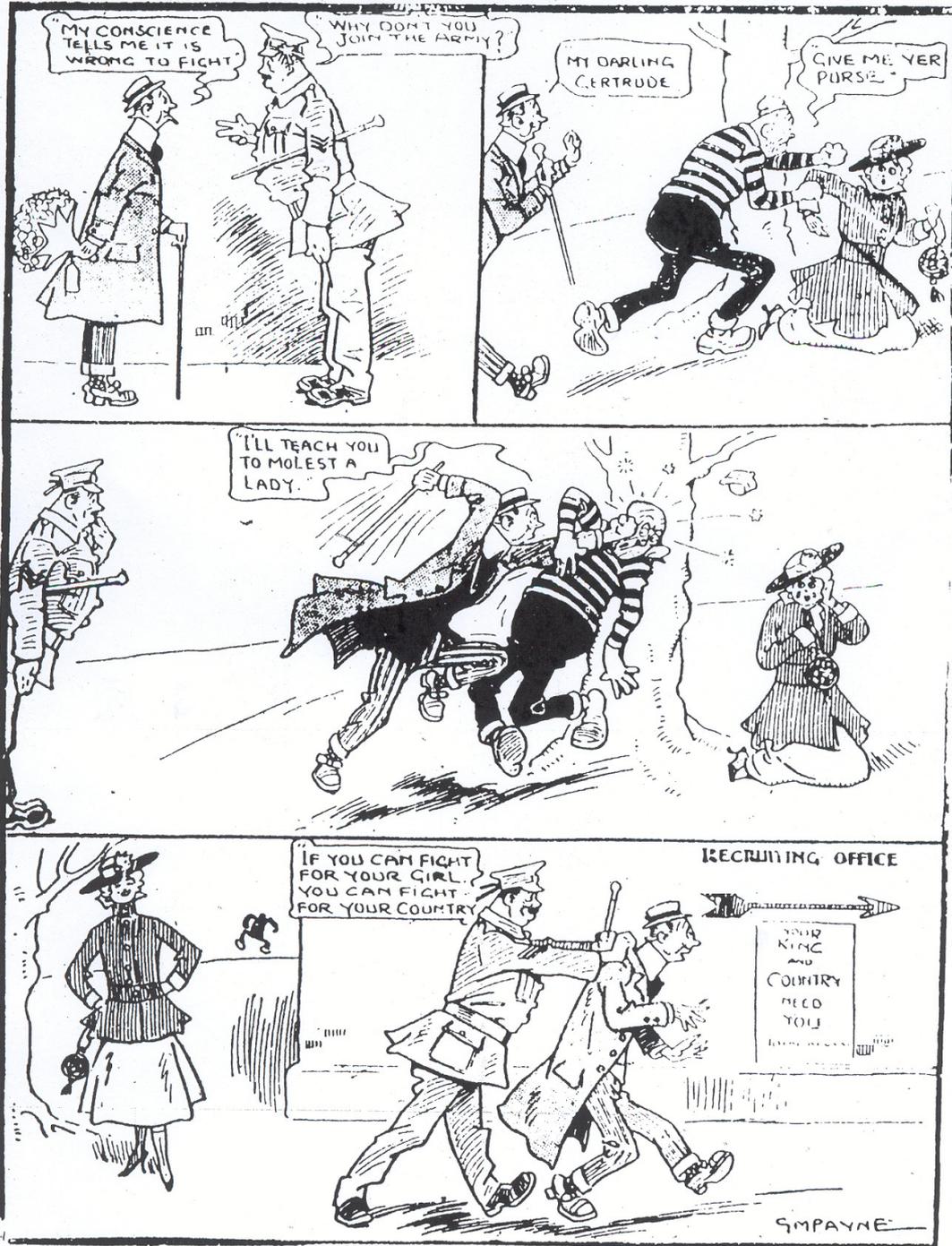
Here Zealandia, an anthropomorphic representation of the nation, points out to two boys, one playing patriotic tunes on a piano and another playing cricket, not to 'merely shout your patriotism-show it. Deeds not words, every time.' The scene of soldiers fighting in the background reinforces the point that real patriotism is shown by proactive support, like fighting, rather than idle pastimes.

Other images portrayed shirkers in a worse light, showing them to be cowardly and purposely taking actions or giving excuses to avoid hardship and claim special status. In a typical portrayal, the cartoon *Exemptions. The Ways and Means of the Neverwantos* (see fig. 18), displays the supposed various tactics used by shirkers to avoid service. Note how the lower right illustration shows a man claiming to have religious principles as a final reason as to why he can not enlist, after claiming to be the sole supporter of (supposedly frail) dependants and having poor health (cold feet). Further evidence of his insincerity is indicated in his possession of both Brethren and Quaker pamphlets, as well as a racing ticket, suggesting a pragmatic rather than a principled or sincere adoption of religion. While many of the reasons presented in the image, such as poor health, supporting dependents, being the last one left on the farm or being employed in a war crucial occupation were legitimate reasons for not enlisting, this image shows shirkers to be dishonourable, capitalising upon these reasons to avoid duty. This type of message is seen again in figure 19 *It's Hard To Be A "Conscientious Objector"* where a shirker's claimed conscientious principles disappear when he witnesses his 'best girl being ill treated by a ruffian.' The story ends with an explicit moral that most "conscientious objectors" are not legitimate as well as an inferred lesson that a shirker can be made to serve if discipline is applied.



**Figure 18**  
*Exemptions. The Ways and Means of the Neverwantos.*  
 Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 9 December 1916, p. 12.

# IT'S HARD TO BE A "CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR"



Poor Algy was a slacker, and when the Compulsion Bill came along he sought shelter in the ranks of the Conscientious Objectors. But his pacifist theories suddenly evaporated when he saw his best girl being ill-treated by a ruffian. Moral: Pacifists, like poets, are born, not made.—(By Mr G. M. Payne.)

**Figure 19**

*It's Hard To Be A "Conscientious Objector"*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 22 April 1916, p. 17.

Other images show shirkers as scoundrels exhibiting selfish or near malevolent behaviour.<sup>252</sup> Here the shirker is aware that he is failing his duty and is content to exploit the situation allowing others to fight for him. The *New Zealand Observer* often used this conception of shirkers, warning that while the volunteer system continued ‘the slacker eats another cigarette, buys another tote ticket, surrounds another leaning post with saliva, and grins his derision.’<sup>253</sup> Some images even show the shirker mocking the sacrifice of the soldier. In figure 20 the shirker is shown to be two-faced, publicly welcoming a returned soldier, but revealing his true nature to the reader and insulting the soldier. A further example is seen in the *Truth* cartoon, *The Call To Arms* (see fig. 21) where a second division man leaves his wife and child, stoically acknowledging the demands of war whilst a shirker thumbs his nose at the scene.

Within all of these images much of the discourse around the shirker is simply upon the type of person they are. The shirker is presented as either as effeminate, as a slacker or as a scoundrel, the common link being that all these depictions make him an object of loathing or ridicule. The other significant feature of the archetype is that the qualities of the shirker were the antithesis of the championed mainstream virtues of participation and sacrifice.

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<sup>252</sup> This model of the selfish, immoral man who cares more for material gain than principle existed before the war often used, by cartoonists, to depict greedy unscrupulous men. It is also remarkably similar to depictions of carpetbaggers in the U.S. during the reconstruction period. For a pre-war example one such cartoon see appendix 1, p. 131.

<sup>253</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 28 October 1916, p. 2.





**Figure 21**  
*The Call To Arms*  
Reproduced from *Truth* - 11 May 1918, p. 1.

These depictions did not exist in a vacuum. Instead the traits and behaviours the shirker is identified with were selected in light of socially dominant ideas of service. The key term in understanding representations of shirkers and soldiers is 'contrast'. Shirkers are the mirror opposite of dominant ideals of service and ultimately in the same way the soldier was a symbol of male based participation in the war, the shirker is a model of unmanly, unpatriotic behaviour. As such the image of the shirker is best understood by comparison to the image built around the idealised soldier, as these representations are two sides of the same coin.<sup>254</sup> The soldier was presented as the embodiment of cultural, or even racial, pride and seen as vindication of British virtue. One typical description linked soldiering with the believed merits of the New Zealand stock:

'The average young New Zealander - and this remark applies especially to the young New Zealander who lives in the country - is half a soldier before he is enrolled. He is physically strong, intellectually keen, anxious to be led though being what he is will not brook being driven a single inch. Quick to learn his drill, easily adapting to the conditions of life in camp since camping usually is his pastime and very loyal to his leaders when those leaders know their job.'<sup>255</sup>

Consistent with such descriptions soldiers were portrayed as model citizens, willing to do their part, emphasising youth, wholesome features and obedience to duty. They could be portrayed in masses, which had connotations of national unity or singularly to emphasise individual sacrifice. In both cases soldiers are often surrounded by trappings of national or imperial pride. One image that displays all three of these features of idealised service is seen in *New Zealand Doing Her Share* (see fig. 22). Here Zealandia dispenses a laurel to a returned wounded soldier and a rifle to a departing recruit. Both soldiers kneel, denoting service, before Zealandia, representing the nation. The shrine in which Zealandia stands is inscribed 'THE EMPIRE EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY'. Events in the background confirm that New Zealand will render this service as uncountable masses march to depart for the front, while the serious nature and need for their service is confirmed by the masses of injured soldiers returning.

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<sup>254</sup> The link between soldiers and those not enlisted has also been noted by Pierre Purseigle who notes how cartoons depicted soldiers 'standing stern and stoic before the thoughtlessness and frivolity of those remaining behind the lines.' See Purseigle, p. 312.

<sup>255</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, supplement, 1 August 1914, p. 1.



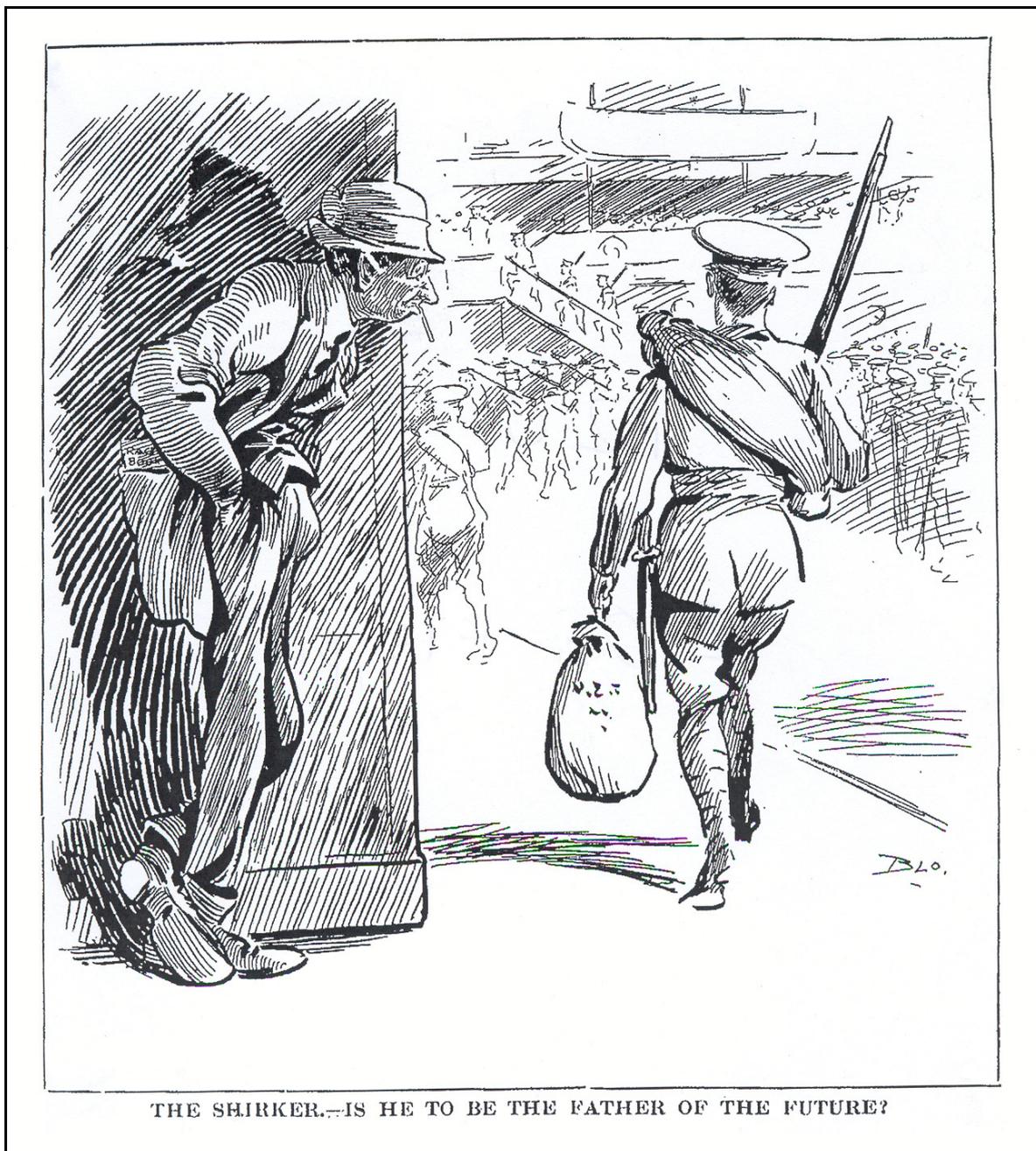
**Figure 22**

*New Zealand Doing Her Share.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Free Lance*- 23 July 1915, p. 3.

These idealised portrayals of soldiers make a stark contrast to those of shirkers and the contrast between the two images was the subject of several cartoons. Compared to the handsome, brave young men, willing to serve, and if necessary sacrifice themselves for, their country, men who refused to fight are portrayed in a different, in fact opposite, light. As soldiers embodied the above traits the shirker was depicted as weedy, cowardly and ignoble, traits which manifest in his weak frame, slack expression and ever present slouch. The inherent differences between the soldier and the shirker is the central theme of *The Shirker – Is He To Be The Father Of The Future?* (see fig. 23). The image displays a straight-backed, uniformed man marching to join other departing soldiers while being watched by a slouched, smoking man with an inattentive expression, stereotypical Semitic features and a race book in his pocket. This image is indicative of early twentieth century concerns with the future of the white race. The picture this cartoon presents to its audience of the two figures reads like a morality tale, comparing the brave soldier to the cowardly shirker by simplistic means. The message to the public is simple and direct: one man should be praised or emulated, the other reviled and shunned.

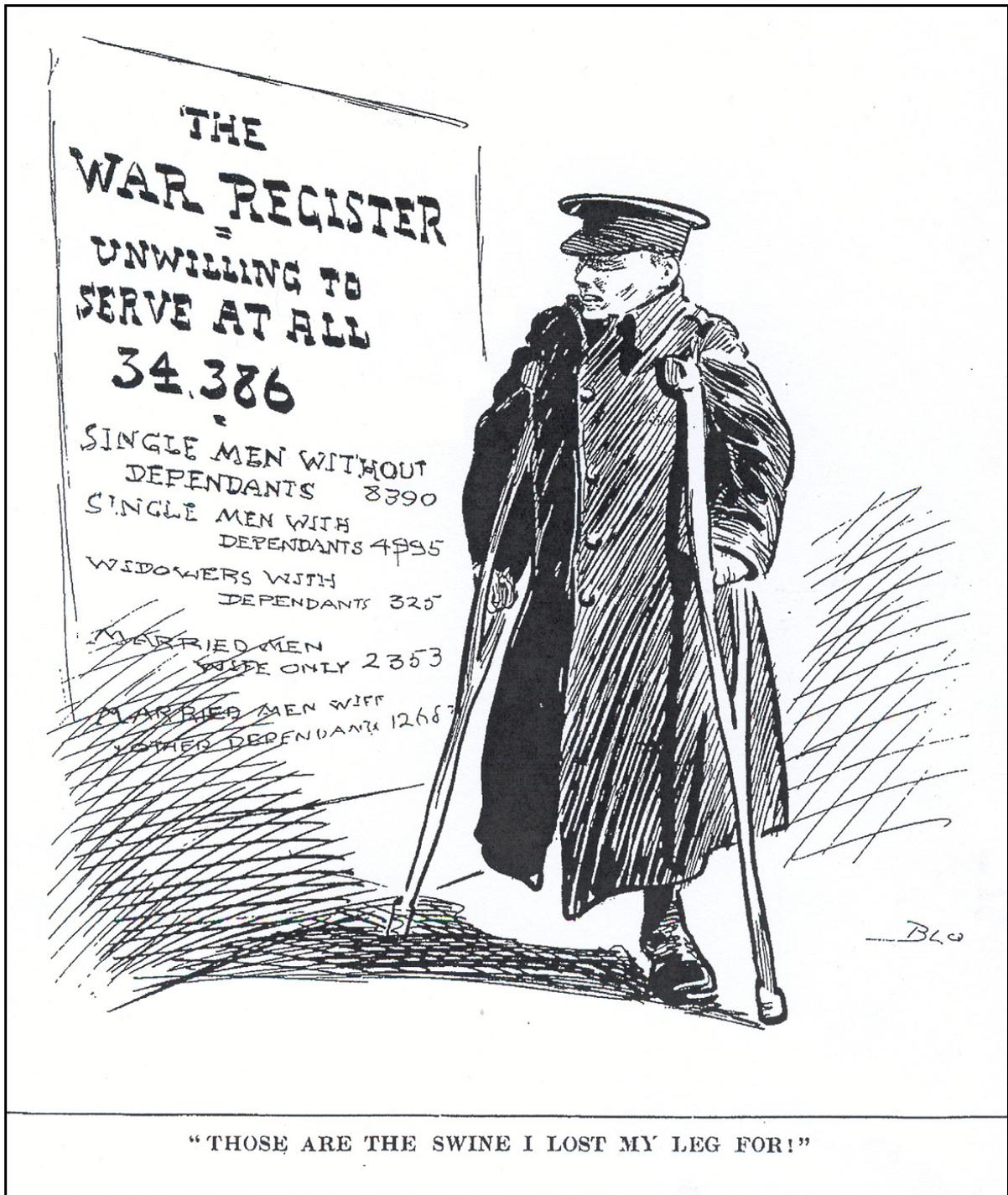
Other comparisons between soldiers and shirkers rely less upon visual contrast and more upon moral distinctions. For example, figure 24 uses the concept of inequality of sacrifice as a maimed soldier, upon seeing the results of the 1915 register, exclaims ‘those are the swine I lost my leg for!’ This image is notable in how it displays the permanent effects of war on the human body; other images that portray wounded soldiers tend to limit themselves to slings and bandages to give connotations of honourable, but recoverable, injuries rather than permanent bodily mutilation. This cartoon breaks this convention so as to more readily emphasise both the sacrifice of the soldier and the villainy or cowardice of the shirker.



THE SHIRKER.—IS HE TO BE THE FATHER OF THE FUTURE?

**Figure 23**

*The Shirker. - Is He To Be The Father Of The Future?*  
Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 2 October 1915, p. 1.



**Figure 24**

*“Those Are The Swine I Lost My Leg For!”*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 18 December 1915, p. 1.

Although there are striking visual comparisons between soldiers and shirkers cartoons were not the only medium that the concept reached. For example, a comparison between purposeful soldiers and the careless civilians is seen in Will Lawson's poem *Goose Steppin* published in a Christmas annual, part of which is reproduced here.

Oh! 'ear the bugles callin'!  
Oh! Rookies 'ear it sound  
Its 'earty "Fall in! Fall in!"  
"Don't stand a-'angin' round."  
You've got the civies loose step,  
His careless kind o' walk;  
Fall in and learn the goose step.  
Fall in and 'ear 'im talk.<sup>256</sup>

The idea was also translated for the stage, into the self described, 'patriotic play' *The Man who Stayed at Home*. Here, while other men enlist to fight Christopher Brent, played by Frank Harvey, is despised for not going to the war. Brent is depicted as a well dressed, pipe smoking man who - as seen in cast photos - leans by a fireplace.<sup>257</sup>

Other images portrayed shirkers unfavourably under conventions of masculinity and femininity. Here shirkers are presented as weak, cowardly, foppish or even effeminate men lacking masculine virtues such as martial pride, bravery, duty and strength. Other depictions unmanned shirkers even further portraying them as timid compared with roles that some women were playing. For example the *New Zealand Free Lance* cartoon *National Registration – Woman Shows The Way* (see fig. 25) was drawn in response to the news that women in Khandallah, Wellington, had compiled a register of women willing to work as replacements for enlisted men. The image showed Miss Khandallah jumping a fence labelled national registration and calling for the 'timid boys' who had not yet enlisted to 'come at it boldly' and they would 'find it quite easy'. By portraying a woman more readily demonstrating commitment to the war effort, the image emasculated men who had not enlisted,

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<sup>256</sup> Will Lawson and W. Macbeth, *Christmas Cartoons 1916, or The Twins on Tour* (Wellington: Harry H. Tombs LTD, 1916).

<sup>257</sup> Pictures of scenes and some of the cast from *The Man Who Stayed At Home* are reproduced in appendix 1, p. 132.



**Figure 25**

*National Registration-Woman Shows The Way*

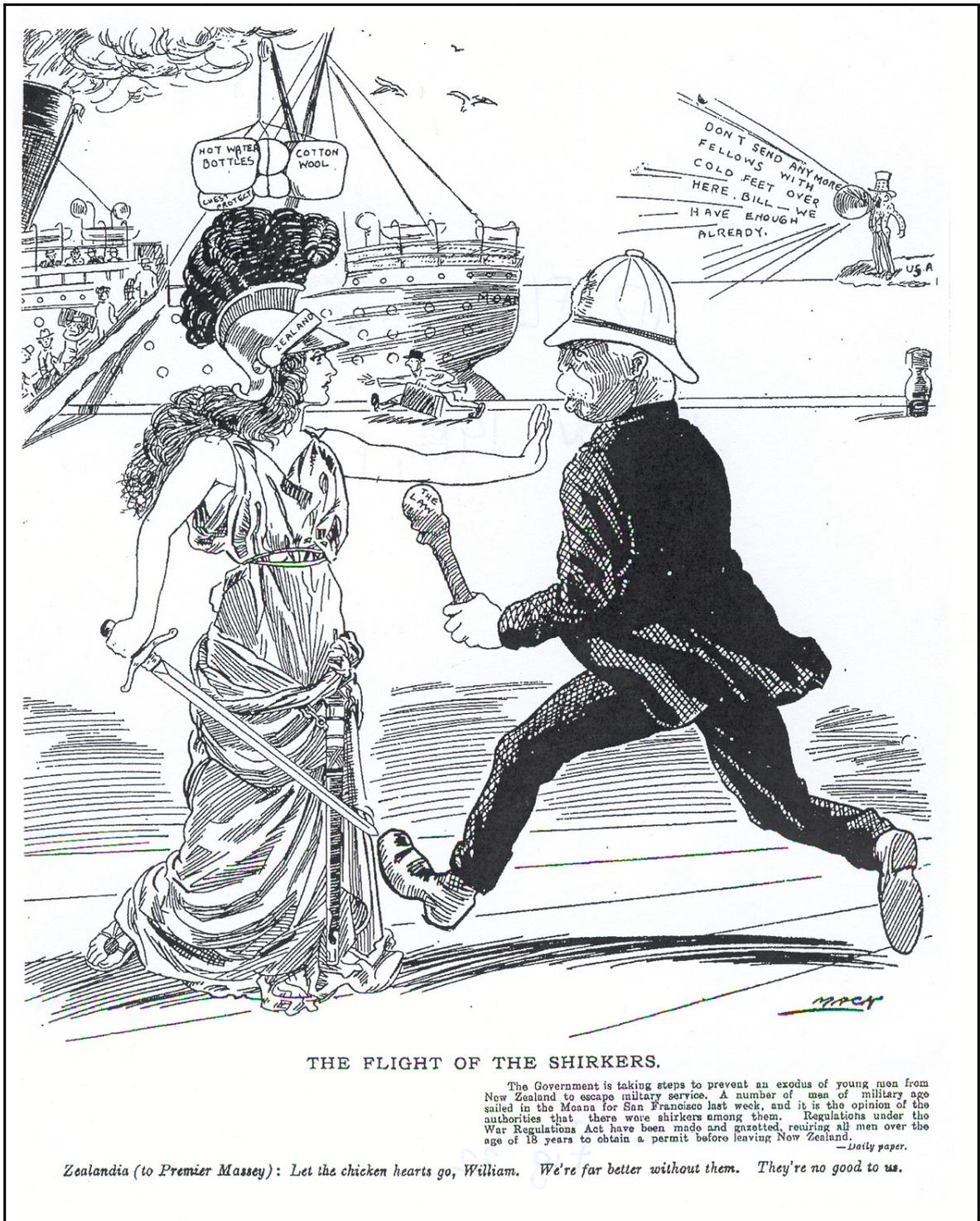
Reproduced from *New Zealand Free Lance* - 24 September 1915, p. 3.

questioning both their masculinity and patriotism. The image also portrays the staple body language and supposed motivations of men neglecting duty. Of the men in the paddock some are apathetically slouching against a post, smoking, while others actively run from a recruiting sergeant (James Allen?) offering carrots.

Another image *The Flight Of The Shirkers* (see fig. 26) uses mainstream conceptions of masculinity to mock shirkers. The image shows shirkers departing on the *Moana*, loaded with hot water bottles, chest protectors and cotton wool, bound for the United States.<sup>258</sup> Massey, embodying the law of the land, chases after them but is stopped by Zealandia, who tells him to ‘let the chicken hearts go, William. We’re far better without them. They’re no good to us.’ As well as taking a jab at the U.S. policy of neutrality as evidence of its citizens having ‘cold feet’, the image uses conceptions of gender to comprehend C.O.s. The image correlates men who do not fight with unmanliness showing how they need coddling, the ‘cargo’ of the ship suggesting they are of a lesser physical quality to men who would stay and fight. Married to this physical unmanliness is unmanly behaviour. By leaving the country these men are abandoning the female Zealandia, embodying the spirit of the nation and its values. As such the image offends contemporary cultural sensibilities; men should enlist to defend the virtue of their nation/womenfolk, not abandon her. While these men depart Zealandia, stands, up straight no less, sword drawn with a proud bearing and emphatically rejects such behaviour: ‘they’re no good to us.’ Zealandia’s statement may also identify with the concept of women as the moral vanguard of society and the role many women were playing in encouraging men to serve in the war effort.

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<sup>258</sup> On the 11 November 1915 the *Moana* departed bound for the U.S. with many men of military age on board and to the anger of a gathered crowd. The need to control the movement of eligible men saw the introduction of passports in New Zealand.



**Figure 26**

*The Flight Of The Shirkers.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Free Lance* - 19 November 1915, p. 3.

The shirking archetype was not only applied to individuals but could be applied to class, occupation, regions or even nations perceived as failing the war effort.<sup>259</sup> Figure 27, *Murder!*, demonstrates how the ideology was applied to Australia after her second rejection of conscription via referendum in 1917. The cartoon is a collage of evocative imagery: a slouching man dressed in typical shirker attire and labelled as Australia waves a German flag, while goose stepping on a Union Jack, wearing boots made in Germany. He is holding a blood stained knife and has just 'murdered' conscription, portrayed as a woman, by stabbing her in the back. The literal conclusion of the content is a carnivalesque, world turned upside down image, showing that Australia's rejection of conscription is only one of several betrayals including patriotic and economic support of Germany, the degradation of the British Empire, and the unchivalrous murder of the innocent. Although this cartoon uses anti-militarism rather than conscientious objection for its accusation of shirking, the image highlights how the mainstream framed shirking in its own terms. Anything perceived as failing or not contributing wholeheartedly to the war effort, even an allied nation, could be slotted into the same model and mocked in public imagery; imagery which was built foremost around the failure to sacrifice, rather than around the reason why.

In placing the cartoon in context, images such as *Murder!* were not intended to shame Australia (few Australians must have been exposed to the cartoon). Instead, the targets of such cartoons are New Zealanders. Valerie Holman and Kelly Debra have proposed that 'at no time is it so important to be seen to belong, and to be able to situate the opposition, as in time of war.'<sup>260</sup> The purpose of '*Murder*' as well as many of the others images, is to show New Zealanders what behaviours 'belong' and which do not, specifically that a less than wholehearted commitment to the war effort is connected to other cultural outrages. With these models being consumed by a mass audience many male readers must have wondered if by not enlisting they risked being identified with such models. As Purseigle asks 'how many of these

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<sup>259</sup> Example of groups or nations accused of shirking include the South Island, miners, the wealthy, the United States and Australia.

<sup>260</sup> Valerie Holman and Debra, Kelly, 'War in the twentieth century: the functioning of humour in cultural representation' *Journal of European Studies*, special issue (September 2001), pp. 241-263.



**Figure 27**  
*Murder!*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 12 January 1918, p. 1.

“home-front heroes” were left stony-faced as they looked at the sly portraits of themselves sketched in such cartoons?’<sup>261</sup>

The unspoken message behind many of the cartoons so far examined is that such behaviour should not be tolerated. However, other representations around shirkers contain a very explicit and statist message of what should be done to equalise sacrifice. Many of the representations of shirkers approvingly display the use of, and often suggest a need for, government authority over the individual to aid the common good. This attitude is well portrayed in *The Slacker And The Shirker* (see fig. 28). Here Britannia dictates to David Ward to use state authority via the ‘long arm of the law’ to bring in slackers and shirkers so they can be ‘dealt with.’ This image even goes so far as to suggest that shirkers and slackers were worse than enemy soldiers with the comment ‘better an open enemy than a selfish waster.’ To place C.O.s lower than enemy soldiers is a grave judgement in a period where mainstream society in no way disguised its contempt for the latter.<sup>262</sup>

Another statist, and paternal, image is seen in *A Last Coaxing* (see fig. 29). This cartoon features Allen dressed as a nurse suggesting that a shirker take his medicine (voluntary enlistment) like ‘a good boy’ while a man with public opinion on his helmet and holding a club with conscription on it pokes his head around the door. This idea of offering C.O.s a last chance to do the right thing was expanded upon in *Absolutely His Last Chance - Then Conscription* (see fig. 30). Here Massey suggests to a shirker that he voluntarily help the soldier bear the burden of the war and do ‘the right thing’, otherwise he will be made to. This notion that C.O.s were rejecting accommodations and forcing the Government’s hand no doubt encouraged opinions that C.O.s were bringing harsh treatments upon themselves.

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<sup>261</sup> Purseigle, p. 314.

<sup>262</sup> The accusation that citizens who harmed the war effort were worse than open enemies was a somewhat frequent one. Mr Hornsby, on debating conscription and conscientious objectors, claimed that ‘any man who seeks now to deter men from joining the colours is worse than any German.’ See Mr Hornsby, 9 May 1916, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 175, p. 596.



**THE SLACKER AND THE SHIRKER.**

*Britannia: Bring them in, David, with the long arm of the law—the Slacker and the Shirker both—and we'll deal with them. Better an open enemy than a selfish waster.*

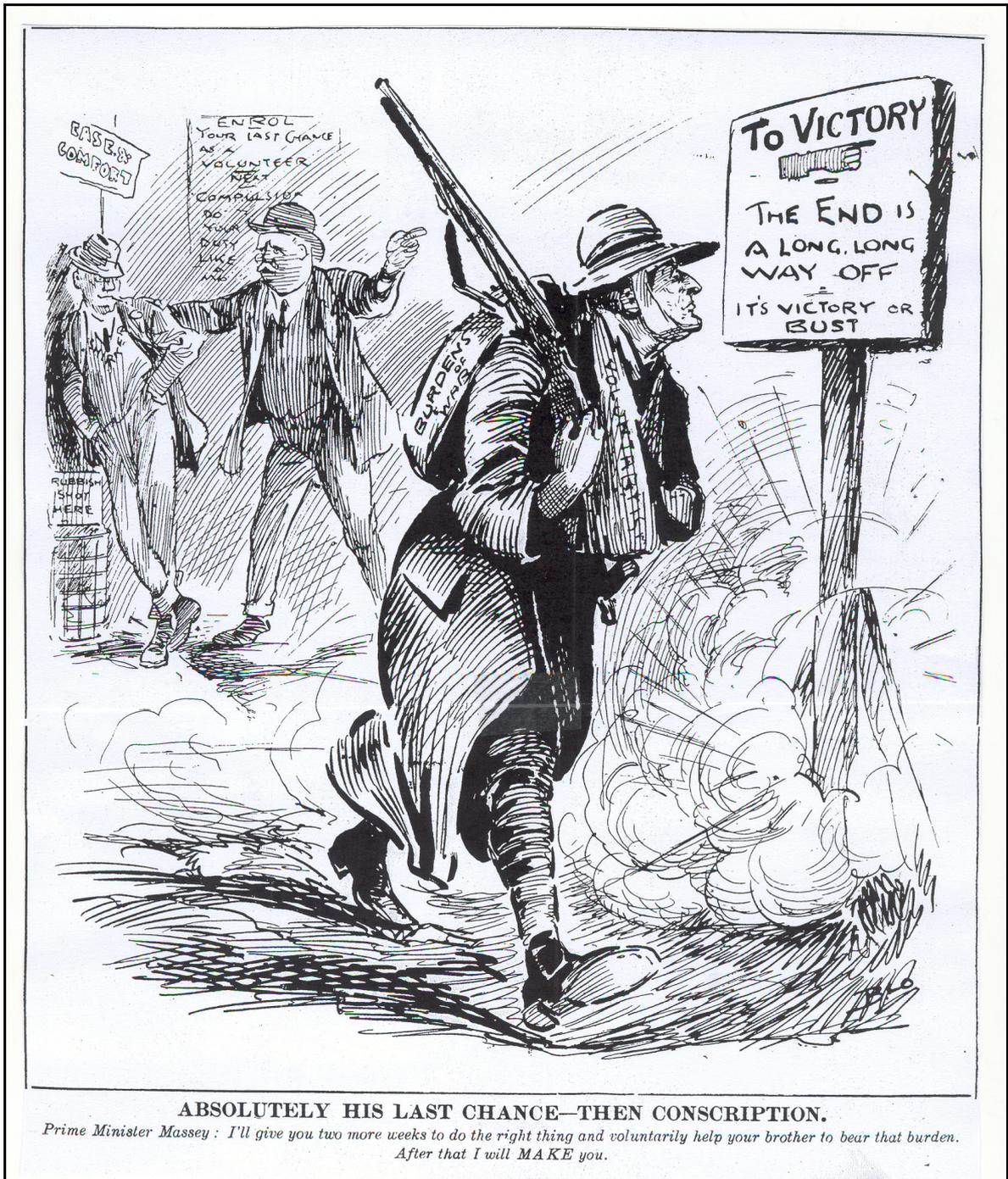
**Figure 28**

*The Slacker And The Shirker.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Free Lance* - 2 June 1915, p. 3.



**Figure 29**  
*A Last Coaxing.*  
 Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 15 January 1916, p. 1.



**ABSOLUTELY HIS LAST CHANCE—THEN CONSCRIPTION.**

*Prime Minister Massey: I'll give you two more weeks to do the right thing and voluntarily help your brother to bear that burden. After that I will MAKE you.*

**Figure 30**

*Absolutely His Last Chance- Then Conscription.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 2 September 1916, p. 1.

It is possible that these models were developed in Britain, as the cartoon *None But The Brave* reprinted from *London "Opinion"* shows a near identical depiction of the shirker and the soldier (see fig. 31). A smoking, slouched and well-dressed man sporting a monocle stares agog at a smiling uniformed soldier escorting two young ladies. Whether this image of shirkers became established in one country and was then adopted by others or whether they evolved independently is unknown. Although considering the amount of cultural imports from Britain, it is probable that British models were purposely adopted within New Zealand.



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**Figure 31**  
"None But The Brave—"  
Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 14 November 1914, p. 17.

In summation, popular representation presented shirkers as objects of loathing, disparaged for their unmanly appearance, their failure to participate, their selfish individualism and their active unwillingness to serve. With a refusal to enlist - and in cases a willingness to resist conscription - conscientious objectors were largely reduced to the image of the shirker, understood as selfish avoiders of hardship. Depictions of shirkers were stark and intentional contrasts to those around soldiers who were presented as the embodiment of active service who emphasised orthodox conceptions of rugged manliness, adherence to duty, purposeful demeanour and a selfless willingness to sacrifice for the nation. Both of these mainstream archetypes of soldiers and shirkers are based upon dominant ideas of what was perceived to be the correct and incorrect responses to the empire's call. With a demand for proactive service anyone who would not help was represented as a scoundrel or a waster to be understood in uncomplicated and unfavourable terms. By emphasising the apparent physical and moral differences between shirkers and soldiers, C.O.s were framed as objects of ridicule, contempt and loathing. Such depictions were an unobvious message to New Zealanders calling for them to be like 'this', not like 'that'.

#### The mainstream reaction to conscientious objectors

Examining these representations and discourse around shirkers raises the question of whether these sources are a true indication of mainstream opinion. Could it be that this discourse around shirkers was the result of a Government under the pressure of the war, biased cartoonists and a fanatical or hysterical minority and as such not truly representative of socially dominant ideas of C.O.s? This is a difficult question to answer, but measuring official perceptions and the above representations of shirkers against the experiences of C.O.s throughout the period gives an extremely uniform picture. Paul Baker has described the restrictive allowances made by parliament to C.O.s as 'totally consistent with public attitudes towards objectors. Even when their sincerity was grudgingly acknowledged, objectors were generally "despised", "scorned", and made "outcasts".'<sup>263</sup> New Zealand largely treated men who refused to fight in the same way the representations depicted; understanding them first and foremost as men who failed

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<sup>263</sup> Baker, p. 173.

to serve their country and making little, if any, effort to come to grips with any reason why.

For example much of the discourse between Archibald Baxter and the authorities reveals a very simplistic approach and little effort made to genuinely debate whether the C.O.'s stance was valid. In one attempt to convince him to fight Baxter was told by an adjutant:

'you eat meat. To provide that meat an animal had to die. Now, I have been over to France and I know what's going on there and I can tell you that those Boches who come down on our men in the trenches are not better than animals. In fact they're a great deal worse than lions and tighahs [sic]. So you need have no scruples whatever about killing them.'<sup>264</sup>

Baxter remained unconvinced.

As such, how C.O.s were reacted to and treated by both mainstream society and the authorities can be examined for consistency with the ideas expressed in the representations and laws. This section functions as a brief survey and summary of the history rather than a full account of the topic to highlight the uniformity between mainstream representations of and reactions to C.O.s.

Many of the reactions of mainstream New Zealand were indiscriminate responses to the idea of shirking. In these situations 'shirker hunters' may not have had anyone in mind but were rather reacting to the idea of shirking. Several organisations worked to indiscriminately shame eligible men who had not enlisted by publishing names, by sending white feathers or by telling young men to 'think of the harm you are bringing on that innocent child when he, or she, in a few years time is branded the son or daughter of a shirker.'<sup>265</sup> More extremely, the *Bay of Plenty Times* called for the use of the death penalty for shirkers arguing that as this was the penalty on the front line for refusing work the same standard should apply in the home front.<sup>266</sup> This suggestion shows how blurred the line between home front and front line had become. Other reactions show a more personal response with accounts of men losing jobs, positions, friends and relationships. The Gisborne Borough Council

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<sup>264</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 98.

<sup>265</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 99.

<sup>266</sup> Cited from *New Zealand Observer*, 14 August 1915, p. 3.

and the Auckland Employers' Association were amongst the organisations which began to favour employing married men as a response to shirking. Ernest Craig, the president of the former, urged employers to assist the authorities and whenever possible 'give preference to married men'.<sup>267</sup> The family of one C.O. had property damaged and stock let loose, another family was ostracized by their relatives, whom they 'never saw again.'<sup>268</sup> One woman reported a friend of her husband to the Government's request for the names of shirkers, another man reported his two brothers.<sup>269</sup> When he preached an anti-war sermon Harry Urquhart was physically forced from the pulpit by Church-goers.<sup>270</sup> Undoubtedly innumerable accounts have gone unrecorded.

Perhaps the most vindictive, and bizarre, case of social shaming involved a woman who courted an eligible man only to refuse him at the altar, responding to the question 'will thou have this man?' With 'I won't. And he isn't a man either.' When asked why she had attended the ceremony, she responded 'to punish him for slacking.'<sup>271</sup> Though the authenticity of this anecdote is debatable - the story appeared in an editorial, with no names or further details and the story contains a moral epilogue that the girl has 'since married a wounded soldier' - the purpose is not. Even if the account is fictional the fact that a mainstream newspaper created and printed it with the obvious intent of showcasing the consequences of shirking is indicative of public mood during the war. In short, mainstream New Zealand took numerous actions to display their rejection of men who would not fight.

With the introduction of conscription Governmental response was added to social reactions. Once balloted a C.O. had the option of appealing to a Military Service Board. Some C.O.s refused this step, feeling that an appeal would legitimise the authority of the board and the idea that a man could be turned into a soldier at a government's will. As Archibald Baxter put it: 'I did not consider that any Board

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<sup>267</sup> Furthermore Bishop Averill advocated employers to 'press this national duty on their unmarried employees and if necessary supplant single eligible men with married men. See *Evening Post*, 28 May 1915, p. 3.

<sup>268</sup> Baker, p. 173.

<sup>269</sup> Baker, p. 48.

<sup>270</sup> Baker, p. 173.

<sup>271</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 1 Jan 1916, p. 17.

had the right to be the judge of a man's sincerity.'<sup>272</sup> If a C.O. had his appeal upheld on conscientious grounds (i.e. religious) he was classed as a 'genuine objector' and offered non-military service, if rejected he was classified as a 'defiant objector'.<sup>273</sup> Defiant C.O.s were given a month's jail time followed by a full Court Martial. If they still refused service C.O.s faced prison sentences of between 11 months and two years. Some C.O.s upon release were reimprisoned for still refusing to enlist and by the war's end there were 273 C.O.s in civilian prisons.<sup>274</sup> By 1918 a strain on the prison system saw all but unmanageable C.O.s sent to prison camps. Life here seems to have been less regulated if not more rugged. Here C.O.s were tasked with various jobs such as farm work and tree planting. The potentially explosive mix of political, social and religious views of the C.O.s did not boil over, however, perhaps in light of shared circumstances and a common burden.<sup>275</sup>

The reactions to Māori objection to conscription might be examined separately in that the marginalisation of much of Māoridom in the early twentieth century meant that the responses took a notably different form. Whitehead notes how Māori objection (and representation) is markedly absent from cartoons and other visual representations of the war, and suggests that cartoonists were 'concealing legitimate divisions in New Zealand society.'<sup>276</sup>

Māori responded in various ways to the New Zealand war effort. Whilst many 'Europeanised Māori' encouraged Māori participation and lobbied for Māori involvement, not all wished their young men to fight. Pakeha as well lacked a definite answer to the question of what role Māori would play in the conflict. Some questioned if Māori should be involved at all in a European war or if European and Māori soldiers could fight side by side. Others were concerned with the impact

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<sup>272</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 22.

<sup>273</sup> There are cases of men being considered 'genuine' by a Military Service Board who were ineligible for exemption being offered non-combatant service. Between September 1917 and October 1918 170 men went overseas on this basis, those who refused were imprisoned alongside those not considered 'genuine'. See David Grant, 'Conscientious objectors', p. 116.

<sup>274</sup> David Grant, 'Conscientious objectors', p. 116.

<sup>275</sup> For accounts of the experiences of interred objectors see Baker, pp. 177-178. Archibald Baxter, pp. 34-66 (Baxter spent time in two civilian prisons –The Terrace and Mt Cook), David Grant, 'Conscientious objectors', p. 116, Holland, pp. 21-22.

<sup>276</sup> Whitehead, pp. 149-152.

mass volunteering or conscription might have on Māoridom.<sup>277</sup> However over the course of the war there was a shift from acceptance to expectation that Māori had a role to play in the conflict. A key example of this was the Military Service Act, which when first passed, did not apply to Māori. The Act was adapted, however, in June 1917, to conscript Māori with the continued refusal of Waikato Māori to enlist. In the face of Waikato objection the same ideas and models were applied to Māori who did not enlist; an *Auckland Star* reporter wrote how Māori kingship had fallen into ‘effeminate, ease-loving buffoonery’ and claimed that young men ‘slouched about with hands in pockets, and cigarettes in mouth in striking contrast to the well set up, alert, and drilled company of young fighting men from Narrow Neck [Army training camp].’<sup>278</sup> Visually as well, Māori objectors were depicted under the same models; as shirkers taking dishonest measures to avoid service. Take, for example, the cartoon *Maori Shirking* (see fig. 32) which shows Māori lending children to other Māori families to avoid first division status; also note the stock shirker elements of the slouch, facial features and fashion.

With the altered social discourse the war brought more attention was given to Rua Kenana’s prophecies of the departure of the British and the restoration of Māori sovereignty which now seemed, in nervous or indignant minds, a pro-German stance. Rua’s community of Maungapohatu was imagined to be a stronghold and his use of the common Māori taunt that German victory might benefit Māori was deemed seditious. The idea that political dissent or rebellion against the Empire was pro-German is depicted in the cartoon *The Disappointed Mother* (see fig. 33). Here a bird branded as Germany, and complete with iron cross, Kaiser moustache and a pickelhaube-like feather, looks irately upon the failed challenges to British rule. The caption depicts Germany as the ‘mother’ of these rebellions; attempting to hatch anti-British movements in India, Ireland, South Africa and now New Zealand. Rua was arrested after a police raid on 2 April 1916, tried for sedition and imprisoned.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> A standard remark in this line of thinking was Mr Payne’s remark in the debates around Māori conscription that ‘such a magnificent people should not be so thinned down that they would be liable to become extinct.’ See Mr Payne, 31 May 1916, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 175, p. 573.

<sup>278</sup> Cited in Hazel Petrie, ‘The ‘Lazy Maori’ Pakeha Representations of a Maori Work Ethic 1890-1940’ (M.A. Thesis, Auckland University, 1998), p. 86. King, *Te Puea*, p. 83.

<sup>279</sup> Petrie, p. 86. and Whitehead p. 149.



*MAORI SHIRKING.*

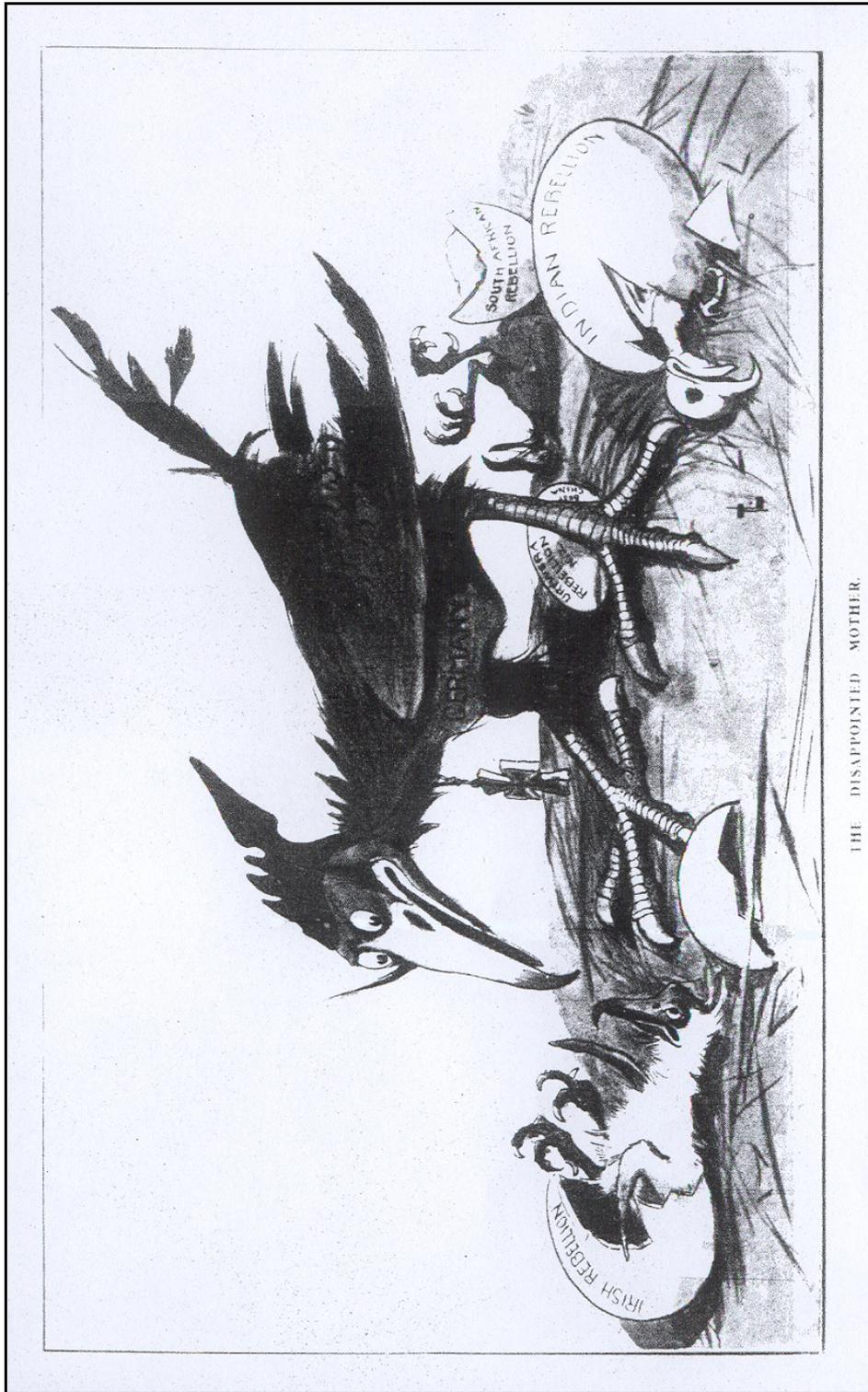
*Rewi: Hullo! Where your children, eh, Mrs Pukunui?*

*Mrs Puku: Oh, Tone and Hone, they no have any baby, so we lend them two each for the recruiting officer to see, then no go to camp for Tone and Hone.*

**Figure 32**

*Maori Shirking.*

Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer* - 18 May 1918, p. 16.



THE DISAPPOINTED MOTHER.

**Figure 33**

*The Disappointed Mother*

Reproduced from *Auckland Weekly News* supplement *The Weekly Graphic* and *New Zealand Mail* - 18 May 1916, p. 43.

Te Puea, who had assumed leadership over anti-conscription feeling, was also largely judged to be pro-German and her, distant (six generations), German ancestry was often emphasised. When Waikato Māori continued to refuse to enlist and ignored conscription, police were sent to collect defaulters. Resistance was passive; Te Puea refused to identify men for the police and those selected often refused to walk and had to be carried out. Te Puea noted the scene of one ‘enormously fat’ man who refused to walk, ‘the police had much difficulty in carrying him to the motor car. Of course no one would help them. We had to laugh, despite our tears.’<sup>280</sup> Those arrested were taken to Narrow Neck where they were encouraged to accept the uniform. Those who refused to cooperate faced a systematic escalation of punishment; they were placed on a bread and water diet, had their blankets removed and finally, if they continued to resist, faced two years hard labour.<sup>281</sup> When the war ended 552 Māori had been balloted, 254 were rejected (76 ineligible, 17 exempt and 161 unfit), 148 were ‘in processing’ and 11 were undergoing hard labour. A further 139 could not be located.<sup>282</sup> No Māori conscript was sent overseas.

The most extreme instance of treatment of New Zealand C.O.s during the Great War is the case of ‘the fourteen.’ In 1917 the Defence Department decided to ship defiant C.O.s from prisons to the front lines without training to be treated as soldiers. It was envisioned that faced with the sight of Germans assaulting their countrymen C.O.s would abandon their misguided ideals and fight. In July 1917 Trentham Camp Commander Colonel Potter enacted this policy on his own initiative and marched fourteen C.O.s onto the troopship *Waitemata* bound for France, without Government sanction. The fourteen C.O.s were Lewis Penwright, Thomas Harland, Albert Sanderson, Garth Ballantyne, Henry Patton, Fredrick Adin, Daniel Maguire, David Gray, Lawrence Kirwin,<sup>283</sup> William Little, Mark Briggs and three brothers Alexander, John and Archibald Baxter. All were classed as ‘defiant objectors’ except David Gray who was classed as a ‘genuine objector’ and was sent in error. This situation of being in the hands of military authority and beyond Government influence was an ongoing trend in the events surrounding the fourteen.

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<sup>280</sup> King, *Te Puea*, p. 90.

<sup>281</sup> King, *Te Puea*, p. 91.

<sup>282</sup> Figures taken from Baker, p. 220.

<sup>283</sup> The spelling of Kirwin’s name alters between sources appearing as Kirwan and Kerwin.

No instructions were sent as to what should or could not be done with or to them and Allen did not request to be kept informed. The public only learnt of the situation when they did via a note Ballantyne smuggled off ship while the *Waitemata* was in harbour.

Throughout the following events the fourteen were subjected to poor food, poor health, forced dressings, extended periods of handcuffing and hostile environments including physical and verbal abuse. Unsurprisingly this treatment wore the C.O.s down and led nearly all of them to compromise their principles, however the Defence Department greatly underestimated the resolve of the C.O.s to hold out. Upon arriving in Britain the military devised a plan of action concerning what to do with the C.O.s. General Richardson, Commander of the N.Z.E.F. in Britain suggested a steady escalation of harsh treatment designed to break the C.O.s. He proposed the fourteen 'be separated, given detention, sent to France, given field punishments, sent to their units, given further field punishments, and then sent with their units into the trenches even if they had to be carried on stretchers.'<sup>284</sup> This was largely the plan that was used against the fourteen. Refusing to follow orders or take on military work, the C.O.s were placed on detention in Sling Camp which involved solitary confinement, a bread and water diet, extended periods of handcuffing and verbal and physical abuse. This treatment saw Penwright, Adin and Sanderson submit and take on military work. Gray who had been sent by accident was also permitted to remain at Sling Camp. The remaining ten C.O.s were shipped to France.

At Etaples Base the C.O.s were warned that further disobedience would result in death by firing squad.<sup>285</sup> Here Harland, John Baxter, Kirwin and Maguire submitted. Maguire even became a soldier; his objections to the war were based on Irish politics rather than pacifism. Kirwin submitted while suffering from poor health and after being released from hospital recanted, again refusing work. The remaining six were subjected to increased intimidation tactics. Ballantyne, Little

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<sup>284</sup> Baker, p. 182.

<sup>285</sup> At Etaples the objectors were shown a list of New Zealanders who had been executed for disobeying orders, this list was likely falsified as only five members of the N.Z.E.F. were executed under this criteria during the war. See Ian McGibbon, 'Death penalty', in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, edited by Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 13-136.

and Alexander Baxter were court marshalled and sentenced to death, a sentence which was commuted at the last moment to two years hard labour to be served at No. 10 military prison in Dunkirk. This death sentence was likely a bluff, as General Godley had warned that the creation of martyrs would be ‘the very worst thing that could possibly happen.’<sup>286</sup> Faced with the harsh conditions of that prison the three imprisoned C.O.s eventually agreed to stretcher-bearing taking the fact that no further C.O.s were to be sent as a moral victory. Little died in active service on the 4 September 1918.

The four remaining C.O.s, Patton, Kirwin, Briggs and Archibald Baxter, were sent to the front in a final effort to force them to fight. Here the C.O.s were given No.1 field punishments upon refusing to obey orders. This punishment, involved being tied to a fixed object with the hands bound behind with back (see fig. 34). It had previously been administered in public view with the offenders limbs outstretched, sometimes tied to a gun carriage wheel. However new regulations stated that the offenders arms were to be tied either by the side of his body or behind his back, quite possibly to avoid the connotations of crucifixion, a nickname which survived the change in regulations. The punishment was intended to cause discomfort and humiliation and regulations stated that the punishment was to be administered:

‘not exceeding two hours in any one day to a fixed object, but he must not be so attached during more than three out of any four consecutive days, nor during more than 21 days in all.’<sup>287</sup>

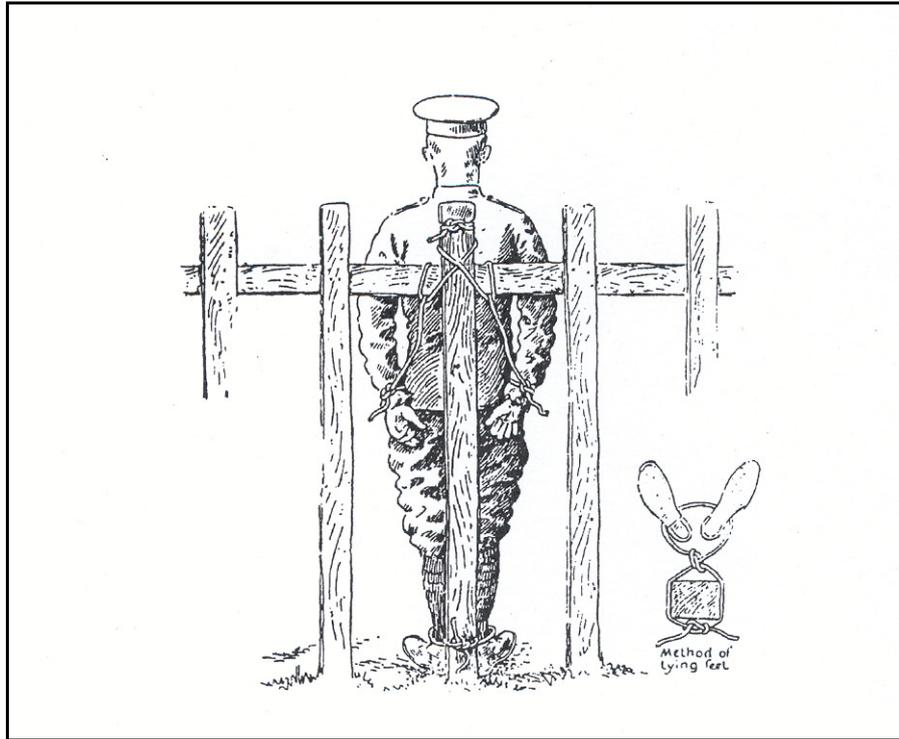
However away from official eyes regulations could be ignored and the method of tying used to create pain; Baxter recalled that when he was taken down his hands were ‘always black with congested blood.’<sup>288</sup> During one session Baxter and Kirwin were given No. 1 field punishments during a blizzard and would likely have frozen to death if a passing sergeant had not ordered that they be taken down. Baxter later recorded his memories of the punishment.

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<sup>286</sup> Pugsley, *On the Fringes of Hell*, p. 233.

<sup>287</sup> Pugsley, *On the Fringes of Hell*, p. 91.

<sup>288</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 122.



**Figure 34**

No.1 Field Punishment

Reference WA/3/15, National Archives, War Archives, Wellington, New Zealand.

‘The mental effect was almost as frightful as the physical. I felt I was going mad. That I should be stuck up on a pole suffering this frightful torture, a human scarecrow for men to stare and wonder at, seemed part of some impossible nightmare that could not continue.’<sup>289</sup>

Upon completion of this punishment Patton agreed to non-combative work. The three remaining C.O.s were sent to the trenches. Being sent to the front lines was the final attempt at reform; it was likely hoped that upon witnessing their countrymen in danger C.O.s would assist. It is also possible that the military authorities hoped that front line officers, away from official sight might find less official ways to break the C.O.s. This was certainly attempted: Mark Briggs, upon refusing to walk to the front trenches was dragged by a piece of cable wire tied around his chest along a duckwalk for roughly a mile, tearing the clothes and flesh from his back, he was also thrown into a shell crater filled with muddy water where

<sup>289</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 123.

he nearly drowned.<sup>290</sup> Briggs later described the results of this treatment: ‘The result was that I sustained a huge flesh wound about a foot long and nine inches wide on the right back hip and thigh.’<sup>291</sup> According to Briggs’ recollections the doctor who came to treat his wounds ‘uttered exclamations of surprise and anger’ giving orders to ‘get as much dirt out of his back as you can. You won’t get it all out because it is ground right into the flesh.’<sup>292</sup> Although a hospital case Briggs was not permitted transfer, an act which would have put him outside the control of the Division. Eventually Briggs was classed as C2 and was moved to Etaples. He was shipped home in early 1919.<sup>293</sup> In light of what had happened to Briggs, and physically weakened, Kirwin agreed to become a stretcher bearer.

The last of the fourteen, Archibald Baxter, faced vicious beatings (possibly officially sanctioned<sup>294</sup>), was denied food and was deliberately sent to a part of the line under heavy bombardment.<sup>295</sup> Baxter’s experiences took an even darker turn when his treatment was admitted to be a contest of wills. In one particular incident Baxter was informed by a Captain Phillips that physical force would be used to break him. When Baxter asked ‘and if I am broken, what good should I be to the authorities or anyone else?’ He was told ‘that doesn’t concern us. It’s your submission we want, Baxter, not your services.’<sup>296</sup> Worn to the point of physical and mental exhaustion as well as being starved, Baxter eventually collapsed. He was found in a shell hole in his underwear, seemingly he removed his uniform to die. From here he was sent to a hospital in Boulogne and found to be described as suffering from ‘mental weakness and confusional insanity’ or as ‘melancholic’ displaying symptoms of what would today be diagnosed as post traumatic stress. After a month of hospitalisation Baxter was still 3.7 stone under his normal weight of 11 stone seven and able only to speak in a whisper which caused his hands to

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<sup>290</sup> A duckwalk was a footpath to assist soldiers traversing the mud constructed from planks with batons nailed across them.

<sup>291</sup> Holland, p. 66.

<sup>292</sup> Holland, p. 69.

<sup>293</sup> The military classification for the fitness of a soldier were as follows:

A - Fit for active service

B - Able to be made fit by medical attention

C1- Likely to become fit for active service after special training

C2- Permanently unfit for active service but fit for service within New Zealand

D - Permanently unfitted for any service whatsoever.

<sup>294</sup> Baker, pp. 186-186.

<sup>295</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 150.

<sup>296</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 142.

sweat.<sup>297</sup> He was shipped home in August 1918 with a mouth full of rotten teeth and with eyes that, as Millicent, his future wife described them, ‘protruded like a crayfish, caused by the strain.’<sup>298</sup>

Brutal methods to attempt to convince New Zealand men to fight can not simply be chalked up to the difficult conditions of the front line, although they no doubt assisted. Violent treatment of C.O.s also occurred on the home front. In March 1918 it was decided to send C.O.s undergoing their initial sentences to military barracks to attempt to break them in. Some of the worse recorded cases of treatment occurred at the Wanganui Barracks under the command of Lieutenant J.W. Crampton. Crampton had been invalided back to New Zealand in June 1916. During a stay in Samoa he was accused of assault and the rape of a Samoan woman, convicted of the latter and reprimanded by the army.<sup>299</sup> At Wanganui he seemed to have made it his duty to apply any methods necessary to convince his prisoners to become soldiers.

As with ‘the fourteen’ the predominant attitude seems to have been that C.O.s were fickle and once enough force was applied they would realise they would not be accommodated and conform. Prisoners were verbally abused, threatened with ‘murder’, forced dressed into uniforms and 80 lb packs and made to march around the ‘slaughter yard.’<sup>300</sup> Those who refused were beaten. One man had his head pushed against a wall while his hands were tied, afterwards he was pushed out into the yard, ordered to march, and struck between the shoulders with the butt of a rifle.<sup>301</sup> Other prisoners were punched, kicked and pushed, one man was pulled around the yard by his hair and another by a rope around the neck.<sup>302</sup> It was alleged that after this treatment one prisoner’s face ‘was like a piece of steak, and drops of blood were to be seen all round the yard and on the wall.’<sup>303</sup> Crampton’s interest in

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<sup>297</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 181.

<sup>298</sup> One incentive the authorities offered Baxter was dental care for his decaying teeth if he took on work. See Archibald Baxter, p. 101. and Millicent Baxter, *The Memoirs of Millicent Baxter* (Christchurch: Cape Catley LTD, 1981), p. 58.

<sup>299</sup> Baker, p. 194.

<sup>300</sup> Holland, p. 149.

<sup>301</sup> *Evening Post*, 26 June 1918, p. 8.

<sup>302</sup> Holland, p. 127.

<sup>303</sup> *Evening Post*, 26 June 1918, p. 8.

applying these punishments has been described as ‘perverse.’<sup>304</sup> One prisoner Thomas Moynihan, recalled being beaten upon refusing to pick up a rifle: ‘the sergeant banged the barrel of it against the side of my face saying “will you hold it?” I did not answer. He banged me several times till blood was streaming down the uniform.’<sup>305</sup> Moynihan can be seen undergoing pack drill in figure 35, the rifle has been tied to his arm and pushed through his shoulder lapel. As rumours of this treatment spread, an investigation was launched in May 1918. When the allegations were found to be substantially true Crampton was brought to military trial. Here Crampton was found not guilty of the 11 counts brought against him and left in command, although no new C.O.s were placed under his authority. Crampton was honourably discharged in 1919.



**Figure 35**

Thomas Moynihan at Wanganui detention barracks  
Reference AD10/45/333/2 box/item 23, National Archives, Wellington, New Zealand.

<sup>304</sup> Baker, p. 194.

<sup>305</sup> David Grant, *Out in the Cold*, p. 19.

Mainstream public opinion on the treatment of C.O.s both at Detention Barracks and of the events around the fourteen varied. Some, such as prominent Methodist minister Rev C. Laws, judged such behaviour as ‘scandalous and un-British’.<sup>306</sup> As another activist put it ‘what have the Germans done that is worse than gradually torturing into mental instability a fellow countryman [Archibald Baxter] – and that for his conscience’s sake?’<sup>307</sup> Others condoned the behaviour. While the Government had not directly sought such treatment it had also had done little to condemn, reprimand or rectify it, largely it maintained that such actions were borne out of necessity to curb sedition.<sup>308</sup> The Prime Minister upon commenting on the transportation of the fourteen, claimed that if C.O.s were allowed to do as they wished that ‘New Zealand would descend into the anarchy of Russia.’<sup>309</sup> The *New Zealand Herald* summarised the verdict of Crampton’s trial with the phrase, “unremitting firmness”, yes; “systematic brutality”, no.<sup>310</sup> Other voices downright defended the events; the *Rangitikei Advocate* put forth that:

‘since the shirker was little better than an animal humane punishment had no effect on him. In any case pulling a man around by a rope was harder on the puller than the pulled, and thousands of New Zealand fathers did no more with a strap to their children than Crampton had to his.’<sup>311</sup>

Overall public outcry was minimal, it is likely that the majority simply agreed or sympathised with the authority’s position and response or felt that C.O.s had brought such treatment upon themselves. Pugsley has suggested that ‘the strict treatment of conscientious objectors and “shirkers” met the public mood, making it possible to close one’s eyes to condoned brutality being carried out on those who refused to compromise their beliefs.’<sup>312</sup>

The story of New Zealand’s treatment of C.O.s does not end with the Armistice. Even at the war’s end there was the matter of the 273 C.O.s in prison.<sup>313</sup> Thinking it unfair to release C.O.s until all the soldiers had returned, the last C.O.s were

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<sup>306</sup> Baker, p. 192.

<sup>307</sup> Baker, p. 196.

<sup>308</sup> In explaining the authorities’ attitude to the use of physical force on C.O.s Baker concludes that ‘to some extent the Defence Department did not realise how brutal the army could be, and to some extent it did not care, but mainly, and typically, it did not stop to think about it.’ Baker, p. 189.

<sup>309</sup> Baker, p. 193.

<sup>310</sup> Cited in O’Connor, p. 136.

<sup>311</sup> Cited in O’Conner, p. 136.

<sup>312</sup> Pugsley, *On the Fringes of Hell*, p. 235.

<sup>313</sup> David Grant, ‘Conscientious objectors’, p. 116.

released only when the last servicemen returned home in November 1920. The Expeditionary Forces Amendment Act 1919 withdrew the civil rights of those on the 'Military Defaulters List' for ten years following the war.<sup>314</sup> This barred C.O.s from holding public office and employment, and from the exercise of political rights whether as electors or as members of any public authority.<sup>315</sup>

Socially as well, attitudes to C.O.s outlasted the war. Millicent Baxter wrote in her memoirs, first published in 1981, that 'nowadays people cannot realise the extent of the feeling against conscientious objectors that still existed shortly after the first war.'<sup>316</sup> Such was the social stigma still attached to C.O.s after the war that Millicent did not tell her father who Archibald was; however the social shaming of C.O.s remained: 'It wasn't long, of course, before he [Millicent's father] knew – people were only too anxious to tell him what a scoundrel my husband was.'<sup>317</sup> Some organisations continued to campaign against C.O.s, the Rotorua R.S.A., for example, wanted 'objectors on the staff of the Rotorua Hospital to be ineligible for promotion and to wear a distinguishing armband.'<sup>318</sup> Upon his return to New Zealand, Archibald Baxter was forced to report, in uniform, to a hospital every two or three days for many weeks where he was deliberately made to wait for hours. The purpose was, in Baxter's view, 'not for any treatment, for I received none' but to 'grind me down and make me realise how completely I was in their power.'<sup>319</sup> Perhaps the most far reaching reaction to World War One C.O.s was during the 1960s where all references to Baxter's punishments were removed from his army file out of concern that his son, James Baxter, might use them in his campaign against compulsory military training.<sup>320</sup>

The treatment of C.O.s during the First World War must sit strangely with contemporary New Zealand. Journalist Nigel Benson recalled upon reading of the events of the fourteen during his youth in the 1960s, that 'I thought it was a work of

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<sup>314</sup> The Military Defaulters List was a list of those who, in Allen's opinion, intended to permanently evade military service in the present war.

<sup>315</sup> O'Connor, p. 130.

<sup>316</sup> Millicent Baxter, p. 59.

<sup>317</sup> Millicent Baxter, p. 59.

<sup>318</sup> Baker, p. 201.

<sup>319</sup> Archibald Baxter, pp. 210-213.

<sup>320</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 215.

fiction, because we wouldn't do things like that. It didn't sit with my ideas that we were a decent British society.'<sup>321</sup> Indeed, the methods used on the fourteen, particularly those which saw Mark Briggs and Archibald Baxter broken physically and mentally, could easily be described as torture and would represent the only known use of sanctioned torture on New Zealanders by New Zealanders. It is the argument of this thesis that such treatment by so many is indicative of dominant ideas within New Zealand society at the time.

Ultimately the way C.O.s were comprehended, depicted and treated by wartime New Zealand displays a consistent picture of what the dominant ideas around C.O.s in New Zealand society were. Here there was a strong tendency to view C.O.s as being either insincere or fully knowing that their position was impractical. Either way, there was a dominant idea that C.O.s could be reformed and would adopt the correct response if enough force (social, legal or physical) was applied.

As such many of the encounters between objectors and the authorities reveal these dominant ideas, conversely the encounters also show how many objectors embodied their ideas and principles. Take for example the act of force dressing C.O.s into uniform and the action of several C.O.s to remove the uniform, even if it meant wearing only underwear or going naked. On a material level the clothing one is dressed in is irrelevant to one's philosophical position – an objector could wear the uniform whilst refusing to comply with military authority. On another level, the forced dressing of a C.O. into military uniform is an embodiment of the issue. Dressing a C.O. in uniform, without their consent, was a symbol that the individual's autonomy had been made subservient to military authority. Conversely by removing the uniform C.O.s rejected the idea that the state could make an individual a soldier without that individual's consent. Other C.O.s embodied their principles by denying the legitimacy of the legal process and refusing to cooperate in the proceedings. For example when one C.O. was asked, during his court martial, if he would answer the questions put to him, he responded:

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<sup>321</sup> Nigel Benson, 'Fighting a better, brutal fight, in 'Impressions', in *Otago Daily Times*, 16 August 2007, p. 33.

'I am not going to combat at all, so you are at the liberty to put any answer you like. If I were to answer your question even by a plain "Yes" or "No" I should be taking a voluntary part in these proceedings, and under the circumstances I cannot do this.<sup>322</sup>

He was given 11 months hard labour. The experiment with the fourteen took these contests for ideological expression and the symbolic proving of points to the extreme. Recall how Baxter was told that it was his 'submission' that was being sought rather than his service.

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<sup>322</sup> H.R. Urquhart, *Court Martial or Post Mortem?* (Auckland: The Reliance Printery, 1918), p. 15.

## **Chapter Five: Their response to the Empire's call**

During the First World War one of the major factors in determining how New Zealand society perceived its members was in how it perceived their response to the Empire's call. This concept of responding to a call originated in the material demands of First World War warfare. As examined in chapter two, the process of national mobilisation that underpinned such a massive war effort effectively treated the entire population of the nation-state as a means to secure martial resources; whether in production, enlistment or organisational capacities. In achieving this, the citizen was cast as a willing participant in the cause who could be expected to behave in certain ways.

Material involvement in the war effort thus promoted ideological involvement. As such, wartime New Zealand operated under a markedly different zeitgeist and with different concerns and values. The war had numerous impacts and effects upon the social structure of the nation and this thesis has provided a broad synthesis for the purposes of identifying core changes. An expansion upon the ways and the extent in which the war impacted the nation's religious understandings, notions of gender and interactions with Māori, etc would make intriguing subjects for further study.

This thesis, however, has sought specifically to explore the nature of the dominant ideas circulated of the soldier and the shirker. In regards to social discourse and ideas around service and obligation there was a set of responses that became prominent in wartime New Zealand; as noted in chapter three. Amongst these were: a widespread enthusiasm for displaying loyalty and support for the war effort, a popular demand that all actively involve themselves and sacrifice for the cause and a lowered tolerance for any real or perceived non-conformist behaviour. These trends could be labelled as the soldier's response to the call: the soldier representing social ideals by embodying displayed loyalty, participation and sacrifice.

In regards to the dominant ideas around shirkers: it was from a platform of material and ideological commitment to the war that New Zealand comprehended members of the nation that did not conform to this ideology. The dominant idea that every individual should pursue active involvement in the war and sacrifice to advance the

national cause was at odds with the ideas and behaviours of some New Zealanders. A prominent example of one category was C.O.s who for various reasons sought to either remain divorced from the fighting or to oppose it. As chapter four examined, the ways in which objectors were comprehended, depicted and treated all paint a very consistent picture of the dominant ideas in society both around service and conscientious objection. State power created narrow legal conceptions of C.O.s and exercised this conception to classify, judge and punish non-conformists. This attitude carried on into popular depictions of C.O.s as ‘shirkers’ unfavourably compared to, indeed purposefully contrasted to, soldiers. Here the main themes of shirkers as either slackers, foppish or as scoundrels, greatly contrasts to representations of soldiers embodying social values of active participation, manliness and noble sacrifice. The ways in which many C.O.s were reacted to and the fact that so many New Zealanders showed that they were willing to use or condone the use of social pressure and/or physical force suggests that these dominant ideas were active across society. Within all of these areas the C.O. is presented as someone who does not conform to dominant ideas of service and participation and is consequently presented as unacceptable, wrong or simply bad. These mainstream perceptions of C.O.s as non-conformists to dominant ideas are what could be termed the shirker’s response to the call.

In understanding why and how C.O.s were comprehended and reacted to by many New Zealanders it is crucial to understand the dominant ideas in mainstream society. Obviously, there were fundamental differences in the ideologies. Compare the typical claim of one mainstream newspaper that ‘it is the business of every man, woman and child in the British Empire to end the war at the earliest possible moment’<sup>323</sup> - to Baxter’s statement on the role he intended to play in the war. Upon being asked ‘what will you tell your son when he asks what you did during the war?’ Baxter replied - ‘my answer would be...I did my best to stop it.’<sup>324</sup> Such a fundamental rift in opinion would not likely have been a problem in peacetime, or at least would not have earned the reaction it did. Likely, it would simply have added to the social and ideological divisions already present in the nation. However, the existence and nature of the war made such ideological co-existence

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<sup>323</sup> *New Zealand Observer*, 28 November 1914, p. 3.

<sup>324</sup> Archibald Baxter, p. 154.

improbable. With the war effort reliant upon the resources of the nation-state and with the enthusiastic response of most of the nation there was less tolerance of ideas that diverged from, or conflicted with, mainstream ones. These social developments were intimately tied to a nation gearing itself for war, particularly one which relied upon popular support.

Ultimately, in concluding this analysis of both how and why the dominant ideas around soldiers and shirkers formed as they did I return to the speech given by Prime Minister William Massey as the N.Z.E.F. departed New Zealand for foreign shores in the early days of the war. Massey's claim that when the Empire calls it was for citizens to respond and obey is the basis for, and the origin of, the discourse studied here. The concept of a national call and a correct response to it led to a celebrating of some parts of New Zealand society and a rejection of others. This process saw a social framing and understanding of service and conscientious objection; both the soldier and the shirker were understood in terms of a perceived response to the Empire's call.

## Appendix 1

In researching this topic I came across much primary material that captured aspects of wartime New Zealand, obviously not all of this material was, or could be, reproduced within the thesis.

Some material was omitted because it opened wider vistas of scholarship than I could track in a work of this size. Other material was culled from the narrative as I wanted the visuals to complement the thesis's argument, rather than dominate it.

However this primary material is intimately connected to the themes and issues examined in this thesis and some could provide the basis of further study. Additionally, I believe that visual sources - and perhaps particularly cartoons - have an important place in showing us both empirical and cultural aspects of the past. As such I think it fitting to include this material in an appendix.

The location of the material and a brief context is included.





LIEUTENANT J. B. D. EDDER,  
of Otago,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT ALBERT A. BEDD,  
of Invercargill,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT E. R. BARROW,  
of Wellington,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT KENNETH D. AMBROSE,  
of Christchurch,  
Killed in action.



CAPTAIN HARRY R. AIRD,  
of Invercargill,  
Died of wounds.



LIEUTENANT C. E. RUFFEN,  
of Wanganui,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT A. F. CASSIE,  
of Patea,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT R. G. RICKITT,  
of Christchurch,  
Killed in action.



LIEUTENANT C. F. MORGAN,  
of South Otago,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT GEORGE B. HORGAN,  
of Blenheim,  
Killed in action.



CAPTAIN J. FALCONER BROWN,  
of Auckland,  
Wounded.



CAPTAIN R. W. SEDDON,  
of Dunedin,  
Killed in action.



CAPTAIN M. R. E. JONES,  
of Ashburton,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT M. M. HASFIELD,  
of Patea,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT L. W. HILL,  
of Havelock,  
Killed in action.



LIEUTENANT W. P. BELL,  
of Timaru,  
Wounded.



CAPTAIN D. E. BREWER,  
of Havelock,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT A. D. BRENNER,  
of Invercargill,  
Killed in action.



LIEUTENANT G. D. PAGE,  
of Wellington,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT L. W. MILLER,  
of Ashburton,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT ED. A. KNOX,  
of Wellington,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT A. C. BESS,  
of Christchurch,  
Wounded.



MAJOR A. E. CHILDS,  
of Ashburton,  
Killed in action.



LIEUTENANT F. E. SUTHERLAND,  
of Auckland,  
Wounded.



LIEUTENANT J. E. STUBBINS,  
of Christchurch,  
Wounded.

NEW ZEALAND'S ROLL OF HONOUR: OFFICERS WHO HAVE SUFFERED WHILE LEADING THEIR MEN TO VICTORY IN FRANCE.

Reproduced from *Auckland Weekly News*, 12 October 1916, p. 44.

A page from the *Auckland Weekly News* 'Roll of honour' of photos of officer casualties.



**ONE OF THE BEST**

These high-class Cigarettes are something entirely distinctive, something absolutely unique, at the moderate price charged for them.

**STATE EXPRESS**

**CIGARETTES**

**No. 333**                      **10 for 6<sup>D</sup>**

*Each packet contains a War Picture, and on receipt of the complete series of 50 of these, the Company will send a Handsome Volume "Pillars of Empire."  
— Address, Ardath Tobacco Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 333, Dunedin.*

Obtainable of all High-class Tobacconists and Stores throughout **NEW ZEALAND.**



Sole Manufacturers : **ARDATH TOBACCO CO., LTD., LONDON.**

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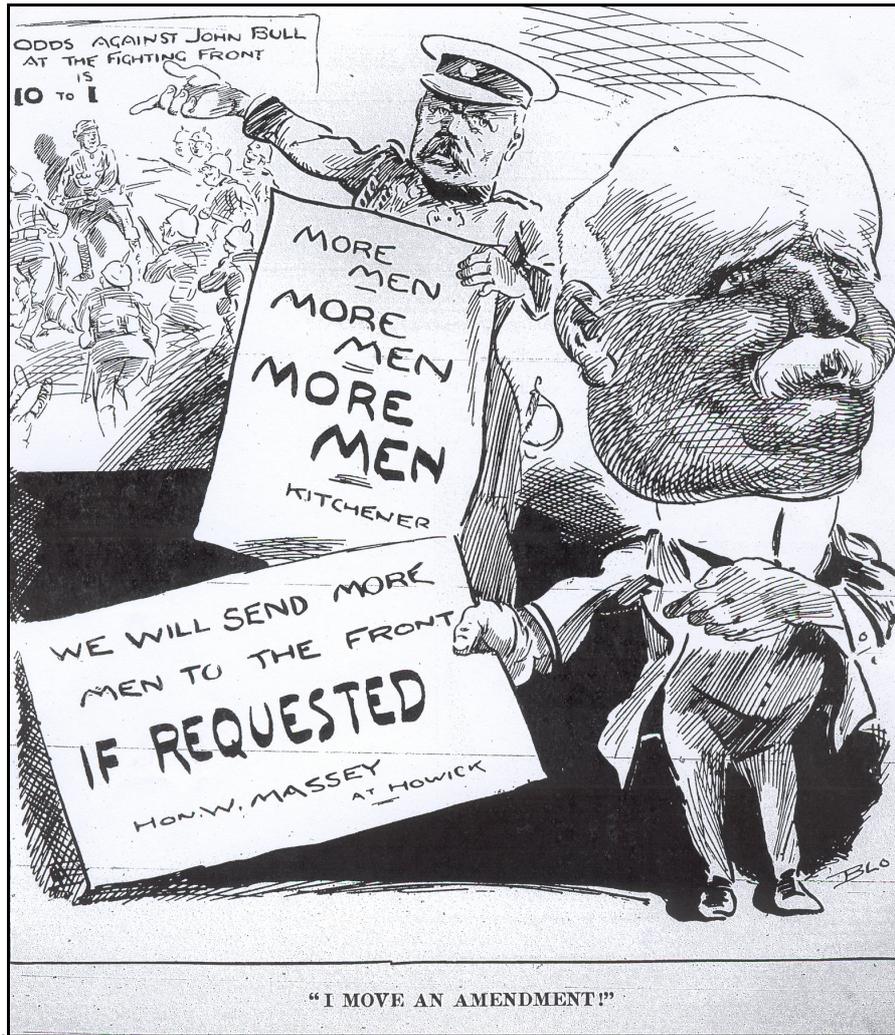
Reproduced from *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 October 1916, p. 10.

This wartime advertisement has elected to use the iconic image of a soldier to denote the quality of their cigarettes.



Reproduced from *New Zealand Free Lance*, 22 August 1914, p. 3.

This cartoon shows Prime Minister W. Massey bidding farewell to a young lion who is departing to join the British lion in the fight on the horizon. The cartoonist has captured the common public feelings that New Zealand had a role to play in the conflict.



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Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer*, 28 November 1914, p. 1.

A cartoon calling for increased commitment to the war by drawing a connection between Prime Minister Massey's comment at Howick and Lord Kitchener's call for more men.

## Important Announcement



Although THE DRESDEN PIANO CO.'S name has become a household word throughout the Dominion it has been decided to relinquish this familiar title and to adopt in its place that of

**THE BRISTOL PIANO CO., LTD.**



¶ When the business started over 32 years ago, the name "The Dresden," being honourably associated with all that was best in Music and Art, was chosen as a good trading title, but, despite its well-earned popularity, there can be no doubt it is no longer acceptable for an

**ALL BRITISH COMPANY**



¶ The Shareholders and Directors are without exception British born and bred, and are all resident under the British flag: there is not, nor has there ever been, one single shilling of anything but British capital used or invested in the business: and as Bristol is the birthplace of the Founder and present Chairman of Directors of the Company, the Public will fully appreciate the change of title to that of

**The Bristol Piano Co., Ltd.**

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Reproduced from *Evening Post*, 2 January 1915, p. 9.

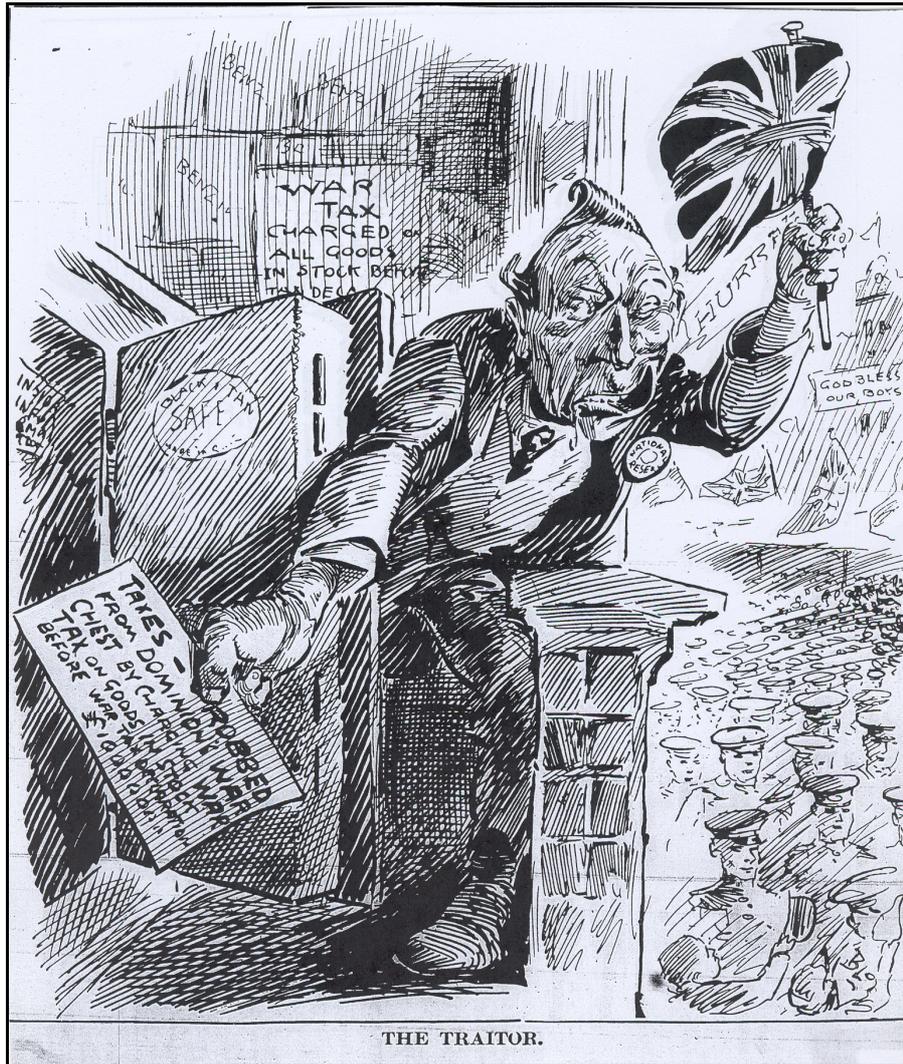
The Bristol piano company announces its new name and asserts its 'Britishness' as mentioned on page 32.



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Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer*, 2 December 1916, p. 1.

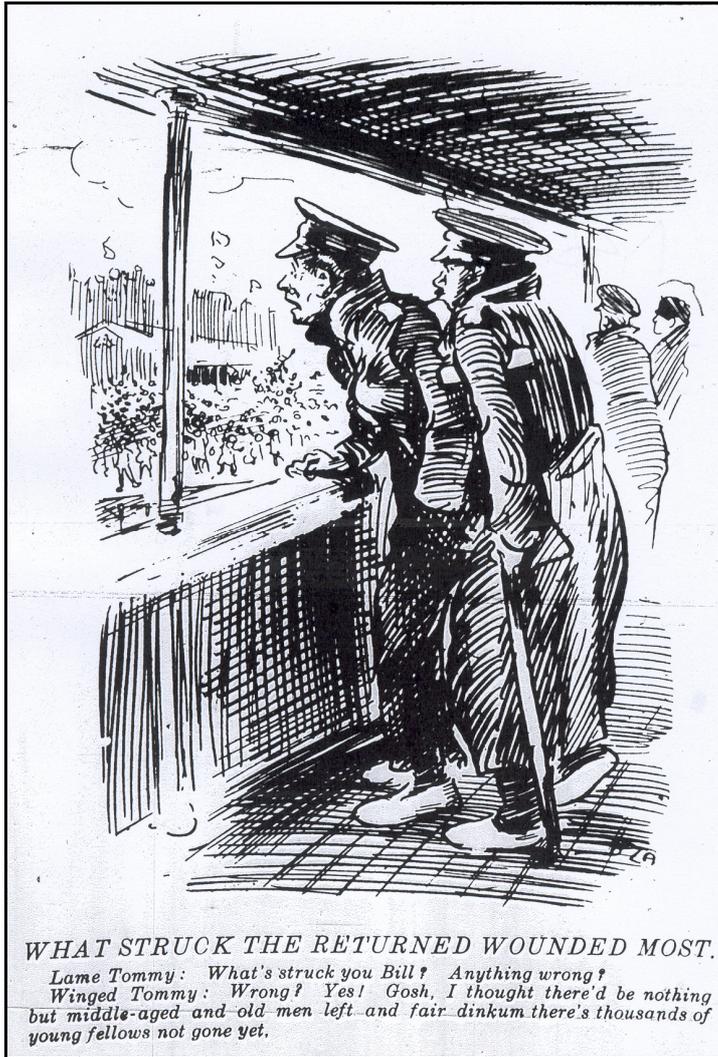
Two categories of men identified and depicted as harming the war effort; the industrial striker and the war profiteer.



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Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer*, 11 September 1915, p. 1.

Another person identified for social derision, the man who cheers, waves a flag and wears a patriotic badge in public but whose private actions harm the war effort.



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Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer*, 31 July 1915, p. 16.

A cartoon depicting inequality of sacrifice shows two returned wounded soldiers struck by how many have not taken a larger or more wholehearted part in the effort.



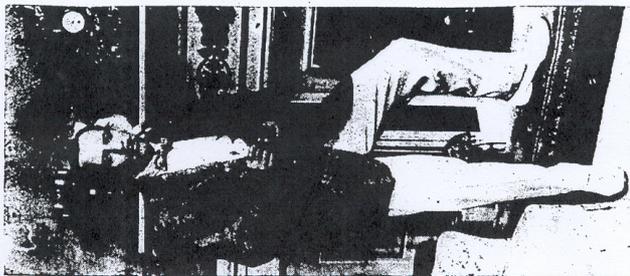
*THE SKY SCRAPER SCARE ENTERS TAKAPUNA.*

*The People's Bob: Road metalling may be an important item in our new Borough, Mister Mayor, and drainage may be considered—to say nothing of Post Office sites—but there's a most important matter, town-planning, and (in your ear) I hear that a syndicate contemplate building a three-story building in the main street! Don't allow any sky-scrapers here. They will block out our light and be a danger to our valuable community.*

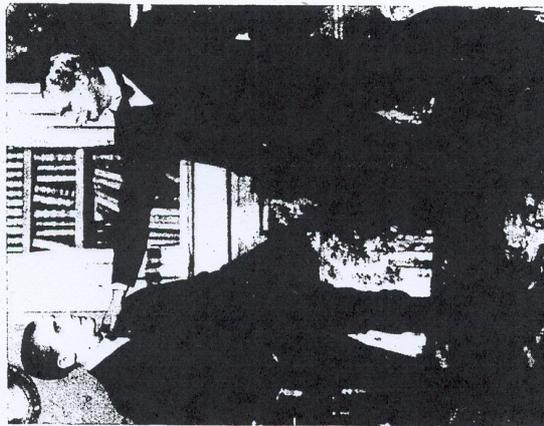
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Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer*, 27 September 1913, p. 5.

This pre-war cartoon shows that the model that would be used to depict the shirker existed before war. Most of the features such as poor physical and moral stature, racing tickets and attire are present.



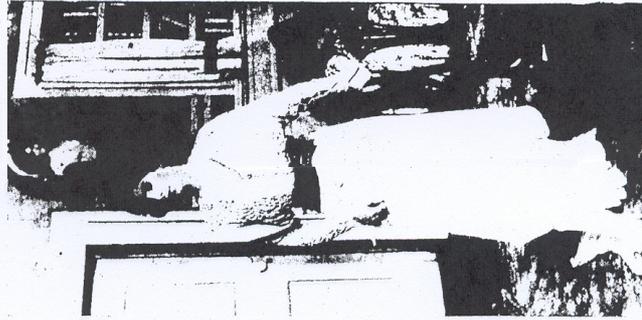
MR FRANK HARVEY  
As Christopher Brest in "The Man  
Who Stayed at Home."



MR ARTHUR CORNELL AS JOHN PRESTON, J.P., AND  
KENNETH BRAMPTON AS PERCIVAL PENNICUIK.



MISS EMMA TEMPLE MRS SANDERSON AND LESLIE  
VICTOR FRITZ, TWO GERMAN SPIES.

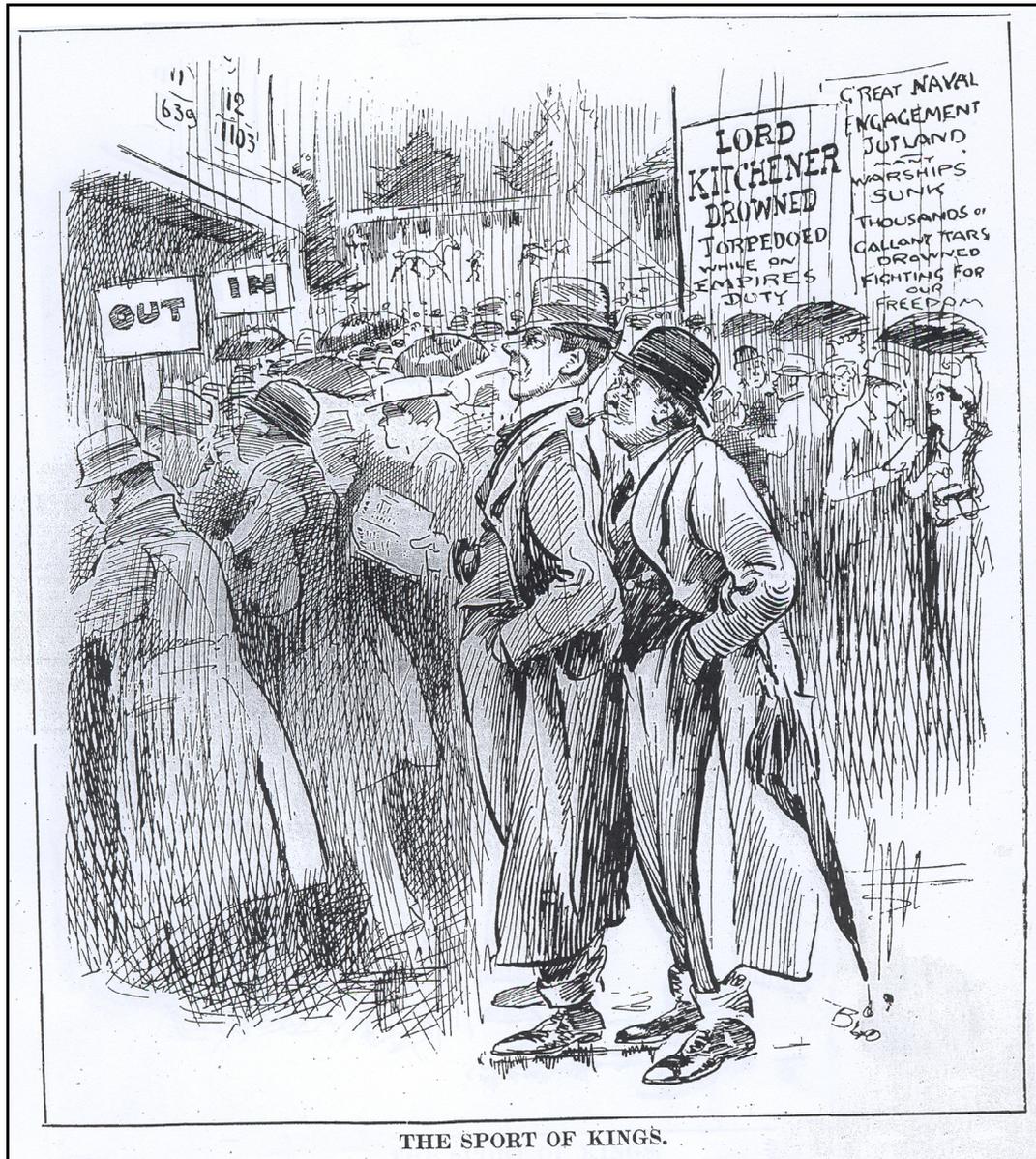


MISS VIOLET PAGET  
As Marjorie Leigh.

"THE MAN WHO STAYED AT HOME": LEADING CHARACTERS IN THE PATRIOTIC PLAY AT HIS MAJESTY'S THEATRE.

Reproduced from *Otago Witness*, 6 October 1915, p. 50.

Photos of the patriotic play *The Man who stayed at home*, mentioned on page 89.



Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer*, 17 June 1916, p. 1.

This cartoon contrasts the war news, which is reported in noble terms, with citizens who smoke and attend horse racing. The message here is that pleasure seeking or concern with trivia is the antithesis of sacrifice. A follow up article on page 3 claimed that those who attended the races amidst news of Lord Kitchener's death were 'dancing a fandango on the grave of the greatest Britisher.' Another commentator noted that it was a pity some men occupied their time with 'the sport of kings rather than supporting their king.'

The insensate slaughter  
On land and on water  
Grows greater, we find stead of less  
And day by day crises  
Cause more sacrifices  
The world's in an 'elofa mess.

A sad leave they're taking  
The while they are breaking  
The tie that is sweetest on earth:  
Yet mother's tears mingle  
While men who are still single  
And shirkers find subject for mirth.

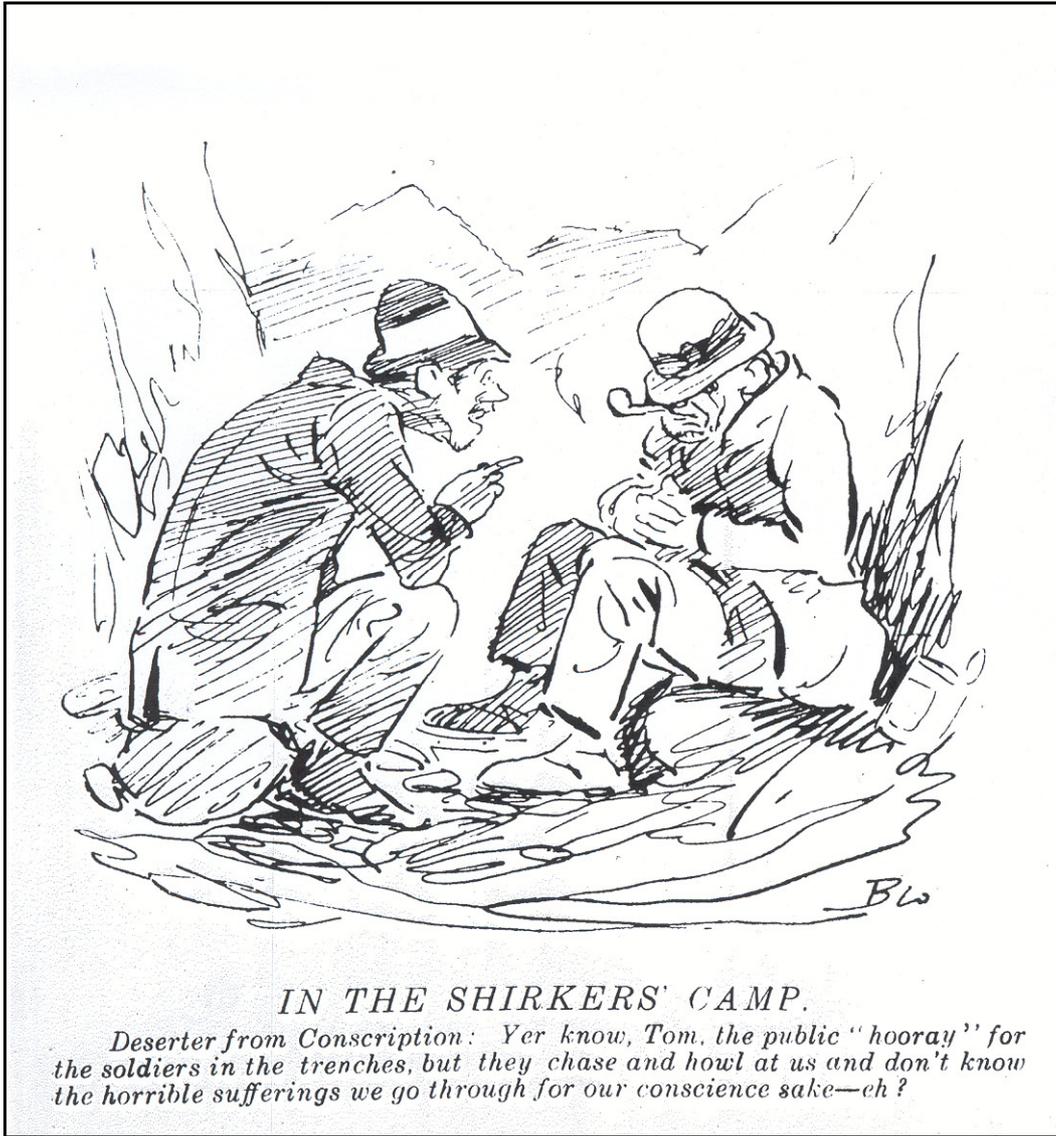
Now, men who are older  
The burden must shoulder  
Our fathers are hearing the call  
They don't like to hear it  
But show the right spirit:  
Their duty they'll do tho' they fall.

Instead of poor father  
If Allen would rather  
Comb out the remaining young blood;  
This much needed measure  
Would give us all pleasure  
And do him a darn sight more good.

---

Reproduced from *Truth*, 11 May 1918, p. 1.

This poem speaks of many of the prominent social discourses in wartime New Zealand including the idea of a correct response to 'the call', the sacrifice some are making, calls for equality of sacrifice, growing war weariness, the idea that there existed men who were avoiding duty as well as calls for state intervention to rectify this.



Reproduced from *New Zealand Observer*, 20 April 1918, p. 17.

This cartoon contrasts the effort being made between the soldiers in the trenches and men who avoid enlistment. The hardships these men endure for their 'conscientious sake' are presented as inconsequential compared to the soldiers hardships and presented as likely being insincere.

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