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“What is it we are going to remember?”: Comparing New Zealand's Centennial Narratives of World War One

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Abstract

The centenary of World War One (WWI) was a significant cultural event in New Zealand. During the period 2014-2019, a great deal of material was produced that aimed to 'remember' the war and the New Zealanders who were involved. The centenary of the landing at Gallipoli in April 2015 was by far the most dominant event of the period, and with it came familiar national and cultural identity narratives about the Anzac diggers and the birth of modern New Zealand. This thesis interrogates these and other narratives of the commemorations and assesses whether mythic cultural understandings of WWI were challenged by the centennial historiographies, or whether the period reinforced established beliefs about New Zealand's war experience. Five narrative themes are investigated: the New Zealand soldier, mateship and relationships, depictions of suffering and sacrifice, the creation of personal connections, and the depictions of Māori and women. This thesis examines these themes across two bodies of material: the 'print histories' and the 'non-poppy material'.

The WW100 Programme, overseen by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH), the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF), the RSA and Massey University, was the most 'official' commemoration. Amongst its significant expenditure and output, the Programme published the 11 'print histories', a canon of self-described 'definitive' texts that told the narrative of New Zealand's WWI experience, written by established historians. These texts, though not 'official histories' in that they were not sanctioned or dictated by the government, bore the MCH's WW100 red poppy logo and were presented as an authoritative, 21st century narrative of New Zealand's WWI. This thesis examines these 11 volumes as one canon for the first time to investigate how they dealt with the familiar cultural narratives of the war.

Those outside established academic historiographical spheres also produced significant commemoration material. To gain a deeper understanding of how New Zealand's WWI experiences are understood and communicated, this thesis examines selected texts from outside the WW100 Programme, from a variety of genres and media. These texts – the 'non-poppy material', to reflect that they lack the authoritative WW100 red poppy logo – were produced without the Programme's guidelines or mission statement, and often aimed to reach a wider, more general audience than the historiographically denser print histories. The non-poppy material examined in this thesis includes fictional texts, which allow a more thorough understanding of how New Zealanders perceive the WWI narrative. This thesis examines these non-poppy texts to compare and contrast them with the print histories, analysing the same narrative themes to assess whether academic historiography and popular culture aligned in the portrayal of New Zealand's WWI experience.

Overall, the non-poppy material tended more towards reinforcing familiar (though not necessarily accurate) narratives, while the print histories often made significant efforts to challenge popular misconceptions and present the narrative themes in a more nuanced way. However, the non-poppy material was able to use its varied mediums to create engagement and appeal to a wider audience. It is clear that by inviting more varied voices and utilising the benefits of film and fiction, historians could better deepen New Zealanders' understanding of WWI – and other upcoming commemorative events, such as World War Two and the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi.

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#tridentsup

Abbreviations

AIF	Australian Imperial Force
AWOL	Absent without leave
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
CCS	Casualty clearing station
CEF	Canadian Expeditionary Force
CO	Commanding officer
DCM	Distinguished Conduct Medal
FANY	First Aid Nursing Yeomanry
MCC	Māori Contingent Committee
MCH	Ministry for Culture and Heritage
MO	Medical officer
MSF	Māori Soldiers' Fund
NZANS	New Zealand Army Nursing Service
NCO	Non-commissioned officer
NZDF	New Zealand Defence Force
NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force
NZWCA	New Zealand War Contingent Association
POV	Point of view
QMAAC	Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps
RFC	Royal Flying Corps
RSA	Returned and Services Association
SFX	Sound effects
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
SWH	Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Service
VAD	Voluntary Aid Detachment (commonly used as shorthand for nurse aides)
VC	Victoria Cross
VD	Venereal disease
VFX	Visual effects
VS	Volunteer Sisterhood
WAAC	Women's Army Auxiliary Corps
WRAF	Women's Royal Air Force
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Note

Macrons have been used for te Reo words and phrases, except when quoting Monty Soutar's *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Maori in the First World War*, to respect that Soutar does not use them (as exemplified in the title's use of 'Maori' as opposed to Māori).

Contents

Introduction

A century on from the end of World War One (WWI), its narratives seem to be as dominant in the national consciousness of Aotearoa New Zealand as ever. The cultural landscape of New Zealand was certainly filled with WWI narratives over the 2014-2019 period, as a slew of material was released. The First World War Centenary Programme WW100 – overseen by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH), the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF), the Returned and Services Association (RSA) and Massey University – led the charge, as it sought to commemorate, appreciate and remember New Zealand's WWI experience. Narratives that resurface on Anzac Day every year were examined from all angles, sometimes fresh, sometimes familiar, by the official Programme and unofficially by historians, journalists, filmmakers, authors and the general public. The challenge was, according to commentators such as prominent historians Hew Strachan in Britain and Glyn Harper in New Zealand, to say something new, something meaningful, about this century-old tale.[1] 'What is it we are going to 'remember'?', Strachan asked.[2] This was no easy challenge in a nation where the Anzac narrative, which paints a New Zealand forged in the crucible of Gallipoli, has always dominated conversation about WWI. Critical examinations of the enduring themes of sacrifice, mateship, and whose story should be told were badly needed, and the onus was on historians to ensure that these conversations reached the general public.

Of course, effectively communicating history to the public is a challenging task, now more so than perhaps ever before. Pop culture is rich with myths, half-truths, rewrites, and the stories people want to believe. The enduring Anzac legend is an entrenched part of New Zealand's cultural understanding, as is the general notion that New Zealand soldiers in both world wars fought 'to defend the ideals of justice and freedom'.[3] However, this heroic narrative of WWI has been increasingly critiqued by scholars, and whether Gallipoli was truly a defining national watershed is still being debated in New Zealand's historiography.[4] The general public's understanding of historical events need not be – and will never be – as detailed or complex as that of those who make their living writing about those events, but it is important that the everyday New Zealander has an understanding that is built on solid foundations. Historiography must compete with pop culture in the miasma of public knowledge, and it is the underdog. The importance of being able to effectively communicate history and its lessons is only increasing as the 21st century – the 'post-truth' era, with its new media and heightened connectivity – marches on. This is particularly true as New Zealand history becomes a compulsory part of the school curriculum. The WW100 Programme was an opportunity to challenge and critically engage with the narratives of New Zealand's national consciousness, to reach across the divide between academic and popular understandings of the New Zealand WWI experience with all its nuances.

It is not always an easy divide to cross. Historians Martin Crotty and Craig Stockings have shared their negative experience critiquing Anzac narratives in Australia,[5] demonstrating that historians can be treading on precarious ground when they venture out of the ivory tower. Journal articles and thick

[1] Hew Strachan, 'First World War anniversary: we must do more than remember', 11/1/2013, retrieved from www.telegraph.co.uk/history/9795881/First-World-War-anniversary-we-must-do-more-than-remember.html on 19/2/2019; Glyn Harper, 'WWI centenary is chance for NZ education legacy', 25/4/2013, retrieved from www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/comment/8594754/WWI-centenary-is-a-chance-for-NZ-educational-legacy on 13/2/2019.
[2] Strachan, 'First World War anniversary'.
[3] 'Information Sheet 2 – Our programme narrative', downloaded from ww100.govt.nz/information-sheets, 12/2/2019.
[4] As demonstrated by several texts referred to in the literature review of this thesis.
[5] Martin Crotty and Craig Stockings, 'The Minefield of Australian Military History', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 60:4 (2014), pp. 580-591.

historiographical tomes are not as fun or engaging as op eds or novels, and capturing the public interest in the era of social media is harder than ever. But just because it is challenging does not mean historians cannot try; the general public have as much right to this history and these narratives as any academic. Writing for websites like 'The Spinoff' is as valuable a use of an historian's time as writing for the *New Zealand Journal of History* – but only if done with the same level of commitment to analysis and critical evaluation. It is all very well for historians to critique the Anzac narrative in academic journals, sheltered from the backlash described by Crotty and Stockings by paywalls and jargon. When WWI historiography enters the public forum, does it challenge myths and encourage critical analysis of hand-me-down histories? Or does it meekly shuffle around the edges, unwilling to make waves regarding a subject considered almost sacred to so many New Zealanders? During the centenary period, this question was more pertinent than ever, as the WW100 Programme encouraged a greater dissemination of academic knowledge.

Research questions

This thesis examines the narratives that were produced during New Zealand's centenary period 2014-2019 by both the WW100 Programme's print histories and the myriad pop culture sources, comparing them to assess whether there is a gulf between historiography and popular understanding. By investigating three key research questions, this thesis will interrogate the extent to which the centenary period produced narratives that moved beyond remembrance towards a deeper, more critical understanding of New Zealand's WWI experience.

1. How were the five key themes of the New Zealand soldier, mateship, suffering and sacrifice, audience connections and inclusion/exclusion of Māori and women depicted by both the WW100 Programme's print histories and other material?
2. In what ways did the narratives of the print histories and the wider material differ or agree, and to what extent is there a gap between historiography and popular culture's understandings of WWI in New Zealand?
3. To what extent did the material produced during the centenary period achieve the aims and objectives set out by the WW100 Programme?

Significance

The significance of this historiographical research is twofold. First, it will contribute to the growing body of work that critically examines New Zealand's WWI centenary. With such a large amount of material to examine, and some commemorations requiring whole theses on their own (for example, Nick Haig's work on the Te Papa Gallipoli exhibit[6]), a study of any individual aspect of the centenary will add detail and depth to the academic conversation and allow future researchers to more easily assess the commemoration as a whole. Examining the narratives of a variety of different mediums will help to demonstrate the cultural environment that the centenary took place in – building an 'awareness of the breadth of cultural influences at play', something called for by Catriona Pennell and Mark Sheehan, who specifically mention pop culture sources such as film, television and books in their work on British commemoration.[7] The Centenary Programme will become a seminal moment in New Zealand's historiography, and it is no surprise that throughout WW100's duration historians were already beginning to discuss and dissect it. This study of the media's presentation of New Zealand's WWI narratives and their relation to established historiography will expand upon the other

[6] Nicholas Haig, 'Once More, With Feeling: An enquiry into The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa's exhibition Gallipoli: The scale of our war' MA, Massey University, 2016.
[7] Catriona Pennell and Mark Sheehan, 'But what do they really think? Methodological challenges of investigating young people's perspectives of war remembrance', *History Education Research Journal* 17:1 (2020), p. 34.

varied examinations of how New Zealand has commemorated WWI and be of value when the inevitable evaluation of the entire period is conducted.

This thesis is the first time that anyone has carried out a comprehensive and complete analysis of the print histories produced by the WW100 Programme. These 11 volumes are major works in New Zealand's historiographical landscape, and they will have a lasting legacy on Aotearoa's WWI scholarship. Though it is not completely accurate to label them 'official',[8] they are products of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, New Zealand Defence Force, Returned and Services Association, and Massey University – all authoritative institutions with the necessary mana to influence the country's historical narratives – and they bear the authoritative poppy logo of the Programme. The print histories announced themselves as 'authoritative' and 'scholarly yet accessible to broad audiences', and it was claimed that '*together* [my emphasis] they formed the first complete and detailed account of New Zealand's First World War experience'.[9] This thesis analyses these texts, from cover to cover – totalling over 4000 pages – to gain a comprehensive understanding of what they have to say. All 11 volumes are examined in comprehensive detail, going beyond each individual text to analyse them as one canon, for the first time; according to the Programme, this is how they are intended to be understood. By focussing solely on what is contained within these 4,540 pages, this thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the narratives that have been made a key part of New Zealand's WWI historiography.

The narratives of the print histories have been presented to New Zealand – both the scholars and the general public – and it is a vital next step for someone to critically analyse them. After an author produces a text, the next step on its journey to becoming an established and valid part of the historiography is critical review. This is especially crucial for texts that declare themselves to be as significant and impactful as the print histories did. If these texts are to thrive in the historiographical ecosystem, then an in-depth, comprehensive, dedicated critical analysis is an indispensable part of their lifecycle. Authors must be held accountable for the narratives they are producing, and the tradition of critical review ensures this. This is particularly important when working in a genre such as war history, where white, patriarchal voices have been the norm.

In this traditionally male-dominated field, it is important to critique the ways in which women continued to be tokenised and othered in these print history texts, and how their voices were often absent. Authors such as Jane Tolerton and Jock Phillips and Kingsley Baird – who called the depictions of women 'insufficient'[10] – pointed out the problems with the print histories' treatment of women, and so a detailed and comprehensive investigation into this area was warranted and necessary. For any progress to be made in how mainstream, established historiography discusses women, it must be highlighted when it comes up short. By bringing attention to the issues with the presentation of women in the print histories, and being able to compare it to how wider literature depicted women, this thesis has significantly contributed to the development of New Zealand's WWI historiography.

Furthermore, there has been very little discussion of New Zealand's war historiography since the turn of the century: Deborah Montgomerie examined the state of New Zealand's war narratives in 2003,

[8] As their contents were not dictated or censored by the government.

[9] 'The Centenary History of New Zealand and the First World War: Final Report', June 2019, Massey University, p. 3.

[10] Jock Phillips and Kingsley Baird, 'Centenary (New Zealand)', 1914-1918-online International Encyclopedia of the First World War. Retrieved from https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/centenary_new_zealand on 29/1/2021.

and Rachael Bell critically examined the official WWII histories in her 2012 thesis.[11] However, there is a need for more examination of New Zealand's war historiography and the centenary commemoration offers the ideal opportunity to do so. There has been little work of historiography at all in New Zealand in recent years, and there is a significant need to update the assessments of Jock Phillips and Erik Olssen from the early 1990s.[12] This thesis lays the groundwork for historians to keep working to update assessments of New Zealand's historiographical landscape, to advance the existing overviews of Montgomerie, Bell, Phillips and Olssen, all of which are at least a decade old.

In order to critically assess the print histories, it was also important to utilise comparative analysis. Comparing and contrasting their narratives with others allows a clearer and deeper understanding, and this thesis makes this comparison with material from within New Zealand that originated from outside the 'official' commemorative sphere. Comparison with international commemoration is valuable and would be an important next step with this research, but it is necessary to thoroughly assess the narratives within New Zealand before looking elsewhere. The themes of the New Zealand material must be drawn out and a body of work created that analyses this content before it is possible to compare to overseas commemoration. This thesis therefore focuses on a comparison of other exclusively New Zealand material in order to exclusively analyse 'our' narratives and 'our' commemorative identity.[13] This comparison to material aimed at a general audience and often produced by non-historians – what could broadly be termed popular culture sources, and which here are christened the 'non-poppy' material – is an innovative comparison. Examining popular culture at all is still an underutilised form of assessing WWI narratives, though authors overseas have begun to look at their own commemorative pop culture material.[14] This emphasis on popular culture sources has not been done in New Zealand before, and international researchers very rarely compare the scholarly and the popular.

Comparing the print histories to the non-poppy texts therefore offers a comparative analysis that is innovative and original, and works to bring attention to sources outside of traditional historical texts, highlighting how they can be valuable in the communication of history. By comparing the two bodies of material this thesis demonstrates how the two genres can be synthesised to allow for more effective historical communication, especially towards the general public. This is significant in the current climate, where New Zealand history has just become a compulsory part of the school

[11] Deborah Montgomerie, 'Reconnaissance: Twentieth-Century New Zealand War History at Century's Turn', *The New Zealand Journal of History* 37:1 (2003), pp. 62-79; Rachael Bell, 'Memory, history, nation, war: the official histories of New Zealand in the Second World War, 1939-45', PhD, Massey University, 2012.
[12] Jock Phillips, 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 Years of New Zealand Historiography', *The New Zealand Journal of History* 24:2 (1990), pp. 118-134; Erik Olssen, 'Where To From Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *The New Zealand Journal of History* 26:1 (1992), pp. 54-77.
[13] However, as briefly discussed in the following literature review, some 'equivalent' international literature was drawn on for this thesis.
[14] Patricia Molloy has examined the TV show *Downton Abbey*'s depiction of objection and desertion, Rowan Thompson and Linsey Robb have looked at WWII objection in popular culture sources, Ann-Marie Einhaus examined British short stories and novels published prior to the centenary, and Helen B. McCartney examined the development of the WWI soldier's image in British popular understanding. Patricia Molloy, 'Downton Abbey goes to War: cowards, conscience, and commemoration', *Critical Military Studies* 7:3 (2021), pp. 296-312; Rowan Thompson and Linsey Robb, ''We Must Find a Way to Remember Them Too': British Second World War Conscientious Objectors in Post-War Culture', *Journal of War and Culture Studies* (2024), pp. 1-19, https://doi-org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1080/17526272.2024.2414562; Ann-Marie Einhaus, 'Cultural memory, teaching and contemporary writing about the First World War', *Literature & History* 25:2 (2016), pp. 187-204; Helen B. McCartney, 'The First World War soldier and his contemporary image in Britain', *International Affairs* 90:2 (2014), pp. 299-315.

curriculum in an era when school learners are increasingly disengaged and hard to communicate with. This research demonstrates the ways that both academic 'official' histories and popular culture can fall short, but by working to synthesise them, historians are uniquely positioned to offer knowledge and scholarly expertise to the general public in a form in which they are more open to consuming. This is an important and significant contribution. This research is highly original and raises questions that historians need to consider on how academic texts relate to popular culture or more general texts. In New Zealand, which is a small country with a small publishing industry, this is extremely important when all publishers – including university presses or academic publishers – have to be thinking about making money. This research, by examining the value of popular material and comparing it to academic outputs, is part of the current inevitable dialogue around how history – and historians – can produce texts that are both peer reviewed and profitable.

Furthermore, understanding the narratives that dominated the centenary period and the gaps between historiography and popular culture is crucial as we continue into another period of intense commemoration. The centenary of WWII is looming, and in its midst will be the bicentenary of te Tiriti o Waitangi. The WW100 Centenary Programme will likely become the blueprint for these upcoming commemorations, and it is therefore essential to critically reflect on the way that WW100 handled the narratives of WWI. The signing of the Treaty, in particular, is an event with a contentious history in the public understanding, and there is arguably a lack of one dominant narrative. It is imperative, therefore, that a deeper understanding is gained of how commemorative narratives – both historiographical and popular – intertwine, contradict, and build off what already exist in the national consciousness. By examining the WWI centenary period, it is possible to develop a better understanding of how historical knowledge grows in the petri dish of popular culture – an understanding that can be carried forward into the 2040s commemorations. This will hopefully help to decide what aspects of the Programme should be carried through to future projects and which ideas should be re-examined and re-worked.

Literature review

This thesis is part of a small but expanding body of literature that critically examines the WWI commemoration in New Zealand. The starting point for an examination of New Zealand's centenary period is Jock Phillips and Kingsley Baird's 2020 article[15] which summarises the commemoration efforts as listed on the WW100 archival site. Phillips and Baird describe the Programme as having a 'nationalist drive' and a focus on stories, as well as noting the 'impressive' amount of financial support for commemorative efforts. They begin their summary with the print histories, which they refer to as 'official' and praise highly. They highlight certain aspects of the centenary that they deem especially successful: memoirs, texts about local communities, exhibitions (particularly Te Papa's Gallipoli exhibit), film texts (especially *When We Go To War*), and the 2015 Anzac Day services. They point out that the number of texts aimed at children and young people highlights the impact on and engagement with 'people outside the academic community', and they emphasise the importance of digital media, such as the Ngā Tapuwae trails app and the Online Cenotaph. Phillips and Baird conclude that the centenary 'increased knowledge and understanding' and that 'knowledge was spread deeper into the community', before attributing this success partly to the emphasis on the personal connections and the community-led approach. They highlight the presence of women, Māori and other 'sub-groups' who received greater recognition, but their assessment is not without criticism. They assert that women at home needed more attention, as did the long-term psychological and medical impact on returned soldiers and their families. They also conclude that

[15] Phillips and Baird, 'Centenary (New Zealand)'.

'despite the government's best intentions' to move the focus away from Gallipoli[16] the centrality of the Dardanelles campaign was cemented during the centenary, particularly by the success of the Te Papa exhibit – as demonstrated by the persistence of misconceptions[17] in the 2018 survey taken to assess the commemoration's impacts.

Aaron Fox's 2019 article[18] briefly looks at the key media and themes of the commemorations, providing a solid starting point for anyone investigating the Centenary Programme in more depth. He discusses the emphasis on Gallipoli and the 'commemoration fatigue' that occurred after Anzac Day 2015. He discusses how popular cliches that went unchallenged contributed to this lack of staying power; Fox claims that the 'popular story of betrayal (by British high command) and butchery' could not sustain commemoration efforts for a whole four-year period, especially in the latter half of the centenary when the New Zealand Division's successes were being remembered. This leads Fox to discussing key themes of the Centenary Programme - particularly the focus on individual stories, which he argues led to the erasure of 'the business of killing' from the narrative. Fox argues that by focusing on individual experiences, commemorations painted New Zealand soldiers as heroes who suffered but did not inflict suffering. Fox ends by briefly examining the material of the Programme, concluding that new insights were provided in published WW100 material and that independent historians were willing to challenge dominant narratives. For Fox, the involvement of individuals and community groups was a strength of the commemorations, and the availability of material (through online databases) to anyone interested is described as 'exceptional'. Despite this, Fox warns that as time marches on it will only get harder to commemorate WWI, as New Zealand still struggles to understand and integrate the 'continuity and context of history'. Overall, Fox is less negative than many commentators, but he does not paint a wholly positive picture.

Rowan Light examined the history of the Anzac narrative in his 2022 book on the legacy of Gallipoli.[19] He writes that the 2015 Gallipoli centenary was 'extraordinary' because of its assertion of national culture, the evidence of the Anzac resurgence, and the relationship between New Zealand and Australia.[20] He highlights the 'narrow script' of the 'national myth'[21] and argues that in New Zealand there was little dissent from historians regarding this prescribed narrative, pointing out that the Te Papa exhibit asserted an 'absolute claim on national memory'.[22] Light also argues that Māori media had become an 'established purveyor of Anzac memory'.[23] Light concludes that the centenary period reinforced the cultural narratives and 'nationalist historiographies' established by figures like Christopher Pugsley and Maurice Shadbolt in the 1980s, where death, Anzac, Gallipoli and WWI are conflated in a 'surprisingly narrow' focus that returns repeatedly to 'key themes'.[24] Light, however, does not discuss the print histories, and a focus on the Te Papa exhibit means that the other 'quieter' commemorations[25] are not accounted for. Light demonstrates how to analyse a central narrative of the centenary period, but similar investigations of other themes – such as mateship or suffering – are needed to fully understand the centennial commemorations.

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[16] In order to rectify misconception regarding the place of the Western Front in the New Zealand experience, as shown in the 2012 survey. This focus was particularly evident in the print histories, which Phillips and Baird point out did not cover Gallipoli due to the already existing strong historiography.
[17] Such as the belief that more New Zealanders died at Gallipoli than on the Western Front.
[18] Aaron Fox, 'Commemorating the First World War', *New Zealand Journal of History* 53:1 (2019), pp. 77-89.
[19] Rowan Light, *Anzac Nations: The Legacy of Gallipoli in New Zealand and Australia 1965-2015*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2022.
[20] Light, *Anzac Nations*, pp. 8-9.
[21] Light, *Anzac Nations*, p. 168.
[22] Light, *Anzac Nations*, p. 171.
[23] Light, *Anzac Nations*, p. 177.
[24] Light, *Anzac Nations*, p. 181.
[25] Light, *Anzac Nations*, p. 181.

David Monger and Sarah Murray's 2020 edited collection[26] of centennial reflections from former British colonies contains several chapters that examine New Zealand's commemoration efforts. Louisa Hormann's chapter on the *War in the Air* exhibit[27] touches on many themes discussed in this thesis, such as the historiographic focus on the NZEF soldiers, the importance of personal connections, who is left out or included in commemoration efforts, and how suffering and violence is portrayed. Hormann's assessment of the exhibit asks many of the same questions that this thesis will ask of the wider centennial material. Margaret Lovell-Smith's chapter[28] also looks at one specific commemoration effort, the 'Voices Against War' project. Lovell-Smith details the experiences of conscientious objectors to combat a perceived exclusion of dissenters and asserts the project's success in making these 'hidden voices' better known. Rowan Light's chapter[29] discusses the Te Papa exhibit in the context of 'The New Zealand Story project' of the early 1980s, when figures such as Maurice Shadbolt and Christopher Pugsley shaped the Gallipoli narrative into a national narrative in accordance with their own aims and beliefs. Light emphasises that the exhibit allowed inaccuracies and deliberate framing in order to present a specific, cultivated cultural memory 'shaped not by tribal zeitgeist, but the intentional hands of intellectuals'.[30] This construction of memory is important to be aware of when analysing the texts examined in this thesis.

Unsurprisingly, the looming spectre of Gallipoli has been the focus of many historians examining New Zealand's commemoration over the past six years. Anzac Day is a focal point of commemoration and has therefore attracted plenty of research, including Alex McConville, Tim McCreanor, Margaret Wetherell and Helen Moeweka Barnes's 2017 article.[31] This theory-dense article has a great deal of value in the way it examines narratives presented in media and the hegemonic understanding that WWI equals Anzac Day. McConville et al argue that media reinforces this narrative of Anzac and its place in nation-building, emphasising that it is a settler-centric conception of national identity that does not acknowledge the complications of Māori and other minority identities. They contend that dissenters ('despicable deviants') who do not fall in line with the idea that 'Anzac Day is a sacred day of respectful remembrance' are excluded and shamed. The article emphasises affective-discursive practices and gives a good example of how to critically assess the narratives being presented.

Nick Haig also homes in on Gallipoli in his 2016 thesis.[32] Haig utilises the theory of museum studies to analyse the Te Papa exhibit, a juggernaut of New Zealand's commemorative efforts. He focuses heavily on Te Papa's pedagogy, but also – and more relevantly for this thesis – examines the exhibit's methods of public memorialisation and the emphasis on visceral, rather than intellectual, responses. Haig's discussions of the formation of narratives in the Gallipoli exhibit have informed this thesis's reading of wider centenary material, and his conclusions that the exhibition 'encourages over-

[26] David Monger and Sarah Murray (eds), *Reflections on the Commemoration of the First World War: Perspectives from the Former British Empire*, London: Routledge, 2020.
[27] Louisa Hormann, 'New Zealand's war in the air: A centenary exhibition in review', in Monger and Murray (eds), *Reflections on the Commemoration of the First World War: Perspectives from the Former British Empire*, London: Routledge, 2020, pp. 114-130.
[28] Margaret Lovell-Smith, 'Uncovering the hidden stories of the voices against war in a New Zealand province', in Monger and Murray (eds), *Reflections on the Commemoration of the First World War: Perspectives from the Former British Empire*, London: Routledge, 2020, pp. 131-148.
[29] Rowan Light, '"Our war": National memory, New Zealand and Te Papa's Gallipoli', in Monger and Murray (eds), *Reflections on the Commemoration of the First World War: Perspectives from the Former British Empire*, London: Routledge, 2020, pp. 74-94.
[30] Light, "Our war", p. 87.
[31] Alex McConville, Tim McCreanor, Margaret Wetherell and Helen Moewaka Barnes, 'Imagining an emotional nation: the print media and Anzac Day commemorations in Aotearoa New Zealand', *Media, Culture & Society* 39:1 (2017), pp. 94-110.
[32] Nicholas Haig, 'Once more, with feeling: an enquiry into The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa's exhibition Gallipoli: the scale of our war', MA, Massey University, 2016.

identification' with the Anzac narrative and does not significantly challenge the national hegemony offer something to look out for while examining other commemorative texts.

Mark Sheehan and Martyn Davison's 2017 article[33] questions the hegemonic place of Gallipoli, this time in the understanding of school children (aged 13-14). Sheehan and Davison's innovative way of gauging young teenagers' understandings of WWI demonstrates that though they understood Gallipoli to be significant due to concepts such as sacrifice (in line with the dominant motifs of the dominant narrative), they had little deeper historical knowledge. They were not, however, mindless consumers of the Anzac narrative; when questioned further and presented with alternate themes (such as conscientious objection) they conveyed nuanced understandings and critical viewpoints. The conclusion of this research is that young people do not passively accept hegemonic narratives – but they need involved encouragement to critically engage. Wider and continued studies are still being done by Sheehan and Davison, and it seems likely that similar results could be expected of other groups in New Zealand. This is important to keep in mind when examining both Programme material and that of popular culture – what challenges to the dominant narratives are being presented that can stimulate greater engagement and more nuanced and critical thinking amongst New Zealanders?

Sheehan expanded on this study, collaborating with Catriona Pennell for an examination of the methodologies of studying young people's understandings of war. The resulting article[34] discusses Sheehan and Davison's study as well as Pennell's work in the UK to examine which methods work best when studying young people's understandings of war; Pennell and Sheehan emphasise that methods must enable people to voice challenges and critiques to hegemonic understandings. They point out that young people are expected to play a 'circumscribed role' in commemoration and that there are clear nationalistic narratives that are difficult to challenge. It can be hard to tell if people are simply saying what they believe they should due to the 'sanctification of First World War cultural memory'.[35] Pennell and Sheehan conclude that people do have 'complex, nuanced, elastic and contradictory' views and understandings,[36] and methods should be employed that can tease these out.

The hegemonic understandings of WWI have also been compared to New Zealand's colonial memory, in articles by Charlotte Macdonald and Anna Czerwińska. Macdonald's 2015 article[37] argues that WWI commemoration looks to the future (a future where we 'never forget') while commemoration of the New Zealand Wars focuses on the past, as the events are 'closed off' and 'things are different now'. WWI commemoration, Macdonald argues, overshadows colonial memory, which is underdeveloped in New Zealand consciousness. Czerwińska's 2017 article[38] compares Anzac Day and Waitangi Day as national days and is very critical of the 'Gallipoli obsession'. Anzac Day, Czerwińska argues, is for Pakeha and excludes Māori, which is heightened by the way Waitangi Day is treated. She argues that Anzac Day presents a 'Eurocentric message' in its attempts to affirm equality, unity and citizenship, as this 'involves the assimilation of Māori' and the exclusion of those not born in

[33] Mark Sheehan and Martyn Davison, '"We need to remember they died for us": How young people in New Zealand make meaning of war remembrance and commemoration of the First World War', *London Review of Education* 15:2 (2017), pp. 259-271.
[34] Catriona Pennell and Mark Sheehan, 'But what do they really think? Methodological challenges of investigating young people's perspectives of war remembrance', *History Education Research Journal* 17:1 (2020), pp. 23-38.
[35] Pennell and Sheehan, 'But what do they really think?', p. 26.
[36] Pennell and Sheehan, 'But what do they really think?', p. 33.
[37] Charlotte Macdonald, 'The First World War and the Making of Colonial Memory', *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 33:2 (2015), pp. 15-37.
[38] Anna Czerwińska, 'Between Anzac Day and Waitangi Day', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 52:4 (2017), pp. 427-438.

New Zealand.[39] Czerwińska is not a New Zealander and this does cause her to miss some of the nuance of the nature of New Zealand's colonial nationalism in the early 20th century and the national narratives of Anzac, but nevertheless she raises some valid points about inclusion and exclusion within national narratives. These ideas are also reflected in Joanna Kidman and Vincent O'Malley's introduction to their 2022 book on contested historical memory.[40] This discussion helps to put the hegemonic WWI narratives in perspective and highlights the Anzac narrative that pervades popular historical knowledge in New Zealand.

New Zealand, of course, is not the only nation that has been wringing its hands over WWI commemoration in recent years. Across the world nations have been grappling with similar issues, and historiography from overseas has interesting and often-relevant points to make about popular understandings of WWI. However, it is worth noting that there are several key aspects that make the New Zealand centenary unique, even compared to the most comparable nations of Australia and Britain. New Zealand's publication of the highly-touted print histories has no comparison to these two closest cultural peers: Australis produced official publications, but with significantly less emphasis, and Britain did not produce any. Both these nations went into the centenary period with a stronger existing WWI historiography than New Zealand; British material on WWI is extensive and robust and Australia has had a history of strong official publications dating back to CEW Bean. New Zealand, however, with its dated and inaccessible official histories from the 1920s, was due for an update,[41] which resulted in the New Zealand centenary's more 'traditional' focus on a series of books.

Bruce Scates[42] and Lucy Noakes[43] summarised the Australian and British centenary efforts in a similar vein to Phillips and Baird, in the same online encyclopaedia. Their assessments, however, are much more complicated than the New Zealand article, indicating both the more complex situations in those nations but also that historiographical scholarship in New Zealand is underdeveloped in comparison, highlighting the need for dedicated examinations of New Zealand before looking to compare with other countries.

In Australia, Scates found that the commemoration intended for a 'bottom up' structure, but was overseen by a 'formidable bureaucracy' led by the Department of Veterans' Affairs with a focus on 'a century of service', indicating a more militaristic focus. There was tension between historians and 'Anzac's mythologisers' as the commemoration became politically charged; censorship occurred of narratives that were deemed to '[sit] uncomfortably with the wider mood of the Anzac centenary' such as the account of a returned soldier who committed suicide. Overall, Scates argued that the centenary period created an 'Anzac 2.0' which 'valorise[d] inoffensive values such as mateship, suffering and sacrifice', moving away from imperial connotations and the emphasis on martial prowess that was a key part of 'Anzac 1.0', the original legend.[44] Meanwhile, the five official volumes published[45] are not even mentioned by Scates. This is perhaps unsurprising, as they are out of print

[39] Czerwińska, 'Between Anzac Day and Waitangi Day', p. 433.
[40] Joanna Kidman and Vincent O'Malley, 'Introduction' in Joanna Kidman, Vincent O'Malley, Liana MacDonald, Tom Roa and Keziah Wallis (eds), *Fragments from a Contested Past: Remembrance, Denial, and New Zealand History*, Wellington: BWB, 2022, p. 12.
[41] As highlighted by Phillips and Baird. Phillips and Baird, 'Centenary (New Zealand)'.
[42] Bruce Scates, 'Centenary (Australia)', 1914-1918-online International Encyclopedia of the First World War. Retrieved from https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/centenary-australia/ on 4/4/2025.
[43] Lucy Noakes, 'Centenary (United Kingdom)', 1914-1918-online International Encyclopedia of the First World War. Retrieved from https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/centenary-united-kingdom/ on 4/4/2025.
[44] Scates, 'Centenary (Australia)'.
[45] Focussing on the air war, the war with Ottoman Empire, the war with Germany, the home front and the AIF.

and hard to find, no longer even visible on the publisher's (Oxford University Press) website. With how inaccessible and unadvertised they were, it follows that they have received essentially no scholarly attention.

Noakes, examining Britain, wrote that there was an emphasis on museums and the 'male military experience' in the British centenary, with themes around the centrality of sacrifice, the male soldier-victim, and emotional local, familial, and personal connections. There was, she argues, a significant divide between the 'Blackadder' view of the war and the assessment of a necessary conflict that ended in victory; cultural memory that focussed on loss and the emotional labour of remembrance was at odds with the state's focus on victory and modernisation. She writes that this latter position was 'always doomed to failure' given the former's cultural strength. Noakes highlights the political tensions of the centenary, as the poppy imagery was utilised by right-wing nationalists and narratives of loss were seen to have unifying potential in a time of significant social and political division in Britain. Noakes highlights 'thousands of community-led research projects, major artistic installations, museum exhibitions, talks, media programming and academic conferences', but no publications, as the 'vast majority' of commemoration took place at the local level. There was significant artistic output, much of it funded by the 14-18 NOW public arts programme and often on large scales to emphasise the size of the loss and to connect everyday Britons to the male 'victim-soldier', a focus that she points out was highly gendered. Noakes also writes that community initiatives often focused on facets that had been marginalised within the dominant cultural memory (such as women, refugees, Sikh, and the Northern Irish experience), unlike state activities which focused on the white British male soldier in the trenches. Noakes concluded that the British centenary increased knowledge, especially of marginalised groups such as Indian soldiers, but it could not 'dislodge' the 'futile and deadly' narrative of 'lions led by donkeys'; she attributes this partly to a current lack of faith in today's political leaders.[46]

Although there are these significant differences between the centenary experiences of Britain and Australia, there is still valuable literature on the centenary internationally that is relevant to this research. Joan Beaumont's 2015 article[47] focuses on the theory of national memory and contains critical concepts on how we write our histories - whether 'we' are historians or the general public. Beaumont has valuable comments to make on the 'memory boom', and discusses the commemoration experiences of Australia, Britain, USA, France and Germany in relation to their own national identities and wartime experiences. Though she does not look at New Zealand, Beaumont's work offers a guideline for analysing narratives and how they relate to national consciousness that is invaluable for this study.

Comparison often draws out what is so ubiquitous as to become invisible, and this is certainly the case in articles that have contrasted commemoration of Anzac in both New Zealand and Australia. The differences in national narrative demonstrate the differences in national character and wartime (and post-war) experience in each country, and articles by Philippa Mein Smith and James Bennett are valuable for these insights. Mein Smith's 2016 article[48] discusses the contrast between Australia's celebratory Anzac Day and the more funereal air of New Zealand's commemorations, arguing that the themes of loss and sacrifice are more essential to New Zealand's narrative. Mein Smith also interestingly argues that Anzac Day forms more of Australia's national identity than New Zealand's. The strong differences in Anzac memory identified by Mein Smith demonstrates that New Zealand-specific research is crucial and highlights the uniqueness of New Zealand's WWI narratives. Bennett's

[46] Noakes, 'Centenary (United Kingdom)'.
[47] Joan Beaumont, 'The politics of memory: Commemorating the centenary of the First World War', *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50:3 (2015), pp. 529-535.
[48] Philippa Mein Smith, 'The "New Zealand" in Anzac: different remembrance and meaning', *First World War Studies* 7:2 (2016), pp. 193-211.

article[49] – which is now over 20 years old and therefore does not capture the centennial zeitgeist – also explores differences between Australia and New Zealand, focussing on the portrayal of the soldiers: Australian larrikins versus New Zealand gentlemen. Bennett interrogates the discrepancies between how New Zealand soldiers saw themselves, how historiography has painted them, and how popular history portrays them, and though the article's age limits its relevance, it is another demonstration of this national Anzac narrative, particularly in popular culture.

Despite the well-documented differences between New Zealand and Australia, the centennial historiography that has emerged from our Anzac neighbours has a great deal of theoretical value when examining New Zealand's commemoration efforts. Various authors have examined the place and role of historians in guiding commemoration, discussions valuable to this research as it investigates the way information can become distorted between universities and living rooms. Michael Kilmister, James Bennett, Margot Ford, and Jennifer Debenham's 2017 article[50] discusses the position of historians in communicating Anzac history – especially in conflict with journalists and pop culture. Kilmister et al argue that teaching Anzac history is difficult when students have strong emotive preconceptions that are centred on preconceived national narratives, and they conclude that the centenary had given the opportunity to open discussion and create the ability to 'question entrenched traditions'. Kilmister's article has shades of elitism; it seems to suggest that only historians can and should have control of the Anzac story, whereas this thesis contends that the public have just as much right to access and discuss their history as someone privileged enough to have a degree. Despite this unfortunate tone, there are valuable ideas throughout this article in the discussion of where the hegemonic narrative comes from and who accesses and controls it.

In a similar vein, Martin Crotty and Craig Stockings's 2014 article[51] discusses how historians face challenges from general audiences if they question the Anzac narrative. Writing about Anzac, Crotty and Stockings argue, is a 'minefield' that can challenge the heart of Australia's national identity – but historians must ensure that myth is not mistaken for reality. The article sees popular histories written by non-historians as valid but tending towards being 'journalistic' and lacking analysis; however, the authors also argue that academics are also guilty of uncritically furthering the Anzac narrative, with Australian historiography having problematic themes – Crotty and Stockings go so far as to accuse historians of being 'publicity agents for the Diggers'. The result for modern academics is that Anzac histories sell – but the audience expect entertainment and celebration, not criticism, and therefore the authors worry about history and historiography (both in universities and in media) being 'dumbed down'. The article also examines the heavy criticism faced by some specific historians who have critiqued Anzac narratives. Though they are focussed on Australia's historiography, Crotty and Stockings's analysis is a strong starting point for discussions about the place of historians and their histories in the public consciousness.

Other notable articles to come from Australia address similar themes as those discussed in this thesis. Sylvia Cockburn and Alethea Beetson[52] wrote about the depictions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander soldiers in Australian museums, arguing that you cannot exhibit what you do not have, resulting in the arts becoming the most valuable way of representing indigenous stories in Australia. This supports the argument of this thesis that work from outside traditional history is highly valuable

[49] James Bennett, '"Massey's Sunday School Picnic Party": "The Other Anzacs" or Honorary Australians?', *War & Society* 21:2 (2003), pp. 23-54.
[50] Michael Kilmister, James Bennett, Margot Ford, Jennifer Debenham, 'Treading on sacred ground? Confronting the Anzac myth in higher education', *History Compass* 15:8 (2017), pp. 1-12.
[51] Martin Crotty and Craig Stockings, 'The Minefield of Australian Military History', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 60:4 (2014), pp. 580-591.
[52] Sylvia Cockburn and Alethea Beetson, '(Re)presenting Indigenous histories of the First World War: Case studies for museums', *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum, Culture* 11 (2020), pp. 93-106.

in telling marginalised narratives. Lorinda Cramer and Andrea Witcomb[53] looked at museum depictions of Australian soldiers, arguing that Australian WWI exhibits centre the intimate emotional lives of the male soldiers, focussing on male emotion in a way similar to the fictional non-poppy material. They also highlight the use of descendants to read letters and the shift of perspectives that make families the key part of the narrative, not the soldiers themselves, which reflects this research's findings around personal connections. Katrin Althans's 2015 article[54] is a close reading of *Anzac Girls*, demonstrating the value of textual analysis of pop culture texts as well as highlighting the need for specific New Zealand scholarship, as she mistakenly describes Antonia Prebble's vocally New Zealand character as Australian. Finally, Heather Sharp, who has written multiple articles on the perceptions of school learners about WWI in Australia, wrote an article with Vicki Parkes in 2017[55] that looks at eight picture books published since 2010 to examine the narratives of the Australian WWI experience aimed at children. Sharp's contributions demonstrate that this kind of scholarship is often reliant on someone who has some interdisciplinary interest or experience (Sharp is based in the School of Education at University of Newcastle), which speaks to the idea that either historians need to be more willing to embrace interdisciplinary work – literature and media studies, education, performing arts, music, art – or need to welcome those coming from outside the historical sphere who have the expertise to work in these other genres of historical communication.

Joan Beaumont's 2015 article[56] comes to conclusions that may have echoes in the New Zealand experience of the centenary. Beaumont argues that Australia's centenary plans did not challenge any traditional thought – the themes are the same as always, with no new questioning of a white-centric narrative. She accepts that in general there is the possibility of commemoration fatigue but not much evidence, while questioning if there is a silent majority who are not represented by the hegemonic Anzac narrative. Beaumont is heavily focussed on memory and post-memory, and her article was written in anticipation of the commemoration. However, her comments are a useful guide for this thesis, especially in conjunction with her article 'The politics of memory: Commemorating the centenary of the First World War'.[57]

Methodology and Scope

The selected texts

Assessing the success of the Centenary Programme requires looking at a number of factors and screeds of government, community and individually-produced material. To examine every aspect of the Centenary Programme would be well beyond the scope of a single research project – indeed, whole theses have already been produced on single elements of WW100.[58] To narrow the scope, this thesis will have a tight textual focus on two groups of material: the print histories and the non-poppy texts. The print histories are given this label by the WW100 Programme; they are not 'official' histories due to the lack of governmental instruction or censorship. However, the WW100 red poppy

[53] Lorinda Cramer and Andrea Witcomb, ''Hidden from view'?: an analysis of the integration of women's history and women's voices into Australia's social history exhibitions', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25:2 (2019), pp. 128-142.
[54] Katrin Althans, 'Forgotten Voices: The Female ANZAC and Male National Identity', *Gender Forum: An Internet Journal of Gender Studies* 53 (2015), pp. 5-25.
[55] Heather Sharp and Vicki Parkes, 'Representations of National Identity in Fictionalized History: Children's Picture Books and World War I', *New Review of Children's Literature & Librarianship* 23:2 (2017), pp. 126-147.
[56] Joan Beaumont, 'Commemoration in Australia: A memory orgy?', *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50:3 (2015), pp. 536-544.
[57] Joan Beaumont, 'The politics of memory: Commemorating the centenary of the First World War', *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50:3 (2015), pp. 529-535.
[58] Such as Nick Haig's aforementioned thesis.

logo they bear marks them as authoritative to the public eye. The term 'non-poppy material' is used to refer to the other texts examined due to the absence of this logo.

The 11 poppy print histories examined in this thesis were authored by historians selected by a panel and are widely available through general bookstores to the public. These texts were 'jointly produced' by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Massey University, the Returned and Services' Association and the New Zealand Defence Force to 'cover the major campaigns on land, at sea and in the air, and the experiences of soldiers at the front and civilians at home', and were deemed by the Programme's final report to have 'provide[d] insights into the varying New Zealand experiences of the war, and how those experiences have shaped our culture, identity and society' in an 'authoritative and accessible' way.[59] Fourteen volumes were planned, though only 11 were published before the commencement of this research and therefore able to be included for analysis.[60]

For the non-poppy texts produced outside of the Programme, there is no such handy list, and texts have had to be selected without such prescriptive criteria. Texts that were widely available and aimed at a range of audiences were prioritised. It was not necessary to limit to non-fiction; historical fiction narratives can be just as enlightening about public consciousness and national memory as purely factual texts. This material can reflect popular attitudes and beliefs in a way that historical non-fiction does not. Fiction – especially young adult fiction, like the *Kiwis at War* series – is written explicitly to appeal to an audience, and film texts – especially feature length or primetime television drama – are expensive to produce, particularly in a small country like New Zealand, and therefore they are produced with an implied, yet inherent, aim to make money, through viewership. Many of the non-poppy texts, simply by dint of their existence, therefore demonstrate what their audience – general New Zealanders – want to see in their WWI media. To paraphrase Aldous Huxley, these texts canalise an already existing stream; in a land where there is no water, they would be digging in vain.[61]

To create an equal volume of material to compare, a similar number of texts to the print histories were selected, with ten categories reflecting the eleven print histories, sampling a wide variety of media types, authors and styles. Texts were selected from varied genres and mediums, including children's picture books, adult fiction, animation, and television drama. There is far more material than could ever be examined in one thesis, and therefore examples of many different kinds of text were included. Close analyses of specific mediums, such as young adult fiction or documentary, would be valuable to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the breadth of material produced during the centenary, but the texts selected offer a balance to the print histories for the purpose of analysis within the scope of this thesis. A number of possible texts offered detailed insights into specific aspects of the war but were too narrow in focus to be used across the breadth of this research.[62]

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[59] WW100 First World War Centenary Programme Final Report, April 2019, retrieved from https://ww100.govt.nz/sites/default/files/files/mch-ww100-report-ART-FINAL-WEB-RES.pdf, p. 25.

[60] I decided not to exclude *The White Ships* despite its publication in 2013 falling outside my designated period of 2014-2019. Volumes on naval history, the Defence Department and the war against the Ottoman Turks are still forthcoming.

[61] David Welch, ''Opening Pandora's Box': Propaganda, Power and Persuasion' in David Welch (ed.), *Propaganda, Power and Persuasion*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co, p. 11.

[62] Examples include Cheryl Carnahan's book on Nelson/Tasman nurses and chaplains, Margaret Pointer and Howard Weddell's books on Niuean and Pasifika soldiers, Bojan Pajić's book on New Zealanders in Serbia, Neil Frances's book on the Rimutaka Hill training march, Colleen Brown's book on the Bulford Kiwi, Tom Roa and Maehe Paki's work on Waikato-Maniapoto veterans, and Matt Elliott's book on rugby players (all detailed in the bibliography of this thesis).

Some key points must be emphasised regarding the selected texts and how this thesis categorises them. The line between print history and non-poppy text is not a perfect demarcation. The print histories, with their poppy logo, are a set list of texts as asserted by the WW100 Programme, but for the non-poppy material, there is a variation in how these texts relate to the 'official' and to the concept of 'pop culture'. Even with their authoritative logo, the print histories are not truly 'official', as they were not formally commissioned by the government. However, they are also not truly independent histories, and therefore they occupy a somewhat ambivalent space straddling the line of 'official'. This becomes further complicated when turning to the non-poppy material. Many of these texts received funding from the WW100 Programme or other governmental bodies, such as Creative New Zealand, the New Zealand Film Commission or New Zealand on Air.[63] Jane Tolerton's book on women is hardly a piece of 'pop culture', but as she explicitly positions herself and her text in opposition to the print histories' lack of a women's volume,[64] it was essential to include. Furthermore, an author like Glyn Harper straddles the line between the two categories, with material in each given his writing of both scholarly texts and picture books. Although some of these aspects add elements of overlap to the two categories, the clear criteria still allows for them to be useful when undertaking this comparative analysis: the print histories were delineated as such by the WW100 Programme, and bear the authoritative poppy logo, while the non-poppy texts were available to and accessible by the general public, but were not formally recognised by the Programme.

There was also work done by historians outside of the WW100 Programme, without governmental funding, that addressed some of the exclusions of the wider centenary programme (such as women's voices), but it was generally not accessible to the general public and therefore did not fit the non-poppy criteria of being widely available and aimed at a non-scholarly readership. A good example of this is the 2016 special issues of the *Journal of Women's Studies*,[65] which was edited by Nadia Gush and featured articles that spoke to the narrative themes of this thesis. Hilary Lapsley's article[66] discusses familial histories as well as looking into the possibility of queer voices, Gush[67] adds to the body of work on Ettie Rout, Celine Kearney and Megan Hutching[68] look at women's anti-war protest, and Joanna Cobley[69] examines Anzac biscuits in a way that explores expected 'women's work' and how that is subverted to move beyond 'just' baking. Hannah Clark[70] and Sarah Christie[71] write about nurses; Clark's work with nurses' diaries mirrors what Harper undertakes in *Johnny Enzed* with soldiers' first-hand accounts, and Christie engages with the ideas of commemoration with regards to the sinking of the *Marquette*. These are valuable contributions to the historiography that help to add women's voices and assert the place of women in New Zealand's war narratives. However, these texts are in an uncomfortable junction between poppy and non-poppy material – they are not print histories, but they do not fit with the non-poppy texts either, as they are not easily accessible to the

[63] All bodies of the New Zealand government responsible for arts funding.
[64] Jane Tolerton, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand women overseas in World War One*, Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017, pp. vi, 1, 2, 4, 7, 11.
[65] *Journal of Women's Studies* 30:1 (2016).
[66] Hilary Lapsley, 'Outing Auntie Cal: War stories, hidden histories, and family conversations', *Journal of Women's Studies* 30:1 (2016), pp. 4-16.
[67] Nadia Gush, 'Negotiating fraternal gender lines in World War I: Ettie Rout, venereal disease, and the female brother', *Journal of Women's Studies* 30:1 (2016), pp. 47-61.
[68] Celine Kearney and Megan Hutching, 'Imagining peace: One hundred years of WILPF in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Journal of Women's Studies* 30:1 (2016), pp. 71-76.
[69] Joanna Cobley, 'Should we safeguard 'the idea of the Anzac biscuit recipe'?', *Journal of Women's Studies* 30:1 (2016), pp. 62-70.
[70] Hannah Clark, 'Sisters in a distant land: The exploration of identity and travel through three New Zealand nurses' diaries from the Great War', *Journal of Women's Studies* 30:1 (2016), pp. 17-29.
[71] Sarah Christie, 'Gender, remembrance, and the sinking of the *Marquette*', *Journal of Women's Studies* 30:1 (2016), pp. 30-46.

general public: the *Journal of Women's Studies* is not sold in Whitcoulls, and its articles are not written for a general, layperson audience's understanding. These authors are therefore othered, as they do not receive either the WW100 Programme poppy logo or the wide audience of the non-poppy texts. They become an 'invisible' force of scholarship and source of alternative narratives that is hard for New Zealanders to access and lacks publicity. This is an issue with the print history/non-poppy categories, and one that invites further research into the ways in which historians such as these women authors depict these thematic narratives.

Textual analysis

This research is fundamentally a textual analysis and work of historiography. It centres narrative mediums and focuses solely on what is contained within the texts, rather than widening the scope to speak with the texts' creators. That this research emphasises narratively-focused media – namely book and film texts – while excluding community initiatives, exhibits, and more esoteric material – is due to several factors. The print histories are written texts that centre a narrative, and so comparison is easiest with similar texts. This research's focus is on what the media we produce can tell us about ourselves, and examining historical narratives is most effective when analysing material that seeks to present such a narrative. Books are and always have been the most obvious example, but film texts also largely rely on the forward momentum of a cohesive story. This kind of story-focused media presents the texts that most obviously demonstrate people's understanding of the historical narrative. Moreover, as an historian with a strong background in literature and media studies, I feel best equipped to analyse these kinds of texts given my understanding of their methods of communicating ideas – as every medium has its own language.[72] Performing arts texts such as theatre and dance were excluded due to the ephemeral nature of performances: many of these texts were not recorded and reading a script or treatment does not allow for a full analysis of the stagecraft or dramaturgy.

There are two notable exclusions from this thesis. First, with so much material to cover, there is insufficient space to grapple with the theories and practices of museum studies that close analysis of exhibitions (such as the dominant Te Papa Gallipoli exhibit) would benefit from. Additionally, the Gallipoli exhibit has already received a great deal of scholarly attention.[73] Secondly, community initiatives and heritage material were hugely prolific genres during the Centenary period, with a staggering number of towns throughout the country producing their own set of material, often focused on rolls of honour and photographs. There simply is not space to examine them all, and they follow similar patterns. A comprehensive study of how small rural New Zealand towns commemorated their dead would be a valuable contribution to the historiography of the Centenary period, but there simply is not space to do it justice in this thesis.

Oral history work with the authors of print material or creators of film texts was not undertaken due to several factors. The considered, academic decision was made to have the material speak for itself, rather than privileging the author's voice. This research focuses on these texts as they are presented to and accessible by their audience: from cover to cover and opening to end credits, without any input from their authorial voice. The creators of these texts have produced their work, and this final product is what their audience have access to. Rather than relying on the authors' intentions to give context to the work, this research contextualises the examined material by situating the texts within

[72] My MA thesis used textual analysis successfully to analyse New Zealand's WWII propaganda and how it demonstrated and depicted a sense of developing national identity in New Zealand, so I have scholarly experience in this kind of analysis.

[73] Such as Haig's 2016 thesis and Rachel Caines, '"Their Glory Shall Not Be Blotted Out": The Acknowledgement of Indigenous First World War Service In Australian and New Zealand National Commemorations, 1918-2019', MPhil, University of Adelaide, 2020.

the WW100 Programme's aims and intentions, discussed in the next chapter. A focus on a narrative, textual analysis meant that this context was the most appropriate and the one that was established for these narratives to exist and be received in. There was also the need to avoid privileging certain authorial voices, given the reality that not everyone could be interviewed within the limits of a thesis. With print history authors being involved in the supervision of this thesis,[74] it was necessary to not allow any discussion of their authorial intentions as easy access would dictate their voices being dominant over others. The issue of who could speak to their process and intentions was further complicated by the film texts, as they do not have one author the way that written texts do. In film texts, scriptwriters and screenwriters (often in teams) write the words spoken by the characters, a director of photography and cinematographer composes camera shots and mise-en-scène, and costume designers, special and visual effects supervisors, editors and sound designers all make decisions about aspects that this thesis specifically examines in the selected texts. For *When We Go To War*, a comprehensive discussion with the 'creators' of the text would involve talking to every actor who depicted the Smith family, Awa and Manaaki. For *25 April*, it would mean interviewing the animation director and producer. It is therefore not realistic to speak only to the director of a film text and get the same level of understanding that a print history author would offer. Getting a complete and comprehensive context through interviewing each producer for one film text would be an entire research project in itself. Therefore, in order to avoid picking and choosing which voices could explain their creative and narrative decisions and which could not, an informed, considered, academic decision was made to focus only on what the finished text presents.

This approach is influenced by a Barthesian method, an approach influenced by the 'death of the author' to focus on the primacy of the reader or audience's experience of the text rather than relying on the intentions of the creator to explain the text's 'ultimate meaning': 'a text's unity lies not in its origins, but in its destination'.[75] The public who read *Johnny Enzed* or *Evie's Diary*, or who watch *When We Go To War* or the Great War Stories, do not have the benefit or knowing exactly what the author was trying to say. Therefore, it was appropriate to analyse these texts similarly without this authorial voice. This decentres the author and refocuses on those who are receiving these texts. If the aim of the WW100 Programme was to 'deepen understanding' and ensure that 'current and future generations are more informed', then it is vital to assess what the audience were actually consuming and not what the creators thought they were saying.

Consumers of the material – particularly members of the public – did not have access to 'behind the scenes' knowledge of creators' intentions; they cannot interview the creators to get clarification. The focus, therefore, is on what creators did say, rather than what they were trying to say. The notable exception to this is author's notes and other spaces where the creators give direction to their audience. Since these are part of the texts themselves and are accessible to the audience, this thesis assesses what creators stated within this forum as part of the analysis. For example, Glen Reddiex's discussion of his own family connection to the material and the personal weight and importance he places on postcards forms part of the analysis as he included it in his author's note, and decisions made by the *Kiwis at War* authors around putting words into the mouths of real people are discussed, as they sought to explain and justify these decisions within their afterwords: the authors wished to make this information known and so included it within their texts. Similarly, the information sheets and 'mission and objectives' document put out by the Programme publicly declared the context within which the print histories were ostensibly being produced. These texts, as they are and as this thesis analyses them, are what New Zealanders can read and watch and consume. The texts are what either succeeded in 'deepening understanding', or did not. What Glyn

[74] Glyn Harper, Adam Claasen and David Littlewood.

[75] Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', retrieved from https://web.archive.org/web/20200419132326/http://www.ubu.com/aspen/aspen5and6/threeEssays.html#barthes on 5/4/2025.

Harper thought he was achieving by including the crudely sexually violent lyrics of *Mademoiselle from Armentieres* cannot change that a women reading *Johnny Enzed* will be confronted by them.

So, if the text themselves and not the creators' intentions are the focus of this thesis, how can their success be assessed? For the print histories, this is the purpose of examining the information sheets and the Programme's mission and objectives document, as the analysis of these texts can consistently refer back to these stated intentions to assess whether the texts were successful in their aim. Judgement of whether they did 'deepen understanding' is based on the prior historiography that opens the discussion of each theme, which allows an analysis based on prior understandings: was there change? Was there greater nuance? How did the narratives fit into the assessments being made in the material examined in the literature review, material which was beginning to assess New Zealand's centenary in other ways? For the non-poppy material, the structure of the thesis allows a direct comparison to the print histories to assess its success – if the print histories are demonstrating the most current understanding of New Zealand's WWI experience, how do these texts from outside that historiographical sphere comparatively deal with those narratives? If Glyn Harper sought to add nuance to the Kiwi digger character by detailing the ways in which he was 'no plaster saint', did the *Kiwis at War* books follow this development, or adhere to more familiar notions of what an Anzac soldier in his lemonsqueezer looks like? This focussed, textual approach to the material allows an analysis of the 'success' of the print histories and the non-poppy texts by focussing on the narratives presented and how these fit into – challenge, concur with, complicate – the existing understandings of New Zealand's WWI experience. Did New Zealand's historiography emerge from the centennial commemorative period with a deeper, more nuanced, more developed understanding of these five key narrative themes? From the contribution of the print histories, largely yes – though it's complicated. From the non-poppy material? Largely no – though it's complicated. There are more questions, more avenues to continue investigating this large, significant body of material. But by conducting a thorough, focused, in-depth, textual analysis of these thoughtfully selected texts, this thesis lays a groundwork for understanding and assessing this key part of New Zealand's WWI commemoration.

The themes and structure

The key themes of New Zealand's WWI narrative were distilled from the print histories and the selected non-poppy texts, forming the basis for discussion. Some dominant themes became apparent early on: the New Zealand soldier, mateship, suffering and sacrifice, personal connections, and inclusion/exclusion. Many of these themes were identified in the preliminary survey undertaken in 2012; answers to open-ended questions prominently featured words that evoke the suffering and sacrifice theme such as 'death' 'mud' 'waste' 'suffering' 'gas' 'destruction' 'stupidity' and 'senseless', and the survey highlighted a personal connection as being of key importance to people's understanding of WWI, identifying that people are most interested in commemoration that facilitates a more personal connection and that those with a family tie are most interested in finding out more about their family history.[76] Centring the findings of this thesis around these key themes therefore demonstrates which stories are being prioritised and whether there are notable differences between the 'official' historiography and the pop culture narratives. These are ideas that are dominant in cultural understandings of New Zealand's WWI experience and have developed over time; each section of the thesis therefore begins with an historiographical overview of how their presence in New Zealand's war narratives has developed, largely since the 1980s.

Some key themes or topics were excluded from this research. The 'Anzac myth', or the link between New Zealand's national identity and the Gallipoli story, was not examined as a theme, as the

[76] 'Benchmark survey of the New Zealand public's knowledge and understanding of the First World War and its attitudes to centenary commemorations', Colmar Brunton, 4 March 2013, pp. 6, 30, 32.

intended print history on the Gallipoli campaign was not yet published at the time of writing. To try and assess this narrative without the key text that would examine its origin would result in an incomplete analysis. If and when this volume does emerge, it would be a valuable next step of this research to examine the narrative theme of the Anzac story using the print history that tells it. Other interesting aspects had to be excluded, often because the selected texts did not have enough content to analyse. For example, the relationships between New Zealand soldiers and civilians (particularly in France) or the allied soldiers of other nations was covered extensively by Ian McGibbon's print history, but featured very little elsewhere, making it difficult to assess and compare it as a part of the 'mateship' theme. Objection, particularly conscientious objection, was originally planned as a key part of the inclusion/exclusion theme, but there was little discussion of it within either the print histories or the non-poppy texts: with the notable exception of *Field Punishment No. 1*, there was very little mention of conscientious objection, and many texts did not discuss it at all. This is important to note in and of itself, but meant that a thorough analysis of this theme was not possible.

To introduce these narratives and the places they came from, the first chapter gives background and context for the WW100 Programme. The Programme's 2012 benchmark survey is discussed to give an idea of what the general public knew about WWI before five years of exhaustive commemoration effort – and to demonstrate what the Programme was responding to. The expectations and requirements of the Programme are discussed to examine what people wanted these commemoration efforts to look like, followed by the aims and objectives of the Programme to lay out what all this material was theoretically trying to achieve.

Each subsequent section assesses a theme of the centenary narrative through a pair of chapters – one on the print histories and then one on the non-poppy material. Each theme is discussed briefly in general, including some contextual historiography, before delving into how they are conveyed by the material. Organising the material by theme avoids too much repetition and allows the greatest opportunity to synthesise the discussion. Furthermore, to most effectively analyse the centenary themes, it is important to recognise that each one forms a somewhat cohesive story that New Zealanders have collectively crafted; each theme should therefore be examined as a whole rather than spread across a discussion divided by more concrete divisions such as medium or origin.
The two-part structure of print histories followed by non-poppy material was chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, part of the significance of this research is the assessment and analysis of the print histories as a canon, and therefore having the analysis of their narratives separate allowed this facet to be made clear and accessible. Having the print histories analysis accessible as a more standalone discussion was valuable given that the analysis of that canon is such an important contribution of this thesis. Secondly, in order to analyse how popular understandings of the war narrative in New Zealand reflected or were different to the established historiography, it is necessary to first establish what those historiographical understandings are, before undertaking comparative analysis of the non-poppy material. Assessing the narratives of the print histories and then comparing them to the non-poppy texts makes it clear where the similarities and discrepancies lie. The purpose of this dual structure, therefore, was not to privilege the print histories by placing them first or other the non-poppy texts by separating them from the works of the established 'official' historians, but to clearly demonstrate how the non-poppy texts reflect or diverge from the narratives that are established by the print histories.

The WWI centenary period is still recent memory, and there is much more to be said about it. Though what has been written so far is a solid foundation on which to build, there has not yet been a comprehensive assessment of the WW100 Programme's success. The Programme's final report – the final of three Colmar Brunton surveys, following the benchmark in 2012 and the interim in 2016 – is a vital resource in assessing the success of WW100, and these surveys will enable historians to deepen the analysis of the Centenary Programme in a way that was not possible while the

Programme was ongoing. The timing of this research is therefore one of the defining contributions – the WW100 Programme has ended, but only just, and there is room for historians to investigate the successes and flaws of this significant undertaking while it lives in recent memory. By examining WWI narratives presented throughout the centenary, this thesis will capture the historiographical zeitgeist and get a snapshot of WWI's place in New Zealanders' national consciousness before it is too muddled by time and hindsight.

ONE 'To deepen understanding': Background and context

The centennial commemorations are inextricably linked to the narratives that already existed and the understandings that New Zealanders already had of WWI. To understand the narratives that the centenary produced, it is necessary to understand those that already dominated the national consciousness. This chapter briefly explores the national context that preceded the centenary period, before examining the 2012 benchmark Colmar Brunton survey, which gives an insight into the public understanding of WWI prior to the intensive commemoration efforts. The focus then moves to the aims and intentions of the WW100 Programme, as outlined in its information sheets, in order to establish the expectations that the print history authors were working under. These two important documents provide vital context for any analysis of the narratives of the centenary period.

New Zealand had been primed for the centenary period for several years before it arrived. Interest in and attendance at Anzac Day ceremonies had been steadily rising since the 1980s, and in the early 2000s Prime Minister Helen Clark made significant effort to raise the profile of military history and commemoration.[77] The nation's Unknown Warrior was returned and interned on Armistice Day in 2004 in the midst of Clark's tenure, when as Arts, Culture and Heritage Minister she promoted and preserved New Zealand's military history more than any of her predecessors.[78] Despite the change of government prior to the centenary, the determination to commemorate proved to be bipartisan, and the approach of the centennial period's government was clearly influenced by Clark's approach.[79]

To gain an idea of what the general public believed and understood at the start of the centenary period, the WW100 Programme in conjunction with Te Papa and the Auckland War Memorial Museum carried out a benchmark survey. The 2012 Colmar Brunton benchmark survey sought to assess New Zealanders' 'knowledge, understanding and beliefs' about WWI, as well as attitudes towards and interest in commemoration.[80] The survey was online-based for New Zealanders aged 15 years and over, with a total of 4017 people completing the online survey between 22 November and 12 December 2012. The maximum margin of error was stated to be +/-1.5% and data was weighted by region, age, gender and ethnicity. A significant limitation was that the online survey methodology resulted in those without internet access being excluded – this is somewhere in the region of 15-20% of the New Zealand population and mostly affects lower socioeconomic groups. The demographic information shows that a weighted 13% of those taking the survey had a postgraduate qualification, which was the third highest percentage, compared to 6% who had level 3 NCEA as their highest qualification or 12% who had level 2, indicating that the results seem to skew towards the more educated. The survey was sent out to Flybuys members, a group that tends to skew more wealthy, and the survey was involved and lengthy – 19 printed pages taking an average time of 18.5 minutes to complete – so anyone time-poor likely would not have been able to complete the survey with full attention. The response rate was only 25%, so it was evidently limited to those who were driven to complete it. Despite this, the survey still found that 'most New Zealanders' understanding of the First World War is limited to a few basic facts',[81] so even amongst a sample that skewed towards educated people of slightly higher socio-economic status, there are still identified issues with New Zealanders' understanding of WWI.

[77] Kynan Gentry, 'New Zealand', *History Australia* 12:1 (2015), pp. 52, 53-54.
[78] Graham Hucker, 'A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand's Military Heritage', *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* 40 (2010), pp. 105-106.
[79] Gentry, 'New Zealand', p. 54.
[80] 'Benchmark survey of the New Zealand public's knowledge and understanding of the First World War and its attitudes to centenary commemorations', Colmar Brunton, 4 March 2013.
[81] Benchmark survey, p. 6.

This comprehensive survey presented some opportunities for deepening and correcting New Zealanders' knowledge about WWI, and many of its findings are clearly reflected in the aims of the WW100 Programme. The survey exposed an overconfidence among New Zealanders when it came to WWI knowledge. Twenty-four percent – nearly a third – of respondents believed themselves to have a reasonable understanding of WWI, and 47% asserted that they had a basic understanding. The occupation of Samoa was highlighted as an area where understanding could be expanded, with only 26% of respondents being aware of this event.[82] But other, more fundamental, holes were also exposed – less than half (48%) of New Zealanders could accurately give the dates of the war, and around a quarter 'didn't know' either the start (22%) or end (26%) dates.[83]

Common misconceptions were also revealed, mostly around the Anzac experience. Fifty-two percent of New Zealanders believed that Gallipoli was the deadliest front of the war for New Zealand, with only 17% of respondents being able to accurately state that more New Zealanders died on the Western Front.[84] The Western Front was also significantly less recognisable, with 46% of respondents recalling 'the Western Front' as a whole, 45% recalling the Somme, and 43% recalling Passchendaele.[85] These fronts/battles were marked as 'most important' by 2%, 2%, and 6% of respondents, respectively.[86] In contrast, the Battle of Gallipoli was recalled by 79% of respondents and the Gallipoli Front by 63% – with 46% labelling the former as the most important (and 16% for the later).[87] These figures were a clear demonstration of the impact of the Anzac narrative on collective understanding of WWI; Gallipoli dominates the discussions of WWI and was, therefore, assumed to be the most deadly and deemed the most important. These knowledge gaps or inaccuracies presented the Programme with clear areas to target in their material, and the heavy emphasis on the Western Front throughout the planned 2016-2018 narratives demonstrate that the survey's conclusions around New Zealanders' understandings were being heeded.

The survey conclusions highlighted an interest in WWI that suggested a high level of potential involvement in commemoration activities. Eighty-eight percent of New Zealanders showed an interest in history in general, and similarly high percentages of people claimed an interest in local history (71%) or family history/genealogy (80%).[88] This links to the Programme's emphasis on audience connections, a theme that is prominent throughout the material examined in this thesis. Furthermore, of 88% those who claimed at least 'some interest' in history, the dominant source of learning was identified as television, with 79% citing this as their main source, followed by the internet at 72% and books at 67%.[89] This highlights the importance of popular culture sources such as *When We Go To War* or the Great War Stories, and demonstrates the necessity of examining them in a scholarly way.

New Zealanders indicated that they would be interested in commemoration activities; almost half of the respondents (48%) stated that commemorating the centenary was 'very important'.[90] Exhibitions were by far the most popular option for participating in commemoration events, with 52% of respondents saying they would be highly likely to attend an exhibition at a local museum, and travelling exhibitions were almost as popular (46%).[91] The incredible popularity of the Te Papa Gallipoli exhibit bears this out, though the survey's conclusion warned that people tend to overstate their interest in attending events, and the numbers would not necessarily translate into actual

[82] Benchmark survey, pp. 5, 6.
[83] Benchmark survey, pp. 5, 40.
[84] Benchmark survey, p. 5.
[85] Benchmark survey, p. 42.
[86] Benchmark survey, p. 42.
[87] Benchmark survey, p. 42.
[88] Benchmark survey, pp. 3-4.
[89] Benchmark survey, p. 3.
[90] Benchmark survey, p. 5.
[91] Benchmark survey, p. 52.

participation.[92] Interestingly, ceremonies – particularly dawn ceremonies – were less popular, with 41% stating a high interest in such activities.[93] This may suggest that deepening understanding was more valued than remembrance for the survey's respondents – although it could just as easily be the fact that museum exhibits are generally interactive, stimulating and fun. Overall, the survey concluded that there was 'healthy levels of interest' for commemoration activities,[94] though it would be interesting to know how interested New Zealanders were in other forms of participation more relevant to this thesis, such as how many would read publications or watch film material – the survey found that TV, the internet, and books were by far the most common ways of interacting with history,[95] and so an exploration of how likely people were to engage with that kind of material would be valuable.

The survey seems to have impacted the WW100 Programme with its third conclusion – that 'Gallipoli and facilitating a personal connection should feature strongly.'[96] Gallipoli was one of, if not the, strongest association respondents had to both WWI generally and New Zealand's involvement in the war,[97] and as mentioned above it was considered highly recognisable and important. The survey concluded that Gallipoli 'clearly holds a special place in our nation's history' and therefore recommended that it would be an especially effective theme in engaging New Zealanders.[98] Likewise, a personal connection was considered to be an important element of engagement, as respondents showed a higher interest in exhibits that facilitate connection such as photographs, survival stories and diaries.[99] There was also high reported interest in family history and genealogy (particularly compared to community heritage work), and those with a family member who served showed a high interest in learning more about their personal link to the war.[100] 'Making it real' and emphasising a personal connection emerged as important themes in the Programme's plans, as did Gallipoli. It seems that to a certain extent the existing WWI narratives and themes shaped those of the centenary – certainly the official Programme – as to ensure the success of WW100 it had to appeal to what the general public would want to engage with. From the results of this survey, it seems that familiar concepts like national identity and the Anzac spirit were overwhelmingly what New Zealanders wanted to see in their centenary and so it was perhaps inevitable that these well-worn ideas would dominate the planned narrative.

The official WW100 Programme was perhaps in a tricky situation as the centenary period loomed. If the benchmark survey was representative of New Zealand's general public, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH) and other Programme facilitators had to appeal to existing, and sometimes mythical or inaccurate, narratives to capture the necessary audience, while simultaneously aspiring to 'deepen understanding'. The warnings of British historian Hew Strachan in a 2013 article were pertinent: that reworking the same themes and narratives would create a Centenary that was 'repetitive, sterile and possibly even boring'. 'If we do not emerge at the end of the process in 2018 with fresh perspectives,' he wrote, 'we shall have failed.' To Strachan, the 'practice of education' was the most important aspect of the Centenary, rather than the 'principle' of remembrance – the commemoration needed to produce a tangible effect.[101] Glyn Harper echoed Strachan's concerns to

[92] Benchmark survey, p. 6.
[93] Benchmark survey, p. 52.
[94] Benchmark survey, p. 6.
[95] Benchmark survey, p. 3.
[96] Benchmark survey, p. 6.
[97] Benchmark survey, pp. 30, 32.
[98] Benchmark survey, p. 6.
[99] Benchmark survey, p. 6.
[100] Benchmark survey, p. 6.
[101] Hew Strachan, 'First World War anniversary: we must do more than remember', 11/1/2013, retrieved from www.telegraph.co.uk/history/9795881/First-World-War-anniversary-we-must-do-more-than-remember.html on 19/2/2019.

New Zealand in an article in the *Dominion Post*, writing that 'the challenge...is to move beyond remembrance...to create an enduring educational legacy'.[102] The challenge was laid out for WW100 from the start – and the Programme asserted that it would meet it.

The WW100 Programme published a two-page 'Mission and Objectives' document on their website which detailed the aims of the Programme, as well as two Information Sheets that detailed the Programme overview (sheet 1) and the Programme narrative (sheet 2). Comparing these aims and objectives to what both Strachan and Harper called for demonstrates that, from the outset, there were elements of the Programme that could not quite bear to bring fresh perspectives in order to move beyond remembrance.

The overall mission was stated as 'to foster appreciation and remembrance of how the First World War affected our nation and its place in the world, both at the time and beyond'.[103] 'Remembrance', the term both Strachan and Harper were so wary of, was front and centre of the WW100 Programme, and 'education' is not included in the mission. The six key objectives that follow the mission put references to education at the bottom of the pile – the objectives may not be numbered, but the bullet point list implies a certain hierarchy. The concept of education is suggested in the fifth objective – to 'deepen understanding' of WWI[104] – and then more concretely stated in the sixth, which refers to 'current and future generations' being 'more informed'.[105] The 'living legacy' that would allow people to be more informed has echoes of Harper's call for an 'enduring educational legacy',[106] although the fifth's objective's emphasis on 'telling and preserving stories' as the way to 'deepen understanding' suggests a focus on heritage material rather than historical analysis. Family history and personal stories could create a 'living legacy' by creating personal connections to history. Information sheet 1's list of what the Programme would cover puts 'legacy and heritage projects' second, while 'educational resources and events' – the only use of the phrase 'education' – is right near the bottom (seventh out of nine).[107] Doubtless this bullet point would primarily be referring to curriculum material, and exhibitions, websites and databases, and printed publications and TV programmes can all be educational and seek to inform their audience. But those aspects were also listed below heritage projects, which primarily aim to remember rather than inform. There was also no mention of 'history' in either the Programme objectives or this list of what the Programme will cover.

By emphasising the telling of stories as a key objective, the Programme made it clear that certain narratives would be dominant. The first listed objective demonstrates what narrative would be the most prominent: 'Commemorate New Zealanders' service and sacrifice in the First World War'.[108] The story of sacrifice – often tied to Gallipoli – has dominated the public's understanding of WWI for decades, and it seemed like the Programme would continue to make it a focus. The second objective's reference to 'our distinct and evolving national identity'[109] centred another common narrative, that of New Zealand becoming a nation during WWI – again, a story generally associated

[102] Glyn Harper, 'WWI centenary is chance for NZ education legacy', 25/4/2013, retrieved from www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/comment/8594754/WWI-centenary-is-a-chance-for-NZ-educational-legacy on 13/2/2019.
[103] 'Mission and Objectives', www.ww100.govt.nz/mission-and-objectives, retrieved 12/2/2019.
[104] 'Deepen understanding of the First World War by telling and preserving stories about New Zealanders' war experiences at home and abroad'. 'Mission and Objectives'.
[105] 'Provide a living legacy of the war's impacts and on-going significance, so current and future generations are more informed'. 'Mission and Objectives'.
[106] Harper, 'WWI centenary is chance for NZ education legacy', 25/4/2013.
[107] 'Information Sheet 1 - The programme overview', downloaded from ww100.govt.nz/information-sheets, 12/2/2019.
[108] 'Mission and Objectives'.
[109] Explore how New Zealanders' war experiences helped to shape our distinct and evolving national identity and aspirations'. 'Mission and Objectives'.

with Gallipoli. By highlighting these two familiar narratives in the first two listed objectives, the Programme did not appear to be foregrounding the 'fresh perspectives' demanded by Strachan.

The two middle objectives focus more on the present than the past, with both emphasising the Programme as a means to focus on contemporary international relations. The third objective emphasises New Zealand's commitment to 'peace, global security and international cooperation'[110] while the fourth highlights ties to Australia and other WWI participants.[111] The Programme overview specifies that WW100 is not just about war, with centenary activities having a focus on (among other things) 'the places we live and work in today...and the freedoms we enjoy'.[112] The commemoration would 'stimulate discussion about civic values and participation' and encourage New Zealanders to 'contemplate our role as citizens' both nationally and globally.[113] WW100 was not just about teaching and learning New Zealand's WWI history – 'deepening understanding' meant showing New Zealanders how it was relevant to their 21st century lives. As with the focus on family history, which 'makes it real', this emphasis on the present day would help to include all New Zealanders by demonstrating the relevance of WWI to them personally.

The 'Mission and Objectives' document also lists the main principles of the Programme. WW100 was to be distinctive, appropriate, participative, connected, and influential.[114] These principles add depth to the objectives and clarify the values of the planned commemorations. Notable here is the use of the word 'appropriate' – defined as 'balance in tone between remembrance and appreciation'.[115] In a cultural environment where critics have lambasted WWI commemoration as 'an indigestible cross between *Downton Abbey* and a horror movie',[116] tone is a crucial aspect to get right. Emphasising an 'appropriate' tone suggested that the Programme was aware of the risks of the commemoration becoming a 'memory orgy'[117] and were attempting to ensure there was no glorification of suffering. These principles also emphasise that the Programme would be distinctly New Zealand and inclusive of 'all New Zealanders'.[118] The Programme was focused on reaching as many New Zealanders as possible, with the principles of 'participative' and 'connected' asserting that the WW100 Programme would be for everyone, a comprehensive commemoration that spanned mediums and origins. Two key narrative themes examined by this thesis are therefore defined as principles of WW100: depictions of sacrifice and suffering and inclusion/exclusion.

Alongside the 'Mission and Objectives', the Programme also released an information sheet that detailed the planned narrative.[119] Each year from 2014-2019 had a 'theme' that reflected the chronology of the war:

- 2014: Duty and adventure
- 2015: The Anzac connection

[110] 'Highlight New Zealand's enduring commitment to peace, global security and international cooperation'. 'Mission and Objectives'.
[111] 'Strengthen New Zealand's bilateral relationships with Australia and all other participants in the First World War'. 'Mission and Objectives'.
[112] 'Information Sheet 1 - The programme overview'.
[113] 'Information Sheet 1 - The programme overview'.
[114] 'Mission and Objectives'.
[115] 'Mission and Objectives'.
[116] Simon Jenkins, '1914: The Great War has become a nightly pornography of violence', 4/10/2014, retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/aug/04/1914-first-world-war-pornography-violence-centenary-military-propaganda on 10/11/2020.
[117] To use Joan Beaumont's turn of phrase: Joan Beaumont, 'Commemoration in Australia: A memory orgy?', *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50:3 (2015), pp. 536-544.
[118] 'Mission and Objectives'.
[119] 'Information Sheet 2 – Our programme narrative', downloaded from ww100.govt.nz/information-sheets, 12/2/2019.

- 2016: Transition – a national war effort
- 2017: The grind of war
- 2018: The darkness before the dawn
- 2019: Finding our way back

The information sheet acknowledged that at its time of publication (July 2014) events were 'focused in the first two years of the commemoration' but that 'we expect this interest to follow through the centenary'. Presuming that national interest would stay strong for the entire period was a bold assumption, especially once the key event of Anzac Day 2015 was past. 'Commemoration fatigue' was a real risk and it is perhaps telling that the Programme openly stated that it was focused on the first two years: up to the Gallipoli centenary. This was the key event of the whole Programme, as the official narrative makes clear.

The information sheet on the Programme narrative opens with a section titled 'Why is the centenary important for New Zealand?'. This section is filled with the narrative themes that run through the entire commemoration and are discussed in this thesis. WWI is described as 'the most significant and traumatic event for New Zealand since 1840', a high and predictable pedestal. More challenging is the statement that New Zealand went to war 'to defend the ideals of justice and freedom', a stance that seems to lack nuance in 21st century historiography – especially when the next sentence states that 'we went to war because Britain did'. The themes of mateship and the ideal New Zealand soldier are evident in the lists of qualities that distinguished New Zealanders: 'endurance, courage, friendship and commitment to a sense of decency', as well as 'versatile, practical, and highly praised'. The related themes of personal connections and inclusion/exclusion appear briefly in references to 'families, communities, and everyone at home in New Zealand' being affected by the war, and 'returning soldiers and communities and families [standing] together on New Zealand ground'. The Programme 'encourag[es] public participation' as 'nearly everyone in New Zealand' was impacted by the war. And of course, throughout this information sheet the plural first person is used: 'we', 'us', 'our'. Finally, no discussion of New Zealand's WWI experience can avoid the theme of suffering and sacrifice. The first section on the centenary's importance briefly details 'the human cost' and mentions the infamous statistic that New Zealand had the highest per capita casualties. These themes that are evident in this Programme narrative can be seen again and again throughout not only the Programme's print histories, but across historiography and popular culture. That they are embedded in the Programme's official narrative demonstrates their ubiquity in New Zealand's WWI narratives in general and particularly in the narratives of the centenary period.

Of course, the Programme had its own set of narrative themes that are described in this information sheet. Organised by year, with sub-themes under each of those mentioned above, these are detailed in relation to the planned commemoration events of that year. 2014 opens the narrative with 'Duty and Adventure', covering the proclamation of war, the capture of German Samoa and the departure of troops. 'The Commencement' sub-theme reiterates New Zealand's colonial status in following Britain into war and emphasises the excitement and 'imperial sentiment' that followed the declaration, as well as looking at the scale of New Zealand's military commitment. The other sub-theme of 2014 is simply 'the Centenary is Important', which emphasises New Zealand's place in the war. Familiar notions of young men rushing off into a great adventure dominate this theme and the transformation from dominion to nation is strongly reiterated.

'The Anzac Connection' is the obvious theme of 2015, and the centenary of the Gallipoli landings and Chunuk Bair is, of course, the focus in this year. Ormond Burton's famous assertion that 'New Zealand very definitely became a nation' between Gallipoli and the Somme is quoted here as a 'popular, enduring view', while 'The Anzac Spirit' is not even defined; the information sheet simply mentions the opening of Pukeahu National War Memorial Park and the dedication of the Australian Memorial. The Anzac spirit is so entrenched and ubiquitous that it apparently does not need explaining. Anzac Day at the Pukeahu memorial is described as a 'flagship event' of the whole

Programme and a 'focus' for New Zealanders around the country. Although these are highly familiar narratives, it is hard to argue with them – the Gallipoli centenary was always going to dominate the plans of the commemoration efforts.

The focus turns to the home front story in 2016, with 'Transition – A National War Effort'. A brief paragraph of the 2016 narrative discusses the Somme and the heavy losses experienced by New Zealand, but the sub-themes ('the war effort', 'Service to Compulsion', 'Industrialisation and Organisation') turn the focus to those at home. Inclusion and exclusion are explored in the brief discussions of women's roles and Māori objection. The stories of women, either as workers, fundraisers or nurses, and those who refused to fight were identified by Sheehan and Davison as often overlooked aspects of WWI history in New Zealand,[120] and their inclusion in this official narrative indicates the Programme's desire to rectify this. Including 'Service to Compulsion' as a sub-theme brings objectors to the fore, a spotlight that is necessary when the concepts of worthy sacrifice are still so ingrained in WWI (especially Anzac) narratives. The 2016 planned narrative makes inclusion a prominent theme by focusing on the home front experience – although exclusion is here too, in the seeming downplaying of the Somme when compared to the heavy focus on Gallipoli the previous year. However, the planned lead commemoration of Flers-Courcelette in September and the publication of *The Western Front* show promise that the Programme aimed to deepen understanding of the role New Zealanders played on the Western Front.

This is demonstrated in the programmed 2017 narrative, where Passchendaele looms large and with it, meditations of suffering and sacrifice. The narrative of this year is 'The Grind of War', and the 'staggering human cost' of Messines and Passchendaele is highlighted. 'Reality Check' is the main sub-theme of 2017, aiming to acknowledge '5000 dead New Zealanders'. The delicate balance between commemoration and glorification, acknowledgement and wallowing, is key when exploring the theme of suffering, and it is not hard for depictions of the Western Front to become the 'pornography of violence' discussed by Simon Jenkins.[121] Analysis of the official material will reveal whether the Programme effectively addressed the suffering of the Western Front while upholding its 'appropriate' principle. 'Military Professionalism' is the other sub-theme of 2017, continuing to explore some of the ideas of 2016's 'Industrialisation and Organisation' with discussion of the air war, developments in warfare and medical technology, and the Pioneer Battalion, aspects than can broaden the theme of the typical New Zealand soldier as well as whose story is included.

As Anzac Day 2015 and the Gallipoli campaign retreat into the distance, the 2018 narrative continues to explore the Western Front and its ongoing misery with 'The Darkness Before the Dawn'. The staggering casualties are discussed again, followed by an emphasis on the admirable conduct of New Zealanders in Europe. Discussion of the number of Victoria Crosses awarded to New Zealanders, the liberation of Le Quesnoy, and the 'outstanding reputation' of the New Zealand artillery emphasises that though losses were heavy, New Zealanders were distinguishing themselves with their fighting prowess – a blend of the sacrifice and New Zealand soldier themes. Through the fire of the Western Front, the narrative goes, New Zealand forces reached recognition and admiration from both those at home and the British Empire – resulting in a unifying pride in what New Zealanders could achieve.

When this Information Sheet was published in July 2014, a daunting amount of commemoration lay between then and the end of the Programme in 2019. Perhaps this is why 2019's narrative, 'Finding Our Way Back', is so brief and lacks detail or sub-themes (which 2018 also lacks). The delayed return of New Zealand soldiers is 'a metaphor for the return to a peacetime society', and the centenary of this return is 'the time to reflect on the future'. New Zealand's signing of the Treaty of Versailles and

[120] Mark Sheehan and Martyn Davison, '"We need to remember they died for us': How young people in New Zealand make meaning of war remembrance and commemoration of the First World War', *London Review of Education* 15:2 (2017), pp. 259-271.
[121] Jenkins, '1914: The Great War has become a nightly pornography of violence', 4/10/2014.

becoming a full member of the League of Nations are highlighted as indications of the newly-forged national identity and New Zealand's 'emerging independent standing'. This narrative of nation-building is dominant through the official Programme narrative and so it is unsurprising that it appears to be the chosen ending for the Centenary.

The WW100 Programme gave a comprehensive overview of its aims and intentions with the documents discussed above. Familiar themes run through the Programme's plans and narrative, and from these initial information sheets and mission statements the focus does seem to be on remembrance, rather than moving away towards fresh perspectives. The laying out of familiar tropes, especially in the official narrative, suggests that to some extent the Programme would stick to comfortable territory, where remembering what New Zealanders already believe was more important than deepening understanding. Analysis of the material that was actually released by the Programme in the form of the print histories will discover the extent to which this was true.

TWO 'Such splendid specimens of manhood': The New Zealand soldier

The print histories

The infantry soldier, the 'Kiwi digger' in his lemon squeezer, is by default the main character of New Zealand's WWI narratives. 'Johnny Enzed', as Glyn Harper refers to him, is a representative figure of all the men who fought, easily projected onto by descendants and the recognisable ancestor of white male New Zealand stereotypes. In the pre-centenary WWI narratives, depictions of the New Zealand soldier focused on the digger as a stereotypical individual, and the print histories largely followed this pattern, with authors emphasising New Zealand soldiers' 'colonial' character. As an individual, the New Zealand soldier appears in the print histories' narratives as a highly competent, sometimes natural, fighter, whose key traits of bravery, determination, and adaptability made him one of the most effective warriors of the war. He is not quite the 'larrikin' that the Australian soldier is remembered as, but a sense of humour and equality is highlighted in many of the print histories. A nuanced picture is created in the print narrative with the strong theme that unsoldierly conduct and bad behaviour was rife; authors acknowledge that drunkenness, self-harm, desertion, STIs, and racism were also features of Johnny Enzed's character. However, an overall focus on heroism ensures that the dominant impression is positive.

The egalitarian, good-humoured digger has long reflected a common conception of white male New Zealand identity, which can be seen to varying degrees in earlier material. Keith Sinclair's 1986 text *A Destiny Apart* emphasised that the New Zealand men distinguished themselves as good soldiers, especially compared to the British,[122] and that the fighting prowess of the New Zealand forces was demonstrated at Gallipoli and exemplified late in the war in battles such as Le Quesnoy, when Sinclair described them as 'highly professional soldiers' who were proud of their skill and used as shock troops.[123] Christopher Pugsley in his seminal 1984 text *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story* also praised the 'practical professionalism' of the New Zealand forces,[124] who had a 'thinking tenacity that would become a characteristic unmatched…'.[125] Neither Sinclair nor Pugsley specifically gave voice to the concept that the New Zealand male was a natural soldier, but the undercurrent of this narrative was present in their praise of the New Zealand forces. Pugsley's later 2004 book *The Anzac Experience* centred on the development of the NZEF as a successful fighting force; he still lauded the Mounted Rifles as 'perhaps the finest body of fighting men New Zealand has ever raised' and the New Zealand Division was praised as 'one of the finest fighting divisions on the Western Front',[126] but he argued that this was not the case until 1917, when the ability of the New Zealand men actually matched their reputation.[127] Pugsley wrote in this book that 'natural soldiers are rare individuals' and it was rather the trial and error lessons of the war that made New Zealanders into 'professionals'.[128] The mythic narrative of the natural New Zealand soldier was altered slightly here, but Pugsley's account remained focused on the fighting strength of the New Zealand men.

Other historians examined the mythic quality of this theme more deeply and interrogated what it meant for the men. Roberto Rabel, in his chapter 'New Zealand's Wars' in the 2009 *New Oxford History of New Zealand*, acknowledged that WWI 'served to validate the images of New Zealanders as laconically efficient, brave "natural" soldiers', but then pointed out that this has been questioned

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[122] Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986, pp. 160-161.
[123] Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 168.
[124] Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984, p. 23.
[125] Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, p. 16.
[126] Christopher Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience: New Zealand, Australia and Empire in the First World War*, Auckland: Reed Books, 2004, pp. 14, 15.
[127] Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*, p. 304.
[128] Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*, p. 17.

by many historians.[129] For Rabel, however, whether or not New Zealanders were better fighters than the British or Australians did not matter; the myth was established and accepted and this pointed to the accepted idealised national stereotype of white New Zealand manhood.[130] Rabel also pointed out that this was a myth not confined to the Pakeha soldiers – Māori were also seen as 'natural warriors' and the formation of the Māori Pioneer Battalion allowed for a mingling of white colonial manhood and native warrior stereotypes.[131] Jock Phillips, whose 1987 examination of white masculinity *A Man's Country?* has been influential,[132] agreed that being a natural born fighter was encoded into Pakeha men's concept of who they were – and what they should be. This created a social pressure to act in a way that showed them to be a real pioneer man, which to Phillips created a repression of perceived negative emotions like fear, rather than a real courage.[133] Phillips identified the 'pioneer spirit' that New Zealand soldiers were thought to possess: stronger, bigger, and mentally tougher; they saw themselves and were seen by others to be self-reliant, practical, distinguished by their ingenuity and initiative, and better suited to survive the grim conditions of the trenches.[134] Phillips labelled this part of the mythology of New Zealand masculinity at the time, but like Rabel he did not ascribe importance to the truth of the myth.[135] Similarly, for James Belich in his sweeping 2001 history *Paradise Reforged*, there was a 'modest kernel of truth' to this narrative – 'but it was not very true'.[136] Belich identified this myth as originating during the war, and like Phillips claimed that it became 'self-actualising' to some extent,[137] with New Zealand soldiers – especially after Gallipoli – behaving 'how they thought [they] were supposed to behave: bravely'.[138] To Belich, however, even when the myth was useful or even true 'it did not help'.[139] Like other writers, Belich identified that New Zealand soldiers had an 'alleged genius for mobile, open and irregular warfare', particularly the Mounted Rifles – but this was wasted in the 'mincer' of trench warfare.[140] For Belich, even the supposed military superiority of the New Zealand soldiers was a tragedy.

What authors include and exclude in their histories is particularly noticeable when writing about the New Zealand soldier. Depending on who is depicting him, he can be an imperial gentleman or a pioneer scoundrel. Pugsley stated that New Zealanders were more disciplined than the Australians,[141] which Sinclair agreed with and identified as a point of distinction for the New Zealanders.[142] In Pugsley's narrative, however, General Alexander Godley crafted a force that was distinguished by its training, discipline, and 'reticence',[143] while Sinclair emphasised the 'non-upper class element' of New Zealand soldiers who did not salute British officers.[144] Phillips argued that Pugsley's image of the disciplined New Zealand soldier was a myth upheld at the official level, often through the suppression of accounts of actual behaviour.[145] He argued that the truth was that the

[129] Roberto Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars' in Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 252.
[130] Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars', p. 252.
[131] Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars', p. 252.
[132] Although first published in 1987 it was revised in 1996; the revised edition was used for this analysis.
[133] Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History (Revised Edition)*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996, p. 172.
[134] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp. 165-6.
[135] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 166.
[136] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001, p. 97.
[137] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 97.
[138] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 105.
[139] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 97.
[140] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 109.
[141] Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, p. 12.
[142] Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 157.
[143] Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, pp. 14, 23.
[144] Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, p. 160.
[145] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 168.

men saw themselves as 'lovable rascals' and the experience of war brought about a re-emergence of pioneer male behaviour: swearing, brawling, gambling, and drinking.[146] Phillips also provided extensive discussion of the rates of STIs amongst New Zealand troops and their frequent visiting of brothels.[147] This marked a move away from earlier texts, which frequently overlooked this aspect.[148] Belich also challenged ideas of the exemplary soldier, with discussions of kinship with defectors and enemy soldiers, riots, protests and mutinies, racism towards Egyptians, and the Surafend massacre.[149] There was also significant discussion of STIs, including the suggestion that soldiers would become infected deliberately to avoid the trenches.[150] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, in his iconoclastic 2010 text *The Great Wrong War*, unsurprisingly went deeper into what have been considered taboo behaviours, as well as discussion of looting, rioting, mutinies, and violence (including sexual violence) towards civilians.[151] He discussed men self-harming during the war, both as a result of mental stress and as a way to get out of the trenches and into a nursing ward.[152] More nuanced depictions of New Zealand soldiers had become increasingly common in the early 21st century and this fuller picture was something for the Centenary Programme to strive for.

The concept of New Zealanders as exceptional or 'natural' soldiers is addressed or alluded to by every print history author except Anna Rogers and Adam Claasen.[153] Steven Loveridge and James Watson discuss how this 'prevalent martial mythology' was widely circulated in newspapers of the time,[154] and Ian McGibbon calls the belief that New Zealanders were natural soldiers a 'lasting legacy' of the war, established at Gallipoli and 'nurtured and extended' on the Western Front.[155] McGibbon links it to New Zealanders comparing themselves to other troops and his use of words such as 'legend' and 'belief' to describe this concept are the only indication that he is not endorsing it as a fact.[156] Earlier in the book McGibbon quotes an unnamed major's comment that 'New Zealanders fought "naturally"' without the need for extensive training or discipline, referencing the 'belief' without interrogating its veracity.[157] Other authors also allude to this narrative without further analysis. Damien Fenton's one reference to it is his description of Major Alan Stitt as 'a natural-born soldier if ever there was one', with no discussion of whether there *was* ever one.[158] The idea that New Zealand men were natural soldiers is tied to concepts of colonial masculinity – New Zealanders who worked the rugged landscape were naturally bigger and stronger, and therefore more suited to soldiering, than their counterparts in Britain. Glyn Harper alludes to these mythic origins by asserting that the NZEF Main Body had a 'definite rural flavour', but criticises General Ian

[146] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp. 183, 184, 186, 187.
[147] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp. 187-9.
[148] Pugsley does discuss STIs at some length in another of his texts, *On the Fringe of Hell*, though again the focus is largely on official attitudes towards treatment and prophylactics, and the military opinion that it was a 'self-inflicted wound' that was the result of 'vice'. Christopher Pugsley, *On the Fringe of Hell: New Zealanders and Military Discipline in the First World War*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991, pp. 20-21, 51-52, 154-166. Sinclair's discussion of soldiers has some nuance, as he does discuss the fact that their behaviour was not always exemplary. He admits that early in the war there were occasional riots or drunkenness in Egypt, and that soldiers suffered terribly from STIs (p. 157).
[149] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 106-8.
[150] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 103.
[151] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI*, Auckland: Random House, 2010, p. 452.
[152] Eldred-Grigg, *Great Wrong War*, p. 292.
[153] *For King and Other Countries* does not reference this idea, but *Johnny Enzed*, Harper's other contribution, certainly does.
[154] Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The Home Front: New Zealand Society and the War Effort*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019, p. 92.
[155] Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2016, p. 361.
[156] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 361.
[157] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 163.
[158] Damien Fenton, *New Zealand and the First World War 1914-1919*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2013, p. 63.

Hamilton's quoted beliefs about 'country men'[159] – the NZEF as a whole was made up of far more than just rugged farmers, and Harper includes a two-page table to prove it.[160]

This image of the New Zealand soldier as bigger, stronger and fitter than his Old-World peers is pervasive throughout the print histories. McGibbon quotes Lindsay Inglis's observation of New Zealanders – a 'different and superior race of men' – standing 'head and shoulders taller' than the British,[161] and Harper includes RJ Ledingham's description of 'distinctive men, lean, brown and wiry'…'tough men' as well as George Seddon's allusion to Viking warriors.[162] Monty Soutar's text has the most of these quotes – seven in total, all contemporaries describing the Māori soldiers as big, strong, and physically impressive.[163] This plays somewhat into the 'Māori warrior' stereotype, a sub-category of the natural soldier narrative that emphasises the martial prowess of Māori.[164]

Despite this emphasis on the New Zealanders as physically impressive, some authors temper this portrayal of the natural New Zealand soldier by emphasising that it was not, in fact, natural or common. Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge's section titled 'Making soldiers' highlights that drill and exercise was needed to 'allowed a soldierly physique…to develop',[165] while Gavin McLean asserts that on the *Marama*, 'eight of every ten men were unfit' and some simply 'had not been good soldiers'.[166] Harper's works also emphasise that not every man who joined the NZEF was a paragon of colonial masculinity. He argues that Pugsley's claim of 25% of all applicants being rejected on medical grounds is too low; to Harper, medical records from enlistments 'are hardly a picture of a healthy young community' with over 70,000 men not physically fit enough to serve.[167] Quotations describing how big and strong New Zealand soldiers were are all from during overseas service, after training was completed; taken all together the print histories tell a narrative of men who *became* physically impressive fighters rather than being natural born soldiers. However, very few readers – and almost certainly a negligible amount of the general public – are reading the entire print histories as one narrative. Individual texts that mention but do not interrogate the natural soldier myth are at risk of propagating it.

The soldier – whether natural-born or well trained – must fight and kill to be effective. There is an overwhelming narrative that New Zealanders were good soldiers but that this means they were good at doing violence is often skimmed over. When examining the New Zealand soldier and his natural aptitude, it is valuable to interrogate the way in which authors depict him as enjoying war. Authors that emphasise the suffering of the men tend to avoid this narrative – Rogers, for example, portrays her medical men and women as doing their duty and trying to help rather than relishing the challenge of battlefield medicine, and Claasen depicts his pilots as loving the daring of flying itself rather than of aerial warfare, which is depicted as risky and often frightening. Military focussed

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[159] Glyn Harper, 'The New Zealand Soldier of the First World War, 1914-15: Johnny Enzed', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 73.
[160] Harper, 'The New Zealand Soldier', pp. 73-75.
[161] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 161.
[162] Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, pp. 261, 479.
[163] Monty Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Maori in the First World War*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2019**,** pp. 46, 73, 106, 129, 279, 454, 485.
[164] R. Scott Sheffield, 'Indigenous Exceptionalism under fire: Assessing Indigenous Soldiers in Combat with the Australian, Canadian, New Zealand and American Armies during the Second World War', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45:3, 2017, p. 508.
[165] Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge, *New Zealand's First World War Heritage*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, pp. 54, 55.
[166] Gavin McLean, *The White Ships: New Zealand's First World War Hospital Ships*, Wellington: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 2013, p. 134.
[167] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 45, 47; Harper, 'The New Zealand Solder', p. 76.

authors, who tend to place less emphasis on the misery and suffering of war, lean more into the narrative of New Zealand soldiers enjoying the fighting. Harper depicts New Zealand men in the 'nursery' front at Armentières rejecting the 'live and let live' attitude of the British and instead choosing to actively patrol and raid.[168] Fenton also addresses this, but in a very different take: in Fenton's interpretation, officers had to encourage such aggressive action because this 'live and let live' mentality 'came naturally' to men in quiet sectors.[169] Harper describes Arthur Alexander as 'one of the few officers who admitted to enjoying the fighting', which is ambiguous as to whether men who enjoyed fighting were rare, or whether they just rarely admitted that they did.[170] Other authors present men who certainly admitted that they enjoyed the violence of war; John Crawford's depiction of 'the prince of riflemen' Jesse Wallingford shows a man who gained great satisfaction and pride from his large number of kills – although Crawford admits that 'there is…some evidence that the novelty…was wearing off'.[171] Soutar and McGibbon are outliers in that their texts have ample evidence of New Zealand men enjoying and even relishing their wartime violence. McGibbon has 17 different depictions – often direct quotes – of men enjoying fighting,[172] starting at the introductory paragraph to chapter one where Arthur Martin – a surgeon, one of Rogers's staunchly dutiful medical men – 'exalted' in the explosions around him.[173] McGibbon writes that Bert Stokes 'confided' in his diary that he enjoyed confronting (and killing) surrendering Germans during Messines[174] – a hint back to Harper's possible suggestion that admitting to enjoying the violence was not generally acceptable. However, like Crawford, McGibbon tempers this narrative with the idea that 'the novelty soon passed'.[175] The idea that New Zealand soldiers enjoyed war and fighting is present in the print histories, but it does not seem that the (Pakeha) New Zealand soldier is defined by his love of war.

Soutar, in his history of Māori in WWI, is the other author to emphasise an enjoyment of fighting. Soutar writes that, unlike their Pakeha compatriots, who seem to have been reluctant to admit they enjoyed the violence, 'Māori soldiers' own accounts gave the impression that they revelled in the fighting'.[176] The unnamed Pioneer who first broke through into Le Quesnoy because he was 'tired of being a Pioneer' is one example;[177] Haringi Leaf, who 'joined in and enjoyed himself' instead of digging trenches is another.[178] Like his emphasis on the physical prowess of Māori soldiers, Soutar's inclusion of Māori soldiers enjoying the fighting links to the narrative of Māori being natural warriors and therefore born soldiers. Two other authors reference this narrative; McGibbon asserts that Pakeha 'much admired [Māori] for their military qualities' and their 'fighting qualities and courage under fire',[179] while Loveridge and Watson describes how Māui Pōmare 'leveraged conceptions of a martial spirit' to argue for conscription.[180] Both are referring to beliefs held at the time rather than asserting this narrative of the Māori warrior stereotype. Soutar is unsurprisingly very aware of the ways in which early 20th century Pakeha stereotyped Māori. He writes that Māori were 'seen largely

[168] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 273.
[169] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 58.
[170] As with so much of WWI history, we are severely limited by relying on what men wrote in letters or journals, which will never be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 312.
[171] John Crawford, 'A Prince of Riflemen: Jesse Wallingford at Gallipoli', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 99.
[172] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 14, 45, 51, 54, 62, 63, 76, 78, 83, 112, 129, 257, 258.
[173] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 14.
[174] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 112.
[175] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 67.
[176] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 164.
[177] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 445.
[178] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 391.
[179] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 188.
[180] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 258.

as good soldiers'[181] and also includes cartoons from 1915 that depict 'racial stereotypes of Māori men as fearsome savages'.[182] He concedes that a 'deep-rooted fighting spirit' did stir some early Māori volunteers – though these were men from iwi with positive 19th century interactions with the Crown.[183] Overall, in Soutar's narrative, if Māori enjoyed fighting or seemed naturally suited to it, it was because Māori men had to 'justify' the Māori Contingent Committee's (MCC) 'confidence that the Māori was a natural soldier'.[184] That the MCC was a Māori organisation demonstrates that this concept was not exclusively the domain of Pakeha romanticising the 'Other'. Soutar acknowledges and gently examines the narrative of Māori as natural soldiers, but largely rejects exceptionalism: 'Māori had the same fears and hopes as any others'.[185]

A different kind of exceptionalism exists in the tendency to hold New Zealanders up as being uniquely skilled soldiers. This is particularly evident when authors write about the mounted campaign of Sinai-Palestine, trench raids, or the more mobile warfare of the 1918 Western Front. Harper and McGibbon engage most directly with this concept. Harper writes that New Zealanders had an 'aptitude' for the open warfare of 1918 and were 'adept' at desert patrol style warfare in the Middle East.[186] McGibbon, demonstrating again his military focus compared to other authors, has nine references to this idea, often emphasising that New Zealanders 'revelled in' and 'relished' forms of open or infiltration warfare which they had a 'great proficiency' for.[187] The idea of the fast, clever colonial New Zealand soldier is presented uncritically by the authors who engage with it.

Although only two authors deal with that specific idea, the wider narrative that New Zealand soldiers were distinctly talented and skilled permeates the print histories. There is a distinct sense of pride in the NZEF's performance throughout the texts, as the majority emphasise their prowess and the recognition they received for it. The excellent reputation of New Zealand forces is highlighted, with Fenton, Harper, McGibbon and Claasen all referring specifically to their 'sterling', 'formidable', 'solid' reputation.[188] Noting the frequency with which New Zealanders were praised during the war allows authors to portray New Zealanders as elite without necessarily having to critically assess their performance. Praise from a wide variety of sources is quoted throughout the print histories: from commanders such as Godley,[189] Andrew Russell,[190] and others;[191] from Allied forces[192] and enemy ones;[193] from contemporary news media[194] and official histories written just after the war;[195] and from, in the case of Māori, their Pakeha compatriots.[196] 'Friends and foe alike rated them amongst the best troops in the British army', writes Fenton,[197] with Harper agreeing that 'the evidence is overwhelming' that 'all who came into contact' with them regarded them as 'one of the BEF's elite

[181] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 60.
[182] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 234.
[183] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 43.
[184] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 51-52
[185] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 164.
[186] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 435, 482.
[187] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 279, 283, 301, 303, 308, 314, 324, 325, 341.
[188] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 59; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 91, 258, 263, 294, 319, 480, 618; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 163, 183, 358; Adam Claasen, *Fearless: The extraordinary untold story of New Zealand's Great War airmen*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017, p. 416.
[189] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 32, 87, 102, 115; Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 321; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 161.
[190] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 115; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 161, 293, 324.
[191] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 262, 317; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 87, 294, 359.
[192] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 164, 166, Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 536-7.
[193] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 331, 359.
[194] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 264.
[195] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 256, McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 292; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 480.
[196] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 162.
[197] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 106.

formations'.[198] This repeatedly highlighted stellar reputation is presented largely without question by the print histories. Harper cautions that historians' tendency to place the New Zealand forces on a superlative pedestal is 'probably a little extreme',[199] while McGibbon in his conclusion points out that this 'constant praise' wore thin for the men themselves.[200] But the dominant narrative of the print histories is of a force that was frequently lavished with praise and whose reputation was universally formidable.

If the print histories accept that the New Zealand soldiers were praised as exceptional, how do these authors address the actual calibre of their performance? The same military-focussed authors who were most interested in their reputation are largely the ones who grapple with this question and interrogate the popular narrative that New Zealand soldiers were particularly effective. Some have quantifiable measures that they can judge New Zealanders' performance by; Claasen and McGibbon, dealing with airmen, note the number of ace pilots New Zealand produced and how many claims they had.[201] Claasen details fifteen New Zealand aces with over 170 victories between them, amongst them the war's highest or second highest scorings in several different aircraft – figures that emphasise the prowess of certain 'luminaries'.[202] Soutar, focussing on Pioneers, and McGibbon, the tunnellers, record the impressive feats of physical work and engineering achieved by New Zealand soldiers: 450-yard trenches dug in one night, 50 yards of barbed wire erected in six minutes instead of the typical 22, and 180m of tunnels a week.[203] Soutar quotes Peter Buck's assertion that the Māori Pioneers held records for trench digging and wiring,[204] and McGibbon records that in one month the New Zealanders were the leading company by footage,[205] which presents concrete evidence for the skill and achievements of the New Zealanders. Harper argues that the ways in which New Zealanders were used is proof of their performance. For Harper, being kept at the Somme for unprecedented lengths (where they made 'hard-won gains') and being 'continuously' in action during the Hundred Days Campaign (where they 'never experienced a reverse') demonstrates their calibre, to the extent that Harper concludes that they 'earned' their 'reputation as the best soldiers in the world'.[206] McGibbon seeks to temper this idea slightly; he certainly cites the New Zealanders' 'competence' and 'skill' in many places,[207] but his conclusion cautions that a 'big claim' about superiority is difficult to make with no 'objective measure of quality'.[208] But even with relative experience and where it was gained taken into account, McGibbon still concludes that the New Zealand Division '*was* one of the better divisions on the Western Front' and that the 'legend' of the natural New Zealand soldier was 'nurtured and extended' on the Western Front because of this performance.[209] Overall, those who tackle this narrative do leave the reader with the dominant impression that New Zealanders were in fact particularly skilled and effective soldiers, and some of the best in the war. The print histories facilitate a national pride in the performance of the New Zealand men.

Narratives of the New Zealand soldier focus not just on fighting prowess but also on a certain image of his character. Much of this stereotypical masculine character – still seen in images of the New Zealand man today – stems from ideas of 'the colonial'. In 1998 John Keegan identified a 'settler

[198] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 478.
[199] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 536.
[200] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 359.
[201] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 244-5.
[202] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 408, 416.
[203] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 322, 323, 387; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 102, 221.
[204] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 485.
[205] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 221.
[206] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 294, 315, 435, 618.
[207] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 87, 283, 297, 326, 351.
[208] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 359.
[209] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 359, 361.

independence' in the New Zealand soldiers at Gallipoli, which Harper quotes,[210] and Loveridge and Watson write that 'pioneering audacity and self-reliance' as well as 'valour, adventure, [and] physical assertiveness' were held up as exemplary masculine traits.[211] These ideas still colour the depiction of the New Zealand soldier in modern narratives and there are several references to his settler or colonial character.[212] Harper quotes General Ian Hamilton's belief that New Zealanders had 'far greater individuality and intelligence' than their 'old world' counterparts.[213] Harper refutes Hamilton's concept of a rural army but does note that he was 'an astute observer',[214] and this concept of New Zealanders as brave and clever permeates the print histories.

Bravery is by far the dominant trait of the New Zealand soldier as portrayed by the print histories. New Zealand soldiers 'never flinched',[215] they were 'courageous'[216] and 'daring',[217] 'brave' even when 'badly hurt',[218] and capable of 'astonishing acts of bravery'.[219] All but two of the print histories mention this dominant characteristic.[220] Some authors complicate the depiction slightly; Loveridge and Watson refer to 'bravado'[221] and Rogers's depiction of men bravely enduring the pain of wounds is immediately followed by the acknowledgement that 'many injuries were too agonising for stoic silence'.[222] Overall, though, the print histories are almost unanimously in agreement that the New Zealand soldier's dominant trait was bravery, engendering respect and admiration from readers. Alongside bravery is determination: courage alone, writes Harper, was not enough; the New Zealand soldier also had 'stamina, endurance and a particular type of mental toughness'.[223] Other authors mention determination and an ability to overcome tough obstacles as hallmarks of the New Zealand men.[224] Harper acknowledges that the conditions of war 'inevitably eroded all of these qualities' – but this did not stop the soldiers' 'determination to last as long as they possibly could'.[225]

One quality that did not seem to be worn away was a resourcefulness and adaptability, traits still seen in stereotypical New Zealand male 'DIY' images. This resourcefulness is emphasised by some authors because of the nature of their subjects; this is particularly evident for Claasen, writing about airmen who often flew unstable machines alone, and Rogers, whose medical forces were trying to do the best with what limited resources they had. Soutar emphasises that the Māori Pioneers were 'handy men whose tupuna had done everything for themselves' while the Pakeha in the battalion 'were some of the most resourceful the country had bred'.[226] Some pieces of Kiwi ingenuity appear

[210] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 263.
[211] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 11, 25.
[212] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 480, 580; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 161, 252; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 90; Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 325.
[213] Harper, 'The New Zealand Soldier', p. 73.
[214] Harper, 'The New Zealand Soldier', p. 73.
[215] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 288.
[216] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 209.
[217] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 28.
[218] Anna Rogers, *With Them Through Hell: New Zealand Medical Services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018, p. 349.
[219] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 330.
[220] Examples include Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 184, 249, 254, 303, 373, 440; Glyn Harper, *For King and Other Countries: The New Zealanders who fought in other services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019, p. 39; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 502; Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 90, 227; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 85, 153, 222; Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 172, 349.
[221] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 155.
[222] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 349.
[223] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 374.
[224] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 238, 319, 376; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 162, 229; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 242; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 502; Crawford, 'A Prince of Riflemen', p. 101; Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 325.
[225] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 374, 376.
[226] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 211.

repeatedly throughout the print histories: the stretcher made of rifles and a coat[227] and jam tin bombs.[228] Other examples of 'no. 8 wire' thinking are numerous throughout the print histories, such as bridges made of branches and pick handles,[229] splints made of rifles,[230] and everything from helmets full of cider as washbasins[231] to homemade sand sledges and artificial limbs.[232] Claasen's assertion that New Zealand airmen 'often demonstrated a strong mechanical bent'[233] apparently holds true for many New Zealanders in general; even the medical personnel were rigging up aid posts and bivouacs with 'hard work and ingenuity', according to Rogers.[234] McGibbon emphasises how this resourcefulness was used in warfare and points to New Zealand soldiers' greater adaptability and practicality (especially compared to the British) as a reason for their success,[235] while other authors use these traits as a way to make the New Zealand men seem relatable and add humour. Soutar recounts an anecdote of men using grenades to fish,[236] McLean depicts an amputee soldier rigging up some moveable 'dummy' legs to 'save the shock' of Patriotic League ladies,[237] and Harper describes how hard tack biscuits were used as paper for letters home or art.[238] New Zealanders' adaptability, resourcefulness and practicality is referred to repeatedly through the print histories.[239] This key element of the male national stereotype is appealed to by the authors to create connection and relatability with modern New Zealand readers.

Other familiar stereotypical traits fill out the depiction of the New Zealand soldier in the print histories. New Zealand soldiers had a reputation for being laconic, noted for their 'taciturn, even dour, presence',[240] and this is portrayed in the print histories alongside an understated, tongue-in-cheek sense of humour. McGibbon discusses New Zealand men being unimpressed by British 'demonstrative cheerfulness',[241] and Harper quotes an officer who was surprised at New Zealanders singing as they were 'supposed, rightly as I believe, to be laconic'.[242] McGibbon also mentions the noted lack of singing, and cites the fact that Ormond Burton titled his history *The Silent Division*.[243] Rogers notes a 'minimising laconicism' amongst wounded New Zealanders[244] and Harper recounts a soldier's description of wounded men groaning and laughing when their stretcher bearers stumbled: 'Never mind matey go ahead.'[245] McGibbon argues that this hallmark laconicism could slide into fatalism,[246] though the dominant impression across the print histories is that it more often manifested in facetious or black humour. McLean recounts an anecdote of an amputee claiming it was 'awfully hard luck as I had sewn two patches on that sleeve only this morning',[247] a clear example

[227] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 63; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 153; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 213.
[228] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 20; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 91.
[229] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 352.
[230] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 69.
[231] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 430.
[232] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 132, 375.
[233] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 85.
[234] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 69.
[235] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 92, 161, 162, 186, 221, 309.
[236] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 287.
[237] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 92.
[238] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 234.
[239] In addition to all the above examples, see also McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 184, 248; Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 125, 184, 198, 299; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 618.
[240] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 336; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 358; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 164.
[241] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 160.
[242] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 336.
[243] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 359.
[244] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 342.
[245] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 212.
[246] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 259.
[247] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 67.

of the 'minimising laconicism' identified by Rogers, as well as the sense of humour many authors emphasise.

Humour is described by many print history authors as a crucially important aspect of the New Zealand soldier as it allowed better coping in the trying conditions of war.[248] Plentiful examples are found throughout the texts – particularly pranks, such as telling 'Tommies' how kangaroo eggs tasted.[249] Humorous anecdotes are scattered through the print histories, such as Prime Minister William Massey and Deputy PM Joseph Ward's bumbling manning of a machine gun or men standing in front of pin-up pictures when higher-ups and nurses visited a base.[250] Soldier and ship magazines, mentioned by several authors, were full of jokes, 'most of them bad', though their importance to the men (and women) they were aimed at is demonstrated by McGibbon's inclusion of a photograph of a soldier reading one to a wounded man.[251] Harper gives examples of soldier slang to demonstrate the particular humour of 'our soldiers' that were likely found in such magazines.[252] Several authors plainly assert that New Zealanders had a good sense of humour, retained in the worst circumstances – though sometimes verging into black humour.[253] However, this bleak coping humour emphasised by Harper is not what is most prominent in the print histories. New Zealanders (not just soldiers) are generally depicted as being able to enjoy themselves. Sport is the most prominent example, with Soutar emphasising rugby on the Western Front, though other authors also mention this recreation.[254] But the ways of having fun are many and varied throughout the print histories: Claassen depicts airmen stunting, and Rogers recounts wounded men pillow fighting and joking with the nurses.[255] There are plenty of images of New Zealanders enjoying themselves, such as men dancing and playing instruments, enjoying the 'line crossing' ceremony on ships, and posing in fancy dress.[256] In contrast to other dominant narratives of suffering, the print histories also ensure that the New Zealand soldier (and his nursing and medical comrades) is seen laughing.

A sense of equality emerges as the final dominant quality of the New Zealand soldier. A lively sense of humour and fun was often equalising; Nathalie Philippe's portrait of Lindsay Inglis emphasises the respect he gained from his men for being able to laugh at himself, while Claasen depicts flight commander Mac McGregor as 'cheerful and playful', able to be the butt of a joke when he lost his false teeth.[257] This egalitarian nature of the New Zealanders is most prominent when compared to the British forces; Philippe asserts that 'New Zealanders were less class-oriented', resulting in less removed officers (such as Inglis and McGregor).[258] McGibbon also claims that New Zealand 'officers and men interacted more easily' and suggests that the inevitable divide between officers and men was eased by a more meritocratic system; men knew they could advance and had a respect for their officers who were perceived to have earned their rank, rather than being born into it as in the British

[248] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 41, 95, 383; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 317; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 260; Simon Moody, 'Kiwis Rising: New Zealanders and the War in the Air', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 190.
[249] Other examples include McLean, *White Ships*, p. 62; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 67; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 189; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 206; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 150, 553, 567.
[250] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 262; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 398.
[251] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 151; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 41; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 209.
[252] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 348.
[253] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 218; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 259; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 502; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 35, 393.
[254] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 295, 342, 365, 384, 462; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 216, 217.
[255] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 112, 380; Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 214, 215.
[256] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 57; Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 68-9; McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 91, 136.
[257] Nathalie Philippe, 'A Leader in the Making: Major Lindsay Inglis', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 116; Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 379, 380.
[258] Philippe, 'A Leader in the Making', p. 106; also alluded to by McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 162, 185.

forces.[259] Another result of more egalitarian character, as portrayed by several authors, is that New Zealanders would quickly rail against any perceived injustice, such as being treated as new recruits at Etaples, officers receiving better treatment, or too-strict discipline.[260] New Zealand men are shown as being especially scornful of the British class system and its suggestion that they were inferior.[261] It is worth noting that this distinctive egalitarian character did not necessarily extend to women: McLean notes that disrespectful treatment of nurses, supposedly made equal by their officer status, 'punctur[es] the myth of easy-going colonials'.[262] But on the whole New Zealand men are depicted as having a strong sense of equality, especially when compared to their British counterparts, a narrative that appeals to modern conceptions of national identity.

Though the dominant image created by the print histories is of a skilled, courageous New Zealand soldier, authors do not just portray a one-dimensional stereotype, and throughout the texts there are many examples of unsoldierly or 'bad' behaviour. The New Zealand soldier in the print histories is brave, and he may even enjoy fighting, but he is not immune to the mental stress of war and its effects. Harper and McLean describe how men might not even make it overseas, with some 'crack[ing] under the strain' aboard ships.[263] Harper and McGibbon both address how men were often 'traumatised' when they did see the front, with Harper quoting a soldier who wanted to 'lay down and die' because of how 'played out' he felt.[264] He was, Harper writes, 'almost' broken, but 'soldiered on' – Harper's narrative often stops short of depicting men as completely failing to be 'good soldiers'.[265] McGibbon is less forgiving of the mental strain, especially in his language choices: men could be 'mentally unhinged' by fear and he describes how one unnamed soldier was 'driven crazy'.[266] Rogers, conversely, describes how military fears of malingering left men 'genuinely suffering' when their mental stress should have allowed them to be evacuated.[267]

Fear was a general mental stressor, and the print histories vary in how they depict men who were afraid. McGibbon writes that 'cowardice' was the 'most heinous military crime' after desertion to the enemy but no New Zealander was convicted of it.[268] Men 'grappled with their fears' and worried about being 'cowards' but generally managed to hide and supress the fear.[269] This is the most common portrayal, such as Harper's depiction of a soldier worried about 'all the horrible things that could happen to him' but still being the first man into the landing boats at Gallipoli.[270] McGibbon recounts an anecdote where a man 'refused to go forward' while 'foaming and dribbling from his mouth',[271] a rare example of fear on display; this unnamed man is treated similarly to the one above who was 'driven crazy'. In contrast, Soutar quotes Private Ruru Tapine's letter to his mother where, in te Reo, he confesses that he 'has cried much' and 'been depressed all the time',[272] a disarmingly vulnerable and different depiction of mental stress and fear in a New Zealander. It is used specifically as a counterpoint to abovementioned warrior stereotypes that Soutar is highly aware of. Private Tapine stands out in contrast to the men quoted by McGibbon and Harper, who are scared of being

[259] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 185. See also Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 353, discussing how Keith Caldwell could command his men without overly strict discipline due to the respect his men had for him.
[260] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 324, 338, 596; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 67; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 33.
[261] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 161, 162; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 557.
[262] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 80.
[263] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 33; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 126.
[264] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 142; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 374.
[265] Even the 'bad characters' in Harper's narrative are still capable of being 'good soldiers'.
[266] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 248.
[267] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 354.
[268] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 191.
[269] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 17, 110, 257, 260; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 376.
[270] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 190.
[271] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 191.
[272] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 164.

scared and still manage to bravely 'soldier on' by overcoming (or repressing) their fear. Even when scared, New Zealand soldiers in these texts are largely still depicted as brave.

Fear and mental stress emerge in less direct ways in the depiction of men who wanted to be wounded or who resorted to self-harm and suicide. Several authors observe that being wounded could be a welcome respite without guilt or loss of honour.[273] Rogers emphasises that despite the risks that being wounded posed, a 'Blighty' that sent a man to hospital in England or even back home was 'yearned for', and includes a 1916 cartoon of a grinning soldier with a flesh wound.[274] Several authors depict the ways in which men sought this respite. McLean recounts a humorous anecdote of two men bandaging themselves to get aboard the *Maheno* with its comforts,[275] and Rogers notes the 'less serious end' of soldiers' malingering, such as faking sunstroke to get out of parade.[276] But she also notes that there were 'bizarre and dangerous' attempts, 'born of genuine desperation', that involved taking drugs, ingesting irritants, and injecting various substances to simulate – or induce – disease or sickness.[277] Rogers and McGibbon both mention that men could attempt to become deliberately infected with an STI, though neither authors explore the incidence of this actually happening.[278] Most common, though little discussed, were men's attempts to purposefully get a 'Blighty' by exposing themselves to enemy fire or, for those truly desperate, deliberately inflicting wounds.[279] McGibbon refers to this as the 'desperate option' for 'those unable to cope', but then calls men trying to be shot a 'ploy' and writes that it created scrutiny for 'all who suffered legitimate wounds', which undermines any sympathetic tone.[280] Rogers claims that self-inflicted wounds were 'not uncommon' and links the prevalence to the stresses of trench warfare.[281] She acknowledges that at the time this was perceived as 'cowardice' but in her narrative it is evidence of the desperation, mental stress and fear caused by being at the front.[282] Many authors do acknowledge that some men could not bravely 'soldier on'. 'At its most extreme, the strain drove men to take their own lives', McGibbon writes;[283] McGibbon, Rogers, Harper, and Bargas and Shoebridge all mention soldiers who did so, including those who did so after the war.[284] The stress, fear and mental health – or otherwise – of the New Zealand soldier is not easy to write about when relying on letters or diaries in which he is unlikely to disclose such 'unmanly' issues. Nevertheless, discussing such issues gives a fuller picture of the New Zealand soldier that balances tendencies to laud him as a brave and capable soldier. The print histories, particularly Rogers's text, make some attempts to do so, but it is not a significant challenge to the dominant narrative of the determined Kiwi digger.

A much more acceptable and (usually) less tragic way for New Zealand men to deal with the stresses of war was alcohol. Drunken soldiers appear prominently throughout the print histories, with all but two (Rogers and Fenton) addressing the ways in which New Zealanders drank.[285] Occasionally it is presented with humour, such as Claasen's depiction of airmen having to be 'collected' and 'tucked

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[273] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 79; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 71; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 245.
[274] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 345, 346.
[275] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 77.
[276] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 248.
[277] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 348.
[278] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 210; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 348.
[279] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 348; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 260; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 161. Harper's chapter in this text 'AIF Heroes and Villains' has two men in the 'villains' section whose stories involve being punished for self-harm (pp. 161, 162).
[280] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 260.
[281] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 348.
[282] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 348.
[283] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 260.
[284] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 192, 229, 235-6, 260, 361; Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 236, 288, 353; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 71; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 30; Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 207.
[285] Non-specific examples include McLean, *White Ships*, p. 128; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 400; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 52, 104.

under the covers' after a night of celebration,[286] or Soutar's anecdote about a soldier being tucked into the baggage wagon while hungover.[287] Some authors depict drink as 'a relief from humdrum routines',[288] a way for men to make the most of leave, usually without condemnation. Loveridge and Watson, Bargas and Shoebridge, Harper and Soutar all discuss the 'issue' of drunken soldiers 'running amok in city streets' during leave from the training camps. [289] Loveridge and Watson write that businesses were happy, but 'moral guardians' were outraged by soldiers not acting in accordance with the public perception of noble crusaders, while Bargas and Shoebridge depict the 'highly visible minority' as 'attracting negative publicity' but acknowledge 'the soldiers' right to have a good time during their leave'.[290] Similarly, McGibbon describes drinking in estaminets as a 'prevalent evening recreational activity' with drunkenness 'a common misdemeanour',[291] framing it as acceptable and only a minor infraction.

The narrative of drink in the print histories is not just of men having a well-deserved break from the stresses of war. Alcohol is depicted as the most prominent cause of New Zealand men's discipline problems. 'Drink was the cause of most ill-discipline', Harper claims, and he reasserts later in the text that the 'inability to handle drink also played a large part in some men's misbehaviour'.[292] McGibbon agrees that New Zealand soldiers behaved poorly 'more [due] to drink than malice' and McLean writes that 'discipline problems' were 'usually drink-fuelled'.[293] Drunkenness is depicted as a common reason for punishment amongst troops.[294] Sometimes individuals are described as having specific issues with drink (including after the war)[295] but on the whole the narrative that takes shape in the print histories is of men seeking relief from the stresses of war and excess indulgence resulting in bad behaviour. In the print histories, if New Zealand soldiers behaved badly, it was not because they were bad characters but often because they had had one too many – a narrative still commonly seen today.

What were the bad behaviours that New Zealand soldiers committed? Fitting into common 'larrikin' depictions usually seen in Australian media, there are moments in the print histories of 'rascal' behaviour:[296] notably, in addition to drunken escapades, swearing and stealing. Harper writes of the tunnellers that their drinking, swearing and stealing 'was to be expected when hard men are needed for hard tasks',[297] and throughout the print histories this attitude is common. Harper in particular allows soldiers' language to speak for itself,[298] but other authors also mention of the 'unclean talk' of soldiers without judgement.[299] Theft is a common example of petty mischief behaviour; McGibbon cites it as a common offence[300] and several authors depict New Zealand soldiers' pilfering as evidence of their ingenuity. Philippe recounts Lindsay Inglis's 'conveying' or 'borrowing' everything

[286] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 394.
[287] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 392. Soutar also has as sidebar labelled 'Too Much Rum' in which 'two Maori lads (find) time for mischief'. Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 396.
[288] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 303.
[289] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 94; Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 74; Harper, 'The New Zealand Soldier', p. 68; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 85; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 55.
[290] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 94; Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, pp. 74, 75.
[291] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 214.
[292] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 85, 599.
[293] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 186; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 142. See also Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 589.
[294] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 41, 109; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 336; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 163; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 589.
[295] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 580, 603; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 30; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 94.
[296] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 603.
[297] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 589.
[298] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 345, examples include pp. 293, 339, 584, 589.
[299] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 50; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 397; McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 86, 129.
[300] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 193.

from linchpins to horses to allow his unit to be better-equipped,[301] while Claasen describes 'scrounging' as 'turn[ing] up some unusual treasures'.[302] Soutar recounts several humorous anecdotes of men 'appropriating' an officer's stove, pianos, bicycles, bread, and wine, and the stealing of potatoes and chickens is described as 'foraging for the common good'.[303] But it depends on who the men were stealing from: Soutar quotes a CO praising how 'the boys got busy pinching iron from the very irate Tommies',[304] while Harper counts the theft of pies from French civilians as causing 'considerable distress' that an officer had to apologise for.[305] Harper argues that it was 'usually acceptable to be a conman or a thief, so long as these skills were not used on your mates'.[306] Overall the print histories present such behaviour in a way that humanises the men and adds humour to the often grim narratives of the war. Examples of swearing bring the men alive for a modern audience and depictions of 'scrounging' allow the reader to see the New Zealand soldier having a little ingenious fun.

One of the most prominent 'bad behaviours' of the New Zealand soldier is the frequenting of brothels. Attitudes towards sex work and STIs have developed in the last hundred years and the ways in which the print histories discuss this subject reflect a modern audience's greater acceptance, while still seeking to capture the attitudes of the time – though it is noticeable that all the authors who discuss this topic still refer to 'venereal disease' (VD), rather than the WHO-recommended term 'sexually transmitted infection' (STI).[307] The majority of the print histories mention soldiers visiting brothels or hiring prostitutes.[308] Some authors blame alcohol or the stresses of war for the rates at which soldiers sought out sex workers;[309] Harper acknowledges both these factors but also states simply that 'young men of military age were obsessed with sex'.[310] Some authors point out that plenty of men were not interested or were disgusted by the prevalence of sex work in Cairo and London,[311] but most acknowledge that rates of STIs show this was not the common attitude. STIs are described by Harper as a 'constant topic' to be addressed in his text;[312] it is in fact a constant topic throughout the print histories. The degree of sympathy offered to New Zealand men in the text varies: Rogers describes Cairo as 'filthy' and 'immoral', Harper refers to men 'pay[ing] the price', and McGibbon calls STIs a 'self-inflicted condition' – a contrast to McLean, who specifies that 'the military *regarded* VD as a self-inflicted wound'.[313] Several authors mention that soldiers with STIs were 'confined' to separate facilities from other sick or injured men, 'close to mental patients and soldiers under punishment', surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards.[314] The sense of sympathy for the men that this engenders is strengthened by insinuations that it was the women's fault. This old and sexist narrative rears its head in several texts, often insinuated through language choice, notably active tenses. Harper, for example, writes that '200,000 women infected with venereal disease had

[301] Philippe, 'A Leader in the Making', p. 110.
[302] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 410.
[303] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 337, 339, 422-3, 461.
[304] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 431.
[305] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 589.
[306] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 600.
[307] 'Guidelines for the management of sexually transmitted infections', World Health Organisation, 2003, p. vi, retrieved from https://applications.emro.who.int/aiecf/web79.pdf on 29/5/2021.
[308] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 455; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 152, 388, 547, 549; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 210, 263; Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 17, 69, 101; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 50.
[309] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 210; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 76.
[310] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 84, 549.
[311] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 152, 155-6, McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 263.
[312] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 84.
[313] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 50; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 152; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 210, 263; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 132, my emphasis.
[314] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 36; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 132; Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 17, 69; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 211; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 67

regular sex with soldiers' and mentions a play called 'Damaged Goods' which was 'desperately needed'; Rogers states that 'the men were infected by British, and especially London, prostitutes'; and McGibbon talks about 'deal[ing] with infected women' and 'impos[ing] penalties on women who gave the disease to soldiers'. [315] Harper discusses how some men ('a very low rate') arrived in training camps already infected, and acknowledges that overall rates in cities were high,[316] but other than that, a dominant narrative that emerges is that the women of Cairo, London and Paris actively infected the New Zealand soldiers. Throughout the print histories there are strains of judgement, both for the soldiers and the women, rather than wider acknowledgment that STIs, especially syphilis, were simply endemic to cities of this era, and that soldiers who chose to sleep with sex workers were therefore at high risk of contracting these infections.

Contracting an STI was one of many offences punishable by military authorities, and the print histories highlight several others that New Zealand soldiers commonly committed. Being absent without leave is the most prominent, including many stories of individuals being court martialled, confined to barracks and given field punishments.[317] Being AWOL was bad, but desertion was worse – and New Zealand soldiers are shown committing this military crime with relative frequency. Harper writes that 'desertion was a constant problem in the military camps', [318] but we also see men deserting when troopships made stops, once they were at the front, and during the long process of coming home.[319] Harper records two brothers who deserted and left a note that they had an 'objection to legalized slavery, especially of the cannon-fodder type'.[320] Whatever reason men deserted for, the punishment could be severe. Harper and McGibbon address the fact that deserters could face the death penalty and four New Zealand soldiers did suffer this fate.[321] The print histories also show men rebelling against authority in various ways: refusing to work, protesting, and 'mutinies'.[322] Some of these actions are attributed to men with labour union backgrounds,[323] but the abovementioned sense of equality also played a part. There are also numerous mentions of poor general conduct and discipline issues, including small-scale looting and rioting.[324] Harper and Philippe argue that men without a strong sense of mateship and *esprit de corps* were most susceptible to such discipline issues,[325] though McGibbon suggests that some men were bad characters who even preferred a field punishment centre to the trenches.[326]

Rascally behaviour like swearing and drinking and military offences such as desertion are not the only 'bad behaviour' depicted in the print histories. Irreverent rogues and men not interested in being part of the military machine any longer are an expected part of the WWI narrative and one that does not significantly tarnish the image of the New Zealand soldier, either because the behaviour is forgivable and minor or because the treatment or punishment received evokes sympathy. This

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[315] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 549; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 151; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 210.
[316] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 84, 160.
[317] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 127, 162; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 178, 190, 192; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 592; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 143; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 203, 214, 348, 455.
[318] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 86.
[319] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 72; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 52, 86, 87, 94, 98, 592; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 85; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 203; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 178, 192.
[320] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 87.
[321] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 178, 190; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 592; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 137.
[322] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 83; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 100, 114, 116, 120, 327, 473-4; Philippe, 'A Leader in the Making', p. 114; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 27, 179, 191.
[323] Harper, *Johnny Enzed* p. 474; Philippe, 'A Leader in the Making', p. 114; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 26-7.
[324] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 216, 460; Harper, 'The New Zealand Soldier', p. 77; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 40, 122, 309, 327, 592-3, 604; Harper, *King and other Countries*, pp. 141, 162; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 70; Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 174; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 169.
[325] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 604; Philippe, 'A Leader in the Making', p. 114.
[326] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 179.

narrative is challenged by depictions of New Zealand men behaving in ways that are hard to swallow for modern readers: aggression towards civilians, violent crime, and racism. Harper and Fenton describe 'the battle of the Wazza,' a facetious name for the violence done by New Zealand (and Australian) soldiers in the Cairo district of Wasa'a.[327] Harper describes New Zealand soldiers 'ransack[ing] the brothels', calling it a 'riot', 'incident' and 'disturbance' but not giving any more detail on what the men did. Fenton is more critical, writing that the men 'destroy[ed] much of Wasa'a and assault[ed] many of its inhabitants in a rampage that lasted several hours'. The different ways an author can portray such an event affect how much sympathy the reader will have for the soldiers. Harper, whose overall protagonist is 'Johnny Enzed', is much more sympathetic than Fenton, writing from a more general perspective. A text focussed on WWI sex workers would likely give another, much more critical, account.

Wasa'a was not the only time New Zealand men sought retribution against Arab civilians. At the end of 1918 in Surafend, a large group of men committed what Harper describes as 'the worst atrocity known to have been committed by New Zealand soldiers'.[328] Harper discusses this 'war crime' in some depth, writing that around 40 (male) villagers were 'massacred', ' beaten to death' or 'stabbed with bayonets' before the village was 'set ablaze'.[329] His section on the Surafend massacre is titled 'To our eternal shame' and he writes that the 1964 history was 'correct to describe the Surafend incident as "heinous"', but he also criticises General Allenby's condemnation of the division and agrees with Pugsley's claim that the atrocity and the men's actions, though not condonable, 'can be understood'.[330] Harper's sympathy for Johnny Enzed even when he is committing a 'war crime' may grate on some readers, but 500 pages into the text it should not surprise them.

New Zealand soldiers' violence is addressed throughout the print histories to some extent. Claasen depicts airmen strafing fleeing Belgian civilians who worked in German hangars, Soutar and McGibbon both recount the story of Parekura Haenga shooting and killing a fellow Pioneer, McGibbon describes New Zealand soldiers killing surrendering Germans, and Crawford describes Jesse Wallingford firing at British soldiers fleeing back towards him and threatening to shoot withdrawing men.[331] These incidents are described without any commentary from the authors; readers can decide the extent to which they condemn the men largely free from the authors' judgements. Even Harper's quoting of the violent rape fantasy lyrics of popular soldier song *Mademoiselle from Armentières* is presented simply as 'probably the most extreme example' of a song that thrived in 'the uninhibited war environment'.[332] The extent to which New Zealand soldiers enacted the 'fantasies' 'encouraged' by such an environment is not addressed by any print history. Harper describes one incident aboard a troop ship where three 'thugs' sexually assaulted a fellow soldier over gambling debts, which is notable as the only account of sexual violence in any of the texts.[333] Obviously authors are limited by their sources – usually soldiers' diaries and letters – however this incident *was* recorded, and so were the sexually violent lyrics of *Mademoiselle* and the misogynistic ways in which soldiers talked about female sex workers. It is worth considering in more depth the ways that New Zealand soldiers, in an uninhibited male environment that produced such language, may have acted.

[327] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 156-7; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 17.
[328] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 533.
[329] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 532.
[330] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 531, 534-5.
[331] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 394; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 456; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 112, 192, 196; Crawford, 'A Prince of Riflemen', pp. 97, 98.
[332] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 292-3.
[333] Notably, it is an assault against another soldier rather than a female civilian that gets recorded, both by men at the time (another soldier recorded this incident) and by historians. Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 597.

Authors may have shied away from the New Zealanders' misogyny and violence towards women, but their racism and violence towards Middle Easterners is discussed by several print histories. McLean states that shipboard magazines referred to people of colour with racial slurs and 'lumped [them] in with scorpions, tarantulas, snakes, maggot flies and jigger fleas'.[334] Harper records a number of racial slurs commonly used by New Zealand soldiers, along with quotes from soldiers insulting and dehumanising Egyptians, that make uncomfortable reading for modern audiences: 'dirty stinking black individuals that call themselves human beings'.[335] Harper records that New Zealand soldiers were 'convinced they were superior to the local population' in Egypt and this resulted not only in 'contempt' but destruction of property and physical assaults, such as beatings and 'blanket-tossing', described as 'a great laugh for the New Zealand soldiers' that was 'humiliating and dangerous' for the victims.[336] Harper writes that 'racist intolerance was widespread' amongst New Zealand men, and McGibbon agrees, adding that there was 'plenty of racial discrimination' not only in the Middle East but on the Western Front, where it was largely aimed at African and Asian labourers brought to Europe by colonial empires.[337] There are numerous other examples throughout the print histories that demonstrate this racism.[338] McGibbon addresses attitudes to Māori, writing that racism towards Māori was common before the war and discussing officers' fears that Māori were 'weak' and therefore more susceptible to drink and STIs.[339] However, 'the admirable Māori performance at Gallipoli dispelled many concerns' and on the Western Front 'Māori soldiers do not appear to have suffered any form of overt discrimination'.[340] In McGibbon's narrative, Māori managed to prove themselves with their fighting prowess so well that pre-existing racism was dispelled. The argument that a great deal of the New Zealand men's racism – especially their language – was 'of its time'[341] is fair to some extent, but the inclusion of examples of very overt racism would likely affect modern readers' perception of the men. Harper argues that although 'most undoubtedly were', 'not all New Zealanders were racist and intolerant towards the locals', and Stanley argues that exposure to people of colour during the war may have 'challenged and perhaps even altered their thinking'.[342] This leaves room for the heroic Kiwi soldier to survive in the minds of readers, though the inclusion of his white colonial attitudes makes him a more complicated figure.

Harper may have a great deal of sympathy for Johnny Enzed but he is also the author who most emphasises that many New Zealand men did not fit the good Kiwi digger image, arguing that the men of the NZEF resist 'easy generalisations and stereotypes'.[343] In both his print history texts he writes that there were 'numerous bad characters' including 'bullies' and 'thugs', and he has many examples of men who were 'just plain bad'.[344] Harper devotes a whole chapter of *Johnny Enzed* to 'Bad Characters and Bad Behaviour' in order to combat narratives that only focus on the heroic Kiwi soldier by 'show[ing] Johnny Enzed "in the round"'.[345] A lot of the material cited in the previous several pages comes from this chapter. Inclusion of 'bad behaviour' throughout the print histories seeks to present a more realistic portrayal of the New Zealand soldier that moves away from hero

[334] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 151.
[335] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 170.
[336] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 170, 172.
[337] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 172; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 189.
[338] Examples include Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 595-6; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 83; Peter Stanley, '"The Finest Type of Coloured Men": Indians' and New Zealanders' Encounters on Gallipoli', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, pp. 128, 130, 137; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 31, 63.
[339] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 187.
[340] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 187, 189.
[341] Stanley, "Coloured Men", p. 130.
[342] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 173; Stanley, "Coloured Men", p. 137.
[343] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 603.
[344] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 597; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 138, 157, 158.
[345] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 591.

narratives, but overall, the texts still emphasise the heroes and good soldiers of the NZEF. Harper's chapter 'AIF Heroes and Villains' puts the 'heroes' after the 'villains', making them the reader's lasting impression.[346] He writes that court martial rates for the NZEF were less than a third of Australia's and states that although 'New Zealand did have its bad characters' so did 'every element of the BEF'.[347] His discussion of Field Punishment No. 1 quickly focusses on men who released those being punished, including the 'moral courage' of the 'outraged' NCO who intervened on Archibald Baxter's behalf.[348] In a chapter dedicated to 'bad characters' it is notable that Harper highlights men who displayed a strong sense of justice and moral outrage. Discussions of bad characters also tend to highlight that they could still be good soldiers. Some bad characters 'were superb on the front line', Harper argues, and this idea is seen throughout the print histories. Private Douglas Stark is cited by Harper and McGibbon as the archetypal example of the ill-disciplined good soldier, a 'gallant' 'maverick' who saved lives and was commended for bravery while also being court martialled and sentenced to imprisonment due to a 'dangerously delinquent disciplinary record'.[349] Other authors cite several other such figures: Rogers describes Private Fred Crum as 'no angel' with a record of abusing NCOs and disobeying orders, who also 'wrote home faithfully', 'enjoyed a joke' and 'could not speak highly enough of the nurses who cared for him', and Soutar describes how although Tamati Taiapa 'ran up a string of punishments' and was 'a problem when in camp', 'he was courageous in the field'.[350] Harper asserts that 'in the end, this was what mattered'.[351]

Although the print histories' portrayal of the New Zealand soldier is complicated and deepened by examples of his bad behaviour, the overall narrative still emphasises him as a good soldier. Regardless of his conduct away from the front lines, he is shown as brave and competent in the field. And even if the New Zealand soldier is drinking, swearing and stealing, he is never harming his mates. When the print history authors are working largely with sources such as diaries and letters, they are limited by what Johnny Enzed was willing to disclose about himself. For the non-poppy authors, who can imagine fictional soldiers, there is no such limitation, and this results in different version of Johhny Enzed.

[346] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 163.
[347] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 592.
[348] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 595-6.
[349] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 66, 302; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 600-602
[350] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 143; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 424. Other examples of men who redeemed themselves through their frontline conduct are found in McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 244; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 163; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 107, 109, 602, 603.
[351] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 602.

TWO 'Such splendid specimens of manhood': The New Zealand soldier

The non-poppy material

The New Zealand soldier is often the main character of the non-poppy texts, and, like in the print histories, he tends to be a fit and competent soldier who is brave, determined and resourceful – though non-poppy authors often question or complicate these traits. Many of these texts are presenting fictional stories about specific central figures, which means that these men's inner worlds are imagined. This allows authors to explore the ways in which New Zealand soldiers may have internally felt fear, doubt, and horror that they did not put into words, as they do not have to rely on traditional sources like letters and diaries. This element of the non-poppy material, however, also means that the ways in which New Zealand soldiers are depicted as 'behaving badly' differs from the print histories. Antagonistic characters may visit brothels, steal, or hurt others, but the stories' protagonists – the heroes – must act heroically. In many of these texts, 'Johnny Enzed' – whatever his name may be in the text – internally feels fear and doubt, but always acts heroically and is an excellent soldier.

The narrative that the New Zealanders were 'natural' soldiers – bigger and stronger than their counterparts from 'Home' – is prevalent in the non-poppy material, particularly in the *Kiwis at War* series where New Zealand soldiers are the heroes of the texts. In Susan Brocker's *1914: Riding Into War*, the Australian soldiers are labelled 'big chaps' 'like the New Zealanders, not puny like so many of the Tommy (British) soldiers'.[352] David Hair's *1916: Dig For Victory* emphasises the strength of the New Zealand Pioneers several times, especially compared to the British; main character Leith is 'surprised at how small [the English] were': 'they're all runts', he comments.[353] Jane Tolerton quotes the opinion of women who observed the New Zealand soldiers; Dr Grace Russell describes the mounted soldiers as 'fine', riding with longer stirrup then the British and completely in sync with their 'splendid' horses,[354] while Mary Early in Cairo writes that 'anyone in Egypt can always tell a New Zealander' due to them being 'such splendid specimens of manhood'.[355] Glenn Reddiex also quotes contemporary celebrations of New Zealand soldiers' impressively physical appearance, such as a French commentor writing that the 'valiant' New Zealanders were 'strong and beautiful men'[356] or war correspondent Malcolm Ross's report that 'one could not but admire the splendid physique of the [men]'.[357] Though the 'natural soldier' narrative is not directly referred to as it is in the print histories, the non-poppy texts do emphasise the idea that New Zealanders were physically impressive, especially compared to the British.

As in the print histories, there is a narrative of the Māori men being particularly physical and suited to war. The Māori soldiers Leith encounters in *1916* are described as 'big and athletic brown-skinned men',[358] who 'could seemingly do the work of five men'; Leith is 'amazed' by 'the power of the squat, treetrunk-limbed men around him'.[359] Noticeably, however, Tamati himself, the main Māori character of the story, is described as 'a skinny little fellow…barely five-foot tall', 'the smallest member of the Māori contingent [Leith had] yet seen'.[360] This is a necessary acknowledgement that Māori men were not all stereotypical warriors. In Brendaniel Weir's *Tane's War*, the narrative of Māori in particular being physically impressive is alluded to when an Indian soldier guesses that Wiremu is a New

[352] Susan Brocker, *1914: Riding into War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2014, p. 96.
[353] David Hair, *1916: Dig for Victory*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2016, p. 98.
[354] Jane Tolerton, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand women overseas in World War One*, Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017, p. 41.
[355] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 229.
[356] Glenn Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know I'm Still Alive*, Wellington: Grantham House Publishing, 2015, p. 67.
[357] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 151.
[358] Hair, *1916*, p. 22.
[359] Hair, *1916*, p. 116.
[360] Hair, *1916*, p. 27.

Zealander from his size, exclaiming 'goodness, you are tall'.[361] Other sources engage with the Māori warrior narrative, such as Manaaki being the 'best shot' in his unit in *When We Go To War*,[362] or the Great War Stories segment on Rikihana Carkeek, which states that Māori 'brought a fearsome new weapon to the combat in Europe – the haka'.[363] This clip mentions the Native Contingent performing 'Ka Mate' as they cleared Turkish trenches, and uses art from the era that depicts a stereotyped Māori warrior.[364] Another Great War Stories segment also refers to the Native Contingent as a 'fearsome force at Gallipoli'.[365] The narrative of Māori men in particular being natural soldiers, bigger and stronger than their British counterparts, is present in many of the same ways as it is in the print histories, though with less acknowledgement of the exceptionalism that this Māori warrior narrative falls in to,[366] which is pointed out by Monty Soutar.

In the print histories, the overall narrative is of men who became physically fit fighters through their training, even if they did not present that way to the recruitment office. In the non-poppy material, the opposite is shown. In *1915: Wounds of War* Diana Menefy includes a scene that demonstrates that war has worn down the New Zealand men, leaving them significantly less fit than they were before the fighting. When main character nurse Mel dances with Leith she reflects that 'so many of the men here were wounded – or just completely worn down – that it was refreshing to be with someone blooming with health and vitality'.[367] Rather than the New Zealand soldiers being presented as paragons of colonial physicality, here it is a rarity to see one 'look so fit'.[368] Reddiex also very briefly alludes to this idea of New Zealanders' physicality being worn away by the war; a quote by Malcolm Ross regarding the 'splendid physique' of the New Zealanders ends with an observation of 'regret that it was being sacrificed in a cruel war'.[369] Unlike the print histories, which emphasise that New Zealand men were not natural soldiers and had to become physically notable through the rigours of war, the non-poppy material depicts a more old-fashioned narrative of the paragons of colonial masculinity eroded by war.

While the print histories rely on letters or diaries to make assumptions about the inner thoughts of the New Zealand soldiers, many of the non-poppy texts, as fiction, can freely imagine how the men may have felt. The print histories demonstrate that while some men clearly got some enjoyment out of the fighting, whether this was rare or just unspoken is impossible to ascertain. In the non-poppy material, many authors depict their characters as enjoying the idea of fighting but not the reality, such as Hair's *1916* describing a trench raid as 'exciting when talking about it in the estaminets' but frightening and deadly when in the trenches.[370] Characters enjoy their own skill, but not the death it results in. In *1914*, Brocker depicts Billy's joy at being issued a rifle and his love of shooting, which comes from shooting rabbits on the farm.[371] At Gallipoli, Billy feels is like sniping is like being 'back on the farm taking potshots at rabbits'[372] and his success is celebrated: 'You got 'im!' Jack yells after Billy

[361] Brendaniel Weir, *Tane's War*, Auckland: Cloud Ink Press, 2018, p. 250.
[362] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 2, 'Manaaki's Letter', aired 26/4/2015. Blu-ray.
[363] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Rikihana Carkeek', aired 6/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/rikihana-carkeek-great-war-story.
[364] Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek'.
[365] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Te Puea, Māui Pōmare and conscription', aired 24/4/2018. https://nz history govt.nz/media/video/te-puea-maui-pomare-and-conscription.
[366] As described by R. Scott Sheffield, 'Indigenous Exceptionalism under fire: Assessing Indigenous Soldiers in Combat with the Australian, Canadian, New Zealand and American Armies during the Second World War', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45:3, 2017, p. 508.
[367] Diana Menefy, *1915: Wounds of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2015, p. 258.
[368] Menefy, *1915*, p. 258.
[369] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 151.
[370] Hair, *1916*, pp. 139-143.
[371] Brocker, *1914*, p. 37.
[372] Brocker, *1914*, p. 120.

takes aim and fires.[373] Although Brocker presents Billy as an excellent marksman who enjoys shooting throughout the text, he is never depicted as enjoying the act of killing. Billy is 'pleased he never actually had to see his enemy up close' and as soon as he is 'forced to meet his enemy face to face', he finds it 'terrifying'.[374] In *When We Go To War*, others enjoy seeing Manaaki's sniping prowess – soldiers place bets on 'how many Turks he bagged' when he returns from a sniping mission and James says he expects Manaaki's DCM is for 'killing lots of Turks' – but Manaaki himself is deeply troubled by his actions.[375] He tells the detective that he was so 'good at it' that 'when I reached 100 I stopped counting', but he breaks down in tears when he does so; it is not pride or joy he feels but shame, to the extent that he wants to return to Gallipoli because he might 'corrupt' the people around him at home.[376] In Brian Falkner's *1917: Machines of War*, main character Bob (who narrates his experiences in the first person, giving the reader access to his inner thoughts) begins his flying career as an observer who 'could barely contain my excitement',[377] but as he rises through the ranks and becomes a decorated pilot, his attitude develops into a 'deep, overbearing sadness' as he realises that he is 'a killer, of other human beings'.[378] Although figures in the non-poppy material may see the idea of war and fighting an enemy as exciting or desirable, when faced with the reality of violence and killing these figures invariably come to view it far more negatively.

In the non-poppy material, most characters never have any interest in fighting as the authors want readers to sympathise and relate to them, and making them bloodthirsty or overly violent would impact this impression. In *25 April*, a New Zealand soldier sees an opportunity to shoot a Turkish sniper as his gun jams, but chooses not to take the shot.[379] Similarly, in *When We Go To War*, the men at one point have a Turkish soldiers in their sights but they all choose not to shoot him.[380] In David Hill's picture book *The Red Poppy*, main character Jim, who was 'frightened' before the battle, thinks at the end of the story: 'I'm glad I didn't have to shoot anyone…I never want to hurt anyone for the rest of my life'.[381] This narrative is also evident in non-fiction material, such as the Great War Stories series, where real figures from New Zealand's war history are depicted in ways that allow modern audiences to see them as admirable. The Great War Stories clip that focuses on Ormond Burton emphasises that though he was a 'decorated war hero' he was also a pacifist who criticised New Zealand's presence in the Second World War and Vietnam,[382] not a man who enjoyed the fighting. The non-poppy material deals with the narrative of New Zealand soldiers enjoying the fighting in a very different way to the print histories. Instead of pointing out that there were men who did enjoy the violence, or questioning whether men felt able to admit when they did, the non-poppy texts present a New Zealand soldier who may have felt excitement to begin with, or liked the idea of war, but once in the midst of the violence quickly denounces any thrill in fighting – or simply never wanted to fight in the first place.

The reputation of the New Zealand soldier is important in the non-poppy material, as it is in the print histories. Tolerton records Kitty Mair's assertion that 'everyone speaks to flatteringly of the

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[373] Brocker, *1914*, p. 137.
[374] Brocker, *1914*, p. 120.
[375] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 3, 'Harry's Letter', aired 3/5/2015. Blu-ray; Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 5, 'Charles's Letter', aired 17/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[376] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[377] Brian Falkner, *1917: Machines of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2017, p. 12.
[378] Falkner, *1917*, p. 249.
[379] Leanne Pooley (dir.), *25 April*, General Film Corporation, 2015. https://ondemand.nzfilm.co.nz/film/25-april/.
[380] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 6, 'Cissy's Letter', aired 24/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[381] David Hill & Fifi Colston, *The Red Poppy*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2013.
[382] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ormond Burton', aired 24/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ormond-burton-great-war-story.

Australians and New Zealanders',[383] while Reddiex asserts that the New Zealand Mounted Riflemen 'were a reputable fighting unit'.[384] This echoes the print histories' emphasis on the New Zealanders' proficiency at irregular and mobile warfare. Reddiex also emphasises the reputation of the Pioneers, writing that they were 'commended for the hard work in erecting miles of wire entanglements near Hebuterne in 1918' and that their trench 'Turk Lane' was 'well known in its day for having been quickly constructed and this not only saving a great deal of time but many lives too'.[385] When the fictional texts highlight the New Zealanders' reputation, it is through outside observers, similar to the print histories' inclusion of quotes from officers and the media praising the soldiers. In Anna Mackenzie's *Evie's War*, the eponymous character records in her diary that she felt 'a warming touch of pride' when the Colonel refers to the Anzacs as 'dashed fine fighting men', and an Australian that Evie is nursing remarks that 'he'd have the New Zealanders any day' over the Canadians and Tommies .[386] The pride the Evie feels in the New Zealand soldiers reflects the expected response of the readers, and her first person diary entries work to lead readers to this reaction in a way that the print histories, which aim for a more objective approach, cannot.

Like the print histories, this material also discusses evidence of the New Zealanders' high level of performance, with both the fiction and non-fiction authors noting feats of skill or bravery to demonstrate that the New Zealand soldier earned his stellar reputation. [387] In *1916*, Colonel King addresses the Pioneers and echoes the numbers given by several print history authors as testament to their performance:

> You, the Pioneers, were the first men of the New Zealand Division onto the battlefield of the Somme, and the last to leave. You dug more than thirteen thousand yards of trenches – seven and a half miles – whilst under fire. You moved brigade headquarters four times, created three dressing stations and kept the roads open during the advance.[388]

Tolerton writes that General Andrew Russell 'wanted the New Zealand Division to be considered the best division on the Western Front',[389] and Reddiex asserts that they were. He argues that the New Zealand Division 'developed into a fighting force unmatched by the British armies in France and Belgium' under Russell's command,[390] the kind of claim that several print history authors cautioned against making due to its sweeping nature. Overall, however, the non-poppy material is much more interested in individual heroic figures than interrogating the performance of the NZEF. Figures such as *1917*'s ace Bob allow authors to celebrate martial prowess, create pride in the reader and deliver an exciting narrative without having to examine the thorny question of the NZEF's superiority.

As the New Zealand soldier is very literally the main character of the non-poppy narratives, these texts examine his dominant character traits often in much more obvious ways than the print histories. The idea of the New Zealand soldier as 'colonial' is present in the print histories to some extent, but the idea of 'pioneer manhood' is much more present in the non-poppy material. Tolerton quotes a NZWCA woman as saying to an injured soldier, 'Now, Mr Littlejohn, you are a colonial. So am I. You are all so very independent that you won't ask for anything you require'.[391] This colonial

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[383] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 121.
[384] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 59.
[385] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 95.
[386] Anna Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, New Zealand: Longacre, 2015, pp. 299, 321.
[387] Examples include Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Keith Caldwell', aired 5/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/keith-caldwell-great-war-story; Cottrell, 'Ormond Burton'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Leslie Averill, aired 25/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/leslie-averill-great-war-story; Falkner, *1917*, p. 287, and Tamati and Leith's foiling of the spy plan in *1916.*
[388] Hair, *1916*, p. 277.
[389] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 287.
[390] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 104.
[391] Tolerton, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 84.

masculinity is especially present in the fictional material, such as Billy and Jack, in *1914*, considering themselves 'already fit' because they came from 'the farms and bush', with even New Zealand 'townies' being 'from pioneering stock'.[392] New Zealand colonial men are shown as sensitive to anything that might threaten this manhood, such as moving from Mounted Riflemen to Pioneers, which in *1916*, Hair describes as 'an insult to their manhood'.[393] Masculine pursuits are shown as key to the New Zealand soldier's sense of self and pride as well as distinguishing him from the non-colonial men; in *1916* Leith tells Prof Murdoch that he can't call him an 'eejit' since Prof 'dinnae know about farmin'.'[394] To some extent, this colonial masculinity is part of the New Zealand soldier's charm. 'They were hard-swearing, hard-living rough men,' the nurse in *25 April* says, 'but they often surprised ya'.[395] The nurse's very 'colonial' way of speaking is indicative of how in some of this more wide-ranging material, women are also shown as having this pioneering character. Tolerton describes how VAD Dora Wilcox 'believed she coped with the double shift because she was a New Zealander and was therefore used to roughing it', quoting a letter in which she wrote, 'I am always so glad I was brought up in New Zealand, because we were brought up to make the most of things, and to endure small discomforts without grumbling'.[396]

In the non-poppy material, the colonial, masculine character is often more complicated than in the print histories, with authors questioning how men 'should' behave to fit this mould. The potential toxicity of this colonial manhood is hinted at by several authors, who depict how the social pressures of masculinity force characters to deny or downplay their own emotions to fit the social ideal. Hair depicts Leith denying his grief as '*men don't cry*, his father had always said'; he tells himself he must 'wait until everyone's asleep' before he can 'let out' his emotions.[397] 'Tamati could see that his friend was grieving', Hair narrates, 'but he was also doing what they'd seen in so many others of late: pushing the pain aside, pretending he was untouched'.[398] Similarly, Henry tells himself in *1918: Broken Poppies* that 'soldiers don't cry', turning away from his friend and feeling 'embarrassed' of his tears.[399] Henry continues to deny his strong emotions, with Hunt writing that 'the only comment Henry ever made to his family about his experiences at Passchendaele', which are described in painful detail in the book, was that he spent 'seven days without a dry stitch on me'.[400] In animated film *25 April*, one of the interviewees, speaking about Chunuk Bair and stoically refusing to become emotional, admits: 'To be honest, I find it very difficult to talk about'.[401]

There is, however, within the non-poppy material some pushback against this stereotypical version of New Zealand masculinity. In *25 April*, another of the interviewees is visibly distressed as he recalls a dying boy singing, with the animators depicting his lip trembling and eyes welling up.[402] *Field Punishment No. 1* – which already is focussing on men from outside the typical scope of 'colonial masculinity' – depicts Archibald Baxter loudly, unrestrainedly weeping over his killed friend's body,[403] and in *When We Go To War*, Manaaki is shown crying several times, and he breaks down completely in Harry's mother's arms after coming home.[404] To some extent, such depictions are a part of the genre of these texts – they are dramas, focussing on the emotions and struggles of their cast. But

[392] Brocker, *1914*, p. 36.
[393] Hair, *1916*, p. 26.
[394] Hair, *1916*, p. 77.
[395] Pooley*, 25 April*.
[396] Tolerton, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 302.
[397] Hair, *1916*, p. 239.
[398] Hair, *1916*, p. 240.
[399] Des Hunt, *1918: Broken Poppies*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2018, p. 223.
[400] Hunt, *1918*, p. 114.
[401] Pooley*, 25 April*.
[402] Pooley*, 25 April*.
[403] Peter Burger (dir.), *Field Punishment No. 1*, Lippy Pictures, 2014. DVD.
[404] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.

seeing both sides of the New Zealand soldier's colonially masculine character throughout this material – both the refusal and embrace of emotions, men who do not cry and men who do – allows a more nuanced character to develop. These ideas of colonial, pioneering masculinity are explored much more thoroughly in the non-poppy material than in the print histories, and, given the importance of these concepts in the modern New Zealand consciousness, this is evidence that these creators are looking to engage with important national narratives.

One aspect of the New Zealand soldier's character that is as prominent in the non-poppy material as in the print histories is his bravery. Reddiex's collected postcards demonstrate how important this trait was to New Zealanders at the time; one postcard proclaims that 'by many brave and heroic deeds has the motto of the New Zealand fighting man, "Onward", been upheld by these smart and soldierly troops'.[405] A multitude of figures, real and fictional, are celebrated throughout these texts for their bravery;[406] this is a more straightforward and 'heroic' courage than depicted in the print histories, where men were scared of being scared. Their bravery is celebrated by the non-poppy material; Reddiex writes near the end of his text that 'those who did not return deserved to be remembered for their courage and determination to fight…and win the war'[407] and Tolerton includes a quote from Vida McLean, who writes that the stories of New Zealand soldiers 'made you feel proud that you were a New Zealander when you heard of the bravery and courage of "our boys"'.[408] Those who demonstrated bravery and determination outside of active combat are also celebrated. In *Field Punishment No. 1*, Baxter asserts that '[Mark] Briggs is the bravest man I've ever met' because of his refusal to fight,[409] and in *1916*, Hair describes how the Pioneers, exhausted and afraid, still 'worked and sang, and forced smiles to their lips when the infantrymen passed by, to give those men heart'.[410] One of the interviewees in *25 April*, describing the retreat from Gallipoli, says that the volunteers who evacuated last and who did not expect to live showed 'real heroism'.[411] He goes on to say of the evacuation: 'I'm not a brave man, but I…would rather attack head on and face the chance of death with honour than to do that bitter thing…the one consolation was that we…had done everything and more that men could do'.[412] This quote encapsulates several main themes of the New Zealand soldier character in these narratives – humble denial, a pride in having given it everything, and a determination to get the job done.

The bravery of wounded men is one of the dominant themes of the non-poppy material's treatment of the New Zealand character. Throughout this material, New Zealand soldiers show a stoic bravery not only in the face of the enemy but also when facing their own pain and injuries. Tolerton quotes Edith Lyttleton's belief that the bravery of men going into battle did not end when they were evacuated to hospitals: 'in nine cases out of ten – some say ten out of ten – he meets that volte-face with the same changeless front, the same pride'.[413] 'Our wounded boys seldom complain', Bea narrates at the start of *When We Go To War*,[414] and this is repeated through the nurse-focused texts, with women constantly celebrating the men's stoicism: it is emphasised again and again that the

[405] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 50.
[406] Examples include Cottrell, 'Keith Caldwell', 'Rizk Alexander', 'Leslie Averill'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'William Malone', aired 23/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/william-malone-great-war-story; Falkner, *1917*, p. 264; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 81, 113, 114; Pooley*, 25 April*.
[407] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 167.
[408] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 78.
[409] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[410] Hair, *1916*, p. 206.
[411] Pooley*, 25 April*.
[412] Pooley*, 25 April*.
[413] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 49.
[414] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 1, 'Bea's Letter', aired 26/4/2015. Blu-ray.

men 'never complain'.[415] In Ormond Burton's Great War Stories clip, the bravery of wounded men is highlighted as they showed 'no word of complaint', and Pickerill and Gillies are described as having 'admiration for [their] patients' courage'.[416] Sometimes, wounds are too terrible to be stoically endured; 'one knows it is bad', Evie writes of treating gas victims, 'when the men cannot retain their usual stoicism'.[417] Falkner also alludes to this in *1917*, writing that 'men with their limbs in tatters, or with their lungs wrecked by poison gas do not lie quietly. Many try, but cannot quiet the long howls of pain that force their way past their lips'.[418] These examples are presented as a testament to the severity of the suffering, rather than the failure of stoic masculinity. This emphasis on enduring pain without complaint certainly has some link to the non-emotional masculinity described above, but authors largely present it as a mark of how courageous and determined the New Zealand soldiers are. It is shown as admirable to bravely endure physical pain, but socially necessary to supress and deny emotional pain.

A much more uncomplicated trait, which is treated very similarly in both sets of material, is resourcefulness, the 'Kiwi no. 8 wire' thinking. 'The men improvised', Brocker writes in *1914*[419] – a common theme throughout the texts. Many of the same examples described in the print histories also appear in non-poppy material. The characters in the *Kiwis At War* books and *When We Go To War* write home 'on the backs of the tough army biscuits', carry wounded men on overcoat stretchers, use leather helmets as slippers for swollen feet, and use biscuits and a polished brass writing case to craft a makeshift periscope.[420] *25 April* and *When We Go To War* mention the self-firing rifles rigged up during the Gallipoli evacuation,[421] and *1914* and *When We Go To War* both include the 'ingenious' jam-tin bombs: 'The army seems to have forgotten to send us any bombs,' Harry tells Charles, 'so we're making our own'.[422] Reddiex mentions the 'typically New Zealand trait of improvisation and ingenuity' when describing a piece of biscuit tin used as a postcard, which made it to New Zealand 'despite the censor's challenge to get the stamp and censor mark to take to the tin'.[423] As in the print histories, medical personnel and the Pioneers are also singled out for their ingenuity and adaptiveness; the Great War Stories segment on Pickerill and Gillies emphasises their 'revolutionary', 'pioneering' methods[424] and Reddiex writes that 'whether it was hatches, axes, guns or tools for construction, the Māori Pioneer was a versatile soldier'.[425] All of these examples portray the 'Kiwi ingenuity' that is a key part of Johnny Enzed's character both in these texts and the print histories. Across the material produced during the centenary, this resourcefulness – still a key component of New Zealand's national self-image today – appears as one of the least contentious or questioned aspects of the narrative of the New Zealand soldier.

A sense of humour, often laconic or dark, is a key trait of the New Zealand soldier in the print histories and is even more prominent in the non-poppy material. The print histories gave many examples of men minimising their fear or suffering through laconic humour, and the non-poppy texts offers more examples, often as a way to humanise their characters, connect with readers, and create emotional pitstops amongst the grim war narratives. 'Just a scratch', several characters throughout

[415] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 90-1, 119, 245; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 121, 131, 319; Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 35, 258.
[416] Cottrell, 'Ormond Burton'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Pickerill and Gillies', aired 8/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media /video/pickerill-and-gillies-great-war-story.
[417] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 277.
[418] Falkner, *1917*, p. 24.
[419] Brocker, *1914*, p. 152.
[420] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 145, 134; Burger, 'Harry's Letter'; Hunt, *1918*, pp. 88, 363.
[421] Pooley*, 25 April*; Burger, 'Cissy's Letter'.
[422] Brocker, *1914*, p. 152; Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[423] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 81.
[424] Cottrell, 'Pickerill and Gillies'.
[425] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 96.

the material say of their wounds: in *1917* Bob gives this reassurance when Caldwell visits him in hospital, telling him he only has 'a couple of scratches.' Bob's first-person narrations then continues: 'I had severe bruising, lacerations, concussion and a broken arm, according to the doctors. Minor stuff really'.[426] Bob is not just putting on a brave face for his mentor Caldwell here; his narration shows that this downplaying is authentic. When his friends visit him in hospital in *1916*, Tamati replies to their anxious inquiries with a tongue-in-cheek line from *Ka Mate*: '"I may die…' he chanted, then winked, "I may live."'[427] Ormond Burton's Great War Stories segment quotes his description of a 'nice little hole in my left arm'.[428] Menefy also presents some typical examples that demonstrates the 'minimising laconicism' that Rogers identified in wounded men: as nurse Mel dresses a soldier's unspecified wound with a 'large pad of gauze', he thanks her, saying, 'I'll be right. It's just a scratch'.[429] Later in the text, another soldier with a 'heavily bandaged head and an arm in a sling' tells Mel it's 'just a scratch' and that he's 'good as gold'.[430] The nurses in Menefy's text also join in with the jokes; Harriet tells a man suffering from typhoid who says he's 'dying for a steak' that he 'probably *would* die if you tried to eat a steak, so don't even think about it'. 'I'm not complaining, Sister, just saying', the soldier replies with a smile.[431]

This laconicism is also present in the face of danger. In *1917*, when the aircraft's engine cuts out and Bob is searching for a place to safely land, Caldwell asks him to 'make your mind up': 'I don't want to die today if I can help it'.[432] Brocker depicts the men at Gallipoli waving their shovels and yelling cricket calls while Turkish snipers take potshots,[433] and when presented with a field dressing as part of his kit prior to Chunuk Bair, Chopper jokes that his 'small pack of bandages' will not help 'if I get my head blown off'.[434] The men in *25 April* respond to a nurse's fear that they will be sniped while swimming in Anzac Cove by saying, 'Ah well Sister, we gotta have a swim'.[435] This almost fatalistic laconicism is shown as a defence mechanism against the constant and very real risk of death, as well as the ridiculousness of an unimaginable situation. When Charles warns Harry about the enemy getting hold of letters while at Gallipoli, Harry laughs that he imagines the Turks 'already know we're here'.[436] However, not all men are shown to have this kind of humour. In *1914*, when landing as reinforcements at Gallipoli, Billy responds to Australian soldiers' teasing by wondering 'how they could joke when everything looked so grim'.[437] The 'minimising laconicism' identified by Rogers does not come as naturally to Billy's friend Jack as it does to soldiers elsewhere in the texts; when being evacuated from Gallipoli he 'trie[s] to joke' that he will be back 'as quick as a rat in a sap' but neither he nor Billy acknowledge the joke.[438] Even when Billy tries to adopt this coping mechanism later in the book, after losing a leg, it falls flat. When his horse's new rider tells Billy he has 'big boots to fill', Billy, 'self-consciously…trying to joke', replies: 'that's one boot less' – before realising 'how ridiculous he sounded'.[439] In comparison, in *When We Go To War*, Geordie (who has lost an arm) introduces himself to Charles as 'pretty well fucked' and says with a grin, 'I'd shake your hand, but I'm a bit

[426] Falkner, *1917*, p. 311.
[427] Hair, *1916*, p. 272.
[428] Cottrell, 'Ormond Burton'.
[429] Menefy, *1915*, p. 88.
[430] Menefy, *1915*, p. 202.
[431] Menefy, *1915*, p. 144.
[432] Falkner, *1917*, p. 213.
[433] Brocker, *1914*, p. 130.
[434] Brocker, *1914*, p. 157.
[435] Pooley*, 25 April*.
[436] Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[437] Brocker, *1914*, p. 116.
[438] Brocker, *1914*, p. 142.
[439] Brocker, *1914*, p. 194.

indisposed'.[440] This laconic, dark humour suits Geordie much better than Billy, demonstrating that not all New Zealand soldiers are one stereotypical character.

Although this dark laconicism does not suit every New Zealand soldier, a more general sense of humour and ability to enjoy themselves is a dominant theme throughout the texts. 'War…has its humorous side', a soldier states in *25 April*. 'You couldn't drive the humour out of our men'.[441] In *Evie's War*, Evie emphasises the 'irrepressible humour' of her patients.[442] Non-poppy authors use humour as a coping mechanism for characters and to appeal to the audience. In *1916*, Tamati uses humour to allay his fear of the tanks; when Leith tells him he 'should be pleased' as they will win them the war, Tamati, with a 'mock salute', replies: 'Glad to know what I should be thinking, *sir!* Pleased as punch, *sir!*'.[443] Hunt includes a number of jokes about Henry's stomach's inability to deal with camp food and the subsequent 'gas attacks', a humour that would likely appeal to the book's target demographic of pre-teen boys.[444] Falkner's pilots share lots of jokes in *1917*; when told their mission is to be a noisy distraction and they need to do 'absolutely nothing', O'Dowell's retort that it 'sounds good to me…I'm back off to bed' gets a round of laughter, and when meeting English nobility, Bob tells them that 'everything was upside-down…we put our knives on the left, forks on the right and ate dessert before dinner'.[445] Colonial jokes at the English's expense appear again in *Evie's War*, when Evie, annoyed at assumptions that 'we are come from some entirely different world', tells Miss Winstanley that human flesh was 'considered a delicacy' and they therefore 'eat it only on Sundays'.[446] As in the print histories, little pranks pop up throughout the texts, such as being told 'we were all to be evacuated due to an infestation of owls' by a Sister who 'cannot hold a straight face'[447] or being given the 'mail buoy uniform' (a red cape and yellow pointed hat) and sent out onto the deck of the troopship to hook the non-existent 'mail buoy'.[448]

Humour brings relief amongst moments of fear and suffering, such as in *When We Go To War* when a soldier sees his uniform covered in red and thinks he has been hit, only to be told: 'It's jam, you bloody idiot'.[449] Reddiex writes that 'in contrast to bitter struggles and bloody fighting…tensions were sometimes eased with a hearty joke'.[450] In *1917*, after being trapped in no-man's-land and making a tense break towards their own lines, Bob and Charlie approach Welsh troops, who demand to know the name of New Zealand's rugby team and 'what happened in Cardiff, in '05' before they are let into their trenches. When Bob indignantly replies that 'it was a fair try!', the Welshman chuckles and says, 'Wrong answer…I should've left you out there', eliciting a laugh from everyone.[451] In the print histories, Harper emphasises that humour, often bleak, was used as a coping mechanism, which is reflected in these examples of humour amid the violence or misery.

The sense of humour displayed in these texts is also accompanied by depictions of the men having fun and enjoying themselves. The print histories emphasise sport and recreation, and this is reflected in this material as well. Familiar moments of levity pop up in these texts, such as Neptune's line crossing ceremony and fancy dress[452] as well as other examples of soldiers having fun, like wrestling

[440] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'.
[441] Pooley, *25 April*.
[442] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 88.
[443] Hair, *1916*, p. 233.
[444] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 28, 31.
[445] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 143, 194.
[446] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 27.
[447] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 294.
[448] Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 155-7.
[449] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 4, 'Awa's Letter', aired 10/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[450] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 137.
[451] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 172-3.
[452] Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 162-3; Falkner, *1917*, pp. 82, 88.

competitions and *1918*'s 'Great Rat Hunt'.[453] Reddiex writes that recreation 'provided an opportunity to raise moral and break the boredom of military routine' and was 'an important distraction from the frequent exposure to battle and bloodshed'.[454] *1918* mentions the leisure offered by the YMCA, such as 'concerts, serious plays, pantomime, and sporting competitions of all kinds'[455] and Tolerton describes soldiers putting on a performance of *The Mikado*, complete with 'tiny Japanese fans'.[456] Sport is less of a focus than in the print histories, though some texts do include it; Reddiex writes that 'New Zealand's passion for sport continued to hold a presence during the war'[457] and the Great War Stories segment on Ranji Wilson focusses heavily on rugby played during the war.[458] Throughout the non-poppy material, the same emphasis on fun, humour and laughter appears that features in the print histories. Although there are figures that do not fit this mould or moments when jokes may not be enough to cover the suffering,[459] the ability to laugh is presented throughout all the material across the centenary period as a crucial part of the New Zealand's soldier's character and New Zealand's war narrative.

As Evie's abovementioned scorn for the English upper-class Miss Winstanley shows, many New Zealand characters in these texts value a distinctly 'Kiwi' sense of equality and 'fair play'. As in the print histories, there is an emphasis on New Zealanders having a more classless, equal society that impacted how soldiers and nurses behaved. 'We are all equal', Briggs tells the men in *Field Punishment No. 1*, and Baxter echoes this idea: 'All men are brothers and comrades.'[460] Although the conscientious objectors of this film are speaking from a much more political viewpoint, this idea that everyone was 'the same' appears throughout the texts. As in the print histories, this is especially notable when New Zealanders are compared to the English. 'There was a freedom amongst the Anzacs that was foreign to the Englishmen,' a soldier in *25 April* claims, and later in the film there is an assertion that 'the New Zealanders and the Australians came just as they were', with no airs or old-world decorum: 'There was no disrespect. But no-one saluted.'[461] Tolerton briefly discusses the saluting issue, which is also addressed by several print history authors; she writes that 'New Zealand soldiers were renowned for not saluting officers as a matter of course.'[462] As Ian McGibbon discussed, the relationship between officers and men was impacted by this 'classlessness'; Falkner explores this in *1917* when Bob befriends the mechanic Mick and is shocked when Mick tells him that 'shaking 'ands wiv officers…well, it ain't really done like…you're up there, and we're down 'ere, and that's just the way it is, sir'. Bob rejects this English inequality, asserting that 'where I'm from, a man is a man is a man…don't take any notice of the uniform. I'm just a farm boy from the colonies.'[463] Later, when Bob mentions being 'gentlemanly' to Caldwell, his mentor 'explodes', telling Bob, 'you're an Enzedder, not a gentleman. You're a colonial, like me.'[464] Although this egalitarianism is present as a key trait of the New Zealand soldier, as in the print histories there is some notion that the men were not as fair-minded to the nurses. Tolerton quotes nurse Edna Pengelly's assertion that 'the NZ MO's

[453] Falkner, *1917*, p. 83; Hunt, *1918*, p. 187.
[454] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 141.
[455] Hunt, *1918*, p. 187.
[456] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 297.
[457] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 141.
[458] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ranji Wilson', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ranji-wilson-great-war-story.
[459] Examples include the execution prank in *When We Go To War,* Billy's inability to use black laconic humour in *1914*, and the assertion that humour was 'a flimsy disguise' in the Great War Stories. Burger, 'Charles's Letter'; Brocker, *1914*, p. 194; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Bill Dobson', aired 22/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/bill-dobson-great-war-story.
[460] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[461] Pooley*, 25 April*.
[462] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 207.
[463] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 66-7.
[464] Falkner, *1917*, p. 263.

on active service are noted for their bad manners and general discourtesy to the sisters,' with some treating them 'as orderlies'.[465] However, the fact that one person's experience cannot speak for every New Zealanders' narrative is evidenced when later Tolerton quotes a female doctor who wrote that the New Zealand men 'had gentle, refined manners…especially where women were concerned.'[466] As with the other key traits discussed here, egalitarianism is a notable part of the stereotypical New Zealand soldier's character, but there are always men who do not fit into this mould.

Authors also use this theme of equality to make their New Zealand characters more likeable and relatable. English disdain for this 'colonial' equality appears in several texts, with authors making English figures look foolish and old-fashioned compared to the New Zealanders. In *1917* Bob attends a dinner at Baron Lord's manor where he is told that New Zealand's 'classless society' where 'you all regard yourselves as equals' is behaviour that 'belongs in the colonies', because in England there is 'no place here for all that sort of carry-on'.[467] In *Evie's War* the titular character is scathing of English women who 'would rather learn nothing' than learn from a 'Colonial',[468] and Tolerton quotes Sister Meg Dalrymple's scornful assessment of a young British Army captain, who 'hated me, because he knew that I laughed at him and his lordly ways.'[469] Tolerton points out the difficulty some New Zealanders had with British class consciousness: 'the patients,' asserts nurse Eileen Neilson, 'are snobs'.[470] In *Tane's War*, this tension between the English upper class and New Zealand colonials is in the background of the relationship between Māori dockworker Tane and British officer Zach; at one point, Tane tells Zach that 'it must be amazing being rich' which makes Zach 'uncomfortable' – though it never gets between them.[471] This class consciousness and New Zealand figures' push against it is the most notable way in which this material deals with the equality narrative; it makes the Kiwi characters more likeable to audiences and distinguishes them from the English figures, who have not caught up to New Zealand's more egalitarian ways.

Like the print histories, the non-poppy material also seeks to explore what men looked like when they did not fit the exemplary soldier narrative. Unlike in the print histories, however, which sought to humanise this stereotype by capturing the 'bad behaviour' and dark sides of the New Zealand soldier, this material focusses more on the emotions of the men and the depths beyond simply being brave and clever. The theme of mental stress, fear and self-harm is, therefore, more prominent in this material. The Great War Stories segments, non-fictional texts which are aiming for a sombre, commemorative tone, emphasise the mental struggles of their subjects. The segment on 'the executed five' creates sympathy for the New Zealand men put to death during the war by asserting that 'stress took its toll' and they 'may have been suffering from what is now known as post-traumatic stress disorder', causing them to act in ways which to their superiors seemed like cowardice. 'My nerve has been completely destroyed', one of the five is quoted as confessing.[472] Other Great War Stories also point out the mental suffering of their subjects; the audience are shown and read Peter Howden's journal entry that he was 'NOT ABLE TO CARRY ON' and the segment on Harry Varnham mentions 'mental scars', with a family member telling the camera that they 'can't imagine the mental health repercussions for all of those men'.[473] 'Not all wounds are

[465] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 104.
[466] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 111.
[467] Falkner, *1917*, p. 196.
[468] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 67-8.
[469] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 169.
[470] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 170.
[471] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 303.
[472] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'The executed five', aired 22/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/executed-five-great-war-story.
[473] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Peter Howden', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/peter-howden-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Harry Varnham', aired 21/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/harry-varnham-great-war-story.

visible,' Bea says in *When We Go To War*,[474] and many of these texts show this in visceral detail, both in the midst of war and in the aftermath. Men in the trenches are shown panicking, reciting fearful mantras ('we gotta get out, we gotta get out…'),[475] unable to control tremors and shaking hands,[476] seeing and hearing things,[477] losing control of their actions,[478] screaming,[479] and pointing guns at their comrades while threatening to shoot their friends.[480] Once they are out of the front lines, the suffering continues; these texts show men in hospital wards 'raving' and having 'outpourings',[481] moaning, screaming and crying out in their sleep,[482] pacing,[483] unable to control their movements,[484] 'cowering' beneath their beds,[485] and lying completely unresponsive.[486] Once the men return home, they still suffer; in *When We Go To War*, Manaaki has a flashback triggered by the flash of a camera.[487] Some hallmarks of mental stress appear throughout, such as faces with a 'haunted, empty look' and 'old, bleak eyes'.[488] Although these texts are generally very sympathetic to the mental stress their characters suffer, the fact that this was not the common perception at the time is raised through language, with characters described as having 'lost it completely', 'cracking up' or 'go[ing] demented'.[489] Men are shown as 'ashamed for their moments of weakness' and officers are willing to punish them for it.[490] In *1914*, Billy writes a letter where he admits that he 'can't get his [a Turkish boy he killed] face out of my mind', but he decides to 'shove it into the bottom of his kitbag' rather than send it.[491] Throughout the texts, there is some tacit acknowledgement that being suffering from mental stress is not what a good Kiwi soldier does, but unlike in the print histories, men in this material are often not able to overcome or push past their distress to be brave and determined Johnny Enzeds.

Explicit examples of men admitting their fear are also present in the non-poppy material, but unlike in the print histories, where men are shown being brave even when scared, these texts are more open about men simply being afraid. Examples that adhere to the print history's depictions of men scared of being scared do appear in this material, such as Brocker's depiction of Billy 'wondering if he would be a coward…it wasn't so much that he felt scared, more worried that he might let his mates down'.[492] Later in the text, however, this more open admittance of fear appears, as Billy is 'too scared to even think about what waited for them' and writes in the letter he cannot send that he 'feel[s] scared all the time'.[493] Similar admittances of fear appear throughout the material. 'Our nerves are not the same as before,' Reddiex quotes, from a postcard ('Good news from France', the front reads)

[474] Burger, 'Awa's Letter'.
[475] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[476] Pooley*, 25 April*; Falkner, *1917*, pp. 168, 174, 176; Hunt, *1918*, pp. 207, 264; Hair, *1916*, pp. 132, 137.
[477] Pooley, *25 April*; Burger, 'Awa's Letter'.
[478] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 234; Hunt, *1918*, p. 207; Hair, *1916*, p. 206.
[479] Falkner, *1917*, p. 24
[480] Hunt, *1918*, p. 249; Burger, 'Charles's Letter', 'Cissy's Letter'.
[481] Menefy, *1915*, p. 164; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 91
[482] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 120; Hunt, *1918*, pp. 104, 375; Brocker, *1914*, p. 179.
[483] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 145.
[484] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 145, 186.
[485] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 269.
[486] Hunt, *1918*, p. 104
[487] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[488] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 335; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 114.
[489] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 249, 264; Hair, *1916*, p. 192; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 234.
[490] Hair, *1916*, p. 225; Hunt, *1918*, p. 225.
[491] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 128-9.
[492] Brocker, *1914*, p. 115.
[493] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 139, 165.

written by John Bowman, 'I tremble when I hear a shell coming'.[494] 'I gotta admit, I was afraid,' a soldier confesses in *25 April*,[495] and in *1918*, Henry tells Mark that 'it's not wrong to feel fear'.[496]

Although within the texts men who do not adhere to the standards of bravery set by society are branded cowards and shirkers,[497] the authors generally portray those who hold this opinion as in the wrong and dissenting voices are heard in some material. 'I don't see any cowards there', a soldier retorts in *Field Punishment No. 1* when Baxter and his comrades are labelled as such by officers,[498] and in *When We Go To War* Bea counters the doctor's assessment of the traumatised Manaaki as a shirker by reminding him (and the audience) that Manaaki was mentioned in dispatches and is a hero.[499] Other texts examine the sometimes blurred lines between bravery, cowardice, and foolish bravado. In *Tane's War*, Weir is critical of men who bravely profess their readiness for the front, writing that they 'use that bluster to cover their fear',[500] and in *When We Go To War* Harry makes the argument that they 'lie low' in a shell hole in spite of forward orders, because 'bayonets against machine guns? It's bullshit'.[501] His reluctance to bravely charge forward in the way expected of him is treated as reasonable rather than cowardly by the text: 'forward? You've got to be joking', he tells his commanding officer, and is proven right when we see those who do charge immediately mown down.[502] In contrast to this is Falkner's portrayal of 'Runner' Wray, who is quick to turn from fights and openly states he would rather surrender than be killed. Unlike Harry, the reader does not get to see Wray proven right; when Wray 'really does' land and surrender rather than fight, he is 'shot dead as he climb[s] down from his aircraft'.[503] The portrayals of fear in the non-poppy material are more wide-ranging and nuanced than in the print histories, where men are always brave and determined despite their fear. Although the fictional nature of many of these texts may account for this to some extent, as authors are free to invent what the print authors might be unable to find in primary sources, it is worth noting that the print histories adhere much more to traditional ideas of the brave Kiwi soldier who never outwardly flinches than this material does.

This willingness to examine ways in which men succumbed to fear and stress is evident in the difference between these authors' depiction of men who harmed themselves compared to the print histories. In the print histories, the focus is mostly on men being relieved to get a 'Blighty', while in the non-poppy material, although depictions of men wanting to be wounded are still rare, the focus is much more on self-inflicted wounds than Blighties. There is one mention in this material, by Reddiex, of how men 'longed for their chance of…receiving a "blighty wound" that was just enough to pull them out of the trenches',[504] while Hunt and Falkner discuss self-inflicted wounds throughout their texts. In Hunt's book, Henry steps on a nail and Sergeant Bell insists Henry is a 'coward' who 'thinks a self-inflicted wound will get him out of this war'.[505] 'That's not good', a fellow wounded soldier says to Henry, 'that's a capital offence. They shoot people for that'.[506] Henry's wound is ruled an accident but the possibility that men would injure themselves to escape the trenches looms throughout the text in the form of Sergeant Bell's constant accusations. In *1917*, Falkner writes about

[494] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 15.
[495] Pooley, *25 April*.
[496] Hunt, *1918*, p. 185.
[497] Cottrell, 'The executed five'; Burger, 'Awa's Letter'; Hair, *1916*, p. 19; Hunt, *1918*, pp. 33, 220; Falkner, *1917*, p. 204.
[498] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[499] Burger, 'Awa's Letter'.
[500] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 299.
[501] Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[502] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'.
[503] Falker, *1917*, pp. 96, 251, 283.
[504] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 75.
[505] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 75-6.
[506] Hunt, *1918*, p. 77.

how men 'break open bullets and chew on cordite to make themselves ill', deliberately try and get infected with trench foot, and shoot themselves in the foot 'through a tin of ham so he wouldn't get powder marks on his skin'.[507] While Bob is depicted as brave and heroic, Falkner makes it clear that not all soldiers are capable of withstanding the mental stress of war without resorting to desperate measures.

Other texts portray what happens when men are pushed well and truly beyond what they can tolerate and then take their own lives. The *Kiwis at War* series, aimed at teenage readers, avoids this narrative; it is film material aimed at older audiences that address soldier suicide. In *When We Go To War* and *25 April*, this takes the form of men who have been pushed beyond their limit leaving their trench and walking into no-man's-land.[508] 'Sometimes the suffering was so intense, death seemed like the best way out', the nurse in *25 April* observes.[509] The Great War Stories segment on Harry Varnham is the only media in this material to address men who directly took their own lives, with its examination of Varnham's 'desperate action' that 'ripples through the generations'. His descendants who are interviewed assert that his war trauma led to his suicide.[510] The narrative of the 'mental scars'[511] left on New Zealand soldiers and the ways they manifested in self-wounding and suicide is a rare narrative in the non-poppy material, just as it is in the print histories. However, being able to acknowledge and begin to address this narrative is an important step towards deconstructing the 'she'll be right' Kiwi soldier stereotype.

While self-wounding is one of the most complex and hidden ways in which New Zealand soldiers reacted to the mental stress of war, drinking is the most visible and accepted. The print histories demonstrated the wide range of this narrative, from soldiers in estaminets harmlessly relaxing to the cause of more serious bad behaviour, though the focus is mainly on the former. The non-poppy material largely follows the print histories' depiction, with an emphasis on men letting off steam. Falkner depicts his airmen drinking together for fun and to relieve the constant stress of flying,[512] and in *1918* an afternoon off means 'a hike to the nearest canteen for a drinking session'.[513] In *When We Go To War*, Harry's drinking is largely treated as part of his 'larrikin' character; Manaaki tells his sister that they 'missed the boat in Colombo because Harry got drunk and had a fight'.[514] Alcohol is sometimes presented as a tonic to bolster the men's fortitude; in *25 April* one soldier recalls 'we had rum with breakfast' the day of Chunuk Bair, and *When We Go To War* also depicts this, including a man who says he does not drink being ordered to finish his rum that morning.[515] Reddiex discusses how rum was seen as a morale boost and a way to keep warm, though he points out that some in New Zealand argued that it hindered judgement and had no medicinal qualities. He includes postcards of the rum rations being served (with a barrel labelled 'kia ora') and a cartoon of 'A N.Z. Tank' surrounded by empty bottles,[516] demonstrating the multiple ways that drinking is presented in these narratives. This more negative view of alcohol does emerge in this material, though it is less common. Hair depicts soldiers drinking and wanting to get to 'the nearest pub', but he also includes Lieutenant Dansey saying that 'this battalion drinks too much', and Leith worries about 'the way Calum [his brother] was drinking'.[517] The Great War Stories segment on Bill Dobson claims that after the war he 'sought to block out the trauma of war with alcohol', though he 'gave up drinking' to

[507] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 34, 35, 168.
[508] Pooley, *25 April*; Burger, 'Awa's Letter'.
[509] Pooley, *25 April*.
[510] Cottrell, 'Harry Varnham'.
[511] Cottrell, 'Harry Varnham'.
[512] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 85, 137-9.
[513] Hunt, *1918*, p. 231.
[514] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'.
[515] Pooley, *25 April*; Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[516] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 48, 151.
[517] Hair, *1916*, pp. 37, 93, 107, 170, 179.

pursue his 'love of theatre' with his wife.[518] Although this material does present the occasional figure for whom alcohol was a problem, for the most part these texts focus on soldiers' drinking as relaxation and something encouraged by those in charge. The link made between bad behaviour and alcohol is much less present than in the print histories – possibly because bad behaviour itself is much less present in this material.

Many of the print histories went out of their way to portray New Zealand soldiers as more than a one-dimensional heroic stereotype by emphasising that they indulged in unsoldierly or 'bad' behaviour. This is far less of a focus of the non-poppy material, though some texts do include characters who demonstrate the kind of unsoldierly behaviour seen in the print histories. For the most part, it takes the form of light-hearted larrikinism, such as slipping off troop ships for 'a bit of R and R' and looting.[519] While in the print histories Johnny Enzed's interaction with sex – mainly sex workers and STIs – is a prominent 'bad behaviour', in this material there is much less focus on this aspect of the New Zealand soldier. Tolerton includes a quote from a Volunteer Sister working at the YMCA café in the Cairo gardens who asserted that the gardens are 'a place to keep the men off the street' as there are significant 'temptations the boys are exposed to',[520] but Tolerton's focus on the (New Zealand) women means that she does not examine the 'boys' succumbing to these temptations. Some characters reject this kind of behaviour, just as in the print histories there were men who were offended by their fellow soldiers' actions. In *1916*, Tamati writes in a letter that he has 'steadfastly' resisted the temptations of Cairo, and his 'health and morals are intact, and that's more that I can say for some'.[521] The focus of these texts does affect the extent to which authors discuss this narrative; admittedly, many of these texts are aimed at younger audiences – notably, the *Kiwis At War* series being a Scholastic publication – which limits the extent that authors will be addressing 'adult' content.[522] In *1916*, Hair depicts Ces and Calum trying to convince protagonist Leith to come and see 'silken clad beauties in seedy and dangerous opium dens' in Cairo; Leith decides that 'it sounded a bit off-colour, watching Egyptian women wiggling their bare tummies',[523] but that is the most explicit the *Kiwis at War* books get.

The character of Harry, in *When We Go To War*, typifies the 'Kiwi rascal' character: he drinks, visits brothels and steals before shipping out, and his sleeping with Jenny and being caught by her husband is treated as a joke, not a mark of bad character. Once he is at Gallipoli he steals food from officers, skims brandy from the medicinal supply, takes a pillow from the medical tent, and bribes fellow soldiers and officers to make his life more comfortable – at one point he is shown eating chops in the trenches of Gallipoli.[524] Harry also mentions that the only good part of his war 'adventure' has been 'some interesting ladies in Wazza'.[525] The text never condemns his behaviour, treating him instead as a loveable rascal type who can get away with these small moments of 'bad' behaviour because of his charm and honest audacity. At one point, Charles and the doctor complain that the medicinal brandy is 'all bloody water': 'war brings out the best and worst', the doctor says, and although Charles's questioning of 'who would do such a thing' could be seen as a condemnation, the fact that this scene happens after Harry's death means that it acts more as a cheeky legacy for the character, a joke at his older brother's expense that Harry would no doubt find funny.[526]

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[518] Cottrell, 'Bill Dobson'.
[519] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 58, 70; Hair, *1916*, p. 250; Hunt, *1918*, p. 219.
[520] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 153.
[521] Hair, *1916*, p. 34.
[522] The irony of authors depicting men suffering and committing terrible violence but shying from even discussing sex is another conversation.
[523] Hair, *1916*, p. 42.
[524] Burger, 'Bea's Letter', 'Manaaki's Letter', 'Harry's Letter'.
[525] Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[526] Burger, 'Awa's Letter'.

In contrast to Harry's happy larrikinism, more serious examples of New Zealand men demonstrating unsoldierly conduct do appear in this material, though not as commonly as in the print histories. Unlike in the print histories, where AWOL, desertion, and disobeying orders abound, one of the only examples in this material of a New Zealand soldier committing a 'military crime' is in *1918*, where Hunt depicts Henry refusing to shoot his dog Poppy when directly ordered to by the antagonist Sergeant Bell.[527] Military crimes are discussed by Hair, who depicts the Pioneers being tasked with the execution of a deserter, and the Great War Stories series, which has a segment on 'The Executed Five', the men 'shot by firing squads' for their perceived crimes. Both texts emphasise the unfairness of such harsh military justice; Hair describes how Leith and Tamati are deeply emotionally affected by the execution ('why can't they just send him home?', Leith wants to know)[528] while the Great War Stories segment emphasises that the men were shown 'no mercy'.[529] *Field Punishment No. 1* also highlights the punitive, harsh nature of military justice – aside from the titular punishment, the soldiers imprisoned with Baxter also describe how severely they have been punished for small indiscretions such as not calling an officer 'sir' or being late to report after 'saying goodbye to his girl'.[530] When it comes to depicting military crimes committed by New Zealand soldiers, this non-poppy material is much more focussed on the unjust punishment meted out by the authorities than the actions of the men.

Violence or racism against civilians is also significantly less notable in the non-poppy material than in the print histories, which discuss Wasa'a riots and the Surafend massacre. Hair and Brocker both mention the violence done by New Zealand soldiers in Wasa'a, though neither of their texts' protagonists are involved and the incidents are minimised. Brocker writes that men – 'many simply bored and frustrated' – 'looted and set fire to shops', with Billy being 'pleased' that the 'riot' did not involve his unit and no mention of the involvement of brothels or civilians,[531] while Hair mentions the 'battle' in passing, minimising it by joking that 'it was before Gallipoli' when the press were 'short of real battles to write about'.[532] There is very little mention of violence done by New Zealand soldiers off the battlefield: Hunt mentions a private who 'shot and killed two officers'[533] but there is no other examples of the sorts of violent behaviour discussed by some of the print histories. There are scattered examples of New Zealand soldiers' racism, such as in *1916* when Leith describes the 'dusty, stinking bazaar, filled with hordes of ragged, robed Egyptians' or is told by other Pakeha Pioneers 'not to drink an' frat'nise wi' the darkies',[534] and in the Great War Stories segment on Victor Low, a Chinese tunneller who was never an officer due to a 'feeling that a coloured soldier should not command white soldiers'.[535] But overall, the extent of the New Zealand soldiers' racism, especially towards Egyptians, that is presented by the print histories is almost entirely absent in this material – possibly because within fictional narratives, where the author must choose to use the kinds of degrading words actually used by soldiers historically, the argument that such language is 'of its time' has less credibility.

The non-poppy material gives significantly less focus to the unsoldierly or 'bad' behaviour of New Zealand soldiers than the print histories, but the emphasis on heroes and the ways in which larrikins were still good soldiers remains a dominant narrative. Harry's death in *When We Go To War* works to

[527] Hunt, *1918*, p. 144.
[528] Hair, *1916*, pp. 188-91, 195-9.
[529] Cottrell, 'The executed five'.
[530] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[531] Brocker, *1914*, p. 108.
[532] Hair, *1916*, p. 40.
[533] Hunt, *1918*, p. 117.
[534] Hair, *1916*, pp. 39; 90.
[535] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Victor Low', aired 24/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/victor-low-great-war-story.

redeem his rascally behaviour as he dies 'a hero's death' according to Charles.[536] Men do not necessarily have to die to go from 'bad' soldier to hero; in *1914* Chopper, who begins the narrative as an antagonist who does not care for his horse, shows himself to be a courageous soldier when he ventures out into no-man's-land to rescue an injured man. 'His bleating's driving me bonkers,' Chopper announces when he makes the decision, 'I'm going out there to bring him in'.[537] Chopper manages to maintain his image as a 'hard man' while risking his life for a mate. Men who do not or cannot live up to the expectations of the stereotypical Johnny Enzed – brave, clever, friendly and determined – can still be good and competent soldiers. The 'Executed Five' Great War Stories segment emphasises that 'the accused was a good soldier',[538] and in *1918*, Mark may struggle with fear, not get along with his comrades, and aim a gun at the sergeant, but even Henry – who Mark steals from – tells him that he's a 'good soldier' who 'knows what to do' and is respected by the men 'because of the way you fight'.[539] As in the print histories, the non-poppy material may present men who do not display the character traits discussed earlier in this chapter, or who do not act in accordance with this character archetype, but they are very rarely – if ever – completely incompetent as soldiers. If New Zealand soldiers are not always brave, or determined, or clever, they are at least always good soldiers. The 'natural soldier' narrative may be questioned by the texts of the centenary period to some extent, but the dominant quality that the New Zealand soldier possesses throughout the stories told across the material is that he is a highly competent, successful soldier.

[536] Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[537] Brocker, *1914*, p. 135.
[538] Cottrell, 'The executed five'.
[539] Hunt, *1918*, p. 237.

THREE 'It was all for your mates': Mateship and relationships

The print histories

The New Zealand soldier does not exist in WWI narratives on his own. Though his individual character is an important theme, his relationships with his fellow soldiers are equally prominent throughout the print histories. The print histories emphasise the importance and power of the male bonds that were forged amongst the New Zealand soldiers, often using the word 'mate' to connect readers to the concept. Mateship is presented as the crutch that got many men through the war, as soldiers had to rely on and help each other, and often bonded together through their collective suffering. The complex relationship with officers and enemy soldiers also appears in the print histories, as well as the bond between a soldier and his horse. But it is relationships between 'mates' that dominate the print narratives, and although some authors acknowledge the social control this engendered and the dark side of mob thinking, one of the most prominent New Zealand soldier narratives of the print histories is the importance and power of mateship.

Mateship is a familiar idea in the New Zealand national identity, a 'Kiwi bloke' stereotype that still exists today and has long been a part of the WWI narrative. Both Christopher Pugsley and Keith Sinclair emphasised the element of community or 'mateship' amongst the New Zealand ranks, with Pugsley repeatedly using the word 'mates'.[540] Jock Phillips depicted similar bonds as Pugsley and Sinclair, arguing that bonds of male friendship in the trenches came with nicknames, a distinct moral code, and a self-imposed discipline.[541] It was seen by the men as a marker of the New Zealanders' greater egalitarianism; the unity of the troops was forged 'through bonds of mateship not hierarchical discipline' and in the level playing field of the trenches, a man's past did not affect who he could bond with.[542] In a world with no women, these bonds were built on a respect for strength and emotional repression rather than open affection – the mateship of 'real men' found only in the trenches.[543] Though Phillips acknowledged that the friendships formed were based on circumstance rather than choice, he still concluded that the mateship was real rather than mythical.[544] In Phillips's account, the New Zealand soldier may not have been a brave hero born to fight, but he was a good mate, and he always adhered to the self-imposed discipline of the social group.[545] The unshakeable loyalty of the group – an inherent part of the moral code of mateship – did have a dark side however, with Phillips identifying the 'potential for disruption' that mateship had. The massacre at Surafend was discussed by Phillips as a 'dramatic incident' that demonstrated a 'more brutal manifestation of mateship than the public legend generally allowed'.[546]

The narrative of fire-forged mates is prevalent in these earlier texts, though it seems to lose prominence in more recent narratives, with Phillips beginning to question elements of the mateship theme and writers in the 21st century giving it less attention. Michael King, in his 2003 bestseller *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, made little reference to this narrative (even though it would surely appeal to a general reader), and Roberto Rabel only mentioned 'mateship' in passing when

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[540] Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 169; Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984, p. 20, 24.

[541] Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History (Revised Edition)*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996, p. 180.

[542] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp. 166, 181.

[543] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, pp. 182, 174.

[544] Phillips, *A Man's Country?,* pp. 180, 192.

[545] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 187.

[546] Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 181. One could argue that Phillips is downplaying the massacre here, but that he mentions it at all is more than many authors.

discussing the 'stereotypes of national manhood'.[547] James Belich had more to say on this theme, but it was highly critical. To Belich, mateship was 'here today and gone tomorrow' due to the transitive and deadly nature of the trenches.[548] In Belich's narrative, mateship was a social pressure that prevented mass mutiny and drove men over the top. Just as New Zealand soldiers acted bravely because they felt they had to, they fought because they did not want to 'let down (their) mates'.[549] But again, Belich claimed this myth of mateship has been overstated, as a 'dreary fatalism' set in that subverted these bonds.[550] The other way in which the mateship narrative has been complicated in recent historiography is Stevan Eldred-Grigg's discussion of how the soldiers' world without women created more than just mateship: he acknowledged the existence of sexual relationships between soldiers in a way that few authors had, and discussed how some trench affairs became long-term post-war relationships.[551] This inclusion of queer[552] soldiers was developed by Chris Brickell in his history of gay New Zealand, where he claimed that Jock Phillips's view that men only expressed affection in rough, physical ways is 'too restrictive a view' and described how 'some comrades were – or later became – lovers'.[553] As the theme of mateship changed from an essential part of the WWI narrative to something more complex, the WW100 authors had to decide how they would each present such a fundamental part of the popular conception of the war.

The general importance of the male bonds forged during the war is emphasised throughout the print histories in a variety of ways. Monty Soutar describes how the ethos of mateship was forged through the training regime,[554] while Anna Rogers writes that 'extraordinary solidarity' was developed during the 'terrible and intense' months of battle.[555] Glyn Harper calls the soldiers' small units 'their family, their home and their whole life',[556] highlighting the central importance of these male bonds. Ian McGibbon uses small moments to depict this, writing that evenings on the Western Front meant 'an opportunity to visit other units to pass the time with…friends'.[557] Several authors let the soldiers' own words demonstrate the value of mateship: 'It is grand to have pals', Adam Claasen records an airman writing.[558] These first-hand statements often emphasise the perceived value of the battlefield trust of knowing your 'mate' would lay down his life for you, just as you would do for him.[559] Some authors recount individual relationships, such as Soutar's description of the 'Terrible Twins' Kahi

[547] Roberto Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars' in Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 252.
[548] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001, p. 104.
[549] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 104, 105.
[550] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 105.
[551] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI*, Auckland: Random House, 2010, p. 442.
[552] I use this term – as opposed to more prescriptive words like 'gay' – because it can better encapsulate the variety of experiences, as well as reflecting that we simply do not know how these men would have thought of themselves.
[553] Chris Brickell, *Mates and Lovers: A History of Gay New Zealand*, Auckland: Godwit, 2008, pp. 91-92.
[554] Monty Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Maori in the First World War*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2019, p. 199.
[555] Anna Rogers, *With Them Through Hell: New Zealand Medical Services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018, p. 190.
[556] Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, p. 329.
[557] Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2016, p. 214.
[558] Adam Claasen, *Fearless: The extraordinary untold story of New Zealand's Great War airmen*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017, p. 143. Other examples include Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 409; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 207, 489; Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 24, 113; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 312; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 212, 259, 358.
[559] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 358 is an example.

Harawira and Herbert Collier (which includes a photograph of them),[560] John Crawford's account of Jesse Wallingford and his trusted scout Colin Warden,[561] or Hélène Goiran's statement that Ratu Sukuna and Henry Farnsworth 'went everywhere together'.[562] Depictions of such friendships create a relatable link for the reader, as do McGibbon's portrayals of more general scenes of mateship, such as how parcels from home were 'invariably shared with comrades'.[563] The reader can identify with the New Zealand soldier in these moments, heightening the impact of the text. The widespread use of the word 'mate' throughout the print histories also helps to appeal to and involve readers by making the author and the reader part of this mateship. The word appears throughout the print histories,[564] by every author except Steven Loveridge and James Watson and Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge.[565] Some authors, such as Soutar and Harper, use it frequently, engendering connection to their soldier subject, while others, such as Damian Fenton, Claasen and Gavin McLean, use it just once – at a moment of mateship, where the men depicted are injured together or having a laugh.[566] The soldierly – but familiar – colloquialism breaks down barriers between author and reader as well as between reader and the New Zealand soldier subject: we are all mates here. As Harper writes, language and vocabulary was a unifying and defining feature of the soldier group,[567] and by using the word 'mate' authors are seeking to make the reader an honorary part of that group for the duration of the text.

In the print histories, mateship is a unifying factor that allowed soldiers to help each other and work together, regardless of who they had been before the war. Bargas and Shoebridge acknowledge that during training 'sharing personal space with strangers was an education' and McGibbon writes that the military was a 'melting pot for men of very different backgrounds and stations in life'.[568] The overall narrative emphasises that regardless of these differences, it was vital to find that sense of comradeship as working together was the only option.[569] But the print histories do not just portray mateship as men forced to work together; the more prominent narrative is of men going out of their way to help their comrades. From training, 'weaker troops were always helped by their mates', writes

[560] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 503
[561] John Crawford, 'A Prince of Riflemen: Jesse Wallingford at Gallipoli', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 86.
[562] Hélène Goiran, 'Hero of Fiji as a Soldier of France: Ratu Sukuna' in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 155.
[563] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 253.
[564] Examples include Gavin McLean, *The White Ships: New Zealand's First World War Hospital Ships*, Wellington: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 2013, p. 114; Glyn Harper, 'The New Zealand Soldier of the First World War, 1914-15: Johnny Enzed', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016**,** pp. 71, 79; Peter Dennerly, ''As for Sacrifice…': The Royal Navy Motor Boat Patrol' in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 213; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 67; Damien Fenton, *New Zealand and the First World War 1914-1919*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2013, p. 70; Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 119, 155, 187, 221; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 24, 255, 331, 454, 467, 494; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 76, 102, 142, 160, 181, 199, 224, 340, 387, 453, 464, 477; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 85, 147, 259, 342.
[565] Given their focus on the home front and heritage, this makes sense; these authors are not focussed on creating a link for the reader to the New Zealand soldier.
[566] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 114; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 67.
[567] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 166, 343.
[568] Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge, *New Zealand's First World War Heritage*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, p. 50; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 259.
[569] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 43; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 56.

Soutar, creating the sense of camaraderie which could carry them through the war.[570] This is particularly emphasised when men are injured: Rogers details the way injured men would lean on 'a mate' to get to field hospitals, while Soutar records an anecdote about a man being carried to safety on a friend's back.[571] Soldiers are shown pitching in to help medics, such as McLean's description of workers aboard the hospital ships helping the wounded even when 'exhausted after their shifts' and McGibbon's accounts of men returning to no-man's-land to help stretcher-bearers.[572] McGibbon writes that orders to leave the wounded for the stretcher-bearers were hard to follow in the face of mateship, quoting a solider who wrote, 'What kind of man would pass wounded men…ignoring them apparently as if it was no concern of his?'[573] This concern extended to when comrades succumbed to injuries, such as Claasen's depiction of men giving up a night's rest to build a coffin for one of their squadron mates, or Zane Kidd's account of a chaplain conducting burial services in exposed positions of Gallipoli.[574] Harper writes that Australians – and often New Zealanders – gained a reputation for freeing or aiding men undergoing Field Punishment No. 1, demonstrating both the sense of mateship and the previously-discussed importance of equality to the men.[575] Acts of kindness were not always so grand; McGibbon describes how a chaplain bought cigarettes and matches with his own money to take up to the men at the front lines.[576] Everything from these small comforts to acts of courage retrieving the wounded depicted in the print histories works to heighten the importance of mateship in the narrative.

A shared suffering is depicted as the crux of the men's mateship, as the trials of war forged the bonds that help them get through the ordeals. Harper and Soutar express this most directly; Harper writes that right from the start, the 'shared suffering' of seasickness on the transport ships 'was an important bonding ritual', while Soutar states that once they reached the front 'a bond not easily broken was forged from the shared trauma'.[577] McGibbon, in his section on life on the Western Front labelled 'Coping', also references this idea, writing that 'small group solidarity was important' and that 'comradeship and the desire not to let mates down underpinned most soldiers' existence'.[578] 'Human companionship…helped make life bearable amid the horrors of the front', he writes.[579] While mentioned in one section of McGibbon's work, this narrative is dominant in Harper's text, with a number of assertions throughout that emphasise mateship was 'essential to surviving the military experience' and could 'make the endurance of combat tolerable'.[580] Mateship is depicted as important throughout the print histories, but in Harper's text it is shown as the men's lifeline.

Interestingly, some print authors point out another relationship that was crucial for the men who had it: the bond between mounted soldiers and their horse. Fenton refers to the Mounted Rifles being 'reunited with their beloved horses'[581] and Rogers writes in some detail about the closeness between man and horse. She writes that men formed 'close bonds' with their horse and were 'devastated' if something happened to them; she records soldiers' descriptions of their animals as 'my best friend' and states that there was 'many a sad parting' between these 'mates in the hard years of war'.[582]

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[570] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 199.
[571] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 155; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 151.
[572] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 83; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 63, 222.
[573] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p 259.
[574] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 197; Zane Kidd, '"God is on Our Side": Chaplain Colonel (William) John Aldred Luxford', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 289.
[575] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 595, 596.
[576] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 212.
[577] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 119; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 138.
[578] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 259.
[579] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 259.
[580] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 83, 108. Other examples in this text include pp. 268, 289, 333, 334, 335, 337, 489.
[581] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 28.
[582] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 276, 286.

Harper also emphasises that for men in the Sinai-Palestine campaign their horses could be 'lifesavers', writing that men formed a strong connection to their horses in the same way they did with fellow soldiers.[583] The bond between mounted men and their horse is a small but notable part of the narrative, creating another layer of empathy in the reader with the pathos of the mens' care for their animals.

Between the human members of the NZEF, a relationship that is prominently explored is that between leaders and their men. As opposed to the bumbling British higher-ups of past narratives, the print histories present immediate commanders as having a paternal care for the men in their charge, who in return grant them respect and loyalty. Harper writes that having 'officers who shared the danger and provided leadership when it was most needed' helped to make the experience of trench life tolerable and McGibbon attributed 'no small part [of] the division's success' to its leaders.[584] The care that these officer figures had for their men is emphasised throughout the print histories, breaking down older narratives of uncaring commanders. McGibbon writes that a tunnelling officer 'had nurtured his company with care' while Claasen describes how Keith Caldwell 'aimed to create a family'.[585] Specific men are highlighted by authors as examples of the care and concern of officers; Claasen describes how some New Zealand airmen 'kept a paternal watch' over their men with a 'ready smile and keen helping hand', and Nathalie Philippe and McGibbon show leaders so devoted to their men that they turn down promotion to stay with them or were in tears when they were killed.[586] Philippe includes a list written by Major Lindsay Inglis that details how to cultivate a good relationship with his men, including '1. being sincere and caring' and '3. giving his time and friendship',[587] constructing a narrative where an officer, far from being aloof and distant, was actively cultivating a sense of mateship. This is shown to be noticed and appreciated by the men throughout the print histories. McGibbon points out that officers who did not 'check on the men's condition, kept them waiting unnecessarily or were indifferent to fairness' were 'resented', while others who acted more in accordance with Inglis's list were 'revered'.[588] McGibbon and Claasen both emphasise individual officers who were 'loved by all', earning the respect and friendship of their men with 'down-to-earth friendliness', 'practicality', courage, humour, generosity and concern.[589] Claasen uses Keith Caldwell's 'frequent appearances in the memoirs of Great War airmen' to demonstrate his important place in his men's lives, while McGibbon describes how at Polderhoek new soldiers were so disheartened when officers were hit that it affected the outcome of the battle.[590] By showing the close bonds between men and officers, the print histories present a narrative that challenges the idea of uncaring higher-ups and cannon-fodder masses, appealing instead to a concept that the New Zealand forces were equal – an army of 'mates'.

Throughout the print histories, a great deal of emotional resonance is created through the depiction of the loss of friends. Suffering and death are pervasive throughout WWI narratives, but by focusing on the pain of losing 'mates' many print history authors seek to connect to readers through the very human emotion of grief rather than less tangible concepts often seen in war narratives, such as tragedy, sacrifice or horror. There are a number of examples of individuals being grief-stricken by the

[583] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 487, 489, 536.
[584] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 289; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 185.
[585] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 222; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 353.
[586] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 380, 390; Nathalie Philippe, 'A Leader in the Making: Major Lindsay Inglis', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 108; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 86, 175.
[587] Philippe, 'A Leader in the Making', p. 107.
[588] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 185.
[589] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 174, 184, 185; Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 292, 353.
[590] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 419; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 154.

loss of a friend.[591] Harper in particular includes first-hand accounts from many men describing being 'very distressed', 'near to weeping' and 'filled with sadness' when a comrade died; 'feel awfully lonely without him' and 'I miss him terribly', Harper records men as confessing to diaries or loved ones.[592] The typical reticence of soldiers' first-hand accounts belies the depth of feeling being expressed – these are some of the most explicit examples of soldiers' emotion presented in the print histories. The simplicity with which the grief is expressed cuts through the incomprehensibility of the suffering, allowing readers to connect with the men on a more understandable level. Some authors also use men's actions to convey the depth of their loss: Crawford describes how after the death of several close friends, Jesse Wallingford 'was beside himself with fury', overtaken by a 'visceral lust for revenge' that led to loss of control and a week of violent fighting, while Harper describes a man searching for a lost friend and then having to cut the ring from the body's swollen finger with 'tears streaming down his face' to keep his promise to send it back to his dead friend's mother.[593] Though they demonstrate two very different emotional responses, these examples communicate the intense reactions to losing a 'mate'. The uncertainty created by wounds also impacted men. Rogers describes how sick or injured men 'hated leaving their friends', while Soutar quotes a soldier lamenting that a wounded comrade was extremely difficult to trace, as 'he enters another sphere and is lost'.[594] Carolyn Carr points out that one reason soldier publications were so popular and enduring was that they contained hospital reports that men at the front could scour for news of injured friends.[595] The print histories on the whole heavily emphasise the strength of the bonds forged by the men and so the pain of having these bonds broken – by death or the uncertainty of an injured friend's fate – can create a strong emotional response in the reader. Emphasising individuals' grief creates a personal connection that allows more effective communication between author and reader.

The print histories' emphasis on mateship, and the pain caused by a mate's loss, establishes a narrative that counters Belich's assertions that friendships at the front were fleeting and circumstantial given the constant threat of death.[596] But the print histories do not sanitise the men's relationships and some authors attempt to add nuance by including those who did not comfortably fit into the mateship narrative. McGibbon, for example, writes about the detachment that was to some extent necessary, quoting a soldier's claim that seeing a comrade killed was noted 'as one would a frog run over by a cart'.[597] McGibbon nods to Belich's narrative by quoting several soldiers' comments on 'the rapidity with which memories faded once a soldier was removed': 'you are talking to a chap one day and the next he is dead, but nobody worries about it.'[598] But McGibbon concludes this discussion – part of a section titled 'Coping' – with the assertion that 'detachment had its limits'.[599] Given the rest of the text's emphasis on mateship it appears that McGibbon does not think that most soldiers regarded hurt comrades as cart-crushed frogs, rather such detachment was one coping mechanism and not a typical state. McGibbon and Harper both mention the concept – also emphasised by Belich – that the military sought to turn the men into faceless cogs, which could account for such detachment. McGibbon quotes a soldier claiming that training was 'designed to make us into machines', and Harper likewise includes a soldier's account of feeling a 'loss of identity' and becoming 'one among thousands, a small cog in the great machine' when donning his

[591] For example, McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 259; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 319, 361.
[592] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 216, 257, 280, 311, 491, 492.
[593] Crawford, 'A Prince of Riflemen', p. 99; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 311.
[594] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 83; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 314.
[595] Carolyn Carr, 'Chronicler of the Front Line: Clutha Nantes Mackenzie' in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 245.
[596] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 104.
[597] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 259-260.
[598] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 259.
[599] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 260.

uniform.[600] But Harper at least does not see this as the norm; he labels the quoted soldier 'sensitive' and later asserts that mateship allowed men to feel like more than just an 'anonymous figure' or cog in a machine.[601] The concept of the soldiers as detached cogs is raised – very briefly – in the print histories, but is ultimately rejected – the narrative of warm mateship is the dominant one.

The power of this mateship is displayed by the deep emotions caused when the bonds are broken, but several print histories also examine the negative aspects of these strong bonds. The power of social pressure is mentioned by several authors as a method of control. Harper writes that right from the start, 'considerable social pressure' was a catalyst for many young men to enlist in the NZEF and Soutar writes that the 'cohesive spirit and enthusiasm' at Narrow Neck training camp worked to influence Māori defaulters to toe the line.[602] McGibbon details how once they were overseas, mateship could as act a form of discipline, more subtle and effective than that meted out by officers, with men being ridiculed and ostracised by their comrades if they did not meet the group's standards.[603] The social pressure of the mateship bonds could also drive men to push themselves past their normal endurance for fear of failing the group's 'supreme test'.[604] Harper records how a wounded soldier 'was worried his comrades would think him cowardly' if he did not 'go over the top with the boys', and Soutar quotes Peter Buck's observation that 'men who should have been in hospital' were taking part in bayonet charges 'because they refused to leave their comrades'.[605] Soutar quotes a soldier criticising the way men at training would push themselves to become 'exhausted beyond human endurance' because 'there is no sympathy for the man who falls out – he is just jeered at'.[606] Although these could be seen as examples of the way in which 'mateship' was in fact a form of social control and coercion, the authors do not portray it in this way like Belich did. The overall positive depictions of mateship in the print histories frame these examples – almost all soldiers' quoted first-hand accounts, with little editorialising – as neutral at worst. There is some acknowledgement that mateship could lead to mob thinking and violence; Harper discusses how the 'bawdy' and often sexually violent soldiers' songs were connected to a sense of group cohesion through the breaking of conventional morality, and McGibbon describes a mutiny where men sprang to the defence of a soldier arguing with military police.[607] As previously discussed, Wasa'a and Surafend could also be seen in this mob-thinking light. However, there is little discussion of this dark side of mateship. The authors do not celebrate men being encouraged to push themselves by their mates, but they also do not heavily engage with the concept of how much negative coercive power mateship could have.

The print histories do acknowledge that mateship was not universal. With men from all walks of life, it was inevitable that some did not fit – and Harper argues that such 'lonely souls' could find 'their situation…intolerable.'[608] Falling outside the accepted soldierly boundaries could make a man a target. Rogers describes how 'peer sympathy could be lacking' for men hospitalised for 'shell shock', with comrades making banging noises, imitating the hiss of shells, and flickering the lights while sufferers were asleep to trigger them.[609] McGibbon and Harper both describe the 'incessant and hurtful' insults that were thrown at German-descended Private Nimot, which may have contributed to his decision to defect to the Germans, and McGibbon briefly mentions a soldier who committed

[600] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 36; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 81.
[601] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 81, 378.
[602] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 27; Glyn Harper, *For King and Other Countries: The New Zealanders who fought in other services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019, p. 46; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 260.
[603] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 190.
[604] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 76.
[605] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 301; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 132.
[606] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 209.
[607] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 191; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 336.
[608] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 88.
[609] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 353.

suicide 'after his tent mates accused him of bestiality'.[610] McGibbon portrays how some officers were the opposite of those described above – loathed and resented rather than loved and respected. Such officers could find themselves, McGibbon writes, at risk of 'fragging' – being deliberately killed during a battle. McGibbon writes that although there is no evidence of this happening, it was always a threat and recounts an incident where a 'thoroughly hated' officer had a grenade dropped down his dugout chimney.[611] In a much less extreme example, Harper describes how boxing matches were used as a way to 'settle the inevitable grievances' that arose between men.[612] Descriptions of tension or antagonism are, however, rare throughout the print histories, with the emphasis firmly on the bonds forged between the men. Inclusions of examples of less-than-friendly behaviour add nuance to the narrative, but do not significantly challenge the image of mateship presented by the print histories.

To solidify the importance of mateship in the reader's minds, many print histories end with discussions of post-war camaraderie and the importance of organisations like the RSA. The bonds of mateship forged are portrayed as being a positive outcome of the war, with men missing these relationships after returning home. Harper quotes a soldier's assertion that they 'really missed [their] mates' after the war and in his conclusion McGibbon states that 'many would always remain nostalgic for the friendship and camaraderie bred in the adversity of the war'.[613] Fenton writes that men 'sought the company of fellow ex-soldiers to help cope with their transition back into civilian life',[614] implying that the bonds of mateship that could get them through the war also got them through the often-difficult repatriation process. Soutar claims that for Māori in particular the lasting bonds of the war were beneficial as they had formed new inter-tribal networks and forged relationships with Pakeha that were 'good for business'.[615] The desire to keep wartime bonds is linked by some authors to the formation of the RSA; Bargas and Shoebridge write that it was a 'social hub for those wishing to prolong wartime camaraderie' and Harper links it to the 'vital part of the New Zealand soldier's world' that was the estaminets of France which 'helped keep him functioning', wondering 'if the RSA…continued to provide this function after the war'.[616] Airmen in particular are shown to have sought this camaraderie with those who had the same kind of 'distinct' war experience; Claasen and Simon Moody highlight the Airmen's Association that allowed men to 'remember comrades lost, reflect wistfully…recount tales…and catch up'.[617] Moody emphasises that even after its formal dissolution men 'continued to meet socially at a local level' right up until the early 1980s, when most of the airmen had passed away.[618] The enduring importance of the bonds formed during the war is depicted by several authors, heightening the dominance of mateship in the soldier's narrative. This is an old narrative, and though the print histories provided some nuance and challenges, on the whole they uphold it – indicating that mateship remains a key concept of New Zealand's WWI.

There are other men whose presence defined the New Zealand soldiers' experience in WWI: simultaneously conspicuous and anonymous is the enemy, the Turkish and German men they fought against. A form of kinship is shown to have existed between the New Zealand men and their enemy counterparts. On Gallipoli, Harper describes how the enemy was 'Johnny Turk', a name that

[610] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 208; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 193, 260.
[611] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 185-6.
[612] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 112-3.
[613] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 610; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 358.
[614] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 105.
[615] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 502.
[616] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 188; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 334.
[617] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 425; Simon Moody, 'Kiwis Rising: New Zealanders and the War in the Air', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, pp. 208, 210.
[618] Moody, 'Kiwis Rising', p. 210.

conferred 'respect bordering on affection'.[619] McLean records that a 'grudging respect' had developed for the Turkish soldiers as New Zealanders acknowledged that they were fair fighters, while Harper claims that they were 'recognised as a tough, skilful adversary'.[620] Similarly, McGibbon writes that the Germans were 'respected…for their fighting qualities [and] determination' as well as 'occasional acts of chivalry', such as not firing on stretcher bearers, which elicited 'relief and gratitude'.[621] There are examples in the print histories of men helping Germans, something they are not depicted doing for Turkish soldiers. Soutar records a Pioneer coming across a wounded German and finding water for him, Rogers describes a New Zealander helping a wounded German to a dressing station, and Harper presents a lengthy first-hand account of a New Zealand soldier taking a German prisoner rather than bayonetting him: 'I…was glad that he was a certainty to go home to his loved ones he had shown me in his collection of photographs'.[622] There are also displays of pity: McGibbon records a soldier's claim that 'one could not feel any animosity against these pale pitiful lads' who 'surrendered readily'.[623] McLean describes an almost friendliness, quoting the *Maheno*'s official account that 'more sociable "Fritzes" part with their buttons as souvenirs'.[624] The difference between the respect for the Turks and the sympathy for the Germans is not addressed in the print histories, though McGibbon argues that New Zealanders on the Western Front 'had more opportunity…to observe, and form opinions of, their enemy'.[625] If the discrepancy is not a result of this or of author selection it is possible that the German soldiers – a European white-skinned army – were seen with more human sympathy by the prejudiced New Zealanders. Nevertheless, a positive relationship between New Zealand soldiers and their enemies is depicted by some authors – a nuanced narrative that is important to avoid demonisation when writing war narratives.

That being said, there is plenty of evidence of animosity towards the enemy throughout the print histories. Harper writes that any claim that there was no animosity 'needs to be treated with caution': 'there is always animosity when someone is trying to kill you'.[626] McGibbon argues that attitudes towards Germans was 'uncompromisingly hard', a 'loathing…rooted in both propaganda and experience'.[627] He gives several examples of this animosity, such as a soldier writing that they 'worked off a lot of hate' when capturing Messines, and divisional pride in taking no prisoners.[628] He concludes that 'punishing Germany took precedence' when soldiers considered why they were fighting, rather than idealism about a better world.[629] These attitudes were not confined to soldiers; Rogers records a nurse treating German prisoners of war feeling 'disgusted and ashamed to think I have to nurse Huns' as she 'could not forget the way our poor boys are treated'.[630] This animosity due to blame is a common narrative thread. Harper writes that 'the sight of the fleeing refugees' made a soldier 'more hostile' towards the Germans, and McGibbon agrees that 'sometimes men were imbued with a desire for revenge', particularly after the loss of a friend.[631] McGibbon writes that men were 'spoiling for a fight' before a trench raid 'to avenge several of their number', Crawford describes how Jesse Wallingford became 'intent on avenging his dead friends', and Harper records a soldier's vow to 'get square yet' after his friend died in his arms.[632] McGibbon includes a first-hand account to

[619] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 14.
[620] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 66-7; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 263-5.
[621] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 142, 196.
[622] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 374; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 191; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 372.
[623] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 112.
[624] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 119.
[625] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 183.
[626] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 265.
[627] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 196.
[628] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 112, 197, 308.
[629] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 199.
[630] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 191.
[631] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 441; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 257.
[632] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 118; Crawford, 'A Prince of Riflemen', p. 101; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 265.

show it was not all talk on the soldiers' part: 'the work was short and bloody for we remembered those of our fellows who had fallen'.[633] Much of the content that emphasises a hatred for the enemy is first-hand accounts, allowing authors to communicate this idea without engaging in it. The print histories allow the nuanced and complicated relationship between New Zealanders and their enemies to show – both the camaraderie and the animosity. By portraying both the acts of kindness and the fact that hatred was often caused by loss and grief, the print histories manage to keep the New Zealand soldiers sympathetic even when bayoneting surrendering Germans. Although the bonds of mateship that helped men survive are a key part of the narrative, the often-complex relationships that formed with the enemy also impacted the New Zealand soldiers. Telling these stories in the print histories helps to meet the Programme's aim of 'deepening understanding' of 'New Zealanders' war experiences at home and abroad'.

[633] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 128.

THREE 'It was all for your mates': Mateship and relationships

The non-poppy material

The New Zealand soldier's relationships – with his mates, his superiors, and his enemy – are defining aspects of his narrative. Mateship was demonstrated to be a key theme of the print histories, with the New Zealand soldier depicted as relying on close male bonds to get through the hardships of war, and suffering when these bonds were broken by death and injury. In the non-poppy material, this emphasis on the friendships formed in the trenches remains prominent, though due to the fictional nature of many of these texts, the way that the narrative is presented differs. Mateship is depicted through specific characters' relationships with other individuals, rather than the more general overview offered by the print histories. Though this means that some of the subthemes discussed in the previous chapter are less pronounced, it also makes these relationships more emotionally charged for the reader. Getting to know brothers, cousins and comrades throughout the narrative of a text heightens the impact that their mates feel when they suffer – and this can effectively connect with audiences, especially the younger readers that the *Kiwis at War* series is aimed at. As in the print histories, there is also an emphasis on the relationship between mounted men and their horses; in the non-poppy material there are also other animals – particularly dogs – that soldiers form relationships with. While the print histories focused on paternal and respectful officers, the non-poppy material is more willing to feature bullying, cruel or indifferent leaders. Finally, the presence of Germans and Turkish soldiers is notably absent 'on screen', though emotions – grudging respect or avenging hatred – towards an abstract enemy are an important character motivation in several of the non-poppy texts.

Most of the non-poppy material highlights the importance of mateship or emphasises the place of mates in the narrative. In *1914*, Susan Brocker depicts the relationship between Billy and Jack as a key part of the story, and their mateship is more important than the dangers of war. When Jack returns from being injured, Billy is 'delighted to see him' despite wishing he 'hadn't returned to this hellhole'.[634] Similarly, in *Tane's War*, Brendaniel Weir describes how Tane sees the crew of the ship he signs on to as 'his new family' and is proud that none of them resign when the war breaks out despite the danger.[635] This bond formed within units is also discussed by Des Hunt, who describes Henry and Jock's bonding very early in *1918* – 'by the time the bugle sounded for them to return to quarters, they were well on the way to becoming close friends'[636] – and then their integration into the unit. He depicts the members of 2nd Otago Battalion playing a prank on Henry and Jock to make them 'truly a part' of the group; although the new members lose their biscuits during the prank, the old members 'made up for [it] by sharing their food', a representation of the bonds being forged.[637] In *1916*, the dissolution of such a close-knit unit – the Otago Mounted Rifles – is depicted as a 'devastating' blow as the men had 'trained, lived, fought and suffered together'.[638] In David Hill's *The Red Poppy*, when Jim is trapped in a shell hole after being injured, his first thought once he knows he is safe is, 'what had happened to his friends?', with a picture of Jim and two mates illustrating that page.[639] These themes appear too in the non-fiction material, such as the Great War Stories segment on the Harper brothers emphasising how Gordon was highly concerned about leaving Robin,[640] or Glenn Reddiex's hope that two unidentified men on a photographic postcard survived the war, as it

[634] Susan Brocker, *1914: Riding into War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2014, p. 154.
[635] Brendaniel Weir, *Tane's War*, Auckland: Cloud Ink Press, 2018, p. 207.
[636] Des Hunt, *1918: Broken Poppies*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2018, p. 29.
[637] Hunt, *1918*, p. 56.
[638] David Hair, *1916: Dig for Victory*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2016, p. 15.
[639] David Hill & Fifi Colston, *The Red Poppy*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2013, p. 25.
[640] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'The Harper Brothers', aired 20/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/harper-brothers-great-war-story.

'would be nice to think that they reunited after the war in a time of peace'.[641] Like in the print histories, the non-poppy texts use the term 'mate' extensively,[642] reinforcing the centrality of this theme – not just 'friendship', but the specific connotations of 'mateship'. In a similar vein, film texts use close-up shots to emphasise the importance of the bonds between the men, such as in *Field Punishment No. 1*, where there is a close-up of two men's clasped hands;[643] the tight framing of this shot means that the viewer's entire attention is focussed on this symbol of male closeness. These examples build the importance of mateship within these texts, making it clear to the audience that this is a key part of New Zealand's WWI narrative.

As with the print histories, the non-poppy material shows that bonds could be formed by men from all walks of life who may not have otherwise interacted. Reddiex includes a postcard that tells 'the story of comradeship shared by two fictitious New Zealand soldiers Jimmy Kumara [Māori] and Billy Wayback [Pakeha]', who are from not only different cultures but different places in New Zealand.[644] In *Tane's War*, this opportunity to mix with cultures other than one's own is furthered by the international nature of the British forces, with Tane and Wiremu making friends with Nareev from India and Mosi from Kenya.[645] These cultural differences are not considered to be barriers to mateship in these texts; the Great War Stories segment on Victor Low, a Chinese tunneller, asserts that he was 'absolutely…considered an Anzac'.[646] *Field Punishment No. 1* emphasises that there could even be bonds between the conscientious objectors and the volunteer soldiers, with Baxter leading these attempts at mateship by handing a cigarette to a soldier pointing a gun at him.[647] 'War makes the most unlikely bedfellows', Charles comments in *When We Go To War*,[648] and the non-poppy material emphasises this with personal and specific moments, mostly fictional, that the print histories can only generalise about.

The men of the non-poppy material go out of their way to help their mates, just like their print history counterparts. The print histories emphasise that no matter where a soldier came from or what his background, the only way to survive the war was through bonding with his mates and utilising the mutual support that these bonds offered, and this is reflected in the non-poppy material. 'We look after each other, thick and thin,' Wiremu tells Tane in *Tane's War*, and the non-poppy texts have plenty of examples of this. Several texts discuss how New Zealand men struggled to leave wounded men behind, exemplified in *25 April*, when one of the soldiers reflects that he 'felt it was wrong to let the wounded suffer like that' when ordered to leave them screaming in no-man's-land.[649] 'When someone was wounded or needing help, nothing was too much trouble,' another recollects as he tears up, 'it was all for your mates'.[650] The need to help wounded mates, also identified in the print histories, is strongly reflected in these texts. 'Leave me, lad! Save yourself', Jock

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[641] Glenn Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know I'm Still Alive*, Wellington: Grantham House Publishing, 2015, p. 51.
[642] Interestingly, Tolerton also describes the nurses as 'mates', such as on p. 248, demonstrating that this traditionally masculine concept could transcend gender boundaries. Examples of 'mate' include Brocker, *1914*, pp. 11, 12, 106, 133, 154**;** Diana Menefy, *1915: Wounds of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2015, p. 81; Brian Falkner, *1917: Machines of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2017, pp. 28, 30, 159, 281; Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 251; Hair, *1916*, p. 88; Leanne Pooley (dir.), *25 April*, General Film Corporation, 2015. https://ondemand.nzfilm.co.nz/film/25-april/; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 12, 13, 136; Jane Tolerton, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand women overseas in World War One*, Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017, p. 276.
[643] Peter Burger (dir.), *Field Punishment No. 1*, Lippy Pictures, 2014. DVD.
[644] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 99.
[645] Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 250-1.
[646] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Victor Low', aired 24/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/victor-low-great-war-story.
[647] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[648] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 5, 'Charles's Letter', aired 17/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[649] Pooley, *25 April*.
[650] Pooley, *25 April*.

yells to Henry during a gas attack in *1918*, to which Henry simply replies, 'not here, not ever'.[651] In *1914* Billy drags Chopper – who has been repeatedly antagonistic – to safety instead of running to save himself;[652] later in the book, after Jack's death, Billy writes to Jack's parents to inform them that he died 'trying to help his mates' and Chopper goes to 'a lot of trouble' to find and bury his body.[653] Mateship and the need to help each other is shown in *When We Go To War* to be the only motivating force that can get Harry to fight; he will not follow orders but he unquestioningly goes to back up Manaaki.[654] Leith believes in *1916* that 'the men who fought…gave all of themselves, for no better reason than to keep their fellows intact' – 'and what better cause is there than that?', he thinks.[655]

Men in the non-poppy material strive to support each other and protect their mates, emotionally as well as physically. In *1916* Leith swaps his rifle with Tamati's before they form the execution firing squad, as he suspects the sergeant has purposefully given the sensitive Tamati one of the loaded guns.[656] 'You're a good friend, Leith McArran,' Tamati tells him afterwards, much calmer than Leith expected: he is aware that Leith took the loaded rifle – and the weight of the execution – from him.[657] Tamati reciprocates the emotional sensitivity and support; when Mel, from *1915*, does not recognise Leith later on in the hospital, Tamati notices Leith crumple up the photograph he kept of her but 'was a good enough friend to say nothing at all'.[658] The help offered by mates is not always so personal and caring – such as in *1917*, when Bob is paralysed with indecision about when to make a break across a stretch covered by a sniper until Charlie drags him up, saying 'move it, mate!'. This rough help is just as necessary as Tamati's sensitivity, as seconds after making it to another shell hole the one they were in is hit by artillery.[659] Glyn Harper emphasised in his print history *Johnny Enzed* that New Zealanders had a reputation for helping those undergoing field punishment no. 1,[660] and this is seen across several non-poppy texts. The Great War Stories segment on Mark Briggs points out that soldiers tended to look after conscientious objectors,[661] and this narrative is unsurprisingly a key theme of *Field Punishment No. 1*, where everyday soldiers are not the villains that the imperial officers are. Harry gives Baxter food upon leaving Sling Camp, his fellow military prisoners offer him food and medical care, men rush to pick Baxter up when he is shoved by an officer, and they support him on his walk to the front. The other average soldiers shown in the film generally demonstrate sympathy towards the objectors and hesitate to carry out cruel orders given by the officers.[662] In *1917*, Bob stands up for Charlie, whose uncontrollable shaking is seen as cowardice by the major, stating that he will not leave 'while you are threatening this young man'.[663] All these examples demonstrate the importance of mates helping each other and working together within the non-poppy material's WWI narratives.

Several print history authors, most notably Ian McGibbon and Harper, emphasise that the bonds of mateship that were so important to the men were often forged through a shared suffering, and that it was these bonds that helped the men to endure such suffering. The non-poppy material also explores this to some extent. 'The comradeship stood out as the saving grace of the experience,' Jane

[651] Hunt, *1918*, p. 97.
[652] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 170-1.
[653] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 182, 184.
[654] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 3, 'Harry's Letter', aired 3/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[655] Hair, *1916*, p. 278.
[656] Hair, *1916*, p. 197.
[657] Hair, *1916*, p. 202.
[658] Hair, *1916*, p. 270.
[659] Falkner, *1917*, p. 159.
[660] Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, pp. 595, 596.
[661] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Mark Briggs', aired 9/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/mark-briggs-great-war-story.
[662] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[663] Falkner, *1917*, p. 177.

Tolerton writes,[664] echoing Harper's assertions. As mentioned above, Chopper promises Billy that he will bury Jack in *1914*; Chopper has been gradually becoming less antagonistic throughout the text but it is this shared loss that allows them to bond – Billy notes that this is 'the first time Chopper had called him Billy and not Billy Boy'.[665] Similarly, near the end of *1916*, after working together on the spy's code, Prof and Tamati shake hands and realise 'they really were friends, not just pretending'.[666] Weir describes how 'in the disciplined rows of tents surrounding him, [Tane had] found family, he'd found friendship and at last he'd found love'.[667] Suffering undergone as a group is shown to unite men and strengthen their care for each other, such as in *Field Punishment No. 1*, where there is an emphasis on the objectors as a unit and the men worry for each other as they are separated, as well as a strong sense of camaraderie amongst the Mud Field Camp prisoners who all suffer together.[668] 'I wouldn't have survived without their help,' Baxter comments.[669] In *Evie's War*, the titular character notes that men from one unit 'requested to be kept together' rather than being split between wards, and that 'it is clear they take comfort in one another's company'.[670] Throughout the non-poppy material, as in the print histories, the bonds of mateship are both forged by and a respite from shared suffering.

One aspect of the relationships between the men that is consistent across both the print history and non-poppy material is the impact of losing mates. The print histories use the raw and simple emotions conveyed by the men upon losing friends to connect with readers on a more understandable level than academic detail or large-scale destruction, and this is seen in the non-poppy material in the way authors of the fictional texts use the loss of a single friend to communicate the death and suffering of the entire war. Falkner describes in *1917* how Bob's 'only friend in 48 Squadron' becomes another one of 'the grey people' lying on the ground outside the morgue, a familiar cold face in a sea of them.[671] By focusing in on the one face he recognises, which he is barely able to look at, the emotional impact of the war's violence is communicated to the reader more effectively than if Falkner tried to encompass the full scope of the rows of bodies. Characters also encounter the grief of loss second-hand throughout the non-poppy material, emphasising the widespread nature of this suffering. Many texts feature men telling the main characters that they have 'lost a lot of mates':[672] in *1915* a wounded soldier says that he 'could be better' but 'at least I haven't gone west like some of me mates'.[673] In the non-poppy material, most of the people that the main characters meet have a story of losing a friend, and in this way authors are able to portray the scope of the loss men faced while still focussing on the individual feelings of grief – even if they are not always expressed in dramatic ways.

The raw feelings of loss and grief and the inability to hold them back is displayed in the print histories as the most intense emotion shown by the soldiers, and similar outpourings are seen in the non-poppy material, in both fiction and non-fiction. Across the texts the authors depict a wide variety of reactions to the grief and loss, ranging from outpourings of emotion to stoic acknowledgement. Some men 'cried like children' while others stare in disbelief;[674] some men's grief is so overwhelming that it defies conventional expression. In *When We Go To War*, Harry places his hard-won pillow

[664] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 328.
[665] Brocker, *1914*, p. 176.
[666] Hair, *1916*, p. 245.
[667] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 332.
[668] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[669] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*
[670] Anna Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, New Zealand: Longacre, 2015, p. 182.
[671] Falkner, *1917*, p. 37.
[672] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 30, 166; Pooley, *25 April*; Menefy, *1915*, p. 152; Glyn Harper & Jenny Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, Auckland: Puffin Books, 2014, p. 19; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 15, 129.
[673] Menefy, *1915*, p. 81.
[674] Cottrell, 'The Harper Brothers'; Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 213; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 183.

under Toby's bloody head when the latter is shot after getting up to run an errand for Harry: 'you keep it, mate, you keep it', he repeats, the guilt and grief clear even if Harry does not act in a typically depicted way.[675] Men also react differently to the threat or imminence of loss, though always driven by fear, such as Leith in *1916* looking over at his sleeping 'very best friend' Tamati and having 'no trouble picturing him dead'.[676] Some men respond to this fear in narratively expected ways, with the desire to stay close and the promise that they are 'not going anywhere',[677] while others attempt to avoid the grief by becoming closed off, such as Stohle in *1917* or a soldier in *25 April* who requested to transfer out of his brother's unit as he 'just didn't want to be with him on the firing line'.[678] Regardless of how they react to the fear of loss, the men still suffer the grief. It is depicted as traumatic to have to leave dead mates behind, to not be there when they die, or to be left unsure what happened to them.[679] Some authors describe how being there and witnessing it but being unable to do anything is 'the hardest'.[680] In *When We Go To War*, Manaaki's decision to do the one he thing could for the dying Harry is also depicted as traumatic – Manaaki ends the gravely-injured Harry's suffering quickly with his knife and then cannot bear to tell anyone, instead telling Mrs Smith that 'Harry didn't suffer at all'.[681]

When faced with the loss of mates, characters across the non-poppy texts react with different attempts at coping. In *1917*, for example, Bob asserts that he 'will never regret having been friends with someone' and uses the memory of friendships to get through, while Charlie, who 'woke up in that shell crater…with [his] dead friends' and meets Bob 'covered in the blood of his dead friend', tries to be positive but cannot stop his hands shaking. [682] In *Tane's War*, seeing his dead friend's face makes Tane confront the fact that 'despite everything he had been clinging to the idea that he and his friends would make it out together'.[683] The way authors depict the emotions also vary, though often there is a simple starkness, especially in film media, where wordless camera shots can speak volumes: an extreme close-up of dog tags dangling from a friend's fingers, or tightly grasped hands.[684] In *25 April* Ormond Burton describes how a 'friend from school' was shot in the head and 'died the next day'; an extreme high angle shot of him with his friend's body communicates the powerless and overwhelming nature of grief.[685] However it is depicted and however the men respond, the non-poppy material shows that the reverse of strong mateship is inevitable loss. This reflects the emphasis of the print histories on the pain of grief being the most dominant and openly expressed emotion of the men – though within the fictional material, unconstrained by what soldiers expressed in letters or diaries, authors can depict a wider range of responses.

Antagonism between the men, rather than camaraderie, is briefly discussed by a few of the print histories, but this narrative is much more prominent within the non-poppy material, particularly within the *Kiwis at War* series. In *1914*, Chopper bullies Billy, refuses to care for his horse Trojan, and 'doesn't seem to care' if Trojan suffers.[686] Hair describes Kidman in *1916* as 'a thickset, opinionated man' who deals out 'rough justice…behind the officers' backs', including beating Leith and pouring urine in his bed;[687] in *1918*, Dixon's attempt to frame Poppy leaves him so disliked that the men are

[675] Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[676] Hair, *1916*, p. 267.
[677] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*; Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[678] Falkner, *1917*, p. 134; Pooley, *25 April*.
[679] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 86, 191; Burger, 'Cissy's Letter'; Hunt, *1918*, p. 68; Hill & Colston, *The Red Poppy*, p. 25.
[680] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 220; Brocker, *1914*, p. 169.
[681] Burger, 'Harry's Letter', 'Charles's Letter'.
[682] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 161, 168, 189.
[683] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 337
[684] Pooley, *25 April*; Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[685] Pooley, *25 April*.
[686] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 28, 57, 61, 69.
[687] Hair, *1916*, pp. 59, 92.

ready to take him 'to a dark spot and beat [him] within an inch of his life';[688] and in *1915*, Menefy includes a mention of a stoker being 'beaten to death in a fight here on board'.[689] Some texts complicate the narrative of antagonism, such as *Field Punishment No. 1*'s depiction of men following orders to be cruel to the objectors but helping them once officers' backs are turned, or the character of Stohle in *1917*, who Wright says was 'mean' to cope with the constant loss of friends.[690] Overall, however, this narrative is much more prominent in this material than in the print histories. Given the fictional nature of these texts and the need for conflict to drive the story, this is perhaps unsurprising, though it is interesting that these texts are so willing to go against the traditional narrative of mateship in their depictions of certain characters.

The other notable way in which the non-poppy material diverges from traditional narratives of mateship is in the inclusion of gay soldiers, particularly the titular character in *Tane's War.* The only print history to even allude to this idea is Gavin McLean, who asks 'what of same-sex relationships?' and points out that although men would have had to be 'discreet' for fear of punishment, articles in ship magazines about the 'effeminate' and 'abnormal' stewards, who 'strut about hand in hand…and sleep together in couples at night' may be 'more than a dig'.[691] The non-poppy material has more concrete depictions of same-sex relationships; in *When We Go To War*, youngest Smith son James has a relationship with their German neighbours' son George, who returns from the war blind and scarred,[692] and in *Tane's War*, Weir writes a narrative that centres soldiers' same-sex desire. Tane's relationship with British officer Zach is the emotional core of the book, both in the wartime scenes of their relationship developing and in the 1950s narrative where the loss of Zach still drives Tane's actions. Given the social and legal taboos in place it is unsurprising that the print histories are unable to examine this aspect of soldier relationships; first-hand accounts of this nature are unlikely to have survived, or ever been recorded in the first place. A strength of the fictional non-poppy texts is the ability to speculate and imagine, unlimited by existing primary sources. Authors such as Weir can go beyond the boundaries of diaries and letters to create texts that offer representation for a group so marginalised as to have become nearly invisible, taking the scant findings of Stevan Eldred-Grigg and Chris Brickell[693] and expanding them into fictional narratives that explore the hypothetical realities in a way that historians cannot.

Although their mates were the key relationship of the New Zealand soldiers, the way they interacted with their superiors also forms an important aspect of their narrative – and the non-poppy material shows that it is not only their mates that men can have complicated relationships with. The way officers treated their men is a plot point in many of the non-poppy texts, with both kind and cruel leaders being present. The print histories challenged the concept of bumbling British officers and depicted instead a reciprocal respect between the New Zealand leaders and their men, and the non-poppy material does follow this narrative, with the texts often portraying the paternal care of the officers and the respect and faith that their men had for them. General Andrew Russell is described by Tolerton as 'a popular and respected leader',[694] and the Great War Stories segment on William Malone emphasises that although he was tough on the men he knew when they were too worn down to go on and always 'led from the front, bayonet drawn'.[695] Tolerton writes that Malone was

[688] Hunt, *1918*, p. 181.
[689] Menefy, *1915*, p. 216.
[690] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*; Falkner, *1917*, p. 134.
[691] Gavin McLean, *The White Ships: New Zealand's First World War Hospital Ships*, Wellington: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 2013, p. 137.
[692] Burger, 'Harry's Letter', 'Cissy's Letter'.
[693] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI*, Auckland: Random House, 2010**,** p. 442; Chris Brickell, *Mates and Lovers: A History of Gay New Zealand*, Auckland: Godwit, 2008, pp. 91-92.
[694] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 287.
[695] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'William Malone', aired 23/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/william-malone-great-war-story.

'seen as the embodiment of what New Zealanders wanted in a leader' as he was 'tough but fair, innovative and protective' and 'refused to send men on a suicide mission though he risked court martial'.[696] Hair includes Peter Buck as a character in his fictional text and portrays him as a steady, caring leader who 'had an unflinching quality that made Leith feel brave', and Colonel Augustus King is presented as good-humoured and caring towards Tamati, who thinks of the officers as 'good blokes' who 'treat us as soldiers, not things'.[697]

Authors use fictional leaders to embody the paternal care of officers described by several print histories and reflected in non-poppy accounts of real leaders. In *1918*, Corporal Murdoch can tell that Henry is afraid of dark confined spaces and subtly gets him out of tunnelling work by assigning him the sawing outside the tunnel,[698] demonstrating not only care for his emotional wellbeing but an awareness of his social needs, as it masks his fear from the rest of the unit. In *When We Go To War*, Charles volunteers to stay until the end of the evacuation as he 'can't abandon his men', and carefully twists the truth in letters to parents of his deceased men, doing his best to bring comfort and hide the gruesome realities of war.[699] The painful 'obligation' of writing such letters is mentioned in Mackenzie's novel, as Evie wonders at how many each captain must write.[700] The trauma suffered by officers who lost men is also depicted in *Evie's War*, where Evie is told by a distressed colonel on her ward: 'They're good men…there was no hope of success...I ordered them over the top and they went. Good lads. Good brave lads…I ordered them and they went'.[701] Whether real, fictional or somewhere in between, many of the non-poppy leaders display the same paternal care and concern for their men that was emphasised in the print histories.

The non-poppy material does, however, give many examples of officers and NCOs who did not earn the respect of their men or care for them. In contrast to Mackenzie's traumatised colonel, the lieutenant colonel in *Tane's War* has no trouble specifying that the men must be forced 'over the top by whatever means necessary' even though he himself calls it 'a suicide charge' – and Captain Faulks, heeding this instruction, does not hesitate to point his pistol at his men as he commands them to charge.[702] In *1918*, Sergeant Bell points his rifle at Mark and tells him, 'obey my orders or I'll shoot you right there'.[703] 'Good officers and NCOs know what orders are right to give', Leith thinks in *1916*, when told that soldiers obey orders,[704] highlighting the difference between the paternal care of 'good' officers who care about their men and those who have to bully and threaten to be obeyed. *Field Punishment No. 1* has no shortage of cruel officers, who beat the objectors, accuse them of harming morale, and never show a hint of compassion or hesitance. Peter Burger uses camerawork to emphasise the uncaring nature of the officers; when Baxter is ordered to march to the front, the officer is shot from a low angle with the sun behind him obscuring his features – making him appear powerful, inhuman and menacing. The officers in Burger's text are neither paternal nor bumbling; they are embodiments of the senseless cruelty of war and it is 'pity', not respect, that Baxter says he feels towards them.[705] Other film texts also focus on the indifference or cruelty of the officers. In *25 April*, one soldier believes that 'General Headquarters saw us as a kind of sideshow' on the Gallipoli

[696] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 102.
[697] Hair, *1916*, pp. 121, 229.
[698] Hunt, *1918*, p.147.
[699] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 4, 'Awa's Letter', aired 10/5/2015. Blu-ray; Burger, 'Cissy's Letter'.
[700] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 139.
[701] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 122.
[702] Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 337, 340.
[703] Hunt, *1918*, p. 281.
[704] Hair, *1916*, p. 191.
[705] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.

Peninsula,[706] and in *When We Go To War*, Sergeant Graves hurls abuse at soldiers.[707] When Charles tries to tell his superior officer about the supplies failing to reach the frontlines, he does not even bother responding – illustrating the stark difference between the British officers and the New Zealand men, like Charles, who are directly in charge of their men.[708] Hair includes Sergeant McCauley in *1916*, a 'mongrel' who 'thinks if he can keep other men down, he'll always sit atop 'em' and is relentlessly antagonistic towards Leith while his mates 'get a free ride'.[709] Sergeant Bell in *1918* is relentlessly cruel to Mark to the extent that Mark tries to shoot him.[710] These are more extreme examples of officers' and NCOs' antagonism than seen in the print histories, which mention that some officers were greatly disliked but avoids specific depictions. Fictional authors have much more leeway to show officers' cruelty than the print histories, but it is still notable that there is such a significant part of the non-poppy narrative that revolves around this antagonism, and that it diverges so significantly from the print history narratives.

The most obvious antagonistic relationship that the New Zealand soldier had was with his enemy, both Turkish and German. There is a surprising lack of enemy presence in the non-poppy material, with most of the conflict of the fictional texts being between the men, as discussed above. However, the soldiers are always aware of the enemy's proximity and much of the inner conflict or motivation of the characters comes from their perceived relationship with the German and Turkish men on the other side of no-man's-land. The narrative of men hating their enemy – particularly out of loss – is prominent across the non-poppy material, with plenty of characters seeking revenge for lost mates, as they occasionally do in the print histories. In *1917*, Bob describes his hatred and 'bloodlust' towards the enemy who killed his brother as a 'steely desire for vengeance' and a 'need to punish…hurt…kill my enemy', while in *1918* Henry also feels a vengeful hatred 'so strong that it drowned all fear…any sensible thought or action', and *1914*'s Chopper is 'on the warpath' after the death of one of his friends.[711] The titular character of *Tane's War* repeatedly talks about wanting to get revenge on the Germans, promising the 'German bastards' that he will 'pay [them] back' after a torpedo leaves his friends 'dead on the ocean floor'.[712] This desire for revenge is more prominent than in the print histories, but the Great War Story on Syrian New Zealander Rizk Alexander, who 'wanted a crack' at the Ottomans occupying his country,[713] demonstrates that it was felt by real people as well as the non-poppy material's fictional characters. It is also apparent in non-combatants, both real and fictional: Tolerton includes an account from a New Zealand woman living in London who went to view a crashed Zeppelin and 'felt how awful, men were in it' – but was still 'glad some more of the enemy had been killed'.[714] In *When We Go To War*, young James asserts to the family's neighbour Mrs Mueller, who has family still in Germany, that 'there's only one right side'[715] and the detective – who lost his son at Gallipoli – tells Manaaki, 'I hope every one of those Turks you shot…I hope they died slow and painful'.[716] Some characters show hatred even for dead enemies' bodies; in *1918*, Mark at first refuses to help move German bodies, asserting that he is 'not touching that filthy animal' and kicking at the body to try and move it onto the stretcher before Henry stops him from showing such disrespect.[717] A similar thing happens in *Field Punishment No. 1*,

[706] Pooley, *25 April*.
[707] Burger, 'Awa's Letter'.
[708] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[709] Hair, *1916*, pp. 193, 194.
[710] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 224, 326.
[711] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 54, 110, 226, 287; Hunt, *1918*, pp. 282, 286; Brocker, *1914*, p. 134.
[712] Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 213, 214, 215, 217, 334.
[713] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Rizk Alexander', aired 23/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/rizk-alexander-great-war-story.
[714] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 239.
[715] Burger, 'Awa's Letter'.
[716] Burger, 'Charles's letter'.
[717] Hunt, *1918*, p. 214.

when Baxter, in response to James's disgust, closes the eyes of a dead German and tells James, 'Look at him…he's not a demon, he's a man!'.[718] Baxter tries to overcome James's hatred by giving him a picture of the man's wife and children that Baxter pulls from his pocket along with unsent letters he intends to send.[719]

This more humanised image of the enemy also appears throughout the non-poppy material, with some narratives contrasting heavily with the ones discussed above. When characters do kill the enemy they are filled not with righteous vengeance but grief; Brocker depicts Billy feeling considerable remorse after killing an enemy, being unable to sleep because 'when he closed his eyes, he saw the face of the young Turkish soldier he'd bayoneted'.[720] Elite sniper Manaaki in *When We Go To War* also expresses regret at the deaths of Turkish men: 'I've killed many men,' he tearfully tells Awa, and when she retorts that they were Turks he says that 'they were men just the same'.[721] When the German or Turkish soldiers are alive and fighting, there are texts that depict a respect for their skill and an acknowledgement that they are 'just men', as Baxter and Manaaki say. Henry in *1918* asserts that German soldiers 'didn't want to fight any more than [we] do' and also have worried families back at home,[722] something that Billy also thinks about in *1914*.[723] Billy considers the Turkish soldiers 'incredibly brave and determined' and believes they were sent 'off to slaughter' by their officers, same as the Anzac men.[724] *25 April* depicts the Turkish enemy as worthy of respect, with one soldier saying all the rumours of Turkish atrocities 'weren't true' and that they were 'a gallant foe' who he 'didn't bear any malice'.[725] In *When We Go To War*, Charles – the steadfastly moral character of the narrative – says that he 'respects the Turk as a worthy adversary',[726] and in *1917* Wright tells Bob that he admires German pilot Voss, saying that 'our respect for each other's skill' is what 'raises us flyers above' the horror of the trenches.[727] Bob can later admit that he also 'admired' the German ace, to the extent of rooting for him during an impossible dogfight.[728] The Germans of *1917* return the favour, as Bob is freed from the path of an oncoming tank by his German captor and let go by Voss, who later writes to Bob to say that he allowed him to escape 'as a tribute to your skill'.[729]

Although he makes appearances only rarely, when the enemy does show up in the non-poppy material, he is generally not depicted as a violent demon. Tolerton quotes a nurse who cared for German soldiers and 'found them very nice', as well as Dr. Jessie Scott's assertion that 'the enemy behaved very well, and were quite nice and polite'.[730] Friendly interactions between the men are shown; Brocker depicts the burial truce at Gallipoli, writing that the men 'tried chatting to one another', managing to 'exchange hesitant smiles and…swap cigarettes like condolences' despite the language barrier.[731] Men sharing cigarettes at Gallipoli is also depicted in *25 April*, with a close up shot of the hands to emphasise the connection being made between Anzac and Turkish soldiers.[732] The narrative presented to children in picture book *The Red Poppy* is very much one of camaraderie and suffering together with the enemy, in the same way that the New Zealand men's mateship is depicted. Main character Jim has to remind himself that 'those poor men' are the enemy and he

[718] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[719] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[720] Brocker, *1914*, p. 124.
[721] Burger, 'Charles's letter'.
[722] Hunt, *1918*, p. 214.
[723] Brocker, *1914*, p. 124.
[724] Brocker, *1914*, p. 124.
[725] Pooley, *25 April*.
[726] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[727] Falkner, *1917*, p. 102.
[728] Falkner, *1917*, p. 270.
[729] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 256, 302.
[730] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 33, 141.
[731] Brocker, *1914*, p. 126.
[732] Pooley, *25 April*.

'mustn't think that way' as his natural instinct is towards empathy; when he becomes trapped in a shell hole with an injured 'Fritz', Jim bandages his wounds and they talk as much as they can through the language barrier. When they are rescued, Jim's comrades make sure to help Karl, telling him, 'you'll be all right, Fritz'.[733] The book ends with Jim hoping that Karl will be okay and promising that he 'won't ever forget…the enemy who wasn't an enemy'.[734] Written by award-winning children's author David Hill, this celebrated take on the WWI story focusses on a peaceful relationship between a German and New Zealand soldier – indicating the kind of war narrative that is being presented to children. Although hatred towards the enemy is present in the non-poppy material, it is usually a response to loss – the grief of mateship – rather than blind bloodlust. Overall, the preferred narrative in this material seems to be focussed on the protagonist New Zealand soldier as understanding and preferring connection over conflict – something that is reflected in the depiction of all his relationships in the non-poppy material. As in the print histories, the New Zealand soldier's bonds of mateship are vitally important and central, though there is more antagonism shown (though never by the main characters), potentially to drive the necessary narrative conflict. That the main conflicts between characters in the fictional material is between New Zealanders – especially men and their officers – rather than with the enemy is notable.

The print histories pointed out the relationship that existed between mounted men and their horses, a bond which is emphasised even more in the non-poppy material. The introduction to the Great War Stories segments mentions 'men, women, Māori, Pakeha, and even horses', indicating a focus on the equine companions that is seen throughout many of these texts.[735] The segment on 'Bess the horse' quotes a soldier's assertion that 'he is more than a friend. He is part of the soldier's very life'. The segment goes on to discuss the 'heartbreak' suffered by 'the men who loved their horses' when the animals died on transport ships, as well as the 'many happy meetings between man and horse' when the mounted men were reunited with their own horses in Egypt after Gallipoli.[736] Other Great War Stories mention the 'quite incredible' bond between soldiers and their 'beloved' horses as well as 'the security and love that they got from their animals',[737] an echo of the narratives in the print histories as well as the themes of mateship between the men. Reddiex has a whole chapter on 'A Brave Steed', including many postcards that depict horses and the relationship the men had with them[738] – such as one featuring a 'knowing gaze' between a horse and his 'gentle, reassuring' rider, which is captioned 'PALS!'.[739] In *1914*, Brocker centres the relationship between men and their horses in her narrative about the Mounted Rifles: 'they'd become mates'.[740] There are multiple references to the 'fondness' and 'love' the men have for their horses,[741] and the deep sadness felt when horses died or were separated from them.[742] Brocker makes the horses full characters in the narrative, with their own distinctive traits – the leader, the one who is 'laid back and unruffled', 'the stroppy one'.[743] Billy's bond with his horse Tui, who travels with him all the way from his farm, is emphasised by Brocker, and goes both ways: Tui 'look[s] to him…her brown eyes searching his' for reassurance when

[733] Hill & Colston, *The Red Poppy*, pp. 11, 23, 24, 31, 33.
[734] Hill & Colston, *The Red Poppy*, p. 38.
[735] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Lady Liverpool', aired 4/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/lady-liverpool-great-war-story.
[736] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Bess the horse', aired 10/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/bess-horse-great-war-story.
[737] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Thomas Blake', aired 20/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/thomas-blake-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Eric and Rewi Alley', aired 23/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/eric-and-rewi-alley-great-war-story.
[738] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 59-65.
[739] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 62.
[740] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 111, 195.
[741] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 31, 191.
[742] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 77, 111, 112, 191, 195.
[743] Brocker, *1914*, p. 60.

the guns and artillery fire, and she nuzzles him 'just as she'd always done' when he reunites with her after being wounded.[744] Her body is 'the only shade to be found' in the desert as Billy rests against her and a lock of her mane acts as a talisman for him.[745] Billy's love for Tui is even mentioned in *1915*, where he cameos to tell his cousin Harriet, a main character of *1915*, about his visit to see her.[746] In the fictional narrative that Brocker builds, the bond between Billy and Tui is as important and strong as that between Billy and Jack. They are 'mates' as much as any pair of soldiers, and this creates an emotional depth to the narrative that works to engage readers and heighten their connection to Billy's story.

Interestingly, the non-poppy material also shows strong bonds between the men and other animals. The Great War Stories series includes two segments focused solely on animals,[747] and several of the texts focus on an important animal – particularly dogs. *The Red Poppy* and *1918* both feature dogs that are both crucial to the plot as well as being the emotional heart of the narrative. Hill depicts how 'messenger dog' Nipper saves Jim and Karl,[748] while in *1918* Poppy the rat-catching terrier is seen as both a good luck charm and emotional support for the men.[749] *25 April* includes the doctor's dog Paddy, who 'everyone loved' and was 'very good for morale'.[750] Tolerton mentions a number of dogs: Jock the bulldog mascot, who the ship doctors tended to because 'if Jock died, then our good luck died also'; the Wellington Regiment's black and white Sealyham dog Billy, delivered by plane to his injured owner in England; Dr Mary Blair's adopted dog Muggins, whose photo Tolerton includes.[751] The inclusion of animals is an easy way to build pathos in a story, and the non-poppy material uses the bonds between men and their various companion animals to create emotional responses in the reader, as well as a deeper engagement for those who have an affection for animals – something particularly effective in texts for young people. The non-poppy material widens the scope of who could be a 'mate' to deepen the potential for emotional response, reflecting these texts' greater focus on the intimacies of the New Zealand soldiers' relationships. Mates made and lost is one of the key emotive themes of the WWI narrative – with the other being the suffering that was capable of sundering these bonds.

[744] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 93, 193.
[745] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 100, 154.
[746] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 135-6.
[747] Cottrell, 'Bess the Horse'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Gallipoli tortoise', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/gallipoli-tortoise-great-war-story.
[748] Hill & Colston, *The Red Poppy*, pp. 26-29.
[749] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 261, 330, 381.
[750] Pooley, *25 April*.
[751] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 97, 259, 314, 334.

FOUR 'It is vile': Suffering and sacrifice

The print histories

Telling a war story will always involve depictions of violence and death; war is the business of killing and dying. Depictions of WWI in particular – the first war where battlefield wounds killed more than disease, the war remembered for its mud and flies and trenches – will always necessitate grappling with the line between realistic portrayals of soldiers' experiences and wallowing in the gore and horror. WWI narratives, particularly fictional ones, have been savaged by critics as 'an indigestible cross between *Downton Abbey* and a horror movie',[752] and this amalgamation of soapy drama and visceral suffering is one arguably inappropriate for commemoration material, given its potential to overshadow real human experience. The WW100 Programme asserted that it would create an 'appropriate' tone with its material,[753] while non-Programme sources had no such caveat. This chapter examines how these sources portrayed suffering in several different ways: depictions of graphic violence and gore, evoking or avoiding disgust in the audience, portrayals of emotional suffering – including of families – and the use of evocative, figurative language. Related to the depictions of suffering are how creators deal with the theme of sacrifice – the justification for the suffering. The adage of fighting and dying for freedom or one's country has a prominent place in WWI narratives, and the idea that 'they died for us' still features in the popular imagination.[754] Emphasising the sacrifice narrative can soften the portrayal of suffering, while a greater focus on violence and misery can make the idea of sacrifice ring hollow. This chapter explores both these narratives to compare the ways in which different authors crafted narratives of suffering and sacrifice. Most authors portray violence, gore and the disgusting elements of the war, often through strongly emotive language, while also examining emotional suffering. The justification of sacrifice is present, though the pointlessness or 'cost' of the war is just as – if not more – prominent in these texts.

The rise of visceral horror in texts about WWI was evident in a comparison between Christopher Pugsley and James Belich, writing nearly two decades apart. Pugsley's Gallipoli narrative was formed out of the recollections of veterans, with large verbatim sections. The understated nature of the soldiers' accounts means that there was little room for labouring over the horrors of the trenches. Though there are descriptions of 'rotten cheese and jam that ran like thin watery juice', sterile mentions of dysentery, and references to being 'dirty, unkempt, bearded',[755] the filth of WWI battlefields is not graphically present on the page. A blunt description of the Auckland and Otago battalions having been 'shot to pieces' is about as gory as Pugsley got.[756] His 2004 text, with its focus on military history and the development of the New Zealand army, also focused more on troop movements and command decisions than the experience of the soldiers. Like Michael King a year earlier in his history of New Zealand,[757] Pugsley's 2004 book acknowledged the loss and devastation of WWI through accepted phrases and images, and the book ended with the assertion that on Anzac

[752] Simon Jenkins, '1914: The Great War has become a nightly pornography of violence', 4/10/2014, retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/aug/04/1914-first-world-war-pornography-violence-centenary-military-propaganda on 10/11/2020.

[753] Though it did not specify what this meant. 'Mission and Objectives', www.ww100.govt.nz/mission-and-objectives, retrieved 12/2/2019.

[754] Mark Sheehan and Martyn Davison, '"We need to remember they died for us": How young people in New Zealand make meaning of war remembrance and commemoration of the First World War', *London Review of Education* 15:2 (2017), pp. 259-271.

[755] Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984, pp. 20, 18.

[756] Pugsley, *Gallipoli,* p. 18.

[757] Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, North Shore: Penguin, 2003, p. 304.

Day 'we gather as citizens to...ponder...the nature of heroic sacrifice'.[758] Similarly to King, Pugsley closed his text with the dedication 'lest we forget'.[759]

Belich, on the other hand, had a heavy emphasis on the suffering of the soldiers and the social concept of sacrifice. Belich asserted that 'the cult of Anzac' was formed around '18,000 Kiwi Christs...whose sacrifice simply *had* to have been for a noble cause'.[760] He wrote that 'unprotected humans' were trained for a 'career as human fertiliser', shipped overseas as 'fresh blades in the razor', and left to drown 'slowly in mud consisting partly of (their) own predecessors'. If they survived, they were then 'fattened up...[and] sent back to the slaughter'. [761] This linguistic emphasis on visceral suffering was echoed by Stevan Eldred-Grigg, who described Gallipoli as 'a charnel house', 'a killing machine' where 'soldiers were ripped open, torn apart'; he wrote that the Somme saw 'two thousand [soldiers] left behind as rotting or frozen limbs, heads, hands, feet and trunks'.[762] The language of violence, as exemplified by both Belich and Eldred-Grigg, was enmeshed in the narratives of WWI, to the extent that it often formed their titles, such as Glyn Harper's 2000 text *Massacre at Passchendaele*.[763] Robyn Hyde's biography of James Douglas Stark is a clear example of the enduring power of this language: the title, *Passport to Hell*, uses one of the most common evocative words used by WWI authors, and 79 years later, a reprint featured on the cover the quote 'No Man's Land found its voice – a mindless, sightless voice that howled on and on. No Man's Land was a picture of hell'.[764] This 'picture of hell' and its enduring presence in the historiography looms large over the material produced during the centenary period.

In text mediums, such as books, authors have a great deal of control over how they describe violence: they can use evocative language and include graphic detail to emphasise, or use allusion or exclusion to downplay. The print history authors all had to make decisions about how graphic to make their texts and were all ostensibly led by the Programme's objective to be 'appropriate' in tone. Of the eleven volumes, only two (those focussing on the home front) lack any graphic depictions of violence or gore.[765] Damien Fenton's text, the print history most clearly aimed at a wide audience (including school ages), opens the 'Wounded in Action: Evacuation' two-page spread with a description of the 'terrible wounds' inflicted by shellfire: 'Jagged fragments of red-hot metal shredded and punctured soldiers' bodies, ripping limbs from torsos and tearing flesh from bone'.[766]

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[758] Christopher Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience: New Zealand, Australia and Empire in the First World War*, Auckland: Reed Books, 2004, pp. 309, 313.
[759] Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*, p. 313.
[760] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001, pp. 116, 117.
[761] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 96, 98, 104.
[762] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI*, Auckland: Random House, 2010**,** p. 145, 216, 277.
[763] Glyn Harper, *Massacre at Passchendaele: The New Zealand Story*, UK: FireStep Books, 2011.
[764] First published in 1936, this quote features of the cover of the 2015 edition. It is worth noting that DIB Smith in his introduction to the 1986 edition (reprinted in the 2015 edition, p. xiii) asserted that Hyde did not choose the title and was unhappy with it, though if the publishers selected it that is more testament to the perceived effectiveness of this kind of language. Robyn Hyde, *Passport to Hell*, Auckland University Press, 2015.
[765] This is obviously a subjective judgement. I have been guided partly by the Classifications Office's interpretations of the Films, Videos, and Publications Act 1993, which specifies that 'particular weight' is given to how texts 'describe, depict or otherwise deal with…torture, serious physical harm and acts of significant cruelty'. Section 3(3), retrieved from https://www.classificationoffice.govt.nz/about-nz-classification/the-classification-criteria/ on 30/9/2021. I was also guided by the Classification Office's justification of their RP16 rating for *They Shall Not Grow Old*, which highlights the graphic and real nature of violence and suffering depicted. https://www.classificationoffice.govt.nz/news/featured-classification-decisions/they-shall-not-grow-old/, retrieved 30/9/2021.
[766] Damien Fenton, *New Zealand and the First World War 1914-1919*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2013, p. 76.

Anna Rogers' medical history is, unsurprisingly, the most gory of the print histories, and opens with a similar description of the 'many ways to be wounded or killed': 'Bodies were pierced and mangled by the red-hot metal of shrapnel…bones were shattered…faces mutilated beyond recognition…[g]as blinded and blistered and excoriated throats and lungs.'[767] Other authors give descriptions of specific injuries or experiences to give a snapshot of the suffering, such as Adam Claasen's recount of what happened when an airman 'obliterated' his aircraft: 'his right eyeball was hanging from its socket…the eyeball had narrowly avoided being squashed'.[768] A variety of terrible ways to suffer or die are presented throughout the texts, such as being buried alive by shell explosions (or by a burial party) – a 'particularly terrifying' experience[769] – or airmen being trapped in their burning aircraft, the 'stuff of nightmares' that necessitated pilots being issued with handguns that were no use in combat.[770] Authors describe men drowning in shell holes in the mud of the Western Front or being so weak from disease that they fell backwards into the latrine at Walker's Ridge, a 'seething mass of maggots'.[771]

Corpses and body parts are emphasised as part of the landscape of war: Gallipoli was 'strewn' and 'carpeted' with 'decomposing bodies', the 'trenches clogged with dead' as the men were 'forced to live amongst the dead', with the battlefield eventually so 'befouled' that the burial truce was necessary to deal with the bodies.[772] Throughout the print histories, there are 'battered' bodies and 'mangled remains':[773] on the battlefield, it all became a 'mangled mess'.[774] Ian McGibbon quotes several accounts of 'corpses and bits of corpses…sticking out everywhere': 'unclaimed and detached portions of our brave men lay scattered'.[775] Glyn Harper also includes soldiers' descriptions of such sights: 'Pale discoloured hands and limbs, stiff feet and swollen buttocks projected grotesquely from the soil'.[776] Authors such as Harper and Monty Soutar include accounts of body parts being disturbed by artillery;[777] Claasen describes how 'corpses expanded and deflated in the hot sun' before being shelled, with fiery 'pieces of clothing, pieces of dead bodies' falling on nearby soldiers.[778] The body parts continue to pile up in the medical descriptions; Rogers records an ambulance man's observation of 'operating rooms like butchers' shops. Arms and legs coming off wholesale'.[779] This gorier approach can emphasise a tone of body horror, but in a text rather than visual medium, the effect is rather to lessen the emphasis of human suffering, as the focus is on physical damage rather than the soldier's pain or distress. Descriptions of a body being harmed may elicit a strong response – the instinctive cringe of imagining a dangling eyeball – but when it is divorced from the realities of

[767] Anna Rogers, *With Them Through Hell: New Zealand Medical Services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018, p. 7.
[768] Adam Claasen, *Fearless: The extraordinary untold story of New Zealand's Great War airmen*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017, p. 169.
[769] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 340, 352; Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, p. 404 Gavin McLean, *The White Ships: New Zealand's First World War Hospital Ships*, Wellington: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 2013, p. 114.
[770] Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2016, p. 248; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 227.
[771] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 420; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 90.
[772] Peter Stanley, '"The Finest Type of Coloured Men": Indians' and New Zealanders' Encounters on Gallipoli', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 135; Fenton, *First World War*, p 21; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 148; Monty Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Maori in the First World War*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2019, p. 155; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 79.
[773] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 7; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 178; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 66.
[774] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 466.
[775] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 79, 87, 136.
[776] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 300.
[777] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 404; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 187.
[778] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 80.
[779] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 374.

the men's suffering and not accompanied by graphic images, it is less confrontational. There is a depersonalisation in the images of body parts: when human beings become severed limbs and strewn corpses, the text becomes more gory but less emotional. Readers are not witness to the violence done to New Zealand soldiers – only the grisly pieces left behind.

Many authors depict the gore and violence of war using direct quotes from soldiers or medics. Rogers, with her medical sources, makes significant use of quotes to describe the wounds suffered by soldiers: shells 'rip[ed] through the chest, perforating the intestines…', and soldiers with facial wounds who lay down suffered their 'tongue rolling back in his throat, or blood and mucus blocking his airways'. [780] Gavin McLean also uses his medical sources to depict the violence done to New Zealand soldiers, such as the diary of a crewman aboard the *Maheno*, who wrote how 'of course death was a relief' for a man who had a 'big lump of shrapnel [that] had gone through his brain, broken both jaws & lodged in the neck'.[781] Harper recounts a stretcher-bearer's recollection of a man who was 'a gory mess of exuded and vomited blood' and a 19-year-old soldier's account of the man next to him on a hospital ship: '…there were bandages round his head had got tight and he levered them up with this pencil and all the blood ran down his face and he dropped again to the deck…'.[782] Using these first-hand accounts allows authors to include such 'gory', 'ghastly', sometimes allegedly worse-than-death injuries without having to make judgements on word choice or severity: they will not be criticised for either glossing over or overemphasising the violence, as these are the words of those who saw it and were involved.

There is also an emphasis on the agony of wounds and the prolonged general suffering endured by injured men. McLean and Rogers point out 'the miseries caused by bullet and shell wounds' when a soldier at Gallipoli, 'lucky simply to have his wound dressed', would wait for days to be carried to the beach and then would lie there 'without food or water…out in the open, under a fierce sun' for several days more: 'many were in agony, many were dying.'[783] McGibbon describes how on the Western Front, being wounded also meant 'lying out in the open' for long periods of time as 'a single day was insufficient to bring in all the wounded'; soldiers with 'terrible wounds' who were 'cold, frightened and in shock' could only wait and hope for rescue.[784] Even once a solder was evacuated things often did not significantly improve: Rogers notes in her chapter 'Getting It Wrong' that the 'necessarily slow and careful loading process' of men onto the hospital ships was an 'endless nightmare' as shells fell around the boats, and, although 'orderlies slaved for 12-hour stretches', men were left in their bloody uniforms with unwashed wounds and sepsis setting in.[785] McLean recounts a soldier's recollection that on the whole journey to Alexandria he 'lay there without any attention at all with these sticky bandages…they began to get a bit nasty'.[786] In the Middle East, wounded men were transported in cacolets borne by a camel; Harper describes this as a 'pitiful' plight due to the camel's rolling gait and includes a soldier's account of the 'agonising experience' of being evacuated to safety.[787] Rogers describes the cacolets as 'coffin-like', often causing nausea, vomiting and 'indescribable pain' for the entirety of the journey, sometimes 48 hours.[788] At the end of the journey, more suffering could await; Rogers describes how those with facial injuries could endure up to 50 operations, with some refusing further surgery when they had 'had enough'.[789] Several authors point

[780] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 70, 340, 375.
[781] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 71.
[782] Harper, *Johnny Enzed,* pp. 427, 212.
[783] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 64-5; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 73.
[784] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 133, 142.
[785] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 63, 65.
[786] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 39.
[787] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 493, 524.
[788] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 132.
[789] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 379.

out that although getting a 'blighty', a wound bad enough to get a solider evacuated, was desired and envied by many men, in reality it began a lengthy and agonising process of suffering.[790]

The suffering of dead and dying men lying out in the open for extended periods of time also impacted the soldiers forced to live and work amongst them, and several of the print histories emphasise this impact. Authors recount how soldiers found wounded men's unanswered cries for water and aid highly distressing.[791] Harper details a scene that 'continued to haunt' a soldier years later: 'a sea of inverted rifles as far as one could see', each marking a wounded man who needed rescuing.[792] Soutar quotes a Māori soldier who recorded that when having to walk over 'half dead' Turkish at Chailak Dere, he 'could feel it when you trample on them' and chose to 'finish them off…instead of leaving them there to suffer'.[793] McLean includes an account of the burials at sea aboard the *Maheno*, where 'two were so bad that they would not sink. I think I had to…tie more weights onto the canvas…I cannot write what I had to do as it is too awful. I came back & was ill at the thought of it'.[794] Dealing with the bodies is a suffering also recounted by Harper, who gives a detailed description of the burial truce at Gallipoli, an 'horrific ordeal' that left those assigned to it 'sick in the stomach' and 'utterly prostrated in body and spirit' due to the rotting sights and smells of the weeks-old corpses.[795] Living in this environment surrounded by the dead resulted in several distressing events detailed by the print histories: McGibbon describes an 'unpleasant taste' in the cocoa being caused by 'two weeks-old corpses' being discovered in the well,[796] while Harper describes a soldier's night spent sleeping on an amputated arm.[797]

Gas attacks are presented by several authors as a particularly terrifying threat. Rogers describes the physical effects of chlorine (men were 'blue and panic-stricken as they felt themselves drowning in the fluid rising ever higher in their lungs'), phosgene ('colourless…more powerful…more deadly', and 'almost impossible to eradicate') and mustard gas, the worst of all: it 'assaulted the entire body, inside and out', becoming 'the stuff of horror stories' as it blistered and rotted men's skin, bronchial tubes and eyes, causing blindness, agony, infection and potentially a very slow death.[798] Harper and Fenton point out that gas attacks were not particularly deadly – around a 3-4% fatality rate, Harper writes, and Fenton claims that victims 'usually survived'.[799] Yet the authors agree that men were left 'badly maimed' and that the prospect of 'a ghastly death if they didn't react quickly enough' caused significant psychological suffering.[800] In those 3-4% of deadly cases, it was 'a horrible, slow and painful way to die'.[801] McGibbon minimises the threat posed by gas noticeably more than other authors, writing that 'most recovered' – even if after a 'prolonged absence from the front' – and that gas masks 'on and working' prevented casualties.[802] But McGibbon admits that even the masks themselves could cause suffering, as they could freeze up in cold weather, the eye-piece could fog up, and they did not allow fresh air, resulting in 'foetid' smells that could make men vomit.[803] Fenton calls gas 'notorious',[804] and it is one of the lasting cultural tropes of WWI, a violence never seen

[790] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 306; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 132.
[791] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 214; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 23; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 158; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 155.
[792] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 420.
[793] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 135.
[794] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 73.
[795] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 224, 226.
[796] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 253.
[797] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 403.
[798] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 163, 165.
[799] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 283; Fenton, *First World War*, p 58.
[800] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 58; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 256; Harper, *Johnny Enzed,* pp. 283, 366, 368.
[801] Harper, *Johnny Enzed,* p. 366.
[802] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 50, 73, 96, 255, 256.
[803] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 96, 256-7.
[804] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 58.

before. The treatment it receives in the print histories largely plays into this, though it is worth noting that only four of the eleven authors even discuss gas attacks, and most seem conscious of the fact that readers will likely have strong preconceived ideas about the sufferings caused by them.

Suffering and violence are generally most striking in image rather than text, and several print history authors make use of graphic photographs to illustrate their narratives. Some images are used by multiple authors: Rogers, McLean and Soutar all use the photograph of wounded men being evacuated on small boats from Anzac Cove.[805] Although not a viscerally violent image, the sheer number of bodies lying in the boats emphasises the scale of the violence being done at Gallipoli in a way hard to describe with words. The extent to which authors choose to include graphic images varies; Harper, who does not shy away from descriptions of death and suffering, omits any pictures of bodies or gory wounds, while Fenton, whose book aims to be more widely accessible, has photographs of dead bodies – those of Turkish soldiers lying unburied at Gallipoli and a British soldier decomposed mostly to a skeleton.[806] Rogers uses images of dead horses, in which the spilling innards can be seen – albeit from a distance and in greyscale – and of human injuries where the blood-soaked dressings hint at the damage but the black and white nature of the image makes it less graphic.[807] But she does not depict human corpses. Zane Kidd includes a photograph of the burial armistice at Gallipoli – shot from a distance and grainy, it is hard to discern the corpses; there is no gore and the bodies are completely unidentifiable.[808] McGibbon and Soutar use the same image of a dead German soldier and horses, which is not gory – any blood is obscured by the lack of colour – but the open eyes and mouth of the soldier likely make it one of the images most likely to disturb readers in the print histories.[809] The other notably graphic image is presented in Fenton's text: 'the head (top right) and torso of a British victim of German artillery'.[810] That Fenton felt the need to specify what part of the image is the head is testament to the graphic nature of the soldier's injuries. It is notable that none of the print history authors include images of dead New Zealand men – it is significantly more common to see enemy bodies. Serious, graphic violence being done to New Zealand men's bodies is acceptable in the text of the print histories, but images of dead New Zealanders appear to cross over the line of what the Programme deemed 'appropriate'.

Alongside physical violence, the conditions New Zealand soldiers endured – disease, poor food, lack of hygiene – have become an integral part of the WWI narrative, especially at Gallipoli, where there were no billets to retreat to. Claasen writes that the conditions on the 'dirty, stubbled ridges' was what drove many men to request transfers to the air forces.[811] The print histories emphasise a number of these conditions, with one of the most prominent and hardest to portray being the smell – something Harper devotes a whole section to.[812] Peter Stanley quotes a soldier who described the stench of unburied corpses as 'another of the minor horrors of war',[813] and the smell created by 'rotting human flesh' is described as 'unbearable' and 'overpowering' by Soutar, Harper and McGibbon.[814] Harper drives the severity of the smell home by explaining that 'the stench of death

[805] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 66; Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 52-3; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 162.
[806] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 31, 75.
[807] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 141, 283, 343.
[808] Zane Kidd, '"God is on Our Side": Chaplain Colonel (William) John Aldred Luxford', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 285.
[809] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 355; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 444.
[810] Fenton, *Western Front*, p. 86.
[811] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 73.
[812] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 223-4.
[813] Stanley, "The Finest Type of Coloured Men", p. 135.
[814] Harper, *Johnny* Enzed, pp. 180, 223, 396; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 109; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 148, 252, 312.

and decay around Anzac could be detected 10 miles (16 kilometres) out to sea'.[815] Different positions offered different odours, which could have their own harmful effects; tunnellers working in cramped, unventilated mines suffered fumes that McGibbon argues 'would affect [their] health for the rest of their lives',[816] while McLean describes how the smell of wounds in the crowded hospital ships 'did more than anything [else] to undermine the mental health of the ship's personnel'.[817] Soutar points out that with the lack of hygiene and sanitation it was not just their surroundings that smelt: 'with no change of uniform and few opportunities to bathe, the men stank'.[818] The print histories repeatedly emphasise both the stench of warfare and the effects it had on the men. Although it is impossible for authors to fully convey smell through text, they evoke this most visceral and instinctive sense to reinforce the narrative of the terrible conditions the men suffered.

The unburied corpses and poor hygiene that caused the stench endured by the men also attracted the many creatures that plagued them, with flies and lice emphasised by the print histories. Claasen writes that men were 'demoralised by an onslaught of the crawling and flying tormentors'.[819] He is particularly evocative when describing the flies of Gallipoli, where they 'swarmed in biblical proportions', 'feasting on the waste accumulating at the latrines and the battlefield's rotting dead'.[820] McLean agrees that 'flies multiplied in their millions'[821] and Fenton writes that they 'tormented the soldiers' every waking moment' and 'crawled over everything, turning simple tasks…into disgusting ordeals'.[822] They were not just irritating or disgusting; Soutar, Harper and Rogers describe how flies which fed on corpses and faeces led to 'contaminated food'.[823] With flies 'particularly attracted' to jam, the only source of vitamin C, and water being so scarce the men could not afford to tip out mugs filled with flies, soldiers found it 'impossible not to consume some flies while eating'.[824] Lice also caused disease; Harper and Rogers describe how they carried scabies, typhoid and trench fever, one of the most common diseases suffered by the men.[825] They also caused an 'intolerable' itch and made the men feel 'unclean and filthy';[826] McLean writes that they infested hospital ships as soldiers arrived onboard 'filthy and infested', and even the firemen were soon affected.[827] The print histories use the irritating, infectious creatures that hounded the men as an effective way of communicating the disgusting, demoralising conditions they endured.

A very familiar aspect of the suffering narrative that is emphasised in the print histories is the soldiers' diets, especially the infamous bully beef of Gallipoli. Authors such as Harper and Claasen point out that the food was bad before even arriving on the peninsula, with men complaining about the food aboard the troopships;[828] Soutar quotes several accounts of the ship food being 'almost unfit for consumption' and 'rotten'.[829] Upon disembarking at Gallipoli things worsened: Harper discusses the Gallipoli rations in detail, describing the bully beef – served three times a day – as 'stringy and extra salty' and the army biscuits as 'tasteless' and 'difficult to eat'.[830] When combined

[815] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 181.
[816] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 220.
[817] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 119.
[818] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 110.
[819] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 79.
[820] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 79.
[821] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 65.
[822] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 21.
[823] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 109; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 236; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 89.
[824] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 236; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 89.
[825] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 349-351; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 92.
[826] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 350; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 92.
[827] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 113.
[828] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 31; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 66.
[829] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 95.
[830] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 232, 234.

only with 'some jam and tea' it was 'an inadequate diet'.[831] Rogers is far more descriptive in her condemnation of the food, writing that any fresh meat that arrived was often 'fly-blown' and 'putrefied' by the time it reached the men, the jam was 'little more than fly-attracting watery stickiness', the biscuits were 'legendary for their hardness', and any cheese that appeared 'simply melted into a stinking mess'.[832] Though Harper is less nauseatingly descriptive, he does point out that the food was not just 'inadequate' – it was 'making them ill' due to the lack of nutrients. He and McLean – who calls it 'woefully inadequate' – both describe a nutritional study that assessed the Gallipoli rations as being so bad they likely caused scurvy, and Rogers writes that the poor diet and lack of fruit and vegetables resulted in 'malnutrition, gum sores, boils that became septic and "nasty blood poisoning"'.[833] Similar issues are described by Rogers in the later Middle Eastern campaigns, where the food 'bore a strong resemblance to the inadequate Gallipoli rations'.[834] Water was another source of suffering: Fenton writes that 'water was scarce',[835] and Rogers asserts that this scarcity was 'significant and sometimes dangerous'.[836] Soutar writes that men had to 'boil kerosene-tainted water',[837] and Rogers elaborates that wells at Gallipoli were believed poisoned, meaning men were left with chlorinated water carried in petrol tins and sucking pebbles to create saliva.[838] In the Middle East, too, scarcity drove the men to thirst so desperate that Rogers describes armed guards positioned around a befouled well.[839]

The narrative of the sufferings caused by soldiers' diets is more complex in the print histories than other miseries discussed in this chapter. Rogers writes that 'views on the soldiers' diet did vary', quoting a few accounts of satisfied men at Gallipoli – though she does quickly present other men's accounts that contradict these.[840] McGibbon, with his focus elsewhere, asserts that 'in contrast to Gallipoli, where poor diet at first led to debilitation', the men on the Western Front were 'relatively well fed' aside from the occasional missed meal.[841] He describes clean water drawn from wells and meals of bacon, bread with margarine, dried fruit, and stew with root vegetables, which were sometimes too small or disrupted by enemy action – but could be supplemented with parcels from home or purchases in the towns.[842] The terrible diets are a key part of the Gallipoli story and this is covered in depth in the print histories – but both the fact that the mounted rifles in Palestine suffered similarly and that the men on the Western Front suffered this very little are much less prominent. The power of the Gallipoli narrative is evident in the way that the print history authors mostly focus on this part of the story of soldier diets and the suffering they could cause.

The environments that the New Zealand soldiers found themselves in were also a source of suffering, particularly extremes of weather they were unaccustomed to. In the Egyptian training ground and Sinai-Palestine, the heat of the desert was a 'constant danger' for any who got lost and Harper includes an account of a soldier being found days after going missing, 'cooked by the sun'.[843] Harper records temperatures of 50°C in the shade and Rogers cites 47°C in the coolest tent, while Claasen, discussing Mesopotamia Flight's experiences early in the war, writes that 45°C in the shade was

[831] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 234.
[832] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 83-4.
[833] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 234-6; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 163; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 84.
[834] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 139.
[835] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 74.
[836] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 130.
[837] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 115.
[838] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 87-8.
[839] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 130.
[840] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 84.
[841] McGibbon, *White Ships*, p. 252.
[842] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 48, 252.
[843] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 142, 174

'common' and the mercury 'climbed as high as 50 degrees when it had a mind to torture visitors'.[844] Rogers describes the dangers as men tried to ride and fight in these temperatures with little water: sunstroke, heat exhaustion, and blindness when 'the ceaseless sun reflected off the glaring sand'.[845] Gallipoli offered both extremes of heat and cold; Rogers describes how the summer heat that brought the flies gave way in winter to 'viciously low temperatures' and blizzards that waterlogged trenches and 'made any movement treacherous'.[846]

On the Western Front, McGibbon writes that conditions 'were acceptable when the weather was fine' – but once it turned, things deteriorated rapidly and trench life became 'miserable'.[847] Winter brought snow and frost; Soutar and McGibbon point out that February 1917 was the 'coldest weather for 40 years' making the Pioneers' work extremely difficult as 'the ground froze rock-hard' down to four inches deep.[848] McGibbon describes 'daytime breezes as sharp as razors' and night temperatures of -15°C, leaving the men 'shivering' and at risk of frostbite.[849] Wet weather when it was not cold enough for snow was even worse; the most infamous environment of WWI was the Western Front's mud. Steven Loveridge and James Watson include a lengthy extract from a letter printed in newspapers in New Zealand that described 'a Taranaki cowyard at its worst, after, say, six weeks' rain. Multiply the result eleven times, then roll in it'.[850] McGibbon writes that the Ypres battlefield 'quickly degenerated into a bog' as heavy rain fell continuously for a week.[851] Conditions at Passchendaele – 'the worst hell of all'[852] – are described by several authors as 'appalling':[853] a 'morass' of mud 'like glutinous porridge' that created 'a hideous quagmire'.[854] Rogers details how wounded men 'were so weak that they disappeared into the mud, drowned, and were never recovered' while others 'slipped, became stuck and were sucked down "agonisingly slowly"'.[855] She adds that some who were stuck had to keep themselves alive with 'filthy' water from shell-holes and rations from the gear of the dead around them and hope for rescue.[856] Flying above the terrible ground conditions did not allow an escape: Claasen and McGibbon describe pilots 'plagued by foul weather' that could 'make flying extremely difficult and stressful', causing headaches, ear issues and exhaustion when pilots had to navigate zero visibility in sudden fogs and suffer the extreme cold at high altitudes.[857] Many authors emphasise that the conditions and environment were not just uncomfortable or miserable – they presented real dangers to the men's health and wellbeing. The weather the men suffered could be deadly and the print histories present several different ways that New Zealanders could be harmed by heat, snow and mud.

All these conditions – weather, flies, bad food, poor sanitation – combined to create the diseases that plagued the troops, which the print histories discuss at length. Men were 'more than tired and worn out – they were sick', Harper asserts.[858] Unsurprisingly, Rogers' medical history often discusses the many and various illnesses suffered by the men: infected insect bites, septic wounds, ear infections, gum disease, dysentery, typhoid, diarrhoea, dengue fever, gas gangrene, trench mouth,

[844] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 484; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 103.
[845] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 130, 135.
[846] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 97.
[847] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 48.
[848] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 350; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 93.
[849] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 93, 208.
[850] Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The Home Front: New Zealand Society and the War Effort*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019, pp. 155-7.
[851] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 131.
[852] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 168.
[853] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 423; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 169.
[854] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 423; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 148.
[855] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 169.
[856] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 169.
[857] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 300; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 245.
[858] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 230.

trench foot, trench fever.[859] 'Gallipoli was not a healthy place', she writes understatedly.[860] She recounts how men 'like walking ghosts [would] all of a sudden excrete and then fall down in their own filth', and bacteria in the 'extremely contaminated' soil of France created the 'horror' of gas gangrene, where wounds would become 'a mass of putrid muscle rotting', generally only treatable with amputation.[861] McLean, who also has a medical focus, describes how 'general squalor…created ideal conditions for the spread of…sickness', which 'complicated the damage wrought by shell and bullet injuries' as 'poorly fed, thin and filthy' men were killed by infection even if they survived their wounds and surgeries.[862] Like Rogers, Harper gives comprehensive accounts of the many diseases suffered,[863] and Fenton and Claasen both describe the Middle Eastern front as 'an unhealthy place' where men were 'plagued' by vector-borne diseases.[864] Claasen mentions that malaria and tsetse flies were also dangers to airmen in East Africa, where 'men succumbed in droves'.[865] McGibbon and Fenton describe how wet feet and dirty socks led to trench foot, necrosis and gangrene, necessitating foot inspections on the Western Front.[866] Soutar asserts that the cold and wet conditions of the Western Front were particularly hard on Pasifika soldiers, who had little resistance to European diseases such as measles or pneumonia.[867] Even Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge with their home front focus discuss how poor conditions in the training camps led to serious outbreaks of diseases such as measles and meningitis, also discussed by McGibbon and Steven Loveridge.[868] This narrative of sickness and disease is pervasive throughout the print histories.

Yet some authors also point out that medical authorities worked hard to improve conditions to manage the spread of disease. Fenton's section entitled 'Masked Against Infection' claims that 'by and large they succeeded' in 'the war to keep deadly infectious diseases…from devastating the empire's mass armies'.[869] He details the ways in which conditions on the Western Front were a significant improvement from Gallipoli and how sanitation measures such as mosquito nets in Sinai-Palestine were effective.[870] 'Attention to sanitation and other preventative measures proved remarkably successful', Fenton concludes,[871] and McGibbon concurs: he writes that on the Western Front, typhus was prevented with regular bathing and delousing, inoculation was effective against typhoid (a 'major problem in the debilitating conditions at Gallipoli'), and better food and sanitation limited the spread of pneumonia and tuberculosis.[872] A dominant narrative emerges throughout the print histories that the conditions on Gallipoli were significantly worse than the other theatres, leading to greater suffering. Rogers labels her chapter on Gallipoli 'Getting It Wrong', while shifting to the Western Front is a move 'From Chaos to Care'.[873] Perhaps this enduring narrative of greater

[859] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 36, 81, 82, 84, 179, 260, 305.
[860] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 81.
[861] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 82, 84, 305-7, 179.
[862] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 64, 71.
[863] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 38, 162, 236, 488.
[864] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 31; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 103.
[865] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 209
[866] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 208; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 75.
[867] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 212-3, 309.
[868] Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge, *New Zealand's First World War Heritage*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, p. 42; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 209-210; Steven Loveridge, 'Sketching New Zealand's War: William Blomfield and the *New Zealand Observer*', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 262.
[869] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 75.
[870] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 74-5.
[871] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 75.
[872] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 209.
[873] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 4.

privation on the peninsula is a contributing factor in the prominence of Gallipoli in New Zealand's WWI narrative.

Exhaustion, misery and grief are also prominent themes that emphasise how everyday life in the trenches could be intensely difficult, and demonstrate that frontline soldiers were not the only New Zealanders who suffered during the war. Stretcher-bearing was 'brutally hard on mind and body' and during offensives there was no time for rest: ten minutes of sleep before being told to go back out.[874] Several authors mention the incredibly long hours worked continuously by stretcher-bearers; McGibbon cites 48 or even 72 hour shifts with little food and no sleep,[875] and Rogers describes how bearers at Gallipoli made the 'difficult return trip from the dressing station to the beach three times in succession', took a 'break' by helping dress the wounded, carried wounded men on their backs, and managed only an hour's sleep at a time.[876] Harper records how carrying one man to the dressing station took six men four hours through knee-deep mud at Passchendaele, leaving them 'exhausted',[877] while Fenton writes that on the 'worst' days 'six men took seven hours to bring a single stretcher-case in'.[878] Other jobs required similar exhausting efforts: McGibbon asserts that for a dispatch runner, 66 hours with 6 hours' sleep was 'common'.[879] Harper describes ferrying supplies to the trenches 'a thankless, demanding and dangerous task' and writes that fatigues – worked by the men not in the front line – and the Pioneers' labour was 'backbreaking and dangerous', 'hard disheartening work' in 'the bleakest of conditions'.[880] Medical personnel also suffered exhausting conditions: McLean quotes an account that describes 12-15 hour days being the norm, with working 48 hours at a time usual enough to be expected, and writes that on one 54 hour trip the *Marama* staff took only 5 hours off.[881] Rogers writes that theatres would operate for 24-36 hours with only short breaks for food, and theatre staff would have no chance to even change their gloves between operations.[882] These depictions of New Zealanders being pushed to exhaustion demonstrates that bloody wounds and sickening conditions – the hallmarks of WWI misery – were not the only ways to suffer, widening the scope for readers to understand that more subtle miseries also greatly affected New Zealanders.

The print histories also emphasise that the war caused suffering to those New Zealanders who were not directly involved. The agonies of having a loved one fighting overseas is detailed by several authors and for those such as Loveridge and Watson, and Bargas and Shoebridge, who focus on those at home, this is the most prominent depiction of the suffering inflicted by the war. Bargas and Shoebridge write that 'every family lived in horror of receiving the least welcome news of all',[883] and Loveridge and Watson describe how parents had to 'endure the worst of all grief, the loss of a child'.[884] They detail how families that lost sons and brothers could suffer uncontrollable crying, sleeping issues, problems eating and even hallucinations.[885] Soutar writes that 'a generation of parents and siblings would never overcome the pain' with 'this sense of loss…inherited by the next generation' – who in Māori whānau often carried the names of lost loved ones or the places they

[874] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 168.
[875] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 81.
[876] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 66.
[877] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 427.
[878] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 76.
[879] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 84.
[880] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 288, 368-9, 573.
[881] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 75, 113, 133.
[882] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 178.
[883] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 120.
[884] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 152.
[885] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 152.

died.[886] Loveridge and Watson emphasise that some families suffered multiple losses,[887] which Harper also records: 'war certainly destroyed much of this family's happiness', he writes of a family who 'was one of those…to suffer heartbreaking losses'.[888] Even the 'low' casualties of the Middle Eastern campaign 'caused plenty of heartbreak back in New Zealand', Harper writes.[889] Claasen writes that 'the oft-repeated phrases "did not return" and "missing in action" could cripple a family', such as that of Fabian Reeves, who were left 'locked in a dark netherworld where everything was grey and dim' when he was reported missing.[890] Claasen describes the serious effect of grief on Reeves's parents; Harper likewise details how Katherine Mansfield 'never recovered from the loss of her beloved brother'.[891] 'These examples', Harper writes of his many accounts, 'demonstrate the incredible degree of stress and heartache felt by New Zealand families when one of their members was reported missing in action'.[892] A great deal of emotive language is evident in authors' depiction of familial grief: 'heartbreak' or 'heartache' in particular are common, as in examples above, and Harper writes that 'the long casualty lists…haunted New Zealand for the duration of the war'.[893] Notably, the 'battlefield' texts, such as those by Harper or Claasen, feature as much reference to familial suffering as the 'home front' ones, demonstrating how the emphasis on personal connections through family histories was a prominent theme throughout. Making the families' grief a part of the suffering narrative strengthens the print histories' emotive appeal as well as working to fulfil the Programme's aim to 'tell and preserve stories' and appeal to all New Zealanders.

Emotive language is a key part of how the print history authors present their narratives. Almost all the texts[894] utilise emotive language to some extent, with some authors extensively using words and phrases that can provoke strong reactions in the reader. Authors also use first-hand accounts that include such language, demonstrating that this violent, emotive imagery is 'appropriate', as it was used by those who experienced the suffering. Some specific word choices appear repeatedly throughout the print histories, building a cumulative effect. 'Horror' (or 'horrific') is the most widely used emotive term, appearing in seven of the print histories.[895] The 'horrors of war' is a common phrase, so it is unsurprising that this term echoes throughout the texts. Likewise, describing the war as 'hell' or 'hellish' is common,[896] repeating another popular aphorism; Rogers uses it throughout her text as well as in her title (*With Them Through Hell*). Authors use emotive terms to tell readers how to feel about their narrative: the events are 'traumatic'[897] and a 'tragedy',[898] they are not just 'sad',[899] they are 'heartbreaking' or 'heartrending'.[900] The idea that these events should affect a reader

[886] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 501.
[887] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 152.
[888] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 164.
[889] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 536.
[890] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 267.
[891] Glyn Harper, *For King and Other Countries: The New Zealanders who fought in other services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019, p 79.
[892] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 80.
[893] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 32.
[894] Loveridge and Watson's home front volume is the key exception; and not all of the chapters in Crawford, Littlewood and Watson use strong emotive language.
[895] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 19, 282; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 297; Kidd, ''God is on Our Side", p. 281; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 317; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 64; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 62; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 54; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 114, 135, 358.
[896] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 168, 280; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 218, 253; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 84; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 63; Loveridge, 'Sketching New Zealand's War', p. 265; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 157.
[897] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 254.
[898] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 48; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 106.
[899] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 401; Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 197; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 130; Kidd, ''God is on Our Side", p. 282.
[900] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 359; Kidd, ''God is on Our Side", p. 282.

physically are echoed in this physical language: the war's suffering is 'stomach-churning',[901] 'blood-curdling',[902] and 'soul-destroying'.[903] McGibbon uses the word 'shocking' to tell the readers the response they should have,[904] and words such as 'brutal',[905] 'savage'[906] and 'nightmare'/ 'nightmarish'[907] further enforce the texts' emotive power. Emotive language in used to characterise particular experiences; the Western Front is described as a 'charnel house'[908] and 'theatre of carnage', [909] where men were 'swallowed by the mud and devastation of Flanders' to become 'small, mud-covered creatures picking their way through newly ploughed-up land'.[910] Harper describes the 'images that emerged' from the Western Front as 'haunting' and McGibbon titles a chapter 'The Agony of Passchendaele'.[911] One particularly notable theme is the way soldiers' deaths are described; men are not simply 'killed' in the print histories; they are 'massacred',[912] 'mown' or 'cut down'[913] in the 'murderous'[914] 'slaughter'[915] of war. McGibbon writes that men faced 'oblivion' and Claasen describes it as 'apocalyptic'.[916] Certain phrases are used throughout some print histories to evoke the depersonalised killing of animals: no man's land is a 'killing field'/'zone', [917] a 'slaughter house'[918] of 'fresh butchery', [919] a place of 'bloodletting', [920] a 'bloodbath'. [921]

This slaughterhouse imagery links to a key aspect of language use in the print histories: the figurative language of metaphor, particularly the dehumanisation of soldiers. Harper quotes a soldier's claim that they were 'more like machines than human beings'[922] and this imagery is used several times by various authors. Bargas and Shoebridge describe the training camps as 'giant factories producing soldiers which spilled out into the neighbouring countryside',[923] imagery that links to the war's industrial nature and the idea of men as just another war machine. Harper continues this 'conveyor belt' imagery with his description of the troopships that transported the men to the 'war zones' and 'ensured the gods of war were fed'.[924] McLean also uses this imagery when describing the hospital ships, writing that their shuttling back and forth from Gallipoli to Mudros was 'conveyor-belt war'.[925] Claasen describes how the final destination of this process was 'into the maws of war' where men would be rapidly 'spat out',[926] linking to Harper's image of the hungry war gods. McGibbon points out

[901] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 79
[902] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 71.
[903] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 415.
[904] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 25.
[905] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 19; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 23.
[906] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 78.
[907] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 204, 403; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 65.
[908] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 148.
[909] Kidd, ''God is on Our Side", p. 287.
[910] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 308, 410.
[911] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 269; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 135
[912] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 183.
[913] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 21, 61; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 208.
[914] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 27, 56; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 208
[915] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 68; McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 37, 39, 70, 74, 154; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 207, 251; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 142.
[916] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 56; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 358.
[917] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 180, 314, 423, 556.
[918] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 244.
[919] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 67.
[920] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 238.
[921] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 210.
[922] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 138.
[923] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 36.
[924] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 93.
[925] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 64.
[926] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 188, 285.

that the 'somewhat unfortunate term' used to describe the men 'spat out' was 'wastage',[927] an impersonal, industrial term for the victims of what he calls 'the horrors of industrialised warfare, the seemingly impersonal killing by machines'.[928] Describing the men as machines produced in war 'factories' and sent to the 'killing zone' for 'bloodletting' creates images that are brutal but also familiar, linked to the common narrative of WWI as the first industrial war.

The narrative of suffering in the print histories runs alongside discussions of sacrifice, which were prevalent during the war and have endured in the national consciousness since. Many of the print history authors directly reference the concept that the New Zealand men fought and died for a cause – that their loss was a 'sacrifice' – often for a strong conclusion or to capture the reader's attention. Claasen names a chapter 'The Supreme Sacrifice',[929] Harper ends *For King and Other Countries* by discussing how men 'paid the ultimate price for their service',[930] and McGibbon uses the idea of sacrifice as foreshadowing to capture readers at the end of chapter 4: 'But these sacrifices would pale in comparison with those about to be incurred'.[931] Rogers acknowledges that this narrative is a common part of the WWI story, opening her book's concluding paragraph with the assertion that 'words such as heroism and sacrifice are used too frequently and too easily, especially about the First World War'.[932] 'There was no glory here,' she insists, and then concludes her book with the assertion that 'war is about courage' and ends by repeating that war is 'hell' and the 'brave, skilled and caring New Zealand medical personnel who went through it with the troops must, like them, never be forgotten'.[933] The final chapter of *Experience of a Lifetime* ends the book with a poem from Ralph Waldo Emerson espousing the bravery and suffering of the men who 'build a nation's pillars deep'.[934] Ending chapters and books with this kind of language of commemoration, that echoes the traditional language of Anzac Day, is an effective way to leave a lasting impression on readers and use the familiar sacrifice narrative without having to interrogate it too closely.

Several of the print histories also acknowledge and discuss that the sacrifice narrative was dominant during the war. Harper points out that men coming home to New Zealand were told: 'you are not heroes. The heroes lie in France',[935] and John Crawford writes that William Malone and Jesse Wallingford 'believed strongly in the nobility of being killed while fighting bravely for your country'.[936] This concept of heroic sacrifice is shown as especially pervasive for those families at home. Rogers writes that 'the myth of sacrifice and heroism…required tales of stoicism and courage',[937] and Fenton, in his 'Life at Home' section, points out that even the most graphic accounts that filtered through censorship 'were tempered by an emphasis on the heroism of ordinary men overcoming the terrible hardships'.[938] Loveridge and Watson point out that 'death notices carried the same messages of sacrifice and heroism', giving examples such as 'He died for our liberty'.[939] For the authors whose focus is on the home front, this is where they most prominently grapple with the suffering narrative. Bargas and Shoebridge write that conscription was seen as a way of ensuring 'equality of sacrifice' by

[927] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 201.
[928] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 358.
[929] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 261.
[930] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 242. Harper also uses this phrase in *Johnny Enzed*, p. 616.
[931] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 67.
[932] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 408.
[933] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 408.
[934] Kidd, ''God is on Our Side", p. 290.
[935] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 609.
[936] John Crawford, 'A Prince of Riflemen: Jesse Wallingford at Gallipoli', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 99.
[937] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 348.
[938] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 48.
[939] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 180.

forcing 'shirkers and cowards' to 'share in [the soldiers'] sacrifice'.[940] Loveridge and Watson emphasise that the war created 'a culture that sanctioned loss as a sacrifice for a greater cause' – especially the 'sacrifice made by women'[941] – and they link this to the fervency with which the war and its dead were commemorated, the efforts made to show 'gratitude', and the creation of a narrative that linked the war to 'a greater purpose'.[942] This narrative of loss as 'a sacrifice towards a greater cause'[943] is also discussed by McGibbon, who writes that this allowed for a sustained effort despite mounting casualties as 'anything but victory would be a betrayal of those who had already sacrificed their lives for the cause'.[944] These authors interrogate the narrative of sacrifice created during the war to show how it justified the suffering and influenced the conceptions that are still prevalent today. By demonstrating where the idea that 'they died for us' came from, they are challenging its dominance.

Though this sacrifice narrative from the time tries to justify the losses, many print histories in fact emphasise the costliness of the war, with most of the authors giving the human price of each win or loss. Harper writes that the victory at First Ypres had 'come at too high a price',[945] a common assertion throughout the texts. Authors describe 'the price for…success' when 'even victories were costly', as 'considerable successes were tempered by New Zealand casualties'.[946] The price of losses is even more starkly pointed out; Soutar writes that for 150 yards won by the Auckland Mounted Rifles at Chunuk Bair, 'within a few minutes, 300 Aucklanders were dead or wounded',[947] while according to Fenton 'skyrocketing casualties' were all that were achieved in mid-August attempts at Passchendaele.[948] Claasen writes that attempts to break out of Anzac Cove 'brought heavy casualties for no gain'.[949] Harper and McGibbon, in their military-focused texts, have a significant focus on this narrative of cost. McGibbon argues that the 'human cost' was 'appalling', 'prohibitive and tragic' and that New Zealanders 'paid a high price',[950] and Harper describes the 'costly learning curve' at Gallipoli, a reputation that came 'with a very high price', and the 'heavy casualties' needed to take 'all objectives'.[951] Harper emphasises the 'needless cost' of 'costly failures' which 'achieved nothing but heavy casualties', and argues even for successes 'the costs…often outweighed any military advantage'.[952] 'There were never any cheap or easy victories for Johnny Enzed', Harper asserts.[953]

To emphasise the costliness of the war, many authors highlight the random nature of death on the front. Harper asserts that 'death in any theatre of war was arbitrary, owing as much to bad luck as to any skill or experience',[954] and this is demonstrated throughout the print histories with accounts of men that end with their unceremonious death or serious injury.[955] McGibbon points out that 'men lost their lives in a variety of incidents', including being shot by their own sentries, premature bombs, gun faults, and accidents at the training schools – as well as incidents caused by 'carelessness' and

[940] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, pp. 22, 24.
[941] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 149, 180.
[942] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 184, 245, 407, 431-2, 437.
[943] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 158.
[944] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 60.
[945] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 58.
[946] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 378; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 61; Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 420.
[947] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 150. This is also pointed out by Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 184.
[948] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 64.
[949] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 79.
[950] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 86, 97, 115, 118, 130, 145, 312, 324.
[951] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 178, 294, 315, 419, 436, 459, 571.
[952] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp 291, 371, 406, 429, 430, 525, 574.
[953] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 410.
[954] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 108.
[955] Examples include Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 317, 395; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 51, 241; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 125; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 85; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 61.

'stupidity'.[956] Claasen's text highlights that airmen, with their temperamental machines and dangerous missions, were particularly vulnerable to sudden and arbitrary death; McGibbon's chapter on the air war also highlights this. Claasen writes that 'approximately a fifth of all flying service losses were incurred during instruction' due to 'haphazard instruction…unreliable engines, and the poor British weather' and that even for those who made it through training, there was often a 'short transition between arriving with a frontline unit and dying'.[957] McGibbon agrees that 'about half the fatalities among New Zealand airmen during the war were the result of accidents' and that 'many did not survive long enough to face' the physical and mental stress of flying.[958] These authors give numerous accounts of these 'uncommonly short-lived'[959] men: airmen were lost 'just 11 days', 'a dozen days', 'fourteen days' after joining or on their second, third, fourth flights.[960] Claasen writes that one unit 'suffered a serious casualty nearly every two days'.[961] The sacrifice narrative is significantly challenged by this emphasis on the arbitrary nature of death, as it is hard to depict these men 'dying for a cause' while being frequently killed in accidents or because of lack of training.

Overall, there is more emphasis on the narrative of the human cost of the war and the arbitrary death it brought in the print histories than that of sacrifice. Some authors depict death and suffering as often being pointless, rather than for a good cause. Gallipoli and Passchendaele in particular are presented in this way by some authors; Fenton writes that at Chunuk Bair 'positions that had been won at great cost were abandoned'[962] and Harper includes an account from a soldier stating that when the evacuation was announced 'men thought of the sufferings undergone and the sacrifices made and grieved deeply that all should be for nought'.[963] McGibbon writes that at Polderhoek 'the sacrifice had all been for nothing' and that in 1917 there was a 'sickening realisation that all the sacrifice and hardship might, in the end, have been for nothing' – which proved true when 'the ground won at so much cost' was abandoned in April 1918.[964] Loveridge and Watson point out that this feeling was present at home as well – they quote Minster of Defence James Allen's worry of 'a very uncomfortable feeling…that men's lives have been sacrificed unnecessarily, not only at Gallipoli but on the Western Front also.'[965] Soutar writes that men were asked to achieve things 'beyond human power';[966] Rogers makes a similar argument, writing that at Gallipoli 'so much was against' the medical forces that their hard work and bravery were never going to be enough.[967] McGibbon argues that the 'immense human tragedy' of Passchendaele was the result of 'their government…[being] determined to continue to fight' and the New Zealanders were 'victims of Haig's determination' – rather than dying for a worthy cause.[968] McGibbon also writes in his conclusion of the 'realisation that all the sacrifice had been for nothing as Germany rose to threaten the peace once again'.[969] Loveridge and Watson also investigate this idea, quoting newspapers at the outbreak of WWII that warned against 'the lie of fighting for your country'.[970] They argue that one of WWI's most powerful legacies was the comparison of its 'futile and senseless' nature against the

[956] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 257, 262.
[957] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 165, 224.
[958] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 245-6.
[959] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 282.
[960] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 224, 250, 254, 326, 363, 371, 398; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 246, 248.
[961] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 282.
[962] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 23.
[963] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 255-6.
[964] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 147, 154, 295.
[965] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 326.
[966] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 158
[967] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 99.
[968] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 145.
[969] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 360.
[970] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 438.

'necessity and high purpose of the Second'.[971] David Littlewood acknowledges that this interpretation of WWI as 'a pointless conflict that destroyed a generation' is one of the most prominent and accepts that there is 'an element of truth' to this narrative, but does challenge it and names a number of significant issues with this interpretation.[972]

Overall, the print histories accept the sacrifice narrative to a certain degree, especially to create an emotional impact at particular moments, but also significantly emphasise the suffering of the men. There is both acknowledgement of and challenge to the narrative of sacrifice and pointlessness, creating a nuanced account across the print histories. However, when very few readers are consuming the print histories as a whole, the fact that different authors vary significantly in their treatment of these sacrifice and suffering narratives means that not one single narrative is being disseminated. The nuance and challenges that the print history authors bring to the themes of suffering and sacrifice are more obvious when compared to the non-poppy texts, which largely have a much more straightforward narrative.

[971] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 438.
[972] David Littlewood, 'Introduction', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, pp. 8-9.

FOUR 'It is vile': Suffering and sacrifice

The non-poppy material

Soapy drama and graphic violence have been two enduring components of WWI narratives in popular culture, and harsh condemnation can be levelled when texts are perceived as verging into period drama crossed with *Saw*.[973] For the non-poppy material, the risk of this emphasis on suffering at the cost of 'appropriateness' is particularly high given the fictional nature of many of the texts and the heightened potential impact of film. The print histories, which are entirely written texts working within the WW100 parameters of being 'appropriate',[974] did not shy from graphic violence but utilised certain techniques, such as first-person quotes from soldiers, to justify its inclusion. For the non-poppy material, the choices made by authors and directors on how they depict suffering demonstrate the extent to which they balanced the reality of WWI with the shock factor that can draw an audience in. The non-poppy material is often more graphic than the print histories, especially given the mediums of fiction and film that the creators are working in. Emotive language – both visual and verbal – emphasises the violence, dehumanisation and disgust, and there is a heavy emphasis on the pointlessness and waste of the suffering, more so than in the print histories.

Bodies – and body parts – are strewn throughout the non-poppy material, as they are in the print histories. In *1916* David Hair describes 'the dead stacked up on the beaches',[975] and in *1914* a trooper gives a blunt assessment of Gallipoli's no-man's-land: 'it's chocka full of the rotting corpses'.[976] The Great War Stories highlight the ubiquitous presence of dead bodies in soldiers' lives; one includes William Malone's description of bodies lying where they fell for weeks and another shows soldiers moving past bodies and using them as handholds as they travel through the mud of Passchendaele.[977] Having to walk over bodies is seen in several other texts, including *25 April* and *Tane's War*, where Brendaniel Weir describes how men had to 'step on the dangling limbs of [their] deceased comrades'.[978] Every task becomes negotiated around corpses: in *When We Go To War*, men clearing dirt from a trench uncover a body partly buried in the mud and react in horror, leaping back and swearing – before getting back to work.[979] A similar scene unfolds in *1916*, where Hair describes how, while laying duckboards, Leith had 'hit bones, lots of them, wrapped in disintegrating cloth…most were more body parts than full skeletons'. [980] In *1914* Billy, who has 'never seen a body before', has to 'shovel aside the bodies of rotting soldiers';[981] eventually, the men become so used to being surrounded by corpses that Chopper 'used one body…as a shield'.[982] When Billy is selected to bring in the dead of Gallipoli, Susan Brocker's portrayal of the burial truce is graphic in its detail: she describes 'black and bloated corpses…mangled beyond recognition'.[983] Des Hunt's portrayal of a

[973] Simon Jenkins, '1914: The Great War has become a nightly pornography of violence', 4/10/2014, retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/aug/04/1914-first-world-war-pornography-violence-centenary-military-propaganda on 10/11/2020.
[974] 'Mission and Objectives', www.ww100.govt.nz/mission-and-objectives, retrieved 12/2/2019.
[975] David Hair, *1916: Dig for Victory*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2016, p. 44.
[976] Susan Brocker, *1914: Riding into War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2014, pp. 118-9.
[977] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Leonard Hart', aired 7/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/leonard-hart-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'William Malone', aired 23/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/william-malone-great-war-story.
[978] Brendaniel Weir, *Tane's War*, Auckland: Cloud Ink Press, 2018, p. 337.
[979] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 4, 'Awa's Letter', aired 10/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[980] Hair, *1916*, pp. 106, 140, 183.
[981] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 119, 167.
[982] Brocker, *1914*, p. 167.
[983] Brocker, *1914*, p. 125.

burial party lets the audience imagine the state of the bodies with one line of dialogue, when the lieutenant tells the men: 'Um…when you pick them up, try to get everything'.[984]

The focus on bodies and body parts extends throughout the non-poppy material, even to texts aimed at younger audiences – not just the teenage audiences of the *Kiwis at War* series, but also picture books aimed at children. In *Jim's Letters*, the illustration of the landing at Gallipoli features a limp hand half-submerged in the bloody water[985] – a tame image compared to others discussed here but graphic for a children's book, a fact subtly acknowledged by the text itself, as the hand is cropped from the image when it is used on the cover. David Hill and Fifi Colston also include this kind of content: Hill describes how 'bodies lay sprawled on the ground' and a wounded German 'hold[s] a hand over the bleeding hole in his side'; splashes of red blood appear across many of the illustrations.[986] On one page, a hand reaches out to Jim, who looks back at it in shock; there is no indication in the text whether the man the hand is (or was) attached to is alive or dead.[987] The Great War Stories segment on the Gallipoli Tortoise shows children reacting to this kind of content; one child proudly shows his drawing of a soldier who is 'bleeding a little bit…to make it a little bit real', and another points to his picture and announces, 'there's a dead soldier'.[988] This may suggest that graphic violence – particularly dead bodies – is such an expected part of the WWI narrative that it ceases to be shocking, even for children.

Film material can not only show bodies, but using camerawork and mise-en-scène they can also show their audience the scale of the death. In *Field Punishment No. 1*, Baxter is shown surrounded by corpses in an overhead shot; with him in the centre of the frame and nothing other than bodies in shot – not even sky or ground – director Peter Burger emphasises the ubiquity of corpses in the soldiers' lives.[989] Similar shots are seen in *25 April*, where wide angles filled with bodies allows director Leanne Pooley to communicate the sheer scale of the death. Overhead shots show Turkish and New Zealand soldiers' body parts mangled together, and Pooley also uses close ups of boots marching over the corpses of the men who advanced ahead of them.[990] *When We Go To War* features a slow zoom out that reveals row after row of laid out bodies, to show the seemingly limitless number of casualties;[991] this is echoed later in the series, when Charles is in the midst of the assault on Chunuk Bair. As a flare lights the shot with harsh, unstable lighting, Charles falls and lands in a pile of bodies, which collapses on top of him. The overhead shot that closes the scene shows him completely surrounded by corpses, distinguished as alive only by his screaming.[992]

Sound editing and special effects makeup also work in film texts to highlight the graphic injuries. The wet splat sound effects (SFX) of bullets impacting flesh or the squelching of bayonets entering bodies in *25 April* and the Great War Stories evoke the violence being done to New Zealand bodies.[993] Similarly, in *Field Punishment No. 1*, the sounds of Briggs being dragged over the duckboards to the front is especially high in the scene's sound mixing, allowing the audience to hear the nails slicing

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[984] Des Hunt, *1918: Broken Poppies*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2018, p. 212.
[985] Glyn Harper & Jenny Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, Auckland: Puffin Books, 2014, p. 18.
[986] David Hill & Fifi Colston, *The Red Poppy*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2013, pp. 16, 18, 19, 24, 28, 37.
[987] Hill and Colston, *The Red Poppy*, p. 14.
[988] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Gallipoli tortoise', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/gallipoli-tortoise-great-war-story.
[989] Peter Burger (dir.), *Field Punishment No. 1*, Lippy Pictures, 2014. DVD.
[990] Leanne Pooley (dir.), *25 April*, General Film Corporation, 2015. https://ondemand.nzfilm.co.nz/film/25-april/.
[991] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 2, 'Manaaki's Letter', aired 26/4/2015. Blu-ray.
[992] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 5, 'Charles's Letter', aired 17/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[993] Pooley, *25 April*; Cottrell, 'William Malone'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Hāmi Grace', aired 18/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/hami-grace-great-war-story.

into his back.[994] *Field Punishment No. 1* also makes considerable use of visual effects (VFX) makeup to portray the gory wounds sustained by both the men on the front lines and the objectors subjected to punishment. One of the very first shots of the film is a slow pan over Baxter's body to portray the numerous scabs and lesions, and throughout the film graphically realistic VFX makeup is used to show the sores left by the various punishments he suffers. Later, the damage done to Briggs's back when he is dragged to the front is shown in close-up shots that show the audience the gory mess of shredded skin and blood.[995]

The non-poppy material does not shy away from the graphic nature of war wounds: in various texts filmmakers and authors show and describe blown-off limbs, exposed viscera, puncture wounds from filthy debris, and shrapnel that 'tear[s] away great chunks of flesh and muscle'.[996] Texts that focus on hospitals and medical staff in particular feature plenty of graphic war wounds; Hunt describes how nurses and doctors dealt with 'the flow of broken bodies'.[997] Jane Tolerton includes New Zealand women's descriptions of wounded men 'charred and blackened by explosives, and so horribly disfigured that they wore masks', and wounds that were 'filthy' with 'pus [that] simply poured from them'.[998] The Great War Stories segment on Pickerill and Gillies describes the 'demolished faces' that they worked on, including a soldier who had to attempt to sleep with his eyes open as 'his eyelids had been burnt off'.[999] Anna Mackenzie's titular nurse Evie also encounters the violence of war wounds through images of broken body parts: faces 'shattered beyond recognition', which the nurses must 'forewarn visitors' about; a private with no larynx whose 'breath whistles in an out through a hole in his throat'; and a lieutenant 'so bandaged that he cannot move or speak' who is fed through a funnel.[1000] In *When We Go To War* the sight of the doctor emerging from the medical tent in the aftermath of Chunuk Bair is striking as he is completely covered in blood, the bright red a jarring contrast to the dull muddy colours of the rest of the scene.[1001] Like the soldiers, the medics of the non-poppy material live their lives surrounded by gore and death.

In addition to violent physical suffering, the agony of waiting to be rescued from no-man's-land is a common narrative throughout the non-poppy material. In *1918*, Henry sits in a shell hole with the injured Jock, who is 'impossible [to move] without help' – but 'there was no help that first day, nor during the following night'.[1002] Chopper and Billy also wait in a shell hole together in *1914*, covered in flies as the sun beats down 'pitilessly', until they realise no-one is coming for them and they have to try and move on their own.[1003] Waiting for rescue with an injured comrade is a challenge, but the ubiquity of dead bodies is seen here, too, when characters must lie next to their fallen friends. In *When We Go To War* the injured Manaaki is out in no-man's-land next to Harry's body 'for a day and a night',[1004] and Mackenzie describes how a soldier on Evie's ward lay in a shell hole with two dead comrades 'for company'.[1005] There was no guarantee that help was coming; several authors mention

[994] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[995] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[996] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 3, 'Harry's Letter', aired 3/5/2015. Blu-ray; Hunt, *1918*, p. 75; Jane Tolerton, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand women overseas in World War One*, Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017, p. 76; Diana Menefy, *1915: Wounds of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2015, pp. 81, 67, 204.
[997] Hunt, *1918*, p. 313.
[998] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 35, 57.
[999] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Pickerill and Gillies', aired 8/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz /media /video/pickerill-and-gillies-great-war-story.
[1000] Anna Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, New Zealand: Longacre, 2015, pp. 77, 166, 90, 157, 198-9.
[1001] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[1002] Hunt, *1918*, p. 99.
[1003] Brocker, *1914*, p. 173.
[1004] Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[1005] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 192.

the likelihood that men would die before they could be rescued.[1006] 'We can't take them all', Charles says in *When We Go To War*,[1007] a lament echoed in Diana Menefy's *1915* when stretcher bearer Frank tells Harriet, 'they're going to have to wait, lying in agony'.[1008] 'Many died waiting', Brocker writes in her text.[1009] The suffering of men waiting to be picked up by stretcher teams is a recurring theme in Menefy and Mackenzie's novels, as their nurse characters cannot believe the condition soldiers are in when they finally reach the hospitals:[1010] 'blood-soaked and festering…unwashed and reeking of mud and decay' even after lying for days at dressing stations and railway sidings.[1011] Tolerton also includes quotes from medical women who saw men whose conditions worsened due to not being treated – men who were 'left for eight days' with 'shockingly septic' wounds and '[not] a ghost of a chance of recovery'.[1012]

The narrative of gas attacks, though prevalent in the print histories, is much less prominent in the non-poppy material and concentrated mostly in the medically-focused texts. No soldier characters endure gas attacks on the page, though the threat of it looms. Hair mentions the 'harrowing' concept of 'praying the masks actually worked, while being enveloped in greenish, noxious clouds of smoke',[1013] and describes how the threat of gas lingered as 'puddles were poisonous with the residue'.[1014] In *1918*, the shell hole the characters are sheltering in is 'a pool of poison filled with gas' that the masks cannot fully protect them from – 'staying there would mean they'd soon have no skin'.[1015] Tolerton mentions the effects of gas briefly, quoting a VAD's assertion that gas cases are 'most pitiful to see', especially as they had no good ways to treat it.[1016] The treatments that are described in Mackenzie's novel, where Evie briefly works in the gas ward, are deeply unpleasant, such as having eyes bathed in bicarbonate of soda and being injected with cocaine solutions.[1017] 'It is vile', Evie says simply about the effect of gas.[1018] Later, she describes it: 'their eyes are gummed up and weeping, lids swollen, faces and all exposed skin burnt dark plum', and the men are 'convinced they will die of asphyxia'.[1019] Evie herself begins to suffer a cough and weeping eyes 'from breathing the fumes coming off the men' – her stint in the gas ward only lasts two pages.[1020] While the print histories assert that the actual fatality rates of gas attacks were low, they emphasise the physical horror of the experience and the mental strain caused by the threat it posed – the non-poppy material is much less interested in gas at all, but the idea of it is presented as deadly and horrific.

There are significantly fewer images in the non-poppy books, and none of them are graphic. This is a notable difference between this material and the print histories, all of which utilise photographs and other images. It is in the film material where gory, graphic or violent images are concentrated, with the Great War Stories segments in particular making use of photographs from the war that are also seen in the print histories, as well as filmed footage that written texts cannot make use of. Within the Great War Stories segments, footage of soldiers using bodies as handholds, surgical footage, and

[1006] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 163-4, 165; Brian Falkner, *1917: Machines of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2017, p. 274.
[1007] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[1008] Menefy, *1915*, p. 42.
[1009] Brocker, *1914*, p. 174.
[1010] Menefy, *1915*, p. 68, 219; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 81, 139, 145, 156, 192, 262.
[1011] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 81, 139.
[1012] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 33, 40, 205.
[1013] Hair, *1916*, p. 204.
[1014] Hair, *1916*, p. 104.
[1015] Hunt, *1918*, p. 97.
[1016] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 258.
[1017] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 265.
[1018] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 89.
[1019] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 265.
[1020] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 267.

pictures of bodies, often in piles or strewn across the screen, are seen in several segments.[1021] The photographs of bodies are in black and white and of grainy quality, which dulls the graphic nature but does not completely obscure that they are clearly corpses.[1022] In the Ormond Burton segment, a photograph of bodies – implied to be Germans by the narration – are given a close up, allowing the audience to see greater detail of the dead men.[1023] Photographs of the facial disfigurement suffered by the men treated by Pickerill and Gillies are shown in their segment;[1024] these have the potential to be shocking, given people are often made uncomfortable by such visually apparent disability. Bob Kerr's stark paintings of field punishment no. 1 are included in the Mark Briggs segment; the commentary says that Kerr 'puts their pain on canvas'.[1025] The Great War Stories are notable as the only non-poppy material that utilises graphic documentary footage or real photographs of gore or violence – a stark contrast to the print histories, nearly all of which make use of such images.

The men of the non-poppy material are plagued by circumstances that evoke not necessarily pain, but disgust. Like in the print histories, the violence and gore of corpses in this material is accompanied by the smell: the 'unbearable' 'stench' of 'dead bodies rotting' in the heat and 'bursting in the sun'.[1026] Even the picture book *Jim's Letters*, in the afterword explaining the Gallipoli campaign, mentions that 'dead bodies left in the hot sun made Anzac Cove…stink'.[1027] Brocker writes that the trenches 'not only felt like graves, they smelt like one',[1028] as the 'stink of death' seeps into the environment: authors describe the 'sharp' and 'wretched stench' of 'rancid mud' and the 'overpowering' 'reek of raw earth and sewage [that] was unpleasant to breathe', 'never seemed to leave their nostrils' and caused men to vomit.[1029] In *1917*, as Bob crawls in the 'unbreathable stench of death and decay' of no-man's-land, he is relieved that he does not know what is in the mud he is crawling through.[1030] Weir and Brocker specify that part of the smell is the 'overwhelming' odour of open latrines, while in *When We Go To War* Charles is more blunt, describing the stench of 'rivers of shit'.[1031] Adding to the miasma is the smell of 'filthy men' with no water to get clean[1032] and the 'stink' of chloride of lime and cordite.[1033] As always, the nurses are not spared from the suffering, as Menefy, Tolerton and Mackenzie write that their women 'cannot describe' the 'appalling', 'sickening', 'putrid smell' of infected wounds and 'blood and offal…overlaid with the tang of disinfectant'.[1034] 'It stank', states one of Hair's characters,[1035] summing up the olfactory impression that the non-poppy material makes considerable effort to elicit. Like the print histories, the non-poppy texts can only

[1021] Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart', 'Pickerill and Gillies', 'Hāmi Grace', 'William Malone'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ormond Burton', aired 24/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ormond-burton-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Alexander Aitken', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/alexander-aitken-great-war-story.
[1022] Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart'.
[1023] Cottrell, 'Ormond Burton'.
[1024] Cottrell, 'Pickerill and Gillies'.
[1025] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Mark Briggs', aired 9/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media /video/mark-briggs-great-war-story.
[1026] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 42, 99; Brocker, *1914*, pp. 124, 141, 143; Burger, 'Charles's Letter'; Hunt, *1918*, p. 72; Cottrell, 'Hāmi Grace'; Pooley, *25 April*.
[1027] Harper and Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, p. 30.
[1028] Brocker, *1914*, p. 118.
[1029] Hair, *1916*, pp. 97, 104, 139, 183, 230; Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 334; Hunt, *1918*, p. 98.
[1030] Falkner, *1917*, p. 171.
[1031] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 334; Brocker, *1914*, p. 141; Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[1032] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 82-3, 99; Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 334.
[1033] Hunt, *1918*, p. 72.
[1034] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 99, 263; Menefy, *1915*, p. 66; Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 308; Falkner, *1917*, p. 24.
[1035] Hair, *1916*, p. 57.

describe the smell, but by doing so in such detail and so often they build a sense of disgust in the audience that strengthens the sense of the suffering that New Zealanders endured.

Alongside the smell created by the bodies and sewage is the creatures they attract. The association between exposed bodies and vermin is established by several authors, who describe the creatures 'breeding and feeding on the corpses' and flourishing in any hot weather,[1036] and Hair mentions that human bodies were not the only dead that men had to deal with, as 'the corpses of rats and other creatures' were strewn throughout the trenches, causing disease in death as they did in life.[1037] Tolerton quotes a nurse aboard the *Maheno* who wrote of the 'flies and other creepers' that the men were riddled with;[1038] as in the print histories, flies are one of the most significant 'dirty' creatures that plagued the men. Throughout the non-poppy material they 'swarm' in 'dense black clouds over everything'[1039] and authors describe them drowning in every cup of tea, flying into the men's mouths with every bite of food, and crawling over their sores – all after swarming over the dead bodies and the latrines.[1040] *25 April* has several extreme close up shots of flies crawling over the men's food and skin; given the style of animation they are slightly exaggerated and therefore even more disgusting.[1041]

There are other significant 'creepers' throughout the texts, such as lice, fleas and rats. Lice are described by authors as causing 'the most discomfort', as their bites would cover the men with 'irritating red spots' and red rashes around their neck.[1042] 'The lice were voracious', one soldier says in *25 April*, over extreme close ups of fingers scratching at red skin. This is followed by one of the film's surrealist sequences, as the camera zooms in even further into the soldier's body, where anthropomorphic lice smoke bloody hookahs[1043] – a cultural symbol that links the lice to the (Turkish, human) enemy. The film also uses sound design to evoke a sense of disgust in the viewer: the sounds of flies buzzing, lice sucking and men scratching are all near the top of the mix, drowning out other noises and competing with the narration to communicate how overwhelming the flies and lice were.[1044] Menefy describes Mel in *1915* beginning to itch her arm as she notices the fleas all over a wounded soldier she is treating, and as the men's clothes are 'alive with lice and fleas' she spends precious time hiding in the linen cupboard searching her own clothes for fleas.[1045] Fleas are given more attention in this material than in the print histories, as are some other 'creepers'; authors describe bedding as 'flea-infested' and write that the ground where the men sleep 'crawled with maggots' – as did some men's wounds, as depicted in *Evie's War*.[1046] In *1914*, Billy and Jack encounter a swarm of locusts in Egypt, where their 'writhing bodies' block out the sky and strip the land bare, prompting Chopper to declare the desert 'a godforsaken hell-hole'.[1047] The rats of the non-poppy material are large, and there are lots of them, [1048] providing some memorably disgusting moments: in *1918*, Mark panics and assumes a dead German is still alive when the corpse moves with the wriggling of a rat in its chest cavity.[1049] The dog Poppy is beloved due to her rat-hunting abilities, as 'none could stand being woken by a rat climbing over his face' or 'sampling fingers and toes',[1050] and

[1036] Brocker, *1914*, p. 141; Hunt, *1918*, p. 211; Menefy, *1915*, p. 151.
[1037] Hair, *1916*, p. 104.
[1038] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 112.
[1039] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 118, 141; Menefy, *1915*, pp. 99, 151.
[1040] Brocker, *1914*, p. 141; Menefy, *1915*, p. 151; Pooley, *25 April*.
[1041] Pooley, *25 April.*
[1042] Hunt, *1918*, p. 64; Menefy, *1915*, p. 91.
[1043] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1044] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1045] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 83, 90.
[1046] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 138, 141; Menefy, *1915*, p. 99; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 263.
[1047] Brocker, *1914*, p. 110.
[1048] Hair, *1916*, p. 98; Hill and Colston, *The Red Poppy*, p. 1; Cottrell, 'Ormond Burton'.
[1049] Hunt, *1918*, p. 216.
[1050] Hunt, *1918*, p. 140.

Nipper, in children's book *The Red Poppy*, is shown with a dead rat in his mouth and a pile of rodent bodies in front of him.[1051] As in the print histories, rats are not the most prominent creature that the men must deal with, but alongside the many other creatures that the men contend with the non-poppy material creates a narrative of not only violence but disgust.

The suffering caused by poor diet and lack of water is a large part of the popular narrative of WWI, but is less emphasised in the non-poppy material. The terribly inadequate rations of Gallipoli are described in depth in the print histories, while the non-poppy material has less focus on this staple of the Gallipoli narrative: a soldier in *When We Go To War* jokes about the bully beef that 'if we're tough enough to eat that shit, we can survive anything',[1052] and *The Red Poppy* includes a section of Jim's letter that reads 'the food is a bit grim'.[1053] The afterword of *Jim's Letters*, presumably written by Glyn Harper – whose print history talks at length about the dire diets of men at Anzac Cove – mentions the 'limited water supplies and food lacking in proper nutrition',[1054] but this is the extent of this narrative within the non-poppy material. More generally, Menefy describes a wounded soldier as 'look[ing] as if he'd not been fed for weeks' and writes that many were 'starved', with 'hollow flesh and protruding bones',[1055] but these are the only examples across the non-poppy material.

Lack of water is also less prominent in this material. When Billy in *1914* is lying wounded waiting for rescue, his 'tongue was so swollen he couldn't swallow' because 'there was no water to be had',[1056] and in *1917* Bob suffers through the same experience, lying in a shell hole in the heat of the sun and surrounded by water 'full of mud and insects and I didn't want to think what else' – 'not water you could drink', and so he must lie there with a throat 'as dry as the stunted remains of exploded trees'.[1057] Brocker also describes water as 'precious liquid' delivered in kerosene tins and tainted with petrol,[1058] but these are the only discussions of water in the material. It is interesting that authors did not take advantage of how important and universal narratives around food can be to general audiences and use the unappealing, unhealthy food of Gallipoli to both heighten the presentation of the men's suffering and draw readers in. The discussions of poor food in the Sinai-Palestine campaign and the surprisingly good food of the Western Front that are presented in the print histories are also not present in the non-poppy material; overall neither the familiar narratives around food and water nor the challenges to this narrative presented in the print histories are significant in the non-poppy material.

The searing heat, freezing cold, relentless wet and, most famously of all, the all-encompassing mud are mainstays of both Gallipoli and Western Front narratives, and are all present in most of the non-poppy texts to some degree. Though the Sinai-Palestine campaign is underrepresented in the non-poppy texts, the heat of Egypt and Gallipoli still features. Hair opens his novel with a description of the Egyptian desert heat: 'The mercury had jammed above forty degrees Celsius, and the heat sucked at the pores of Private Leith McArran's skin', is the book's first sentence, establishing the importance of the weather in the men's lives and suffering.[1059] Men collapse during parade as the 'air was made of heat' and Brocker describes the 'blistering summer *khamsin* winds' that '[clogged] their eyes and noses with choking dust'.[1060] Harper also mentions the 'searing heat' as one of the 'terrible living conditions' that soldiers had to endure at Gallipoli in the afterword of *Jim's Letters.*[1061]

[1051] Hill and Colston, *The Red Poppy*, p. 9.
[1052] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 6, 'Cissy's Letter', aired 24/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[1053] Hill and Colston, *The Red Poppy*, p. 1.
[1054] Harper and Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, p. 30.
[1055] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 82, 90, 143.
[1056] Brocker, *1914*, p. 174.
[1057] Falkner, *1917*, p. 163.
[1058] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 130, 164.
[1059] Hair, *1916*, p. 12.
[1060] Hair, *1916*, p. 22; Brocker, *1914*, p. 99
[1061] Harper and Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, p. 30.

However, the cold and wet are far more prominent, with many of the non-poppy texts focussing more on the Northern Hemisphere winters of the Western Front – though Gallipoli's harsh winter is also referenced in *25 April*, where 'the tea was frozen in the canteens' by the end of breakfast.[1062] Mackenzie describes how the freezing cold of France causes frostbite and includes a sentry 'whose boots had frozen in place during the night and was too exhausted to break himself free',[1063] while a soldier in *1915* is found dead from cold: 'frozen. Icicles on his face'.[1064] Baxter's suffering in *Field Punishment No. 1* is exacerbated by the weather, with Burger using a slow pan up his body to show his pale exposed skin and the snow covering his clothes, followed by a long shot where his trembling body is obscured by the howling snowstorm.[1065] When it is not cold enough to snow, the men must deal with the damp and rain: Hunt describes how the daily downpours in France leave 'everything…moist to the touch, with fungal growths on bedding, clothes and even the soldiers' feet'.[1066] 'Cold. Wet. Aching. Misery', Tamati thinks in *1916*, as the Pioneers work in flooded trenches in 'sloshing wet' boots;[1067] Mackenzie also mentions how men 'have to stand for days in water up to their knees'.[1068] The nurses struggle with the weather in the clothing and uniforms expected of women; Menefy describes women panting in 'afternoon heat [that] was almost too much to bear' in their heavy starched uniforms, and swapping their long skirts out for riding pants due to knee-deep mud.[1069]

It is this mud – thick, deep, exhausting to move through and possible to drown in – that is the most iconic part of the environment of suffering in WWI's narrative. There is plenty of it in the non-poppy material: 'Nothing but mud', writes Hair in *1916*.[1070] Many texts mention the mud, often using familiar phrases, such as a 'foul quagmire'.[1071] Film texts make use of SFX of squelching mud and camera shots, such as close-ups and overhead shots, to communicate the all-encompassing nature of the mud: in *Field Punishment No. 1* the brown featureless mud takes up the whole shot.[1072] Gunners at Passchendaele in *1918* 'struggled waist deep in mud' trying to find solid ground to operate, and Hunt describes how once Henry and his comrades reach 'the swamp' of Ravebeek Bog, things only get worse, as they 'wrestle' their way through the mire, taking turns to haul each other forwards.[1073] Authors emphasise how long the men spend struggling through mud for little progress; Hunt describes Henry's 'journey of less than a mile' taking 'four hours, most of it knee deep in mud'.[1074] In *Evie's War*, Evie complains of the men being so 'mud-encrusted' when they arrive for treatment that she cannot read their tags or see their injuries: 'the mud that clogs their clothes and hair and skin' and that she must clear from 'their eyes and ears and mouths' has a 'particular smell' that she thinks will 'haunt me for the rest of my life'.[1075] Mud in the non-poppy material is not just tiring and

[1062] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1063] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 218, 225.
[1064] Menefy, *1915*, p. 191.
[1065] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1066] Hunt, *1918*, p. 64.
[1067] Hair, *1916*, p. 219.
[1068] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 218.
[1069] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 65, 195.
[1070] Hair, *1916*, p. 176.
[1071] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Lady Liverpool', aired 4/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/lady-liverpool-great-war-story; Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Eric and Rewi Alley', aired 23/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/eric-and-rewi-alley-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Thomas Blake', aired 20/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/thomas-blake-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Harry Varnham', aired 21/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/harry-varnham-great-war-story; Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*; Falkner, *1917*, p. 228.
[1072] Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart'; Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1073] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 83-4, 85, 92.
[1074] Hunt, *1918*, p. 100.
[1075] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 145, 188, 261.

frustrating – it is dangerous, such as in *Tane's War*, where stepping off the duckboards means sinking into 'foul smelling' 'slime' that was 'toxic'.[1076] Mackenzie describes the particular horror story of Passchendale, writing of one soldier who saw two comrades 'drown in the mud and could do nothing to help them'.[1077] Mud is such an important part of the WWI narrative that it is included in the children's books, such as in *The Red Poppy*, where the first page includes 'the mud' as one of the things Jim will not mention in his letters home, and an illustration shows a stretcher bearer sunk up to his knees.[1078] Like in the print histories, mud is simply everywhere – a seemingly integral part of the WWI narrative that clings to both New Zealand's historiography and popular culture images of the war.

All these aspects of suffering – the stench, the creatures, the food and water, the weather – cause disease for the men of the non-poppy material, though this is a less prominent theme than in the print histories. 'Disease was becoming more deadly than the bullets', one soldier says in *25 April*, and Brocker agrees, writing 'sickness and disease began to claim more of the men than bullets and shrapnel'.[1079] Hair describes how the 'septic mud' caused rashes and colds, lice caused the 'dizziness, headaches and muscular pains' of trench fever, and the wet caused trench foot – a 'skin-rotting condition'.[1080] Hunt is more detailed, writing that it was 'a form of gangrene' where 'red skin would turn to angry sores which…became purple then black' and the feet then 'had to be amputated or the soldier would die'.[1081] Brocker specifies that Jack, suffering dysentery, was 'too weak from diarrhoea' to stagger to the latrines and the suffering from the disease was so bad 'it was the only time Billy ever saw him weep'.[1082] Evie in *Evie's War* mentions pneumonia, tuberculosis, and enteric fever (typhoid) as well as trench foot amongst the men in her wards, while Mel in *1915* adds malaria to that list, a disease also mentioned by Tolerton, who quotes a woman who described the malaria patients as 'utterly broken and old' due to the 'deadly and malignant' nature of the disease.[1083] Tolerton also quotes a woman who nursed typhus patients in wards where 'there are often two men in one bed, sometimes one of them dead' as the nurses have to 'separate the dead from the living as they can'.[1084] These mentions of disease are less prominent than those of the print histories, which also look at the improvements made in combating disease and the successes on the Western Front; the non-poppy texts largely just point out that soldiers got sick. It is also notable that none of the texts' main characters suffer from any of these diseases, though some secondary characters – such as the aforementioned Jack – do. Overall, disease is significantly less of a key theme within the non-poppy narrative.

Though death, violence and the disgusting conditions are the mainstays of the WWI suffering narratives, the emotional suffering of exhaustion and loss are also prominent. The long hours described by Anna Rogers are lived by Menefy and Mackenzie's characters; Harriet in *1915* tells her cousin that they work 'from seven in the morning till well after dark each night – sometimes till two a.m.' as 'the dressings seem endless'.[1085] Tolerton's text asserts that these hours are not Menefy's invention, as nurses like NZANS Sister Fanny Speedy worked 7am-2am in hospitals in Alexandria and 24-36 hour shifts were common during pushes.[1086] In *Evie's War*, Evie drives her ambulance for

[1076] Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 333, 344.
[1077] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 270.
[1078] Hill and Colston, *The Red Poppy*, pp. 1, 35.
[1079] Pooley, *25 April*; Brocker, *1914*, p. 141.
[1080] Hair, *1916*, p. 103.
[1081] Hunt, *1918*, p. 64.
[1082] Brocker, *1914*, p. 141.
[1083] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 293; Menefy, *1915*, p. 219; Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 312.
[1084] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 52.
[1085] Menefy, *1915*, p. 102.
[1086] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 99, 202.

'eighteen hour shifts [with] perhaps four hours sleep with the guns firing all the time',[1087] and Tolerton again backs up the fiction, writing that drivers could work for 14 hours without food. It was not just the extreme hours that exhausted them, she adds, as some were unable to 'stand the groans of the wounded' they were transporting.[1088] Tolerton highlights that volunteers also suffered these exhausting conditions; she quotes a VAD's assertion that they worked 'violently', and another wrote that the work was emotionally challenging, as they had to lie to injured men about the seriousness of their condition and endure the screams of shellshocked men.[1089] Women who found work in factories were also pushed to the limit; Tolerton discusses Elsie Dimock, who worked as a tool setter in a motor factory for 12 hours a day, six days a week, in icy conditions with limited wartime rations, driving her to 'a state of near collapse'.[1090]

The long hours and emotional labour take a toll on the women, as they endure their own suffering parallel to the men they treat. 'It hardly felt real', a nurse says in *25 April* when describing her long shifts aboard the hospital ships at Anzac Cove; her statement is accompanied by a dolly zoom to leave the viewer feeling as disoriented and disconnected from reality as she does amidst the chaos of the *Maheno*.[1091] Tolerton quotes a similar sentiment from an ambulance driver, who wrote that she was 'at work night and day: it was like a never-ending nightmare' as for ten days straight she 'worked like one in a dream': 'nothing seemed real...I used to bite my lips till the blood came to convince myself of the reality of it all'.[1092] On board the *Maheno* at Anzac Cove, Mel in *1915* feels 'like crying with exhaustion' every time another load of injured come aboard but always braces herself and 'refresh[es] her smile' to begin sorting them.[1093] This drive to continue working even past the point of exhaustion is common: Evie refuses to take leave and judges fellow nurses who do,[1094] and Tolerton quotes the Directrice of a hospital in Rouen who wrote that she 'never [has] a moment's relaxation nor wish to until all is done that I can do'.[1095] The exhaustion of the men is less notable in the non-poppy texts; they certainly suffer, but the exhaustion of the work expected of them is largely the domain of the non-poppy women. This is an inverse of the focuses of the print histories, where women are less visible in general. In Rogers's medical history, the women must share the narrative, but in Tolerton's text, or Mackenzie's and Menefy's novels, they get to have the focus.

The emotional suffering of families left behind is seen in several non-poppy texts, particularly Glenn Reddiex's book focusing on postcards and the Great War Stories, which are made to appeal to a very general audience. 'The war found a path to every living soul', Reddiex writes, emphasizing the universality of the suffering.[1096] He asserts that 'it is hard to imagine the heartache of these families and others as the tragic news was delivered to the homes of so many',[1097] demonstrating the highly emotive language that is seen throughout his book. The Great War Stories assert that 'every family dreaded' the receipt of a wartime telegraph,[1098] and when more than one son was overseas this fear was multiplied; the death of a second son is described by Reddiex as 'another cruel blow' for a family.[1099] *Jim's Letters* focusses on a soldier's little brother to depict the loss of a family member. The

[1087] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 255, 270.
[1088] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 213, 232.
[1089] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 109, 300.
[1090] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 239-240.
[1091] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1092] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 307.
[1093] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 89-90.
[1094] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 162, 177.
[1095] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 50.
[1096] Glenn Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know I'm Still Alive*, Wellington: Grantham House Publishing, 2015, pp. 129, 167.
[1097] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 111.
[1098] Cottrell, 'Eric and Rewi Alley'.
[1099] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 119.

Great War Stories describe 'deep scars left on the New Zealand psyche',[1100] arguing that emotional suffering is still affecting families 100 years later: Harry Varnham's suicide, alluded to in his Great War Stories segment, 'still causes the family grief' generations later, as does the death of Leslie Averill, whose segment asserts that 'families are still scarred by loss'.[1101] The idea that suffering was not limited to the men in the trenches is a common narrative of WWI, and this is reflected in the non-poppy texts – although given that many of them are novels that focus on the men without cutting back to their families, it is more limited than in the print histories.

The non-poppy material – often fiction, a category that is built on evoking an audience's emotions – is replete with emotive language, including not only written techniques such as word choice and metaphor but also the visual language of film, such as camerawork. The non-poppy material makes use of familiar words and phrases that are so entrenched in war narrative that excluding them would be jarring for audiences: like in the print histories, the 'horror' of war[1102] and the 'hell'[1103] of the environment are the most common emotive words, appearing throughout the texts. Language that emphasises depersonalised death is common: war is a 'slaughterhouse',[1104] a 'bloodbath',[1105] or a 'butcher shop',[1106] where men are 'slaughtered'[1107] like lambs or rabbits.[1108] Men are not just wounded or killed, they are 'shattered',[1109] 'mangled'[1110] and 'mutilated'[1111] in the 'murderous'[1112] 'death zone'.[1113] Some variation of this phrase is used by several authors, who refer to the front as a 'killing zone' or 'killing fields', or Gallipoli as 'the killing peninsula'.[1114] In this 'killing world', a battle is 'torture',[1115] an 'atrocity',[1116] 'catastrophe',[1117] or 'disaster'[1118] that leaves behind 'carnage'[1119] and

[1100] Cottrell, 'Gallipoli tortoise'.
[1101] Cottrell, 'Harry Varnham'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Leslie Averill, aired 25/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/leslie-averill-great-war-story.
[1102] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 166, 259, 284; Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 291, 316, 317; Brocker, *1914*, p. 139; Falkner, *1917*, pp. 273, 304, 323; Hunt, *1918*, p. 381; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 91, 125, 225; Hair, *1916*, pp. 106, 128, 170; Cottrell, 'Pickerill and Gillies', 'Hāmi Grace', 'Ormond Burton', 'Alexander Aitken', 'Thomas Blake'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Peter Howden', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/peter-howden-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ranji Wilson', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ranji-wilson-great-war-story; Pooley, *25 April*; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 40, 75, 113, 124, 156.
[1103] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 110, 118, 119, 133, 140, 142, 154; Falkner, *1917*, p. 148, 274; Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 333, 344; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 170; Hair, *1916*, pp. 18, 171, 173, 222, 224; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Rikihana Carkeek', aired 6/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/rikihana-carkeek-great-war-story; Pooley, *25 April*; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 111.
[1104] Falkner, *1917*, p. 284.
[1105] Falkner, *1917*, p. 275.
[1106] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1107] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 92, 174; Brocker, *1914*, p. 124; Falkner, *1917*, p. 108; Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 337, 342, 344; Hunt, *1918*, p. 263; Hair, *1916*, p. 161; Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart', 'Peter Howden'; Pooley, *25 April.*
[1108] Menefy, *1915*, p. 175; Brocker, *1914*, pp. 111, 153.
[1109] Hair, *1916*, p. 14.
[1110] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 37, 268, 284; Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 121, 210.
[1111] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 73.
[1112] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1113] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1114] Hunt, *1918*, p. 304; Brocker, *1914*, p. 147; Falkner, *1917*, p. 288; Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Gareth Farr's cello concerto', aired 21/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/gareth-farr%E2%80%99s-cello-concerto-great-war-story.
[1115] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 335.
[1116] Falkner, p. 149; Reddiex, p. 43.
[1117] Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart'; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 87.
[1118] Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart'.
[1119] Brocker, *1914*, p. 163; Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 342, 344; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 172; Cotrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek', 'Ormond Burton', 'Eric and Rewi Alley'.

'festering' 'filth'.[1120] Words that emphasise the unreality of the trenches such as 'nightmare',[1121] 'crazy',[1122] 'senseless'[1123] and 'unbelievable'[1124] are utilised by several authors, as well as judgement words such as 'diabolical'[1125] and 'cruel'.[1126] Authors also employ words that tell audiences how to feel: 'terror',[1127] 'sad',[1128] 'heartbreaking ',[1129] 'harrowing'[1130], 'soul-tormenting'.[1131] The use of this language is familiar from 100 years of war fiction and poetry and so it makes sense that the non-poppy material – largely fiction, or made to appeal to a broad, general audience – deploys such familiar, emotive language to communicate a suffering that is essentially incomprehensible.

The non-poppy authors also make use of depersonalisation and metaphor to compare men to machines or objects. Men are referred to as 'fodder for the guns'[1132] and described as 'mechanical'.[1133] Brocker describes Billy 'march[ing] alongside his mates like a mute machine'[1134] and the 'conveyor belt' imagery of the print histories is echoed by Menefy, who in her author's note calls the hospitals 'a factory line of mangled bodies'.[1135] Men become objects, no longer human: on Menefy's *Maheno*, wounded soldiers are not people who are alive – they are 'the nearly dying' and 'the dying'.[1136] In Brocker's text, men are 'strewn' on the 'torn' battlefield 'like scraps of litter'[1137] and in *1918*, Henry thinks at first that the figures hung on the barbed wire are training dummies placed by the Germans, before realising they are his comrades; Hunt likens them to scarecrows, though they are 'more frightening that any scarecrow could ever be'.[1138] Tolerton writes that Ettie Rout 'believed army life dehumanised men',[1139] and other authors use the word 'inhumanity' in their texts to describe the war.[1140] In *Field Punishment No. 1* this focus on the dehumanisation of men during war is a central theme, with Baxter rallying that 'we are not soldiers…but men'.[1141] 'This was not war', Bob thinks in *1917*. 'This was not man battling against man with weapons. This was a kind of mass destruction'.[1142]

When soldiers are not mindless automatons, they are animals – still not human. Some authors use imagery of the same animals that torment the men, describing them as 'hemmed in like rats in a

[1120] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 37, 146.
[1121] Menefy, *1915*, p. 146; Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 307; Brocker, *1914*, p. 81; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 263; Hair, *1916*, p. 128; Cotrell, 'Peter Howden'.
[1122] Brocker, *1914*, p. 154.
[1123] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 163.
[1124] Cottrell, 'Thomas Blake'.
[1125] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1126] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 121; Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1127] Menefy, *1915*, p. 219; Falkner, *1917*, p. 320; Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 335; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Falaoa and the Niueans', aired 19/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/falaoa-and-niueans-great-war-story.
[1128] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 73; Falkner, *1917*, p. 249; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 15, 55.
[1129] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 311.
[1130] Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart'.
[1131] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'The executed five', aired 22/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/executed-five-great-war-story.
[1132] Menefy, *1915*, p. 262.
[1133] Hair, *1916*, p. 219.
[1134] Brocker, *1914*, p. 165.
[1135] Menefy, *1915*, p. 284.
[1136] Menefy, *1915*, p. 80.
[1137] Brocker, *1914*, p. 166.
[1138] Hunt, *1918*, p. 89.
[1139] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 182.
[1140] Falkner, *1917*, p. 249; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 287.
[1141] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1142] Falkner, *1917*, p. 149.

trap'[1143] or 'burrowing towards each other like rats'.[1144] Other animals are also used; Weir describes the men 'packed together like farm animals' on the troop convoys, and later writes that they were 'loaded like pack animals'.[1145] Edward writes to Evie in *Evie's War* that the men 'live little better than animals' and later in the text Evie compares the armies of 1918 to 'lumbering and decrepit old dogs fighting over a bone gnawing until…[it's] damaged beyond recognition or repair'.[1146] When Billy reminds Jack in *1914* that he said war would be 'like pig hunting', Jack retorts 'grimly': 'Yeah… but this time we're the pigs'.[1147] Insects are also commonly used as metaphors for the lack of individualism, agency and dignity the men suffer. In *1917* Bob observes, as he flies over Passchendaele, that 'the ridges seemed alive, as though crawling with worms' that were in fact mud-covered men,[1148] and Hair describes how the Pioneers 'crept and crawled through the darkness like cockroaches'.[1149] Falkner is fond of ants as a metaphor; he describes the aerodrome under attack as 'a scurrying ants' nest' and refers to the infantry as 'ant-like' next to tanks,[1150] and he also compares massing troops to 'armies of ants'.[1151] Hair also uses this image, describing the busy camp as 'like ants in a hive' and later Leith feels like 'an ant caught in a piece of vast and faulty machinery'.[1152]

As a contrast to figurative language, several authors also make use of blunt language to shock their audience. Like the suddenness of death in the trenches, authors announce the death of figures without warning. 'I'll join you soon', Mel tells a wounded soldier, before: 'an hour later, Mel noted the time of death on the young soldier's chart'.[1153] Tolerton quotes a nurse's diary before bluntly stating her fate at the start of her section on the *Marquette*: '"How thankful I am every day that I came to do what I could to help and relieve our brave boys." A couple of weeks later she was dead'.[1154] Jack's death in *1914* is shockingly sudden, written in simple short sentences: 'A bullet hit Jack in the face. Without a sound he toppled back into the trench. Dead.'[1155] During the final battle scene of *Tane's War*, Weir describes Neerav's death in a similar way, writing, 'where Neerav had been there was now a smoking hole'.[1156] The deaths of men are described not only in the emotional ways described earlier, but also in these callous terms. This bluntness offers a contrast to the figurative language described above; while metaphor can evoke images that help to communicate the suffering that there are no words for, these simple descriptions evoke the shock of unpredictable suffering. Just as men are killed without warning, readers encounter the death of characters suddenly and without elaborate language.

Just as emotive language can tell readers how to feel, the techniques used by filmmakers can place audiences within the experiences of the characters to heighten the depictions of suffering. Burger uses shakycam, flashing lights, whiteouts and silence to evoke suffering in *When We Go To War* and *Field Punishment No. 1*. *25 April* also uses film language techniques to inflict the suffering on the audience, using its animated format to achieve this in a way live action cannot. The bodies of *25 April* are bloody and contorted, with gaunt faces and hollow black eyes. The images are often unrealistic, even surreal, and their strangeness evokes a response more consistent with horror films that the

[1143] Brocker, *1914*, p. 117.
[1144] Cottrell, 'Hāmi Grace'.
[1145] Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 332, 337.
[1146] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 232, 320.
[1147] Brocker, *1914*, p. 165.
[1148] Falkner, *1917*, p. 274.
[1149] Hair, *1916*, p. 104.
[1150] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 16, 289.
[1151] Brocker, *1914*, p. 162.
[1152] Hair, *1916*, pp. 26, 44.
[1153] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 205-6.
[1154] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 132.
[1155] Brocker, *1914*, p. 169.
[1156] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 343.

realism of live action VFX makeup. At one point fire overtakes the frame, literally burning away the image on screen to emphasise the totality of the destruction. Colour is used throughout the film, with the blue washes of nighttime assaults interrupted with bright flashes of red as men attack and bodies fall. Diegetic sound cuts in and out, going from deafeningly loud to complete silence, adding to the confusion and sensory assault Pooley is creating. The motif of crows – a symbol of death, specifically carrion – are seen and heard throughout the film during moments of violence, and appear to indicate the worst suffering of the campaign. The shadow of a crow passes over the depiction of the burial truce, the Royal Navy ships that leaves Anzac Cove (portrayed as an abandonment) turns into a flock of crows, and crows fly across the map as the officers plan the assault on Chunuk Bair. At one point a crow landing on a dead body literally blocks out the sun: light and life have been subsumed by death.

Suffering in the non-poppy material is linked to the narrative of sacrifice, with texts discussing the idea that men endured this suffering for a cause. The idea of sacrifice was prominent at the time and the non-poppy material emphasises this, both through quoting real life examples and fictional imaginings of what people believed. 'If I fall…it was for a good cause', a soldier writes in a letter home near the start of *25 April.*[1157] Tolerton includes a letter from William Malone to his wife in which he mentions doing 'what every man was bound to do in our country's need'.[1158] He also writes that 'the sacrifice was really yours', which Tolerton points out is indicative of the idea that the women at home, as the 'designated mourners', bore the brunt of the 'sacrifice'.[1159] Evie attends church sermons in *Evie's War* on 'the brave Sacrifice of our Soldiers' and 'Sacrifice for the Greater Good', where families who 'have already made the Sacrifice showed a very brave front'.[1160] Her uncle also tells her that the war must be won even if it means the 'Ultimate Sacrifice'.[1161] In *When We Go To War*, Violet voices this concept when she tells Manaaki that Charles is 'risking his life for us, and you should be grateful',[1162] and Chopper's daughter in *1914* writes him a letter which calls him a 'hero'.[1163] It is notable which characters are expressing these ideas – *When We Go To War*'s narrative positions Violet as an antagonist, Evie's uncle is involved in the war office, and Chopper's young daughter is being told stories by both Chopper and her mother. Other characters who the narrative aligns the audience with more closely often do not express such strong belief in the sacrifice narrative.

Challenges to the narrative of sacrifice are seen throughout the non-poppy texts. A Great War Stories segment on Passchendaele shows the newspaper headline 'Heroic Anzacs – A Day of Sacrifice' while the narration, which is reading a letter from a soldier, highlights the irony, saying that 'the papers will all report another glorious success'.[1164] Main characters that audiences are intended to identify with express scepticism towards the traditional sacrifice narrative, such as Mrs Smith chastising Violet in *When We Go To War* for 'ask[ing] others to make sacrifice when you have made none yourself'.[1165] Some challenges are even more explicit: in *1915*, when Harriet and Mel attend the 1916 Anzac Day ceremony, Menefy includes the speeches which emphasise sacrifice and 'those glorious dead', but Harriet rejects this message, thinking, 'how dare they glorify it…bloody politicians'.[1166] Leith in *1916* demonstrates a nuanced, 'mate-focused' view when he decides at a commemoration that despite the 'waste of life and the suffering', the individual men who fought 'gave all of themselves, for no

[1157] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1158] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 101.
[1159] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 101-2.
[1160] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 34, 53, 159.
[1161] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 87, 297.
[1162] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'.
[1163] Brocker, *1914*, p. 144.
[1164] Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart'.
[1165] Burger, 'Cissy's Letter'.
[1166] Menefy, *1915*, p. 268.

better reason than to keep their fellows intact', which he thinks is the best cause imaginable.[1167] This reflects a view in line with Harper's tone in *Johnny Enzed*, with the focus on mateship being the most important component of the New Zealand soldier's experience.

Despite these challenges, emotional appeals to modern ideas of sacrifice, enshrined over the past 100 years, also appear throughout the material. Reddiex in particular has a strong emphasis on this narrative,[1168] including the assertion that 18,000 men 'sacrificed their lives to defend their God, King and Country', a seemingly outdated sentiment for a book published in 2015.[1169] The Great War Stories series prominently features commemoration content[1170] – the Last Post unsurprisingly appears multiple times,[1171] including over footage of Bess the horse's grave.[1172] The whole Great War Series ends with 'lest we forget',[1173] a sentiment echoed elsewhere: Reddiex includes the phrase 'To the Fallen, Lest We Forget',[1174] and Harper ends the afterword of *Jim's Letters* with 'We will remember them!' in big letters.[1175] Author's notes and dedications are a notable source of the traditional sacrifice and commemoration narratives in the non-poppy texts: Hunt, Mackenzie, Brocker and Weir all reference 'sacrifice' in theirs, and *1914* and *1916* feature poppies on their dedication pages.[1176] Tolerton ends a chapter with a Volunteer Sister's description of the first Anzac Day service in Egypt in 1916, including how the sisters 'collected flowers from the graves and are putting them in envelopes with the names of the heroes and posting them to relatives in New Zealand';[1177] however, in contrast, an ambulance driver quoted by Tolerton writes that 'the most pathetic sights of all are the hundreds of dilapidated little crosses doted everywhere' across the French countryside with 'disappeared' letters rendering them unidentifiable.[1178] Tolerton provides both a traditional take on the sacrifice represented by flowers at the graves, while also offering another view of the waste the crosses represent.

The concept of waste is a key theme within the sacrifice narrative of the non-poppy material. Several authors emphasise the scale of the losses by pointing out how few men remain;[1179] in the non-fictional material there is 'only 70…not dead or wounded' of Malone's 760 men,[1180] and in the fictional texts one of Evie's patients is 'the sole survivor of 190 men'.[1181] Men are lost quickly and they are lost young in these texts; in *Evie's War*, one of Evie's friends is married for a month before receiving a telegram to say her husband has been killed.[1182] Brian Falkner, like Claasen, emphasises the short life expectancy and 'appalling casualty rates' for pilots. 'Most new chaps don't last more than a few days,' one pilot tells Bob near the start of the book, before amending, 'I'm just kidding you…some of them last a couple of weeks'.[1183] There is emphasis on how young men were: they were

[1167] Hair, *1916*, p. 278.
[1168] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 21, 27, 49, 81, 166, 167.
[1169] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 19.
[1170] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. '*Marquette*', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/marquette-great-war-story; Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart', 'The executed five'.
[1171] Cottrell, 'Hāmi Grace', 'Marquette'.
[1172] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Bess the horse', aired 10/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/bess-horse-great-war-story.
[1173] Cottrell, 'Leslie Averill'.
[1174] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 111.
[1175] Harper and Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, p. 31.
[1176] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 3, 398; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 348; Brocker, *1914*, p. 3; Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 7.
[1177] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 177.
[1178] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 339.
[1179] Examples include Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek', 'Leonard Hart'; Hair, *1916*, p. 155.
[1180] Cottrell, 'William Malone'.
[1181] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 171.
[1182] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 164.
[1183] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 57, 221.

'only' 21, 19, 23.[1184] After Wright's death in *1917*, Falkner reveals that this highly respected ace pilot – who Bob describes as 'a legend'[1185] – was only 19,[1186] and Tolerton mentions a soldier who 'died the day after his 21st birthday'.[1187] Characters acknowledge that their chances of survival are slim; in *When We Go To War* Charles justifies Violet breaking of their engagement as he 'might kick the bucket at any moment', and when William accuses Bea of being 'fatalistic' about his chance of survival she claims she is in fact being 'a realist'.[1188] 'No-one should get attached', Bea announces.[1189] Tolerton quotes a NZANS sister's belief that for the men, 'most of their chances will be one in a thousand'.[1190] Weir writes that Wiremu and Tane's war 'lasted seventy-two hours, a short and brutal reality that made a mockery of their months of training'.[1191] Reddiex gives a real life example of how short a soldier's time in the war could be, describing how John Roberts was killed only four months after finally arriving in France from the Rifle Brigade.[1192]

'War is just waste', argues Ormond Burton in the Great War Stories,[1193] a sentiment echoed by Leith in *1916*,[1194] Flo in *1915*,[1195] Charles in *When We Go To War*,[1196] and Baxter in *Field Punishment No. 1*.[1197] The non-poppy texts call the war 'pointless' and 'futile',[1198] and characters question why they were there at all: when Charles angrily tells reporter Ellis that 'many good men have died for this cause', Ellis retorts, 'and what cause is that exactly?'.[1199] Billy thinks a similar thing after being at Gallipoli in *1914*, with Brocker writing that 'he'd lost some of his best mates…and for what? Billy didn't really know'.[1200] In the non-poppy material, men begin to question why they are bothering at all, when their efforts seem to be meaningless: in *1916*, when, after an artillery barrage destroys the trench they had been working on, 'grown men, who'd laboured all night fixing it, sank to their knees in the puddles and mud and wept'.[1201] In *1914*, Chopper's dramatic, risky rescue of a soldier trapped in no-man's-land – his first show of selflessness – is for nothing; as Chopper celebrates that he made it back to the trench, the sergeant 'checked the bloodied body of the trooper and shook his head'.[1202] This moment of character growth, when Chopper finally endeavours to help someone else, makes as little difference as anything else the protagonists do in the novel.

This idea that, rather than being for a good cause, the waste and effort was all for nothing is prominent in the non-poppy material, just as if not more so than in the print histories. *25 April*, which uses John Persson's dedication to protecting his brother as a focus, ends with the revelation that Martin Persson was in fact the youngest New Zealander to die at Gallipoli, insinuating that

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[1184] Cottrell, 'The executed five', 'Eric and Rewi Alley', 'Harry Varnham'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Rizk Alexander', aired 23/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/rizk-alexander-great-war-story; Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 73, 227; Falkner, *1917*, p. 272; Menefy, *1915*, p. 215; Hunt, *1918*, p. 209, Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 11, 112, 113, 134, 171.
[1185] Falkner, *1917*, p. 41.
[1186] Falkner, *1917*, p. 176.
[1187] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 289.
[1188] Burger, 'Cissy's Letter'.
[1189] Burger, 'Cissy's Letter'.
[1190] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 227.
[1191] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 333.
[1192] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 13.
[1193] Cottrell, 'Ormond Burton'.
[1194] Hair, *1916*, p. 274.
[1195] Menefy, *1915*, p. 147.
[1196] Burger, 'Cissy's Letter'.
[1197] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1198] Cottrell, 'Eric and Rewi Alley'; Menefy, *1915*, p. 199.
[1199] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[1200] Brocker, *1914*, p. 195.
[1201] Hair, *1916*, p. 225.
[1202] Brocker, *1914*, p. 137.

John's mission was futile all along.[1203] Both Bob in *1917* and Henry in *1918* grapple with the idea that the massive suffering was all 'for nothing' when Germans reclaim ground hard won at Cambrai and the Somme.[1204] This sense of waste for nothing is felt keenly at Chunuk Bair throughout the material: in *1914* Billy watches 'with horror' as their own men are hit by the British guns,[1205] and when 'the hard-won summit…was lost', all Billy can think is that Jack had 'died for nothing'.[1206] 'We bloody had it', one New Zealander shouts at a British solider in *When We Go To War* as he physically attacks him, blaming him for losing the position the New Zealanders were shown fighting so desperately for.[1207] This loss of Chunuk Bair is what prompts Charles to write his open letter to Violet, trying to communicate the suffering the men are enduring: the 'miserable failure' as the 'youngest and finest are slaughtered' in an 'enormous and futile loss of life to end up exactly where we were before'.[1208] When there are victories, the cost of even the smallest gains being human lives is mentioned by several authors;[1209] Weir writes that 'each yard was paid for in blood'.[1210] In *Evie's War*, Mackenzie describes the influx of wounded after a push as 'the price of our Great Victory',[1211] and Reddiex writes that the success of Messines 'came at a cost with more than 3,700 New Zealand casualties'.[1212] Nurses also lament the waste of nursing men back to health only for them 'to go out and be shot down'.[1213] Tolerton quotes a nurse who writes that 'many that we have nursed have returned a second time and now are killed',[1214] and Mackenzie calls it a 'sorry business' to nurse men 'only so that they may return to the fighting and be shot up again'.[1215] Later, when Harry is killed, Evie feels 'it seems so unjust, when he was so newly recovered', and writes that 'the worst is to realise the unspeakable waste of it all'.[1216]

The deaths and injuries that happen right at the end of the war are depicted as especially pointless, such as Harry Varnham being 'so badly' injured his leg was amputated days before the end of the war.[1217] Hunt describes how 'in the hours between the signing and the laying down of weapons, another thousand men died', and Pierre, the father of the family Poppy the dog belongs to, was killed 'just two weeks before the fighting stopped'.[1218] The Great War Stories segment on Le Quesnoy points out that 'more than 90 New Zealanders died here just one week before the First World War ended'.[1219] The irony of the First World War being quickly followed by the Second – undercutting the concept of sacrifice even more significantly – is hinted at by some authors, such as in *Evie's War*, when Evie's aunt says that 'the War will soon be over and we would never allow another', and Evie is glad her two-year-old brother will never have to fight in a war.[1220] Reddiex, despite his repeated emphasis on 'sacrifice', also acknowledges that 'the lessons were never learned'.[1221]

[1203] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1204] Falkner, *1917*, p. 313; Hunt, *1918*, p. 135.
[1205] Brocker, *1914*, p. 167.
[1206] Brocker, *1914*, p. 175.
[1207] Burger, 'Charles Letter'.
[1208] Burger, 'Charles Letter'.
[1209] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 135, 228; Hair, *1916*, p. 183; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 101, 118, 142.
[1210] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 344.
[1211] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 81.
[1212] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 69, 101.
[1213] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 50.
[1214] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 66.
[1215] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 185.
[1216] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 135.
[1217] Cottrell, 'Harry Varnham'.
[1218] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 312, 369.
[1219] Cottrell, 'Leslie Averill'.
[1220] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 199, 212.
[1221] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 87.

'I don't think people should get killed in war', a school child in the Great War Stories declares;[1222] this seems to reflect the view of the non-poppy material, which overall rejects the idea of sacrifice and instead focuses more on the suffering and wasted lives. It makes sense that this view, reflecting notions of WWI as a pointless waste that have circulated in popular consciousness since the 1920s, is prominent in the non-poppy material. These texts are largely created by and for the general public, and so the most prominent popular culture views of the war are the ones most likely to surface within their narratives. This contrasts the print histories, which examine the sacrifice and suffering narratives with more nuance. The historians of the print histories are critically assessing the popular notions of pointless suffering, while many of the non-poppy creators use these ideas to evoke emotions in their more general audience.

[1222] Cottrell, 'Gallipoli tortoise'.

FIVE 'Narrative hooks, and all that…': Creating audience connections

The print histories

The WW100 Programme emphasised that it would 'deepen understanding' by 'telling and preserving stories', aiming to 'maximise their reach'.[1223] This was often done using a strong appeal to readers through personal experiences, with an emphasis on individuals and families. Overall, the print histories looked to connect with readers by highlighting the men and women who experienced the war, using their names and including their photographs to make them into 'real' people rather than statistics or uniformed masses. Stories of these individuals as well as lengthy first-hand accounts are often used by the print history authors to communicate the war's events, allowing readers to follow and identify with 'protagonist' figures that bring the experiences of the war 'to life'. There is also an emphasis on personal stories rather than generalisation. As well as attempting to connect the reader to the narrative, the print histories work to appeal to the reader and engage them using ephemera and images, as well as the author's voice. By working to connect the author to the reader and the reader to the narrative, the print histories aim to use personal stories to 'deepen understandings' of the First World War.

An emphasis on everyday individuals – their names, experiences, and words – is a relatively recent focus of war histories. Deborah Montgomerie writes that 'prior to the 1970s military history had been dominated by battle-focused, usually top-down accounts of campaigns, leaders, strategy, tactics, weapons and logistics'.[1224] It is this historiographical environment that the official New Zealand histories of World War Two were produced. The print histories of the WWI centenary, however, are a product of the now well-established 'new military history' that emerged in the 1980s.[1225] This 'war and society' approach has a broader focus and is more inclusive of ordinary people, women, and minorities, as well as interdisciplinary approaches. Key aspects of the audience connection theme seen in the print histories – such as first-hand accounts, appealing to wide audiences, images, names, and individuals' stories – have appeared in New Zealand WWI historiography since this shift, arguably beginning with Maurice Shadbolt.

Shadbolt's *Voices of Gallipoli* was a watershed moment for the emphasis on personal connections in New Zealand WWI historiography. Shadbolt's narrative began as a play in 1982, before becoming a television documentary in 1984 and finally a book comprised of first-hand accounts in 1988.[1226] The play, *Once on Chunuk Bair*, remains popular in New Zealand theatres and is a staple of high school drama classes,[1227] while the TV programme was, at the time, the most expensive television documentary ever produced in New Zealand, and was awarded the 1985 Feltex Television Award for Best Documentary.[1228] Television events have continued to seek to tell the WWI story in ways that will connect with broad audiences: the *Frontier of Dreams* series that aired in 2005 was the 'largest documentary series ever made in New Zealand' and the accompanying book was touted as 'the most comprehensive single-volume history of New Zealand';[1229] both had a whole segment devoted to

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[1223] 'Mission and Objectives', ww100.govt.nz/mission-and-objectives, viewed 2/12/2019.

[1224] Deborah Montgomerie, 'Reconnaissance: Twentieth-Century New Zealand War History at Century's Turn', *The New Zealand Journal of History* 37:1 (2003), p. 63.

[1225] Montgomerie, 'Reconnaissance', p. 63.

[1226] Maurice Shadbolt, *Voices of Gallipoli*, Auckland: David Ling Publishing, 2001, pp. 10, 15-16.

[1227] All-boys schools in particular rely on this and *Foreskin's Lament* for NZQA drama standards. Assessment Specifications, https://www.nzqa.govt.nz/ncea/subjects/assessment-specifications/drama-l3/, viewed 27/01/2021.

[1228] Shadbolt, *Voices of Gallipoli*, p. 15; https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/gallipoli-the-new-zealand-story-1984/awards, viewed 27/01/2021.

[1229] http://web.archive.org/web/20071020130056/http://www.mch.govt.nz/projects/history/frontierofdreams.html, viewed 3/5/2024; https://web.archive.org/web/20060117080644/http://www.tvnz.co.nz/view/fod_trivia_skin/610631, viewed 3/5/2024.

New Zealand's WWI experience, and the glossy pages of the book are filled with eye-catching photographs and art.[1230] Michael King's best-selling history of New Zealand at war[1231] was praised for its focus on 'ordinary' New Zealanders when it was first published in 1981. Its updated edition, published in 2003, emphasises images and first-hand accounts in order to appeal to general audiences. In the 60-page chapter on WWI, there are 26 pages that have only images, with no body text; every page of the chapter has either an image or an indented quote, and most have both. Christopher Pugsley understood the potential for personal connection through names: in his history of the Pioneers, almost half the text's pages are honour rolls,[1232] an emphasis that is seen in the print histories. Biographies that tell the story of the war through one person's experience have also demonstrated the 'personal connections' theme, such as Robin Hyde's biography of 'Starkie'.[1233] These elements, which seek to create connections to the audience and with the material, are clearly not new to the print histories, and as these authors sought to 'deepen understanding' through 'telling and preserving stories', they utilised these already-established methods to appeal to as many New Zealanders as possible. The conscious efforts to avoid top-down and impersonal narratives and instead focus on individual experiences and create connections with the reader therefore marks the print histories as a modern effort of historiography and a contrast to earlier government-funded 'official' military histories of WWII.

Throughout the print histories, authors make a significant effort to use the names of their subjects. This is evident not only when authors use personal stories and first-hand accounts, but also in lists and honour rolls that can often give little more than a name and rank. Authors list names when describing a small amount of people who fit an interesting category: Ian McGibbon lists New Zealand casualties at First Ypres,[1234] Anna Rogers gives the names of four female doctors and New Zealand women who worked in Serbia,[1235] and Glyn Harper presents a table that lists the 12 New Zealand nurses who served with the AIF.[1236] Authors such as Adam Claasen, who are focussed on small, specific groups such as airmen, make an effort to name as many figures as possible; Claasen begins his conclusion by listing men who were not discussed elsewhere in the book with brief descriptions of their service: 'Percival White hunted U-boats in coastal defence duties; William Cook chased Zeppelin airships during home defence operations; Frederick Horrell protected vulnerable bombers in escort duties…'.[1237] Monty Soutar has several sidebars that list names, such as Māori Contingent survivors of Gallipoli, Māori volunteers, and Māori released from institutions after the war.[1238] Soutar also has tables at the end of each chapter that list the casualties of the that period.[1239] Three of the authors who deal with specific groups – Soutar (Māori), Claasen (airmen) and Harper (New

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[1230] Bronwyn Dalley and Gavin McLean (eds.), *Frontier of Dreams: The Story of New Zealand*, Auckland: Hodder Moa, 2005.
[1231] Michael King, *New Zealanders at War*, Auckland: Penguin, 2003.
[1232] In the 142-page book, the body text finishes on page 84, with the rest being the rolls of honour. Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: The Māori Pioneer Battalion in The First World War*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1995.
[1233] Robin Hyde, *Passport to Hell*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015 (first published by Hurst & Blackett, 1936).
[1234] Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2016, p. 23.
[1235] Anna Rogers, *With Them Through Hell: New Zealand Medical Services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018, p. 321, 328.
[1236] Glyn Harper, *For King and Other Countries: The New Zealanders who fought in other services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019, p. 167.
[1237] Adam Claasen, *Fearless: The extraordinary untold story of New Zealand's Great War airmen*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017, p. 415.
[1238] Monty Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Maori in the First World War*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2019, pp. 112, 123, 187, 224, 272, 290, 310, 359.
[1239] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 137, 139, 161, 164-5, 191-3, 298-9, 325-7, 351, 377, 378-381, 404-9, 437-441, 469, 503.

Zealanders serving elsewhere) include honour rolls at the end of their texts.[1240] By making a significant effort to give names, the print histories are creating connections as the reader is not just being presented with statistics or generic figures. Readers may recognise last names, which can heighten connection and links to the strong narrative of family history and heritage in the centenary period. Further, the use of names for previously overlooked groups, such as women or Māori, works to cement these figures back into the narrative: by naming them, they are given a tangible place in the war's historiography.

All the print histories include several images, often in colour, many of which are portraits of soldiers. With brief captions that often give a condensed version of that man's story, these images mean that even the most casual reader flicking through the text will be able to catch glimpses of the narrative. A portrait of uniformed Eric Hames in *Johnny Enzed* is a typical example; Harper's brief (just under 100 words) caption gives some evocative detail of his service (he 'had his 21st birthday while serving…he hated it') and offers several quotes from him.[1241] Soutar includes pictures of the four Māori airmen he briefly discusses in an information panel, so readers can visualise the men whose lives he has to condense into 50-word captions.[1242] Authors also use photographs to depict figures they discuss in more depth, such as a full-page studio portrait of artist Harold Septimus Power that accompanies Harper's half-page account of his service in the AIF.[1243] The caption reiterates what is written in the body of the text, allowing a casual reader flicking through the book to get an idea of Power's story, and over the page Harper presents two of Power's wartime paintings. These images work together to enhance the presence of Power in Harper's text, allowing a greater connection to readers by working to make him more 'real'. Rogers uses photographs of the four New Zealand female doctors she discusses, including one of Mary Blair 'with her beloved dog Muggins, who accompanied her to Salonika'.[1244] This humanises these figures, as well as highlighting them as important, especially given that Rogers writes that female doctors are 'often unacknowledged, or unknown': a reader cannot miss the full-page portraits of Agnes Bennett and Elizabeth Gunn.[1245]

Studio portraits, often presented on a full page, are common throughout the print histories. Claasen, for example, has several throughout his text, illustrating his narrative and giving faces to those whose exploits he discusses – such as William Burn, Harriet Simeon, Keith Caldwell and Samuel Dawson.[1246] Despite the low quality of the historical photos and the black and white tone, the striking gazes of these figures work to draw readers in and put a face to the names they are reading about. Claasen also presents portraits in grids, full pages dedicated to three-by-three rows of men labelled with their name, allowing readers to visualise many of the figures they are reading about.[1247] Soutar's text also emphasises portraits of the men; multiple pages throughout *Whitiki!* are bordered by rows of photographs labelled with names, ranks and dates of death or injury.[1248] At the end of the book, Soutar includes six pages of these photographs, writing that 'family members were invited to contribute photos, and these are those which, for want of space, could not be included in the chapters'.[1249] Soutar is aiming to include as many faces as possible, only excluding those of 'poor

[1240] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* pp. 510-525; Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 429-432; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 247-316.
[1241] Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, p. 464.
[1242] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* p. 364.
[1243] Harper, *For King and Other Countries*, p. 150-1.
[1244] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 323, 325, 326.
[1245] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 321.
[1246] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 113, 344, 352, 370.
[1247] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 97, 413.
[1248] Examples include Soutar, *Whitiki!,* pp. 39, 111, 158, 322-3, 359, 368-9, 372-3, 376-7, 428, 429.
[1249] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* pp. 504-9.

visual quality', and connected with descendants to do so.[1250] Including the faces of so many Māori who served emphasises both the scale of the war and the human element. Being able to look into the eyes and see the features of so many men helps readers see them as real people rather than statistics. That the photographs were contributed by the families only heightens this sense of connection to the past. The number of readers who will see not only perhaps familiar names but recognisable features in Soutar's book greatly increases its appeal to the general public.

Also of note is Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge's use of modern photographs of New Zealand locations. Their text's focus on New Zealand heritage sites allows for a unique way of connecting with their reader, as there is a familiarity that can heighten engagement at a glance as someone recognises a local landmark. Bargas and Shoebridge write that 'exploring New Zealand's landscape can offer a broader and more varied understanding of the country's war experience' and that 'familiar and everyday places may be experienced in a new light'.[1251] Reading that familiar inner city Wellington streets like Willis and Vivian were the centre of the war-era red-light district[1252] or seeing an image of Palmerston North's popular Café Cuba with a caption that details its history as the Anzac Club[1253] certainly brings a new perspective to places that a reader may walk past every day. Bargas and Shoebridge's text looks to create connections with the reader by literally 'bringing it home', showing how the war impacted New Zealand's landscape and offering historical sites much easier to access than the shores of Gallipoli or the fields of France. Even if the names and faces presented by other authors are not familiar, the places depicted by Bargas and Shoebridge will likely create a sense of connection through familiarity for most readers.

Alongside images of people and places, several print authors also include ephemera that help bring their narrative to life for readers. Reproductions of letters, newspapers, documents and pictures of small items such as medals may not have the same impact of seeing the actual items in a museum setting, but they work to recreate the immediacy of a museum for readers at home. Soutar includes an excerpt from a newspaper entitled 'Wounded Maori's Letter', which allows his readers to see the same patchy newsprint as readers of the paper in 1915, and a postcard sent by a corporal to his fiancée, covered in his handwriting.[1254] Soutar does not give a transcript of the difficult-to-read message; the image itself is the point. Gavin McLean's title page has a copy of the *Maheno*'s menu, and his text contains reproductions of a number of pieces of ephemera generated by the hospital ships, such as advertising booklets, leave passes, ship magazines, patient tags and hand-drawn plans.[1255] Rogers presents field service and wound cards;[1256] McGibbon includes several often hand-drawn and complicated assault and trench maps;[1257] Bargas and Shoebridge have full-page reproductions of the 1917 plans of Trentham and Featherston camps;[1258] and Steven Loveridge's chapter on William Blomfield includes a large amount of his cartoons.[1259] Steven Loveridge and James Watson have a number of pieces of home front ephemera, such as cinema adverts, enlistment

[1250] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* p. 504.
[1251] Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge, *New Zealand's First World War Heritage*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, p. 10.
[1252] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 79.
[1253] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 131.
[1254] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* pp. 169, 306.
[1255] Gavin McLean, *The White Ships: New Zealand's First World War Hospital Ships*, Wellington: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 2013, pp. 1, 59, 61, 102-3, 104-5, 107, 108, 132, 145, 146-7, 150, 160, 162.
[1256] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 26-7, 351.
[1257] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 77, 86, 113, 140, 154.
[1258] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, pp. 46, 65.
[1259] Steven Loveridge, 'Sketching New Zealand's War: William Blomfield and the *New Zealand Observer*', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, pp. 251, 253, 255, 256, 259-261, 263-4, 267.

badges and cards, ballot telegraphs, and a Military Service Act notice in te Reo.[1260] These little pieces of everyday wartime life help to broaden perspectives, as they allow a reader to read words of the past as they were originally seen by those at the time.

Damien Fenton, whose text is the most obvious example of the use of ephemera, writes that his 500 illustrations and enclosures 'help to bring the period to life for the reader'.[1261] Every colourful page of Fenton's text has approximately equal text and images, so that even a casual reader skimming through the pictures will still pick up a great deal of information. Intended as a 'general overview' of the war for a very wide audience, including schools, Fenton uses copious images and ephemera to appeal to those not interested in large blocks of text. The inserts and fold outs display a wide variety of facsimile items representing many aspects of the wartime experience, encompassing business cards of Egyptian cigarette sellers, Christmas cards, propaganda posters, enlistment documents, hand- and type-written letters, maps, a YMCA booklet on soldierly purity, and a card that advertises Miss Yvonne's 'place for gentlemen' as being approved by Ettie Rout.[1262] These pieces of ephemera provide a tactile element to the text that, even more so than the pictures, can engage and interest anyone – particularly school children – not captured by simple text. By being able to flick through a 'Health Memoranda for Soldiers' or unfold a hand-written letter from a pocket,[1263] readers can physically echo the actions of the past, capturing their attention and drawing them into the narrative. With this physical ephemera, Fenton brings his narrative to life in a way usually reserved for museum exhibits.

Many authors present not only the names, faces and belongings of those who served, but also their words. David Littlewood explains that primary sources – such as letters and diaries – offer 'the best way to narrow' the gap between past and present.[1264] He argues that 'reproducing the words of contemporaries facilitates a much deeper understanding'[1265] – one of the key aims of the WW100 Programme. McGibbon and Harper also emphasise the importance of first-hand accounts. McGibbon writes in his preface that the NZEF records are 'supplemented' by diaries and letters that 'provide the flavour of life on the Western Front' and 'flesh out the dry official accounts',[1266] while Harper's introduction to *Johnny Enzed* states that the text 'relied heavily on first-hand accounts, the words of the New Zealand soldiers themselves, to tell their story', with 'more than 2000 New Zealand soldiers provid[ing] the base source material'.[1267] Harper writes that the centenary 'provides a great opportunity to broaden our knowledge and understanding' and clearly believes that presenting new and unfamiliar voices is a key part of this.[1268] It makes sense then that although all of the print histories make use of quotes from soldiers or others involved in the war, *Johnny Enzed* is the most prominent in this regard, with indented, often lengthy, first-person accounts on almost every page, with a significant number stretching across multiple pages.[1269] Other authors include first-hand accounts mostly in smaller snippets, though McLean's inclusion of a two-page excerpt from a chaplain's diary shows that these long accounts are used throughout the print histories.[1270] Harper

[1260] Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The Home Front: New Zealand Society and the War Effort*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019, pp. 162, 255, 294, 371, 399.
[1261] Damien Fenton, *New Zealand and the First World War 1914-1919*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2013, p. 7.
[1262] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 17, 27, 35, 41, 62, 71. There are many more examples of inserts throughout Fenton's text.
[1263] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 75, 59.
[1264] David Littlewood, 'Introduction', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 9.
[1265] Littlewood, 'Introduction', p. 9.
[1266] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 7.
[1267] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 17.
[1268] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 17-8.
[1269] Examples include Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 61-4, 191-3, 205-7, 276-7, 327-8, 371-2.
[1270] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 116-7.

and other authors let their subjects describe daily life, combat and their own emotional struggles,[1271] bringing personality and life to the print histories and avoiding the dry, often inaccessible, descriptions that war histories have used in the past. The soldiers' own words can appeal to the general reader, and by letting the men's words tell the story the authors can create texts that more readers will be able to access, expanding the appeal and reach of the book.

Alongside these first-hand accounts, authors use specific language of their own to appeal to readers and engage them with the text. Bargas and Shoebridge include the reader with first-person perspective when they write that the Labour Party founded in 1916 'remains with us today',[1272] as does Fenton, with the assertion that the Anzac iconography 'forever remind[s] us of that terrible conflict' and his conclusion that 'we still remember them'.[1273] Other authors use humour to appeal to readers, such as McLean's claim that lectures aboard the hospital ships 'cannot have had them rolling in the aisles', and he describes other activities undertaken 'when orderlies were not soaking up this wisdom'.[1274] Little pieces of author commentary point out some of the ridiculous aspects of wartime, such as Soutar writing that eggs arriving at Gallipoli 'as a treat' were rationed one between three: 'Some treat!'.[1275] 'Stiff luck indeed', Harper comments dryly after an account of a man missing a roast dinner due to sickness.[1276] Harper also occasionally makes use of soldier language to add humour, such as his comment that rumours of an armistice in November 1918 were 'more than the latrine wireless system'.[1277] These moments where an author's personal voice shines through help to create connection with the reader by showing that the author – like their subjects – is a real person capable of comedic asides, not just a dry and disconnected narrative voice.

There is a heavy emphasis throughout the print histories on using individual's stories to present the overall narrative of the war. Harper makes it clear that *For King and Other Countries* is specifically about individuals, describing the book as 'a patchwork quilt of the varied and often surprising experiences of so many New Zealanders'.[1278] He uses Gustav Berg's experience to open and close his narrative, beginning the introduction and afterword with his story – indicating the importance of experiences to the text.[1279] Claasen similarly opens his narrative with a story of Keith Caldwell's 'miracle' escape from a collision before rewinding to 1903 when Caldwell 'was an eight-year-old Auckland schoolboy',[1280] demonstrating to the reader that the book will revolve around such individual figures and their stories. Simon Moody, also discussing the air war, writes that the machines 'are ultimately meaningless without a real understanding of the experiences of the men who designed, built, maintained and flew them' and emphasises that history must continue to move away from discussing technological advances and romantic stories of aces 'into the more experiential sphere'.[1281] *Experience of a Lifetime* uses the stories of individuals to explore different aspects of the war, with chapters on Jesse Wallingford, Lindsay Inglis, and Keith Park, among several others. Littlewood in his introduction to the text emphasises that by focussing on these 'experiences' the chapter authors can 'foreground agency' and 'provide a more nuanced understanding'.[1282] He

[1271] For examples of each see Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 251-2, 286, 298.
[1272] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 28.
[1273] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 107.
[1274] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 130.
[1275] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* p. 168.
[1276] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 354.
[1277] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 470.
[1278] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 215.
[1279] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 15, 241.
[1280] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 15-16.
[1281] Simon Moody, 'Kiwis Rising: New Zealanders and the War in the Air', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 194.
[1282] Littlewood, 'Introduction', pp. 9-10.

criticises a tendency for discussion of WWI to filter through a lens of 'subsequent events and present-day concerns…rather than from the perspective of those who were alive at the time'; for him, focussing on experiences 'allow these difficulties to be overcome' as primary sources 'militate against present-centredness'.[1283] Fenton agrees that 'we must resist the temptation to view events…through the lens of…the Second World War and the subsequent emergence of a more independent but in some ways more insular view of ourselves and our history'; he states that his text seeks to 'avoid such anachronisms in the hope that a more mature and balanced account…will emerge'.[1284]

Focussing on individuals also allows authors to narrow their focus to make the sweeping narratives of the war more digestible for readers. Harper, for example, zooms in on Len Coley to describe the details of Broodseinde, detailing what his one platoon were doing rather than giving details of overall troop movements, and uses James Currie's diary to describe daily life in the trenches.[1285] Similarly, Claasen covers the war's strategic bombing campaigns by telling Reggie Kingsford's story.[1286] Harper gives the story of William McKeon to describe the 'process for treating and evacuating wounded men from the Western Front', following McKeon from the battlefield to a CCS to evacuation to Brockenhurst, [1287] describing one man's journey through the bureaucratic logistical process to make it more interesting to readers. This personal approach allows the reader a greater connection and therefore understanding, as opposed to generic operational details.

As well as describing the war through personal stories, the print histories often use individuals as examples to strengthen their narrative. Some authors clearly signpost this: McGibbon, writing about those convicted of being absent without leave, writes that 'John Hilliard, a 2 Otago private, was typical of many cases' and tells his story to exemplify the over 300 men convicted;[1288] Claasen states that 'Anthony Wilding was a good example of a New Zealanders who combined motor mechanics and a hunger for flight';[1289] and Harper writes that 'the story of John Willoughby Hadfield Marshall…is indicative of the soldiers who were listed missing'.[1290] Claasen argues that 'for accomplished airmen blessed with a modicum of luck…[April 1917] was also a period of accumulating victories' and then describes how 'among these was Thomas Culling', who Claasen uses as an example of a New Zealand ace, spending several pages on his story.[1291] The personal stories are not always so lengthy: Michael Roche and Sita Venkateswar's chapter in *Experience of a Lifetime*, which covers Indians in the NZEF, 'considers the biographies of the small number of Indians who volunteered and served'.[1292] The chapter uses their stories, as scant as some are, to examine their narrative themes of race and identity. Bargas and Shoebridge's page on provincial memorials 'to those denied a known and honoured grave' includes the story of Terence Carroll, who drowned, to illustrate the kinds of deaths marked by these monuments,[1293] and Rogers's two-page section on communication with casualties' families includes several short accounts of doctors writing letters directly to families.[1294] The use of individual stories in these sidebars help authors to communicate a lot of information very briefly. By

[1283] Littlewood, 'Introduction', p. 9.
[1284] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 6.
[1285] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 416-7, 286.
[1286] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 365-9.
[1287] Harper, *Johnny Enzed,* pp. 561-2.
[1288] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 192.
[1289] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 86.
[1290] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 108.
[1291] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 254-9.
[1292] Michael Roche and Sita Venkateswar, 'Neither Natural-born Subjects Nor Aliens: Indians in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, p. 139.
[1293] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 171.
[1294] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 26-7.

using a small number of examples to describe a larger narrative, authors can draw readers in with a personal appeal that provides details of the war without being overwhelming or confusing.

Some authors also include personal stories that are not directly linked to their overall narrative. Often in sidebars separate to the main text, these stories add detail and give readers more opportunities for personal connection through individuals. Rogers and Soutar both include several of these sidebars, most of which include a photograph of the subject, that are not within the main narrative.[1295] Bargas and Shoebridge also include a number of these individual stories, briefly detailing the lives of men who died in New Zealand or figures of note, such as uniform manufacturer Abraham Levy or brothel owner Emily Thomas.[1296] They include photographs of the grave of each of their subjects. Fenton, whose text is more generally focused and therefore includes less personal stories in the main narrative than many of the other print histories, includes sidebars with brief stories of individuals amongst the many images that complement the main text, such as George Black, whose portrait adorns an envelope containing facsimiles of letters sent between him and his family, and William Sanders, whose story is accompanied by his portrait, a painting of his ship, and an image of his VC.[1297] By including these personal stories separate to the main text, these authors can include a greater number of individuals and further emphasise the importance they are placing on telling and preserving stories, in line with the Programme's intentions. Separating the stories from the main text makes them stand out to the reader and marks them as important and interesting, and this helps to draw the reader in and create a connection with the individuals being highlighted.

Specific notable figures are highlighted throughout the print histories, with authors using the stories of well-known or particularly interesting people to draw readers in. Some authors make particular mention of figures whose superlatives make them distinct or unique: Fenton has an sidebar about 'the first death in the NZEF', who was not recognised until early 2000s,[1298] and Harper discusses 'the youngest Anzac', 13 year old Leslie Shaw, who 'should never have been recruited'.[1299] Claasen discusses Hugh Reilly, the first New Zealander to see action in the RFC and New Zealand's first airman POW, and Alan Scott and Cuthbert Maclean, New Zealand's first squadron commanders.[1300] Claasen gives a lot of focus to New Zealand's notable airmen, such as Keith Caldwell, pioneer Joe Hammond, the 'most famous' Alfred de Bathe Brandon, 'glittering' Arthur Coningham, 'outstanding' Keith Park, and the 'most skilled' Clive Collett.[1301] Their stories dominate Claasen's narrative. Men who faced particularly harsh or unusual discipline are also often highlighted by authors. Soutar uses three pages to tell the story of Jury Hopa, a Waikato conscript whose desertion was used as an excuse for the Defence Department to subpoena the Māori King;[1302] he also goes into detail about the case of Parekura Haenga, who was convicted of manslaughter at Dunkirk.[1303] Fenton tells the story of Jack Dunn, who was sentenced to death for falling asleep at his post, and who some readers may recognise from the Te Papa exhibit,[1304] and McGibbon recounts the story of Jack Braithwaite, one of the very few New Zealand men whose death sentence was carried out.[1305] Notable rascals are also detailed by some authors, such as Harper's tales of conman Selwyn Joyce[1306] or Roger Moag-Levy, who served with three different dominions and whose exploits and eventual disappearance 'read like

[1295] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 143, 217, 263; Soutar, *Whitiki!,* pp. 23, 87, 363, 465.
[1296] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, pp. 34, 78, 149, 197, 207, 214.
[1297] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 59, 85.
[1298] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 37.
[1299] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 52.
[1300] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 60, 242.
[1301] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 17, 123, 220-2, 277, 290, 312-4, 351, 384-5, 398-9.
[1302] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* pp. 230-2.
[1303] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* pp. 455-7.
[1304] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 72.
[1305] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 179-180.
[1306] Harper*, For King and Other Countries*, pp. 229-232.

a novel'.[1307] McGibbon tells the story of Dick Travis, whose 'force of personality' and scouting ability let him flout the rules, across several sections of his book, returning to Travis's exploits periodically throughout the text.[1308] Harper uses Roy Bruce as an example of a man who enjoyed his time in Egypt 'and was making no secret of it'; Harper, like McGibbon with Travis, returns to Bruce's story several times during his narrative.[1309] Other figures appear throughout the print histories, their stories revisited by multiple authors. These include the German professor persecuted in New Zealand George von Zedlitz,[1310] Douglas Stark, 'the most well-known soldier of the war',[1311] 'prince of riflemen' Jesse Wallingford,[1312] and William Nimot, who defected to the Germans.[1313] Their stories are different or interesting enough that several authors have included them. These notable figures, appearing throughout narratives and across texts, can act as 'characters' for readers to engage with. Their stories act as anchors for the narrative and allow readers to connect with individual figures, building empathy and heightening the impact of what otherwise might be an impersonal, disconnected narrative.

When telling these stories of individuals, authors often also include discussions of their family and loved ones, whether with them in service, in England, or back home in New Zealand. Sometimes this is because their family member is notable, such as Claasen's mention of George Masters and his brother, 'well-known…hunter and author Leslie Masters',[1314] or Soutar's pointing out that the Grace brothers' father was MP for Tauranga.[1315] Harper writes that while on leave men would stay with relatives or family friends in England, recounting several stories of men meeting distant family who they had not met before.[1316] He writes of the 'hospitality and love extended by so many family and friends in the United Kingdom' that was 'so important' to the New Zealand men.[1317] In this section Harper also describes how men could form 'relationships [that] lasted a lifetime' with women they met while on leave, giving several accounts of soldiers falling for British women: one ends with her spending 'the rest of her life in New Zealand', one with him dying of wounds in 1917, and one with hesitancy, letters gone astray, and regret[1318] – Harper uses numerous accounts to communicate the many different experiences that New Zealand men had. Claasen also describes how airmen could meet the love of the lives while in England, such as Keith Park being 'captivated' by a nurse.[1319] He tells the story of Alfred Kingsford and Charlotte Pepperdine marrying in their wartime uniforms (including a photo) and describes their relationship, sustained by letter-writing and brief periods together.[1320]

There is also an emphasis on families where multiple members (usually sons) served. Soutar has several sidebars featuring brothers who were part of the NZEF: the Hunt brothers, the Grace brothers, the Wairau brothers, the Kohere brothers, the Johnson brothers – and their father, a

[1307] Harper, *For King and Other Countries*, pp. 232-6.
[1308] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 186, 301-2, 308.
[1309] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 134-5, 153-5
[1310] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 109; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 41; Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 221, 252.
[1311] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 600-2; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 66, 302.
[1312] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* p. 147; John Crawford, 'A Prince of Riflemen: Jesse Wallingford at Gallipoli', in John Crawford, David Littlewood and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016, pp. 83-101.
[1313] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 208; McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 192-3, 354.
[1314] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 246.
[1315] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* p. 148.
[1316] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 551-5.
[1317] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 555.
[1318] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 549-551.
[1319] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 297-8.
[1320] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 321-3, 333.

member of the Veterinary Corps.[1321] Some of these stories, like that of the Wairau brothers, end with families grieving the loss of multiple sons. Multiple losses in one family are depicted often throughout the print histories: Claasen records how the three Russell brothers all served with the RFC, with their family eventually losing 'a nephew and two sons',[1322] and Harper writes that of the four Hallahan brothers who served in the AIF, 'three did not return'.[1323] Claasen describes how cousins Herbert Russell and James Dennistoun flew together until they were taken prisoner, where Dennistoun died of wounds.[1324] 'Still the war went on', Claasen ends the story, 'and Russell had to face it without Jim'.[1325] Little wonder that Harper describes the stress of having brothers also on the front; John Persson 'carried [the] burden' of his younger brother – just 17 – being at Gallipoli with him.[1326] This emphasis on family works to appeal to readers with interest in their own family history and ties to heritage work done with projects such as the Online Cenotaph that focus on family. The familial connection is an easy way to appeal to readers, and Harper demonstrates this focus on lineage when he writes that the granddaughter of Walter Leadley, who was just missed by a bullet that passed over his head, 'attributes not only Leadley's survival but also that of his 90-plus direct descendants on his short stature'.[1327] By describing not only the men but also their loved ones, authors can give depth to their subjects as well as use the emotive power of family connections to draw readers in.

An emphasis on individual stories and experiences can have downsides, which the print history authors do acknowledge. Harper writes that men's experiences were 'wide-ranging' and that 'they often reacted to that experience in vastly different ways',[1328] and McGibbon points out that 'the experience of the ordinary soldier offer[s] an inevitably narrow perspective', so he has 'woven [it] into the narrative' rather than making it the focus.[1329] Moody writes that his chapter on airmen 'bear[s] in mind that no two people's experience of war or perception of events are the same'.[1330] First-hand accounts or the stories of individuals only represent a single person's point of view, which is subjective and may conflict with others; Harper, after a quote from a nurse, acknowledges that 'this may have been Fanny's perception, as opposed to reality'.[1331] Littlewood emphasises that 'everybody who participated in the First World War did so as an individual', and prioritising experiences means that 'disparities are treated with the same degree of importance as similarities'.[1332] Contradictory accounts are not necessarily a bad thing; rather they demonstrate the breadth of human experience amidst a period of intense turmoil. But it does mean that generalisations can be problematic. Harper mentions early on in *Johnny Enzed* that while some New Zealanders were awed by visiting the pyramids, others 'found [it] did not meet the expectations'[1333] – a difference of experience that readies the reader for a more dramatic example. Much later in the text, Harper depicts 'the different ways men coped with their war experience' with an account of one man, whose 'life has been ruined' and health and relationships 'destroyed' by the war, meeting another who has 'moved on' with a family and 'good home'.[1334] Harper uses examples like this to emphasise that though individual experiences are valuable in telling the narrative, 'care needs to be

[1321] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* pp. 23, 148, 332, 333, 452.
[1322] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 211, 215.
[1323] Harper, *For King and Other Countries*, pp. 144-6.
[1324] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 198-203.
[1325] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 203.
[1326] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 204.
[1327] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 197.
[1328] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 18.
[1329] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 7.
[1330] Moody, 'Kiwis Rising', p. 195.
[1331] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 567.
[1332] Littlewood, 'Introduction', pp. 9-10.
[1333] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 144.
[1334] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 614-5.

taken when making broad generalisations'.[1335] Soutar states very early in his text that 'generalising about Maori lifestyles is problematic',[1336] and Bargas and Shoebridge also write that when it comes to assessing the returned soldiers 'generalisations about success and failure, and the degree to which either can be traced back directly to war experiences, are extremely difficult to make for such a large and varied body of men'.[1337] 'The NZEF', Harper concludes, 'was a complex beast. It resists easy generalisations and stereotypes'.[1338]

Authors emphasise the importance of individual experience, first-hand accounts, and avoiding generalisation, but even within the print histories this is not straight-forward. Wanting to avoid generalisations, for instance, complicates the print histories' tendency to use individuals to represent groups, as discussed above, in order to heighten personal connection. As Moody asks, when pointing out the centenary's celebration of the remarkable Keith Caldwell over other airmen, 'how typical is he of the wider group of New Zealand airmen?'[1339] Moody also points out that highlighting individuals – such as the notable figures mentioned above – often means 'focussing on the remarkable' rather than those whose experiences are 'less spectacular'.[1340] Harper explicitly says that the individuals of the NZEF resist generalisation, yet he makes sweeping statements: the military unit was 'the motivating factor shared by all Johnny Enzeds on the Western Front', James Currie's joyful receipt of mail 'expressed the views of all Johnny Enzeds', visiting the UK was a 'life-changing' experience that 'Johnny Enzed never forgot'.[1341] It is emphasised that every man was an individual, with his own experience and perspective, but in Harper's text they can still all become one amorphous Johnny Enzed.

Finally, not all the print histories adhere to this more modern focus on creating emotional connections through the stories of individual experiences. James Watson and Steven Loveridge's text on the home front is a distinctive outlier, with its much more traditional focus on politics and economics. National leaders William Massey and Joseph Ward are the dominant figures of the narrative, with the emphasis on their political and diplomatic machinations rather than them as individuals. The economic history of the war – undoubtedly important – is given through statistics and prices, with little examination of how rationing or shortages impacted average families; when this is considered it is in the abstract rather than through personal experiences. The stories of notable individuals – such as the aforementioned George von Zedlitz – do appear, but rarely does the 'everyday' New Zealander. This text is one of the broadest of the print histories, having to cover the breadth of the home front experience, and so this more traditional top-down approach is understandable as the authors try and cover the complexities of politics, economics, conscription, morale and dissent. However, it is a notable outlier amidst the rest of the more experience-focused print histories.

[1335] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 18.
[1336] Soutar, *Whitiki!,* p. 21.
[1337] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 212.
[1338] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 603.
[1339] Moody, 'Kiwis Rising', p. 195.
[1340] Moody, 'Kiwis Rising', p. 195.
[1341] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 378, 379, 538, 616.

FIVE 'Narrative hooks, and all that…': Creating audience connections

The non-poppy material

The variety of mediums that the non-poppy material is presented in allows a wide range of techniques to connect to the audience and bring the narrative to life. Some of these are familiar from the print histories, but others make use of techniques specific to their medium. Non-poppy authors, like those of the print histories, use techniques such as photographs of individuals and lists of names to make statistics into 'real' people for the reader, as well as foregrounding stories about individuals to communicate their narrative. The non-poppy material has a significant emphasis on families, both those at home during the war and present-day descendants, and notable figures – real, fictional, and modern – are a central part of how the non-poppy texts tell stories. Audiences are drawn into the narrative not only through this focus, but also via the techniques used: images and ephemera, considerable use of first-person narration, and immersive film techniques. All this works to create connections with the audience, 'making it real' in order to draw them in and better impart knowledge and 'deepen understanding'.

Highlighting individuals not just as statistics but as real people, with names and faces, is a key technique used by authors to deepen connections with readers. A complete focus on individuals is the narrative mode of the two non-fictional written non-poppy texts (Glenn Reddiex and Jane Tolerton), while the fictional texts revolve around central protagonists: sometimes this is one main character (like Bob in *1917* or Henry in *1918*) and elsewhere a small group (such as the Smith family in *When We Go To War*). *25 April* uses its faux documentary format to 'interview' animated versions of real people, with their stories structuring the film's narrative. Reddiex uses postcards to structure his narrative, each one from one soldier to a specific recipient, and he also often details the life (and death) of the man who wrote a featured postcard. Tolerton's text is divided not only by chapter, but also by frequent breaks in the text, where a different individual – their name highlighted in bold font – takes the focus, their story driving Tolerton's overall chronological narrative. The Great War Series, the single non-fiction film text,[1342] also builds its narrative around individuals, eschewing even an overall chronological order. The segments are focussed on 'the human aspect' of the war[1343] and use individual figures – referred to as 'characters' at one point[1344] – to represent the different thematic aspects and historical events being covered – such as Leonard Hart's letter being used to tell the story of Passchendaele[1345] or Lottie Le Gallais becoming a representative of all nurses.[1346] In total, of the 35 shorts, 3 are about events, 2 are about animals, and the rest are stories of individuals or very small groups. The shorts, presented for four one-week periods over four years, were not aired in an order that reflected centenary events: for example, the shorts that aired on an Anzac Day were about Le Quesnoy and Dr Jessie Scott,[1347] and the shorts of 2017 are not the ones about Passchendaele. The focus of the Great War Stories is entirely on individuals to the extent that watching them back-

[1342] *25 April* presents itself as a documentary but its use of a script 'based on' the real words of the subjects, rather than a verbatim approach, means I have classified it as fiction.

[1343] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Rizk Alexander', aired 23/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/rizk-alexander-great-war-story.

[1344] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Rikihana Carkeek', aired 6/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/rikihana-carkeek-great-war-story.

[1345] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Leonard Hart', aired 7/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/leonard-hart-great-war-story.

[1346] A problematic approach – not every individual who fits a criterion will have the exact same experience. Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Lottie Le Gallais', aired 19/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/lottie-le-gallais-great-war-story.

[1347] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Leslie Averill, aired 25/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/leslie-averill-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Dr Jessie Scott', aired 25/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/dr-jessie-scott-great-war-story.

to-back[1348] does not produce one cohesive narrative. The audience getting the story of one person in four minutes is the aim of these segments – not the overall narrative of the war across four years of broadcast.

The non-poppy texts use photographs and lists of names in the same way that the print histories do to strengthen the reader's connection to the individuals being discussed. The *Kiwis at War* books all have a number of photographs at the end of the text, depicting various aspects of wartime life that are included in the narrative, helping the young intended audience to visualise this unfamiliar time and place.[1349] Reddiex has several lists of names that cover a wide variety of categories: some are honour rolls, such as those who died in the *Marquette* sinking or a list of horses who died and their riders, whereas others are more celebratory, including a list of Victoria Cross winners and the members of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Football team who won the Moascar Cup.[1350] Reddiex also includes a number of portraits of the soldiers he discusses, placing their faces next to the postcards they sent,[1351] as well as photographs of a wide range of other subjects, including the 12th Battery New Zealand Field Artillery rugby team and those who died in the *Marquette* sinking.[1352]

Although the use of such photographs can help readers to see the subjects as real people, Tolerton is wary of their typical use in books. She criticises the way the print histories and texts like them have presented 'rows of sepia head-and-shoulders photographs complete with names, ranks and areas of origin', because this gives the impression that 'the personnel [of history] seem to be all present and correct'. Tolerton argues that in fact the head-and-shoulders of women have been missing from these line-ups.[1353] Her text is presented as an attempt to right this wrong, with many photographs – often not small rows of many heads, but full pages, whole bodies, and groups of women together.[1354] This not only draws the reader in and offer a greater connection to these women, but also ensures that these women are present in the historiography at all. On one page, Tolerton presents two photographs of Mabel Hughes of Foxton working as a groom – one in a group of women and one of her with a horse – although the text on the surrounding pages is not about her. This allows Tolerton to give her a place in the text even though she is not within the narrative. Tolerton also uses the women's names, setting them in bold type to make them stand out and often listing names, seeking to mention as many women as possible.[1355] However, even with this focus on putting women at the centre of her narrative, Tolerton has to work within historical limitations; at one point she quotes a diary entry from 'an unnamed Auckland Girls Grammar School "old girl"'.[1356] Her words being recorded and included have to make up for the fact that her name has apparently been lost to time.

Much like in the print histories, first-hand accounts are a vital aspect of the non-fictional texts; the Great War Stories asserts – like several of the print history authors – that 'letters and diaries give

[1348] Which is, admittedly, not how they were aired: watching one a night for a week at a time would make the lack of chronology less noticeable.
[1349] Brian Falkner, *1917: Machines of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2017, pp. 331-4; Susan Brocker, *1914: Riding into War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2014, pp. 212-3; David Hair, *1916: Dig for Victory*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2016, pp. 295-9; Diana Menefy, *1915: Wounds of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2015, pp. 287-9; Des Hunt, *1918: Broken Poppies*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2018, pp. 402-6.
[1350] Glenn Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know I'm Still Alive*, Wellington: Grantham House Publishing, 2015, pp. 40, 59, 77, 81, 141-2, 143.
[1351] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 13, 20, 24, 38, 41, 94, 95, 103, 142.
[1352] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 40, 144.
[1353] Jane Tolerton, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand women overseas in World War One*, Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017, p. 1.
[1354] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 261 is a good example.
[1355] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 15, 192, 221, 264.
[1356] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 20.

vivid accounts' that can be more effective than the author's voice.[1357] Leanne Pooley understands the power of first-hand accounts; *25 April* has animated versions of real figures speaking to the camera as if being interviewed, using a script 'based on their words as written in their diaries, letters and memoirs'.[1358] This adds a sense of authenticity to the film, though it is arguable that putting words into the mouths of real people and presenting it in a format that is so strongly linked to documentary is blurring the boundaries between fact and fiction in a way that could be criticised. Within the non-fictional texts there are no such complexities. Like Glyn Harper in the print histories, Tolerton uses lengthy extracts from letters and diaries to tell her story, with many spanning several pages;[1359] she describes how 'diaries, letters and oral histories…give greater insight' into the individuals' lives.[1360] Reddiex generally quotes the notes written on the back of the postcards he includes,[1361] and in the Great War Stories segments there are a number of letters and diaries read to the audience by narrators, family members or school children.[1362] The Great War Stories series opens with a quote from Lady Liverpool, performed by an actress, and the shorts use several different techniques to make their use of quotes and first-hand accounts even more immersive. Voiceovers are performed by different actors to suit the quote, such as children or people with accents, and are sometimes included as atmospheric sound underneath the narration, such as a woman's voice repeating 'knit one, purl one' in the Lady Liverpool segment when discussing the knitting book.[1363] Hearing the words through the men's descendants or actors who sound like them works in the same way that seeing their handwriting in Reddiex's book or reading long accounts in Tolerton's does: bringing the first-hand accounts 'alive' to audiences by creating a more immersive experience.

Many of the fictional texts mimic these first-hand accounts by using a first-person narration style. For the written texts, such as Brian Falkner's *1917*, the first-person perspective allows the reader an insight into the characters' inner lives and creates a deeper emotional connection to the historical events being depicted. The *Kiwis at War* texts also all include glossaries to allow the characters to talk in an authentic soldierly slang without isolating the young audience.[1364] *Evie's War* takes the use of first person a step further with its epistolatory form; by sharing Evie's fictional diary with the reader, Anna Mackenzie creates the impression of intimacy, placing the reader in Evie's confidence and therefore making them more receptive to her narrative. Other fictional non-poppy texts include epistolatory elements, notably the *Kiwis at War* series.[1365] *When We Go To War* also makes use of this technique in a film medium: each episode is framed around a letter, with the titles reflecting this

[1357] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Peter Howden', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/peter-howden-great-war-story.
[1358] Leanne Pooley (dir.), *25 April*, General Film Corporation, 2015. https://ondemand.nzfilm.co.nz/film/25-april/.
[1359] Examples include Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 18-20, 22-25, 32-34, 111-3, 113-6, 119-122, 132-134, 196-199, 248-251.
[1360] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 1.
[1361] For example, the four postcards on pages 10 and 11.
[1362] Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek', 'Leonard Hart', 'Lottie Le Gallais', 'Peter Howden', 'Rizk Alexander'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Hāmi Grace', aired 18/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/hami-grace-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Alexander Aitken', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/alexander-aitken-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Bill Dobson', aired 22/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/bill-dobson-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Gareth Farr's cello concerto', aired 21/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/gareth-farr%E2%80%99s-cello-concerto-great-war-story.
[1363] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Lady Liverpool', aired 4/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/lady-liverpool-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Keith Caldwell', aired 5/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/keith-caldwell-great-war-story.
[1364] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 392-5; Hair, *1916*, pp. 285-9; Falkner, *1917*, pp. 324-7; Menefy, *1915*, pp. 280-3; Brocker, *1914*, pp. 208-211.
[1365] Examples include Hunt, *1918*, pp. 306-307; Brocker, *1914*, pp. 182-183; Hair, *1916*, pp. 118-122; Menefy, *1915*, pp. 154-155.

(episode one is 'Bea's Letter', two is 'Manaaki's Letter' and so on). Throughout each episode the titular character narrates sections of their letter as if they are reading to the audience. First person narration allows the texts to depict not only historic moments, but also the everyday events, thoughts and feelings of the characters, offering more relatable material, particularly to the young adult audience of the *Kiwis at War* books or the casual Sunday night viewer of *When We Go To War*. By deepening the connection between fictional character and consumer through first person, the creators can raise the likelihood that their audience will emotionally connect to the characters and the events they are witnessing – also making it more likely that audiences will learn something about the war.

Another kind of first-person narration is used extensively by Reddiex, who uses plural first person throughout his text to involve the reader. This is mostly seen at the beginning of chapters, where Reddiex will describe 'our nation', 'our men', 'our war'.[1366] Some other texts also use this technique; Tolerton uses it very occasionally ('our soldiers')[1367] and the Great War Stories segment on the invasion of Samoa uses 'we' when criticising the New Zealand's administration of Samoa: 'we lied to ourselves'.[1368] A slightly different use is seen in *Field Punishment No. 1*, when at the beginning of the film a nurse tells Baxter that 'we'll find out who you are' just before the film flashes back to the troop ship en route to Europe.[1369] With this line, the nurse has invited the audience along to discover Baxter's story – the viewer is included in her 'we'. This use of first person was rare in the print histories and is much more common in the non-poppy material, as these texts are not constrained by the expectations of academic writing. By using this first-person plural, the non-poppy authors can draw readers in, connecting with the audience by involving them.

Another technique used to bring the narrative to life is the use of ephemera: reproducing objects to give readers an insight into the past. Familiar from the print histories, this technique is used extensively in the non-poppy material, across the different mediums. Reddiex – whose text's focus on postcards is the most obvious example – writes that postcards 'strike a personal touch' due to the handwritten nature and the huge variation in designs, each one selected by the sender, as well as the insight into the men's feelings.[1370] The Great War Stories segments display a great deal of ephemera, mostly shots of newspapers and letters, often combining it with footage from the time and photographs as accompaniment to the narration, alongside the modern-day footage. Some shorts merge the two, such as in the Thomas Blake segment, which includes shots of curators handling wartime photographs, or the family of Bill Dobson in his segment looking through his war letters.[1371] Notably, the Great War Stories do not use re-enactments: there is a focus on presenting the narrative in a method as authentic as possible. Some shorts also focus on tangible objects as vehicles for the narrative, such as the violin of Alexander Aitken and the piupiu and cannon discussed in the HMS *New Zealand* segment.[1372]

Like words or events, letters and other documents can be invented and used to communicate war narratives within fictional texts – especially those aimed at younger audiences. 'Faux ephemera' is used across the non-poppy texts to add a sense of authenticity: the *Kiwis at War* series, for example, imitates the ephemera of non-fictional texts in several ways. The books format letters sent by the main characters as if they are pieces of ephemera, in a handwriting font with a border like a sheet of

[1366] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 18, 19, 31, 33, 57, 101, 121, 167.
[1367] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 192.
[1368] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Samoan 'invasion'', aired 19/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/samoan-invasion-great-war-story.
[1369] Peter Burger (dir.), *Field Punishment No. 1*, Lippy Pictures, 2014. DVD.
[1370] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 7.
[1371] Cottrell, 'Bill Dobson'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Thomas Blake', aired 20/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/thomas-blake-great-war-story.
[1372] Cottrell, 'Alexander Aitken'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'HMS *New Zealand*', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/hms-new-zealand-great-war-story.

paper. This creates the same sense of reading words from history that Reddiex is aiming for, only in a fictional text. The use of letters mirrors their prominence in historical texts (demonstrated by Reddiex and the Great War Stories) and adds an air of authenticity to the novels and the events they depict, deepening the connection being established with the first person and handwriting typeface. Susan Brocker uses this same handwriting font in her epigraph, a quote from Maurice Shadbolt's seminal text *Voices of Gallipoli*;[1373] this links the real words of Trooper Bill East, recorded by Shadbolt, with the fictional words written by her characters. Authors include other techniques to heighten the sense of authenticity in the *Kiwis at War* books: there are newspaper articles presented in typewritten font,[1374] maps made to look like hand-drawn battle maps of the era,[1375] and a postcard from George Hunt, the main character's brother in *1918*, which may be a replication of a real postcard sent by the real George.[1376] Techniques that mimic the authenticity of non-fiction texts' ephemera are also seen in Mackenzie's fictional diary of Evie; *Evie's War* is divided into year-long sections that are marked by a two-page spread made to look like the photocopied first page of a diary, complete with paper discoloration, frayed hardcover corners, and inside cover marbling peeking out from underneath the creased pages.[1377] In *25 April*, Pooley shows 'photographs' of the bodies in no-man's-land; like the rest of the film they are in fact animated.[1378] David Hill and Fifi Colston use the handwritten texts of Jim's letter on the first page of *The Red Poppy*,[1379] similar to the *Kiwis at War* series. This text also includes a CD of 'Little Red Poppy Song' by Rob Kennedy, another way to engage children.

Most notable of the faux ephemera within the non-poppy material is the use of pockets in *Jim's Letters*. The book is built around the correspondence sent between Tom and his brother Jim, and Jenny Cooper illustrates each letter as if it were a reproduced piece of ephemera like those in Reddiex's text, complete with ink splotches and postmark stamps. Like Evie's diary, the letters are made to look as real as possible; the paper is discoloured and marked, the text is in a handwritten font, and one of Jim's letter is written on cardboard which Cooper has depicted with photorealistic torn edges.[1380] Several of the letters are unfolded by the reader, just like a real one would be, and Jim's last letter is written on the back of Tom's, which the reader can pull out of a pocket to see,[1381] allowing them to hold and examine the piece of paper. Although the letters are all fictional – pieces of faux-ephemera – it allows young readers a chance to play with the text and get a sense of involvement. All these elements across the fictional texts work to bring their stories to life for the young adult or child audience, aiming to create a greater sense of immersion to draw them into the narrative. They are eye-catching in order to grab and keep the attention of young readers and get them invested in the story – and therefore the history being communicated through a fictional lens.

The use of ephemera, both real and imitation, is one of the most prominent ways that text authors can create immersion for their readers, but the creators of film material have an arsenal of techniques of their own to draw their viewers in and deepen connections through immersion and engagement. Some of these are film techniques – camerawork and mise-en-scène – that have long been part of war media and are recognisable to audiences.[1382] Several different point-of-view (POV)

[1373] Brocker, *1914*, p. 4.
[1374] Brocker, *1914*, p. 148.
[1375] Hair, *1916*, p. 178
[1376] Hunt, *1918*, p. 39. Hunt mentions in his author's note that he collected Henry Hunt's war memorabilia including postcards (p. 399); the cross-out style of the one in the text is certainly indistinguishable from others replicated in the print histories.
[1377] Anna Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, New Zealand: Longacre, 2015, pp. 8-9, 62-3, 136-7, 210-11, 280-1.
[1378] Pooley, *25 April.*
[1379] David Hill & Fifi Colston, *The Red Poppy*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2013, p. 1.
[1380] Glyn Harper & Jenny Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, Auckland: Puffin Books, 2014, p. 19.
[1381] Harper and Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, p. 20.
[1382] The opening D-Day scene of *Saving Private Ryan* uses many such techniques and has become a touchstone for their effectiveness.

techniques are used by the non-poppy filmmakers, from actual POV shots to the 'dirty lens'. Pooley uses POV shots right at the beginning of *25 April*: as the narration describes 'the man beside you', the camera looks over at a soldier who reaches out for the viewer, before the frame narrows and widens – mimicking blinking.[1383] Later in the film this POV shot is repeated, with a wounded soldier again reaching towards the camera and the viewer whose vision it represents. This POV angle is seen several other times in the film, including during a sequence where John Persson searches for his brother on the hospital ship, which combines POV and shakycam to place the viewer in his position and mimic his distress, pain and confusion. Pooley also uses a 'dirty lens' to make the viewer feel like 'they are there'; in *25 April* dirt and blood become smeared across the lens[1384] and at one point the lens even 'cracks' as a bullet hits it. Several of the non-poppy film texts use black- and whiteouts, when shelling or gunfire take over the screen and wipe the visual footage the way it wipes a character's vision. This is often preceded by a flash of flames that rush across the frame, heightening the disorientation caused by the following loss of visuals. Like the use of 'we' and 'us' in the written texts, these POV elements of the film texts include the audience, connecting with them by making them a part of the narrative.

Disorienting the viewer is a common technique used to immerse them in the narrative. Peter Burger uses blurry, unfocussed shots as Baxter wanders away from the trail at the end of *Field Punishment No 1*, mimicking his fading consciousness. This is followed by a close-up of his eyes rolling back in his head as he is upside-down in the frame, and then quick cuts as his uniform is removed – all of which combine to create a sequence that disorientates the viewer to place them in the same confused state that Baxter is suffering. Pooley uses techniques in *25 April* to disorient the audience during battle sequences, recreating the chaos and uncertainty of war. Heavy use of shakycam combined with loud SFX leave the audience unable to tell exactly what is going on, like the men in the scene. Pooley also mimics a SnorriCam effect during the Chunuk Bair sequence, as one character's static face fills the frame, and the background moves erratically behind him. This highly disorienting camerawork not only creates a sense of vertigo in the audience, but is also familiar as a distinctive shot that appears in film media to show the emotions of the character, while also emphasising the chaotic, confusing environment they are trying to navigate.[1385] Burger uses slow motion in *When We Go To War*, which is disorienting in its own way: as shells hit a tent, everything on screen stops moving as it should, slowing down so that the audience can only watch it unfold in excruciating detail.[1386] As everything in the sound mix cuts out – except for echoing screams – the audience witness the violence in an altered state, where the cliché that 'everything moved in slow motion' becomes true. All these techniques work in slightly different ways, but all aim for the same goal: the audience feels the same confusion, disorientation or lack of control felt by the characters.

An important point to discuss is Pooley's use of surrealism in *25 April*, a series of images and techniques that would seem at first to go against the creating of connections between the historical narrative and the audience. The surrealist sequences in *25 April*, where flies, skulls and crows warp and morph across the screen, at first seem to remove a viewer from the historical realities; surrealism can be confronting and therefore distancing to an audience, and is typically diametrically opposed to gritty historical realism in its method and aims. However, Pooley uses the surrealism offered by animation to convey the otherworldly, nonsensical 'immersion in death'[1387] that men

[1383] Pooley, *25 April*.

[1384] Technically there is no lens as the film is animated, but the theory is the same – just as how the film's 'camerawork' (i.e. shot composition) can be analysed when in reality there is no camera.

[1385] Several film texts in popular culture – such as *The Hangover* and *Skins* – use SnorriCam shots to portray out of control parties and people in altered mind states, and reality TV shows like *Fear Factor* use it to show contestants' facial expressions while they navigate dangerous challenges.

[1386] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 5, 'Charles's Letter', aired 17/5/2015. Blu-ray.

[1387] A phrase borrowed from Robert Jay Lifton's work on the bombing of Hiroshima. Robert Jay Lifton, *Death in life: survivors of Hiroshima*, Chapel Hill: University of North California Press, 1991, p. 19.

experienced at Gallipoli. By showing the viewer surrealist sequences of faces with no eyes and lice smoking hookahs, Pooley seeks to create the sense of 'unreality' that comes from living in an environment where death and life are no longer properly distinguishable. In the same way that Burger disorients the viewer to deepen their connection to Baxter as he fades from consciousness, Pooley uses surrealism to show the viewer a world that does not make sense – the world that the men at Gallipoli are trapped in. This heightens empathy and strengthens the audience's immersion in the characters' world – and therefore the historical narrative.

Both the written and film texts make use of the stories of specific individuals or groups in order to deepen connections with the audience, using these experiences to communicate the war's narratives in a more personal way. Authors use the stories of individuals to tell wider narratives, making the 'big picture' easier to digest with a narrower focus. Falkner's novel uses Bob's experiences with planes and tanks to give an introduction to the developments of technology throughout the war,[1388] and Reddiex uses one soldier's postcard depicting a tank to discuss their first use in 1916.[1389] Tolerton quotes a letter to explain the process of treating men in a Casualty Clearing Station and several women's first-hand accounts to give details of British rationing and the end of the war.[1390] Reddiex uses the experience of the Fox brothers to describe the events of Messines,[1391] similar to Harper's method of explaining battles using first-hand accounts. The Great War Stories segments, as already discussed, use individuals to tell larger stories throughout, such as Leonard Hart's letter being used to tell the Passchendaele story.[1392] As in the print histories, this focuses the large sweeping narratives of the war into digestible stories.

The use of notable or reappearing individuals is even more prominent in the non-poppy material than within the print histories, as authors can refer not only to figures from the war, but also reoccurring fictional characters and well-known modern New Zealanders. *Field Punishment No. 1* focuses on Archibald Baxter, who appears throughout both the non-poppy material and the print histories, but with Burger's film becomes the only real person across all these texts to be the subject of a biographical account. The Great War Stories have a number of segments on recognisable figures, many of whom appear elsewhere in the non-poppy material and in the print histories; the series begins with Lady Liverpool and continues with other notable New Zealanders, such as Keith Caldwell, Ettie Rout, William Malone, Ormond Burton, and Rewi Alley.[1393] Well-known figures associated with men who fought are included in several texts, such as James K. Baxter being mentioned in the end card of *Field Punishment No. 1* and Katherine Mansfield, whose brother Leslie Beauchamp died in the war, appearing in the Great War Stories and throughout Tolerton's book.[1394] Tolerton also mentions other women related to prominent men, such as Andrew Russell's daughter Janet Russell,[1395] and she makes a concerted effort to make sure their stories are told accurately: she corrects an error about Ida Malone that she asserts has been presented 'during the centenary period'.[1396] Tolerton also

[1388] Falkner, *1917*, p. 305.
[1389] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 130.
[1390] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 298, 318, 336.
[1391] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 113.
[1392] Cottrell, 'Leonard Hart'.
[1393] Cottrell, 'Lady Liverpool', 'Keith Caldwell'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ettie Rout', aired 21/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ettie-rout-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'William Malone', aired 23/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/william-malone-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ormond Burton', aired 24/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ormond-burton-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Eric and Rewi Alley', aired 23/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/eric-and-rewi-alley-great-war-story.
[1394] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Leslie Beauchamp', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/leslie-beauchamp-great-war-story; Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 54, 137-8, 316-7
[1395] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 287.
[1396] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 102.

criticises the tendency of war history writers to focus on prominent figures; she writes that such histories rarely feature women and when they do it is Ettie Rout – 'the only individual woman whose name is widely associated in the public mind with the war' – who is highlighted.[1397] Tolerton certainly includes Rout prominently in her text,[1398] alongside other recognisable names such as Hester MacLean and Louisa Godley,[1399] but like Harper in *Johnny Enzed* she also make considerable effort to include 'everyday' people, and these figures outnumber the well-known ones. By still including these prominent figures, Tolerton makes use of the same technique that other authors use, using recognisable figures to draw readers in, while also highlighting what she sees as unfair exclusions.

Like the print histories, the non-poppy material highlights figures who were distinctive in some way: the Great War Stories has segments on Rizk Alexander, the only Turkish soldier in the New Zealand – and possibly empire – forces; Victor Low, whose family was the first Chinese family in New Zealand; and Hjelmar Von Dannevill, the only woman to be interred during the war.[1400] *25 April* points out that 'interviewee' John Persson's brother Martin was 'the youngest New Zealander to die at Gallipoli'.[1401] Tolerton discusses Emily Siedeburg, the first women to graduate in medicine in New Zealand; Elsie Kemp, the only New Zealand nurse killed by enemy fire; and Dr Grace Russell and Dr Agnes Bennett, who were the first women doctors to work in a British army medical unit, and are also featured in the print histories.[1402] Reddiex includes a brief discussion of George von Zedlitz, German-born university professor and a familiar name from multiple print histories,[1403] as well as New Zealand's first naval casualties.[1404] All these individuals are stand out for some reason, and though they may not be recognisable names like those mentioned above, their uniqueness acts as a way for the non-poppy authors to appeal to their audiences and draw them in with these distinctive stories.

Many texts continue the main character's story beyond the war, telling the audience what happened next to create a fuller sense of their life and who they are. *Field Punishment No. 1* has an end card telling the audience about Mark Briggs's political career and Baxter's children,[1405] the Great War Stories segment on Rikihana Carkeek describes his work as an interpreter for the Land Court,[1406] and Des Hunt's epilogue is dated '1919-1924' and gives details about the fictional Henry's post-war life. Hunt's author's note provides information about the his Uncle Henry: 'I like to think that the good things that happened later in his life helped him put aside the violence and the horror…for that reason I give some of it here', he writes.[1407] Tolerton describes how some women struggled after the war to have their newfound expertise acknowledged in the patriarchal industries they had worked in overseas, while others thrived.[1408] Other authors describe individual's pre-war lives in some detail, to give a fuller picture of who they were before the life-changing experiences of the war.[1409] As with many other techniques used by the non-poppy authors, this aims to flesh out the individuals they

[1397] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 9.
[1398] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 88-9, 354-5.
[1399] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 27, 28, 42, 58.
[1400] Cottrell, 'Rizk Alexander'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Victor Low', aired 24/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/victor-low-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Hjelmar Von Dannevill', aired 22/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/hjelmar-von-dannevill-great-war-story.
[1401] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1402] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 62, 63, 68-70, 110, 260-2.
[1403] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 24.
[1404] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 34.
[1405] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1406] Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek'.
[1407] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 382, 396.
[1408] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 341, 344.
[1409] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 16; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 16.

discuss, making them more 'real' to the audience and therefore encouraging a deeper connection – to the people, and therefore hopefully to the narrative.

The fictional texts also include well-known and recurring figures, to add accuracy and a sense of realism. The *Kiwis at War* series, in a notable example, uses reoccurring characters to tie the narratives together, as well as creating a sense of authenticity. Hunt points out in his author's note the characters that he 'borrowed from earlier books', including Brockers's Billy, David Hair's Murdoch and Diana Menefy's Mel;[1410] Falkner and Hair also acknowledge their 'carry-over' or 'carry-through' characters.[1411] Although all five books may not be read as a series, when they are the reappearance of familiar characters mimics the way that notable figures reappear throughout the print histories. As the characters come and go from each other's narratives, it creates a sense that they exist outside their own text, heightening for the reader the reality of the shared wartime world they inhabit. The non-poppy fictional texts also use recognisable real people to create a sense of authenticity. The figures 'interviewed' in *25 April* include Ormond Burton and cricketer Hāmi Grace, and at the end of the film each animated 'interviewee' transforms into a photograph of the real person, accompanied by an epitaph.[1412] The *Kiwis at War* books feature fictionalised versions of a number of prominent figures, such as Peter Buck and Roger Dansey in *1916*,[1413] Hester MacLean in *1915*,[1414] and Keiths Caldwell and Park in *1917*.[1415] Falkner includes a lengthy list of all the real figures he included in his text, [1416] and Hair's historical note gives biographical details on the officers he depicts.[1417] Hair also acknowledges the challenges of portraying real people as characters in his fictional text; he writes in his author's note that such figures are 'necessary for historical accuracy, and to convey something of the reality of war on the Western Front' and so, since little is recorded of 'the manner of person they were', he had to 'attribute personalities to them'. 'I have tried to do this with empathy', he writes, with hope that he has 'done justice to their service'.[1418]

This imagining of real figures is one of the complexities of the fictional material using real people in their narratives. The previous chapter discussed the ways in which using individuals' stories could become complicated in the print histories, and this is also applicable within the non-poppy material, as authors put words into real people's mouths. *25 April* is the most obvious example of this, with its faux-documentary interviews, but *Field Punishment No. 1* is also, as a biopic, built on this understanding that the filmmakers have decided what these historical figures will say and do. The *Kiwis at War* authors acknowledge their inventions, as described above with Hair. Menefy writes in her author's note that she had to 'put words in the mouths of real people', using 'what I have imagined they would have said at the time'.[1419] This imagining is a common theme throughout the Great War Stories series, as the descendants of the figures discussed imagine their experiences. Rikihana Carkeek's grandson asserts that 'he'd be proud', [1420] Harry Varnham's granddaughter talks about 'trying to imagine the fear' he felt,[1421] and the principal of Wellington College in the segment on Hāmi Grace does not hesitate to put words into Grace's mouth and assign emotions to him.[1422]

[1410] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 399-400.
[1411] Falkner, *1917*, p. 330; Hair, *1916*, p. 293.
[1412] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1413] Hair, *1916*, pp. 31, 57.
[1414] Menefy, *1915*, p. 30.
[1415] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 182, 224.
[1416] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 328-330.
[1417] Hair, *1916*, pp. 290-1.
[1418] Hair, *1916*, pp. 293-4.
[1419] Menefy, *1915*, p. 285.
[1420] Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek'.
[1421] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Harry Varnham', aired 21/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/harry-varnham-great-war-story.
[1422] Cottrell, 'Hami Grace'.

This fictionalising of real people – imagining how they would have felt and reacted, and what they would have said – is an easy way to make these people 'real', to bring them to life for modern audiences in a way that photographs or even their own first-hand accounts struggle to compare to. Making historical figures into characters allows the audience to connect with them in a way that the historiography of the print histories cannot replicate. Because of their 'based on a true story' disclaimers, the non-poppy material can use this technique to connect with audiences, while the print histories – with their authoritative poppy symbol and historiographical rigour – cannot.

Many of the non-poppy texts use prominent and unique figures to draw audiences in, but the Great War Stories do not rely solely on the general public knowing the name Archibald Baxter or Keith Caldwell. The shorts use New Zealanders known to modern audiences to appeal to viewers, a technique used to capture the most people possible in the shortest amount of time – these segments are, after all, less than five minutes long and were aired during the 6pm news. The Great War Stories segments are narrated and introduced by Hilary Barry and Mike McRoberts, two familiar faces on New Zealand television, especially for audiences already watching the news. As news presenters they are figures of authority and viewers will associate them with communicating the truth, aiding the delivery of the narrative through both the emotional connection of familiarity and their trustworthiness as presenters. Other well-known New Zealanders appear throughout the Great War Stories segments, such as artist Bob Kerr, whose paintings of field punishment no. 1 appear in the Mark Briggs story, MP Nanaia Mahuta, who is interviewed for the segment on Māori conscription,[1423] and actress Antonia Prebble. Prebble played the only New Zealand nurse in *Anzac Girls*, an Australian television show, and was interviewed for the Great War Stories segment on the *Marquette* sinking.[1424] In a similar way, *When We Go To War* makes use of well-known New Zealand actors, such as Shavaughn Ruakere, who plays Awa and is recognisable from *What Now?* and *Shortland Street*. Familiar faces like these appeal to general audiences and can capture their attention quickly and effectively: the filmmakers are relying on the viewer glancing at the screen and then looking back, thinking 'I know that face' as they pay more attention to the text.

An emphasis on family is very prominent throughout the non-poppy material, making use of the emotive power of family stories to connect with the audience, many of whom likely have their own familial ties to the war. The print histories discussed soldiers' families briefly, with some authors looking at wives, brothers serving, and men staying with family in England. The non-poppy material goes into more detail for all these aspects, as well as emphasising the descendants of the men. The focus on an entire family, not just the soldiers overseas, is clearly seen in *When We Go To War*, where the whole Smith family are main characters: the family dinner scene early in the first episode establishes that everyone seated around the table, not just the two sons destined for Gallipoli, are important to the narrative.[1425] Tolerton describes how daughters could make the portion of family members who were serving overseas even larger: 'four of the five sisters in the Stevens family…worked in the war effort…three of their five brothers served'.[1426] She includes a photograph of two sisters, both in nursing uniforms.[1427] Reddiex's familial connection is clearly strong and he makes it apparent: his dedication is to his grandfather and great-uncles, all of whom served in

[1423] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Mark Briggs', aired 9/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/mark-briggs-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Te Puea, Māui Pōmare and conscription', aired 24/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/te-puea-maui-pomare-and-conscription.
[1424] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. '*Marquette*', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/marquette-great-war-story.
[1425] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 1, 'Bea's Letter', aired 26/4/2015. Blu-ray.
[1426] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 312.
[1427] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 325.

WWI.[1428] He mentions these figures throughout the text, such as including a Great War Certificate of Service that the caption explains was 'awarded to…the author's great-great uncle', and a photograph of a group of soldiers including 'the author's grandfather'.[1429] Reddiex uses his own family history to discuss how families lost multiple members, a topic covered in the print histories. He writes that his chapter on 'The Fallen' 'begins with two sons…of the Fox family…who are featured and remembered here [and who] never returned'; their story covers three pages, with multiple photographs.[1430] Reddiex's acknowledgements emphasise that the postcards passed down through his family 'are extremely important to me and have been the emotional driver behind the production of this book'.[1431] Other authors also highlight their own family connections: Hunt includes photographs of Henry and William Hunt, his father and uncle who inspired the story, on his dedication page. Hunt writes in his author's note that he used his uncle Henry Hunt as the main character, 'lay[ing] a fictional story consistent with the…man I knew' over the 'known facts'. [1432] Menefy's dedication is to 'a relative on my father's side' who served as a nurse,[1433] while Tolerton's is to 'the WW2 nurses and VAs who served in my family'.[1434] Even when familial connections are not immediately apparent, they are there: Hair's dedication says that 'when I began this project, I didn't know of any relatives of mine who were in the Great War. Since then I have learned of one in my father's family…and one in my wife's…this book is dedicated to them'.[1435]

The Great War Stories have a strong focus on the descendants of the soldiers, with families often being the actual focus of the shorts. Descendants are shown, often interacting with letters or diaries, in 16 of the segments;[1436] the segment on Rizk Alexander, which focusses on his family, emphasises that his story 'has touched all his descendants',[1437] and this sentiment runs through the Great War Stories as a whole. Sometimes the family are notable themselves, such as Rkihana Carkeek's grandson being a kaumatua at Te Papa,[1438] but many are simply New Zealanders with an interest in their family history, like many of the audience. Some authors highlight the importance of such family history; Tolerton asserts that Ida Malone played an important role in the war's historiography by keeping her husband William Malone's papers and that her granddaughters made them available for the Gallipoli exhibit.[1439] She also described how letters from an Invercargill schoolgirl were kept by her boyfriend, whose descendants offered them to her for the book.[1440] This focus on families and New Zealanders today not only allows a deeper connection to the audience – showing people like them who are connected to their family's history – but also reflects the aims of the WW100 Programme and its focus on deepening understanding through personal stories. By focusing on

[1428] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 4.
[1429] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 47, 56, 70.
[1430] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 111, 112-4.
[1431] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 173.
[1432] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 3, 396.
[1433] Menefy, *1915*, p. 5.
[1434] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. ii.
[1435] Hair, *1916*, p. 5.
[1436] Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek', 'William Malone', 'Ormond Burton', 'Peter Howden', 'Alexander Aitken', 'Thomas Blake', 'Harry Varnham', 'Bill Dobson', 'Rizk Alexander', 'Eric and Rewi Alley', 'Leslie Averill', 'Gareth Farris cello concerto'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'The Harper Brothers', aired 20/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/harper-brothers-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ranji Wilson', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ranji-wilson-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Gallipoli tortoise', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/gallipoli-tortoise-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Falaoa and the Niueans', aired 19/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/falaoa-and-niueans-great-war-story.
[1437] Cottrell, 'Rizk Alexander'.
[1438] Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek'.
[1439] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 102.
[1440] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 146.

descendants today, the Great War Stories and other non-poppy texts can highlight the relevance to their modern audiences.

One significant difference between the print histories and the non-poppy material is the extent to which they seek to engage and connect with children. Fenton's text is aimed at a broad audience, including school children, but likely more high school than primary. The non-poppy material, on the other hand, includes a selection of books specifically aimed at very young children; *Jim's Letters* and *The Red Poppy* are only two of many picture books that were published during the centenary period. The *Kiwis at War* series would also be accessible to readers possibly as young as eight. The Great War Stories segment on the Gallipoli tortoise addresses the idea of introducing children to war ('it can be challenging') and highlights the use of animals as a common way of connecting to young readers.[1441] The segment argues that 'telling war stories about animals' – such as the Gallipoli tortoise or *The Red Poppy*'s Nipper the dog – 'is a sure way to engage children' and can 'pique their interest in history'.[1442] The segment shows footage of children engaged with the text, drawing pictures of tortoises and nurses. Another segment depicts French children from Le Quesnoy learning about their town's liberation by New Zealand forces.[1443] By broadening the scope of the audience to include young people, the non-poppy material seeks to connect with as many New Zealanders as possible, creating interest and curiosity.

The non-poppy material makes use of modern themes in order to connect with its wider audience using more familiar images. The Great War Series features a great deal of modern-day content; in addition to the families and familiar modern figures already discussed, the segments also feature a group using technology to map and recreate the tunnels dug by the Pioneers, street signs in Le Quesnoy that demonstrate the town's connection to New Zealand, and footage of Tupe Lualua's '1918', a choregraphed performance about the influenza epidemic in Samoa.[1444] Tolerton describes the 'peculiarly Kiwi way' that the NZWCA operated, which she describes as something 'we would recognise'; she asserts that the women of her book are 'recognisably New Zealand women in the way they think and act. They are us, New Zealand women'.[1445] In *Field Punishment No. 1*, Burger includes a scene where the prisoners pretend they are back in New Zealand, with the environment around them cross fading from the bleak prison camp to a lush beach, complete with native plants familiar from Kiwiana imagery.[1446] Brocker uses a familiar Kiwi image to describe Egypt's locusts in *1914*, writing that they are 'about the size of a weta'.[1447] Tolerton retorts 'yeah, right!' to one quote that denies the importance of New Zealand women in England, and clarifies: 'to echo the Tui beer ad campaign', an extremely familiar piece of Kiwi culture for modern readers.[1448] *When We Go To War* also has familiar New Zealand settings, but the show's notable modern aspects are more in its methods of storytelling. The show features numerous 'soapy' aspects, such as Cissy's out-of-wedlock pregnancy, Richard and Awa's affair, and Bea and William's complicated romance. There are also several sex scenes, including early in the first episode – these may not be what audiences think of for typical WWI media, but they are common in pop culture TV and work to draw audiences into the story through very different means than other methods discussed in this chapter.

While the print histories are historiographical works that assert their accuracy, the non-poppy material[1449] straddles a line between fact and fiction, as works of 'historical fiction'. These texts assert

[1441] Cottrell, 'Gallipoli tortoise'.
[1442] Cottrell, 'Gallipoli tortoise'.
[1443] Cottrell, 'Leslie Averill'.
[1444] Cottrell, 'Victor Low', 'Samoan 'invasion'', 'Leslie Averill'.
[1445] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 11.
[1446] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1447] Brocker, *1914*, p. 110.
[1448] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 351.
[1449] With the exception of Reddiex and Tolerton's texts and the Great War Stories, which have no fictional elements.

some level of authenticity while acknowledging their own fiction: the 'based on a true story' disclaimer. *Field Punishment No. 1* asserts is biographical status with its title card that tells audience it is 'based on true events', but ends with the admittance that 'this is a drama. Although based on actual events some of the occurrences and characters depicted are fictitious'.[1450] The *Kiwis at War* texts all feature 'based on a true story' disclaimers that emphasise their proximity to real events, while making it clear that the actual narrative is fictional.[1451] Falkner's author's note asserts that 'this story is a mix of fact and fiction', giving 'a sense' of what happened 'as accurately as possible, while sticking…to documented facts' – but Falkner also acknowledges that embellishment is necessary and details the ways he has twisted facts to fit his narrative.[1452] Hair jokes in his author's note about how he turned the 'bare facts' into his 'mini spy story': 'narrative hooks, and all that…'[1453] Menefy writes that she used diaries of war nurses for settings, language and events to 'make my book a true reflection of [their] life and times', putting these true details into the narrative of her fictional characters.[1454] Like the other *Kiwis at War* authors, she acknowledges the ways in which her story required her to 'play with' the facts, but Menefy is notable in being the only one who includes a bibliography – which features a number of works by print history authors.[1455] Several authors include timelines that give the events of the narrative as well as real dates of the war. Hunt's timeline has fictional events in italics amongst the factual events of Henry Hunt's war experience, and Menefy's is similar.[1456] This all allows for a blurring of fact and fiction – a historical fiction where the sense of the 'true' narrative is there, though the details are imaginary. Audiences can come away with a fairly representative idea of the war, though it is one based in emotion and essence rather than fact. For the non-poppy authors, this is likely more than enough; for historians – especially within the WW100 Programme, which sought to 'deepen understanding', it may fall short.

The importance of stories, whether real, 'based on true events', or completely fictional, is highlighted by several texts. At the end of *When We Go To War*, Bea tells William that one day 'we will sit with our grandchildren and we will tell them of this time…that made us who we are',[1457] a closing moment that echoes the aims of the WW100 Programme. Harper's afterword in *Jim's Letters* emphases that 'by learning about the campaign and reflecting on what it means…the experience of the Anzac soldiers at Gallipoli is kept alive'.[1458] Mackenzie includes a similar sentiment near the end of *Evie's War*, with Evie musing in her diary that 'it is by these words that I honour each life passed through my hands'.[1459] Reddiex writes in his acknowledgements that 'it has been extremely satisfying bringing together the stories behind each of the postcards' and he believes that 'sharing these…form[s] a lasting memory of those New Zealanders who served…and who are no longer with us'.[1460] Tolerton ends her text with the assertion that women must 'take responsibility for our personal, family and collective history' to avoid 'being photoshopped out of the narrative' in favour of men's stories, as she believed happened in the print histories with their lack of a volume on women.[1461] Brendaniel Weir also alludes to this idea of whose stories are told, when main character Tane reflects that after his return from the war he 'didn't even earn the right to be myself' and he is unable to share his

[1450] Burger, *Field Punishment No. 1*.
[1451] Hunt, *1918*, p. 2; Hair, *1916*, p. 4; Falkner, *1917*, p. 2; Brocker, *1914*, p. 2; Menefy, *1915*, p. 4.
[1452] Falkner, *1917*, p. 328.
[1453] Hair, *1916*, p. 293.
[1454] Menefy, *1915*, p. 284.
[1455] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 285, 290-292.
[1456] Hunt, *1918*, pp. 389-391; Menefy, *1915*, pp. 276-9.
[1457] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 6, 'Cissy's Letter', aired 24/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[1458] Harper and Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, p. 31.
[1459] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 339.
[1460] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 173.
[1461] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 356-357.

story because the relationship he shared with Zach is still considered taboo.[1462] The stories of the non-poppy material – stories of individuals and families, told though photographs, letters, their own words and words put into their mouths – are all aimed at connecting with the audience through relatable, understandable characters who can impart the narratives of the war in a way that is enjoyable. Free from historiographical constraints, the non-poppy texts can make these stories as interesting as possible to hook their audiences into the wider war narratives. As Tolerton and Weir point out, which stories and narratives are told is a crucial aspect of the centenary period that requires examination.

[1462] Brendaniel Weir, *Tane's War*, Auckland: Cloud Ink Press, 2018.

SIX 'History's losers': Inclusion and exclusion of Māori and women

The print histories

The print histories aimed to bring new voices to New Zealand's World War I historiography, and so one of the prominent themes across the texts is an attempt to highlight those previously overlooked or forgotten. Of the eleven volumes, many focus on elements of the WWI experience that have received less attention, such as medics, those serving elsewhere, and the home front. The print histories were seeking to include as many elements as possible to broaden understanding – but this does not mean that they could include every element equally. Two key marginalised groups, and the way they are discussed across the print histories, demonstrate the potential of the print histories when seeking to broaden understanding – as well as a failing to fulfil that potential. Māori, represented by Monty Soutar's comprehensive volume, are given full and nuanced coverage because of this dedicated text. Soutar also includes Pasifika soldiers, who gain new recognition although discussions largely revolve around the problems they caused. Other authors mostly cover Māori well, and in instances where they do not, Soutar's text can fill any gaps. For women, who appear piecemeal in other texts but have no home of their own, there is no such backstop. The lack of a volume on women's contribution is the most notable exclusion of the print histories, and the depiction of women can be problematic, with some texts focussing on women as mothers, mourners, sexual objects and vectors of disease rather than full contributors to New Zealand's war narrative deserving of their own voice, separate to the men they were related to. These dual themes of inclusion and exclusion are important to examine within the texts to assess whether their intention of broadening understanding was met. For Māori, it largely was; for women, it essentially was not.

There is a marked difference between the older texts and those of the 21st century when it comes to inclusion. Keith Sinclair, for example, boldly stated that 'the war was cohesive' on the home front; there was no mention of Māori objection.[1463] Sinclair's appraisal of women during wartime was also severely lacking – what little discussion there was focused on women as recruiters for the war, with working women quickly dismissed, no mention of war nurses, and a patriarchal focus on women's ability to knit socks.[1464] There was also little mention in Christopher Pugsley's *Gallipoli* of anyone other than the soldiers,[1465] which given his first-hand approach did make sense but left portions of the story untold.

The writing of war history has evolved since Sinclair and Pugsley's work in the 1980s, with Deborah Montgomerie identifying a rise in social history that moves away from battle details to a wider focus on the impact of war on all New Zealanders.[1466] She argued that Māori and women had begun to feature more prominently in histories at the turn of the century. Michael King had some examination of Māori resistance in his history of New Zealand, highlighting Waikato leader Te Puea Hērangi and her opposition to conscription.[1467] Roberto Rabel also identified dissent from iwi, and discussed the role of women in some depth and with more awareness of the restrictive gender roles of the period than Sinclair allowed.[1468] In Rabel's account, women were 'confined' to knitting.[1469] He also acknowledged that even nurses struggled for their role in the war effort, as the government was

[1463] Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986**,** pp. 165-6.
[1464] Sinclair, *Destiny Apart*, pp. 164-165.
[1465] Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984.
[1466] Deborah Montgomerie, 'Reconnaissance: Twentieth-Century New Zealand War History at Century's Turn', *The New Zealand Journal of History* 37:1 (2003), pp. 62-79.
[1467] Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, North Shore: Penguin, 2003, pp. 302-3.
[1468] Roberto Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars' in Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 253, 254.
[1469] Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars', p. 254.

reluctant to let women serve overseas.[1470] James Belich had significant discussion of conscription and resistance, but focused on Pakeha opposition[1471] with little acknowledgement of the Waikato iwi's resistance to the conscription that targeted only them. Women were more present in Belich's narrative though he focussed on women as recruiters, with an emphasis on the White Feather Leagues. There was a suggestion of the emotional toll of being the nation's designated mourners (an idea also raised by Rabel),[1472] but nurses were again left out. Stevan Eldred-Grigg had a more balanced discussion of women; he examined the mixed success with which women entered – and stayed in – the workforce and the impact on women's rights,[1473] and he wrote at length about nurses and their struggles with the physical and mental toll of their work.[1474] He also examined the emotional toll that was borne by women whose families were torn apart by war, who had to spend years afterwards caring for emotionally and physically damaged husbands and sons, or who chose to walk away from unstable husbands and had to endure the stigma of divorce.[1475] As with Belich, though, Māori were not as prominent as they perhaps should be.

There were certainly authors working on these often-excluded histories prior to the centenary, as demonstrated in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon's collection *New Zealand's Great War*, a book with over 30 chapters from historians across the country. Published in 2007 and based on the 'Zealandia's Great War' conference in 2003, the collected essays covered subjects as diverse as transport drivers, prostitution, churches, gender and welfare, and women's opposition to the war.[1476] Those who are excluded from sweeping general narratives of the war find their home in these more specialised examinations. Unfortunately, the general book-length histories, with clear narrative and less historical debate or methodological discussion, tend to be most accessible and enjoyed by the general public.[1477] If Belich or King cannot talk about soldiers and women, in equal amounts, then the general public will consume narratives that must include some themes while excluding others. Such full book examinations of those commonly excluded do exist: Peter Rees's 2008 text *The Other Anzacs*, with its evocative title, was an accessible book that was reprinted during the centenary as *Anzac Girls* and covered both New Zealand and Australian nurses.[1478] Anna Rogers, prior to her medical print history, also produced a history of New Zealand nurses at war, *While You're Away*,[1479] in 2003 that covered WWI, and R.E. Rawstron produced a book on nurse anaesthetists in 2005.[1480] For histories of the Māori experience, James Cowan's 1926 *The Maoris in*

[1470] Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars', p. 254.
[1471] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001, pp. 99-103.
[1472] Rabel, 'New Zealand's Wars', p. 254; Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 99-100.
[1473] Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War: New Zealand Society in WWI*, Auckland: Random House, 2010, p. 440.
[1474] Eldred-Grigg, *Great Wrong War*, pp. 442-3.
[1475] Eldred-Grigg, *Great Wrong War*, pp. 443-5.
[1476] Written by (in order) Graham Langton, Bronwyn Dalley, Allan Davidson, Melanie Nolan and Megan Hutching. John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds.), *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing Limited, 2007.
[1477] Montgomerie, 'Reconnaissance', pp. 67, 68, 77.
[1478] Ironically, the new title is arguably worse, with the diminutive use of 'girls'. Peter Rees, *The Other Anzacs: Nurses at War, 1914-18*, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2008; republished as Peter Rees, *Anzac Girls: The Extraordinary Story of our World War I Nurses*, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2014.
[1479] Anna Rogers, *While You're Away: New Zealand Nurses at War 1899-1948*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003.
[1480] RE Rawstron, *A Unique Nursing Group: New Zealand Army Nurse Anaesthetists of WWI*, Christchurch: Rawstron Publishing, 2005.

the Great War[1481] was eventually succeeded by Pugsley's *Te Hokowhitu a Tu*[1482] in 1995, though the experiences of Māori at home, including the conscription issue, were not covered by these texts. As with women, who have been largely confined to nursing histories, the full spectrum of the Māori WWI experience is underrepresented in the historiography. For women and Māori – those on the margins, who have been excluded from the narrative – the centenary period was an opportunity for greater inclusion and more nuanced, multifaceted histories to emerge.

Monty Soutar's *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E!* offers readers seeking to learn about the Māori contribution to WWI a comprehensive self-contained text. Soutar's introduction specifies that his narrative 'targets descendants who want to learn something of koro's experience' and 'accommodates a general audience while emphasising matters important to Māori'.[1483] Soutar is clear that comparing the Pioneers to the celebrated infantry 28 (Māori) Battalion of WWII can 'undervalue the contribution Māori made' in WWI and 'miss the fact that…their lives too were destroyed, and their minds and bodies damaged'.[1484] He also emphasises that Māori at home are included in his narrative, with two chapters covering volunteering and conscription.[1485] On the first page of his preface, Soutar refers to 'missed opportunities' when James Cowan and Christopher Pugsley wrote what he calls the 'only other substantial publication[s]' on the Māori WWI contribution;[1486] it is clear that he is seeking to redress these missed opportunities with his text.

The other print history authors, dominantly Pakeha,[1487] seek to be inclusive by featuring Māori figures and stories throughout their writing, though they are limited by their topics. Anna Rogers acknowledges that her medical history is 'very largely a Pakeha story', highlighting Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) as the war's sole Māori medical officer (including a full-page photograph). She does point out that Pioneers often worked as stretcher-bearers 'officially and otherwise' and their role made them 'invaluable' to the medical efforts.[1488] Gavin McLean writes that 'most of the crew [of the hospital ships] would have been New Zealanders of European descent', but some Māori last names on a list of trimmers suggest that Māori seamen were present on the *Marama* and *Maheno* – though there is 'scanty evidence', which prevents him looking into this in more depth.[1489] Damien Fenton includes a two-page spread on 'The Māori and Pacific War Effort' where, like Soutar, he points out that the WWI contribution 'faded from public memory' before being 'completely eclipsed' by the 28 (Māori) Battalion.[1490] He argues that the Māori contribution 'marked a significant milestone in the history of New Zealand race relations'.[1491] However, Fenton also acknowledges the ways in which Māori were tokenised and used as propaganda, pointing out that the Māori Pioneers were 'filmed often' on the Western Front, 'invariably performing a haka'.[1492] Soutar also highlights this,

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[1481] James Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zealand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion; Gallipoli, 1915, France and Flanders, 1916-1918,* Auckland: Maori Regimental Committee/ Whitcombe & Tombs Limited, 1926.
[1482] Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: The Māori Pioneer Battalion in The First World War*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1995.
[1483] Monty Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Maori in the First World War*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2019, pp. 12-3.
[1484] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 11.
[1485] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p 13.
[1486] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 11.
[1487] I am also Pakeha, and acknowledge that there is a need for Māori assessment of Māori portrayals in the print histories.
[1488] Anna Rogers, *With Them Through Hell: New Zealand Medical Services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018, p. 11; also highlighted by Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 435.
[1489] Gavin McLean, *The White Ships: New Zealand's First World War Hospital Ships*, Wellington: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 2013, p. 126.
[1490] Damien Fenton, *New Zealand and the First World War 1914-1919*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2013, p. 38.
[1491] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 38.
[1492] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 38.

writing that the number of haka and waiata the Māori Contingent performed in Egypt left them worried 'that their main value to the war effort was as a performing troupe'.[1493]

Despite these efforts at inclusivity, there are several instances where Māori are left anonymous while their Pakeha comrades are named. Glyn Harper writes that 'a Māori soldier' died aboard a troopship, and though he gives a date and details about the burial at sea he does not specify how he died or name the man – though in the next paragraph he details how 'another New Zealand soldier died' and identifies him fully as 'Private Duncan Gordon Mackay of the Auckland Infantry Battalion' who died of apoplexy.[1494] Rogers includes the story of how 'one of [Private Michael] O'Malley's Māori patients' aboard the *Maheno* jumped overboard and was rescued after 30 minutes in the water and then details how O'Malley's 'friend and fellow orderly, Private James Cameron, died of pneumonia'.[1495] The contrast between the naming of one but not the other – the Pakeha but not the Māori man – is noticeable. Possibly one set of details and not the other were recorded; the Māori men's names could be genuinely unknown, possibly due to the racism of the time where Māori names and lives were perhaps not recorded with the same care as Pakeha ones. Regardless, these instances of anonymous Māori placed next to identified Pakeha are a jarring exception to the overall trend of the print histories.

Tikanga Māori and te Reo is presented in the print histories to create an authentic depiction to appeal to New Zealanders, and to Māori readers in particular. Although Soutar's text is the most notable to do this – especially given its te Reo title – there is evidence of it in other texts. Fenton includes ephemera such as the Māori lyrics to 'It's a Long Way to Tipperary' – or 'Tipirere' – and a banner featuring a tiki and an appeal to 'help our Maori comrades' that is also written in te Reo.[1496] Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge present a photograph of Māori recruits preparing a hangi and Wetini Te Muera's headstone with its Māori inscription (which they translate in their caption).[1497] Soutar includes Māori words that most New Zealanders would know, such as writing that in camps 'army food was supplemented by Māori kai – tuna, kuku and puha – for which the soldiers foraged', and that when a CO was left in hospital with enteric fever his 'devoted Tamariki's' wrote a letter of gratitude to their 'koroua'.[1498] Soutar quotes a soldier's account that on Gallipoli before an offensive the men 'cheered each other' with 'Ka mate', trusting that New Zealand readers will recognise this iconic haka without elaboration.[1499] Quotes are given in the original te Reo, such as Sir James Carroll's account of his visit to the Pioneers at Armentières: '"Te kitenga mai i ahau" (They caught sight of me), wrote Carroll'.[1500] But Soutar also includes untranslated passages of te Reo, such as an image of Chaplain Wainohu's speech as it was published in *Te Kopara*[1501] or Lieutenant Karauti's account of his hosts in Bournonville.[1502] Tikanga Māori is also intrinsic to Soutar's text and how he presents his narrative: the book features the mata design created by Derek Lardelli that contains several traditional motifs and has a number of meanings, including what the soldiers saw, heard and felt and the three Māori states of man.[1503] In his acknowledgements, Soutar also thanks his brother Barry

[1493] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 79.
[1494] Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, p. 109.
[1495] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 228.
[1496] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 38, 39.
[1497] Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge, *New Zealand's First World War Heritage*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015, pp. 52, 215.
[1498] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 52, 71, 86, 283.
[1499] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 126.
[1500] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 293.
[1501] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 125.
[1502] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 398.
[1503] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 6.

Soutar 'who applied a Māori lens to the text'.[1504] The use of te Reo and depictions of Māori culture demonstrate an effort to include Māori voices – literally – and validate the Māori experience.

The performance and calibre of the Māori Pioneers is emphasised repeatedly through the print histories. Soutar highlights their performance in a fighting role at Gallipoli, where they were often on the front line;[1505] but even after they were delegated to a Pioneer role – which Ian McGibbon writes at the time 'neatly solved the problem of what to do with the Māori troops'[1506] – their performance is still acknowledged and appreciated in the print histories. The demanding nature of the Pioneers' work is emphasised by Harper, who calls it 'back-breaking, dangerous' and 'never-ending'.[1507] Rogers also highlights that their Pioneer role did not shelter them from danger, writing that the battalion 'often found itself in perilous situations, working under fire'.[1508] Soutar points out all the different semi-skilled labouring jobs they were expected to perform in conditions where 'their work was continually undone by shellfire'.[1509] McGibbon describes how they managed to cut a path through enemy wire at the Somme, could 'rapidly' dig communication trenches to consolidate positions, and were 'quickly in action' improving roads under fire and neutralising a mine at Le Quesnoy.[1510] McGibbon has a significant section in his 'The NZEF Experience' chapter labelled 'Māori contribution' where he details the 'sizable and distinct indigenous element' that differentiated the NZEF from other Dominion forces.[1511] In this section, McGibbon praises the 'admirable Māori performance at Gallipoli' and labels them as 'combat engineers' when in their Pioneer role, arguing that their excellent performance and military prowess allowed them to overcome initially racist attitudes from their Pakeha comrades.[1512]

In addition to highlighting the prowess of the Māori Pioneers, the print histories also include Māori figures who were who were not part of this battalion. Rogers highlights chaplain Henare Te Wainohu, who 'sustained the spirit' of the Māori Battalion in both Gallipoli and France and who risked his life going out with the medics.[1513] McGibbon mentions Ropata Kereti, 'one of the few Māori' to serve with the British forces, as well as several Māori who served with the AIF or CEF.[1514] Harper names Kereti as well as Sonny Brees and Alexander Ormond – including a full-page photograph of the latter – as Māori who served with the BEF. [1515] Soutar highlights the 'handful' of Māori men who served with the AIF[1516] as well as Māori pilots, who faced racism in England.[1517] Adam Claasen also writes of the small number of Māori airmen, who had to fight against the racist desire for 'purity of European descent' in the air force. He includes a full-page portrait of one of these Māori airmen, Ernest Taniwha Sutherland. [1518] At home, Soutar, Bargas and Shoebridge, and Steven Loveridge and James Watson all discuss religious leader Rua Kēnana and his settlement at Maungapōhatu,[1519] and Soutar

[1504] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 7.
[1505] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 153.
[1506] Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2016, p. 31.
[1507] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 436, 572.
[1508] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 11.
[1509] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 375.
[1510] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 65, 153, 346.
[1511] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 186-9.
[1512] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 187, 188.
[1513] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 293
[1514] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 236, 237.
[1515] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 94-7.
[1516] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 103.
[1517] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 364.
[1518] Adam Claasen, *Fearless: The extraordinary untold story of New Zealand's Great War airmen*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017, pp. 139-141.
[1519] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 236-7; Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The Home Front: New Zealand Society and the War Effort*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019, pp. 217-220, 370; Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 32.

mentions the Kahungunu Poi Entertainers.[1520] Waikato leader Te Puea Hērangi is also portrayed as a key part of the Māori at home narrative. Although the Pioneers and the resistance to the war are the two main focuses throughout the print histories when it comes to the inclusion of Māori, the appearance of other notable figures gives a fuller picture of Māori experience during WWI – which was as varied as that of Pakeha.

The narrative of volunteering, conscription, and opposition is a key part of the Māori experience of WWI, and authors that deal with the home front discuss the ways in which Māori showed both support for and opposition to the war. Although Soutar focusses on the conscription narrative across two chapters, he also acknowledges that there was an enthusiasm from Māori to serve, quoting Peter Buck's appeal to 'give us a chance!' when it was suspected that the Native Contingent would be sent to garrison duty instead of to the front.[1521] Loveridge and Watson also discuss war enthusiasm specifically from Māori, writing that 'there were comparable expressions of solidarity from some Māori' at the outbreak of war as from Pakeha.[1522] They argue that 'a number of Māori' were 'quite elated' and 'willing and anxious' to undertake military service and discuss how 'many iwi…were keen to be involved', quoting telegrams sent by Te Arawa, Rangitikei and Ngāpuhi to the government to declare their offer of support.[1523] They describe how Māori recruitment was led by the Native Contingent Committee, and they note that the majority of support came from iwi and areas where Māori had 'fought alongside government forces in the past'.[1524] They also discuss fundraising efforts by Māori, which 'extended even to Māori in areas that had suffered land confiscations' such as Taranaki and Whakatāne.[1525] Loveridge and Watson do point out that war enthusiasm and the willingness to serve was, from some Māori, 'conditional' – they would serve only 'in the defence of New Zealand itself', as they did not agree with sending men to fight in Europe, but would be willing for them to train and act as territorials.[1526]

Some authors point out that there was resistance to the war from Māori right from the beginning: Bargas and Shoebridge write that this resistance mostly came from iwi with 'pacifist traditions and/or long-standing grievances against the government'.[1527] Soutar argues that iwi like Waikato and Taranaki 'were not averse to war', as they were the tribes of 'some of Maoridom's most daring fighters', but they did not support Britain's war as the coloniser's actions half a century earlier had left them with 'much resentment towards the Crown' due to 'loss of land, denial of access to resources and poverty'.[1528] Similarly, Loveridge and Watson conclude that Waikato 'indifference' was 'fuelled by grievances over land confiscation'.[1529] Loveridge and Watson also discuss how *Te Paki o Matariki*, the Kīngitanga's official newspaper, argued that 'Māori had no basis for involvement' and that enlistment threatened the protection promised by te Tiriti.[1530] They write that a petition presented in 1916 echoed these sentiments, with 262 signatures declaring Māori involvement in the war was 'contrary to the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi to protect tangata whenua'.[1531] Loveridge and Watson also argue that the Kīngitanga's response of 'Waiho ma te hiahia' ('leave it to individual choice') and Tāwhaio's 1881 'symbolic laying down of arms' contributed to 'indifference' and

[1520] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 358.
[1521] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 81.
[1522] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 44.
[1523] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 44, 54, 56.
[1524] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 54, 84, 314.
[1525] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 88.
[1526] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 56.
[1527] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 32.
[1528] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 44.
[1529] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 59, 217.
[1530] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 70.
[1531] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 215.

'ambivalence' throughout the Waikato-Maniapoto region.[1532] Soutar also discusses these factors as contributing to Waikato resistance to conscription.[1533] These acknowledgements of the multi-faceted nature of iwi's approach to service add greater depth and nuance to discussions of resistance. By including different responses from different Māori in different regions and from different experiences with colonisers, the print histories can present a narrative that accepts that Māori are not and never have been one homogenous voice.

Māori conscription appears in some print histories as an important part of both the Māori and home front narratives, with Soutar and Loveridge and Watson covering it in depth – although it receives little attention from other authors. Fenton, in his 'The Māori and Pacific War Effort' plate, very briefly addresses the introduction of Māori conscription and the subsequent arrests of defaulting balloted men.[1534] Soutar, in contrast, has two chapters that cover this narrative: 'Conscription and Waikato Resistance' and 'Conscription Applied'.[1535] Loveridge and Watson emphasise that there was 'divergence between the Māori MPs' on the issue of conscription, with Tau Henare supporting it only for Pakeha 'shirkers', while Āpirana Ngata and Māui Pōmare asserted that Māori could play an equal role despite a smaller population and 'should not be excluded'.[1536] Loveridge and Watson discuss 'the increasingly common claim that under the Treaty of Waitangi the government could not conscript Māori', as well as arguments that conscription threatened Māori mana.[1537] Soutar describes how conscription was implemented with 'several duplicitous moves by the government',[1538] while Loveridge and Watson discuss the many administerial challenges of conscripting the often remote and less documented Māori population.[1539]

Soutar and Loveridge and Watson write that the target of 'te Ture Puruma'[1540] 'was really only one iwi confederation – Waikato', who 'unsurprisingly' offered the 'strongest opposition' to any conscription.[1541] Soutar discusses resistance to conscription at length, writing that in the first ballot 'only 59 of the 200 men called for examination reported to the medical board', leaving it 'up to police to find the defaulters'.[1542] He discusses how men were arrested and sent to detention at Devonport, where conditions were poor and the men were punished.[1543] Bargas and Shoebridge also discuss how defaulters were 'court-martialled and imprisoned with hard labour like their conscientious objector counterparts',[1544] a comparison that subtly draws the reader onto the Māori defaulters' side as they are placed in the same category as the conscientious objectors. Soutar concludes by stating that of 553 men drawn, 111 defaulters were arrested and 74 dispatched to camp.[1545] He also discusses how 'the final decisions in this regrettable saga' were about Māori defaulters in prison at the war's end,[1546] with Loveridge and Watson writing that Māori prisoners were 'quietly release[d]'.[1547] Soutar condemns the imposition of conscription on Waikato Māori, writing that 'the breach it caused was not healed even by the Waikato-Tainui Deed of Settlement signed in 1995'.[1548]

[1532] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 217.
[1533] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 225.
[1534] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 39.
[1535] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 218, 244.
[1536] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 258.
[1537] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 335.
[1538] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 249.
[1539] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 333.
[1540] 'The Broom Law', i.e. conscription.
[1541] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 335; Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 222, 250.
[1542] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 256.
[1543] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 257, 266-7.
[1544] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 35.
[1545] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 270, 271.
[1546] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 270, 271.
[1547] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 424.
[1548] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 273.

He does, however, acknowledge that opposition had the 'less obvious positive outcome' of making the government 'seriously consider the long-standing grievances' and created a post-war concern for how to address past injustices.[1549]

Systemic racism is an important part of the Māori narrative, given that it impacted both those who opposed the war and those who wished to serve. Loveridge and Watson point out that 'Māori eager to enlist faced uncertainty as officials pondered imperial regulations regarding the use of "native troops"'; serving in India or Egypt was deemed acceptable but full service 'in wars between Europeans' was questioned.[1550] The racism of the imperial war system is made particularly apparent by Claasen and McGibbon, writing about Māori airmen applying for positions in Britain: candidates at first had to 'be of pure European descent', though later 'imperial authorities agreed to accept any candidate with some, but not full, Māori blood'.[1551] Claasen writes that 'race made no difference to…[the] ability to fly but was of concern to the authorities in London', who decreed that 'educational standards' for Māori should be 'higher',[1552] which Soutar also quotes from Claasen.[1553] Soutar writes that British racism was faced by Māori throughout the war, with 'Tommies' 'derisively' referring to Māori using racist slurs[1554] and General Alexander Godley scrutinising the command of Māori officers with a greater 'keenness' than Pakeha ones: 'the Maori officers were "quite a failure"', Soutar records Godley writing to James Allen, and were to blame for issues within the Contingent.[1555] Soutar points out that by 1915 'no Māori officers had had the confidence of the higher command, and for the rest of the war the COs of the Pioneer Battalion would be Pakeha'.[1556] Soutar also points out that when the Pioneers were sent home instead of garrisoning Germany, they 'resented the attitude of British high command' who decreed that no 'native troops' would garrison Germany.[1557] The British public also discriminated against Māori who were on leave in England, with Soutar writing that Māori soldiers experienced racism when seeking accommodation.[1558]

Though many of the depictions of racism against Māori in the print histories focuses on the British, and particularly British command, Soutar makes sure to highlight that it was experienced at home as well. He writes that a 'Pakeha sense of cultural superiority was derived from the United Kingdom…and it was also prevalent in the media'.[1559] Soutar points out how systematic suppression of te Reo affected Māori; he records that Māori soldiers were 'ordered' to write their letters in English and no attestation forms or conscription telegrams were written in te Reo, despite some men having limited English.[1560] Bargas and Shoebridge record the racism towards Māori soldiers on leave in Auckland, who were called 'odorous, ravenous, obscene and fightable' by the *Observer*.[1561] Soutar's final chapter has sections labelled 'Discrimination' and 'The Fight For Equality', which examine the many ways in which the war did not change how Māori were viewed, treated, excluded and 'degraded' in New Zealand.[1562] Loveridge and Watson also examine how 'the colour bar'

[1549] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 273.
[1550] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 80.
[1551] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 243.
[1552] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 141.
[1553] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 364.
[1554] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 77, 391.
[1555] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 171, 173, 174.
[1556] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 186.
[1557] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 454.
[1558] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 466.
[1559] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 19.
[1560] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 91, 262-3.
[1561] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 76.
[1562] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 490-5, 497.

continued in various parts of life, with Māori veterans returning from fighting as equals overseas to a political environment that 'offered little succour'.[1563]

Soutar and Loveridge and Watson do, however, also look briefly at ways in which the war ushered in progress for Māori. Loveridge and Watson write that 'wartime experiences have been observed as broadening the horizons of Māori veterans and forging some degree of respect between Māori and Pakeha'.[1564] Soutar agrees that Māori soldiers came home with friendships with influential Pakeha, respect from their communities and Pakeha soldiers, and 'more confidence and a better appreciation of their place in the world'.[1565] Both authors refer to the idea that 'the Māori race had regained its mana' in the war.[1566] Overall, the conclusion of these texts is that, as Loveridge and Watson put it, there was an 'uneasy mix of change and continuity'.[1567] 'Change was neither as deep nor as rapid as it might have been' according to Soutar, with 'more goodwill and more social contact' between Māori and Pakeha, though 'a gulf remained'.[1568] Both texts end their section on the war's legacy for Māori with the acknowledgement that the positive impact has been overstated in the past, and though the war often did significant good for those who served, greater societal change was less obvious.

Pasifika people also appear in New Zealand's WWI narrative, and several print histories endeavour to include them – generally alongside Māori. Bargas and Shoebridge briefly describe how recruits from Niue, the Cook Islands, Fiji, and Gilbert and Ellice Islands were used to fill out the Māori units;[1569] Loveridge and Watson point out that offers of assistance from Niue and the Cook Islands had been rejected prior to the shortfall of men for the Native Contingent after Gallipoli.[1570] Soutar also records that the arrival of Pacific recruits 'would enable the quota…to be met'.[1571] Fenton includes the Pacific war effort in a sidebar titled 'Pacific Recruits' in his 'The Māori and Pacific War Effort' plate, writing that 'approximately 500 Pacific Islanders served in the NZEF, of whom 42 died';[1572] Loveridge and Watson also give the figure that 'some 500 Pacific Islanders served in New Zealand forces'.[1573] Harper specifies the number of Pacific soldiers who served at 458,[1574] and Soutar points out that in the Third Māori Contingent, Niueans outnumbered Māori.[1575] Throughout his text, Soutar describes the contributions of Niuean soldiers as well as men from Samoa, Fiji, the Cook Islands, and Tonga,[1576] ending with their departure in early 1918 – a 'sad event, as most of these men had been on the Pioneers since the unit was formed and they had been through so much together'.[1577] Interestingly, Harper captions a picture of Rarotongan soldiers with 'some Johnny Enzeds from Rarotonga',[1578] which indicates that being from 'Enzed' was not a requirement of being a 'Johnny Enzed'. The combination of the New Zealand uniforms and pieces of Rarotongan traditional dress suggest that these men were able, to some extent, to inhabit both identities.

Although generally discussed in the context of the Māori Contingent, Pacific soldiers are shown in the print histories to have had a distinct experience, often more negative than their Māori comrades.

[1563] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 436.
[1564] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 435.
[1565] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 502.
[1566] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 502; Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 435.
[1567] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 435.
[1568] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 502.
[1569] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, pp. 32, 53, 55, 61.
[1570] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 215.
[1571] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 201.
[1572] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 39.
[1573] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 216.
[1574] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 77.
[1575] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 212.
[1576] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 311, 343, 412-3, 415.
[1577] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 412.
[1578] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 579.

Harper describes how 'the enlistment of Pacific Islanders did cause problems' as many could not speak English, had never eaten meat and did not like wearing boots – though he does write that 'the islanders soon adapted to the ways of the army'.[1579] Loveridge and Watson also highlight 'teething problems' around 'language, dietary changes and footwear',[1580] while Soutar goes into more detail, describing how 'used to a diet of fish, taro, coconut and fruit', 'army food did not agree with them'.[1581] Soutar writes that 'army boots proved problematic for the islanders, none of whom had worn shoes before', and that 'even basic commands in English had to be explained by an interpreter'.[1582] Soutar also points out that 'their biggest trials' were from sickness and weather, with Pacific recruits having to be invalided home 'suffering from the cold'.[1583] This narrative dominates the print histories' portrayal of the Pacific war effort. Soutar records Lieutenant-Colonel King claiming the Pacific soldiers 'aren't much good', which Soutar clarifies means 'they could not cope with the winter weather';[1584] Fenton highlights the 'problem' of the Pacific soldiers, emphasising that 'the Niueans were overwhelmed by cold and illness and were sent home';[1585] and McGibbon's single mention of the Pacific soldiers is that 'for the Rarotongans and Niueans serving in the Māori Contingent, the cold was immediately recognised as a potential problem and they were shipped off to Egypt almost straight away'.[1586] Soutar goes into more depth about the plight of the Niuean soldiers. He describes how in the cold and wet of France they suffered from numerous different chest illnesses, and struggled to recover when separated from their platoon and with no nurses who spoke their own language.[1587] Soutar also includes a sidebar on how Cook Island and Fijian soldiers complained about poor medical treatment in the face of the 1918 influenza epidemic.[1588] Throughout the print histories, Pacific Island soldiers mostly appear as problems, unable to cope with the requirements of the Pioneers. It is notable that there is no discussion of Samoans during the occupation of Samoa or the Pasifika community at home. That the narrative of Pacific involvement and contribution is included in the print histories is encouraging, though more Pasifika voices and deeper, more nuanced examinations which are not just an addendum to the Māori narrative are needed in future scholarship.

The most notable issues regarding inclusion in the print histories are to do with the presence of women. The lack of a volume specifically about women's experiences, both at home and overseas, during WWI is an immediately glaring omission, especially given that there is a volume dedicated to the Māori narrative. Women may appear throughout the print histories, but generally in relation to male soldiers, and for a general reader interested in broadening their knowledge of women in war, the print histories do not at first glance offer much and certainly nothing specific or dedicated. Another notable imbalance is the number of male authors: Anna Rogers and Imelda Bargas (who co-authored with a man) are the only women's names on the print history covers. *Experience of a Lifetime* includes chapters by Carolyn Carr, Hélène Goiran, Katherine Moody, Nathalie Philippe and Sita Venkateswar, adding more women's voices, though this is still only five authors out of 18 in this text, and none wrote chapters specifically about women. War history has been dominated by men in the past, and finding women authors to tell women's stories will always be a challenge when both female historians and subjects have struggled to find a place in war narratives. But the only way to combat exclusion is through inclusion, and regardless of how or why authors and subjects were chosen for the WW100 Programme, the fact that there are as many print histories written by Glyn

[1579] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 77.
[1580] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 216.
[1581] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 202.
[1582] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 202.
[1583] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 202.
[1584] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 345.
[1585] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 39.
[1586] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 208.
[1587] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 278.
[1588] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 463.

Harper as there are by women does not demonstrate that the Programme was actively seeking to address this historic imbalance.

The most prominent women in the print histories are nurses, an important inclusion given their historical exclusion: according to Rogers, the 1924 official medical history gave the impression 'that no nurses had been involved', with the conclusion of the book 'entirely ignor[ing] the nurses'.[1589] Sometimes nurses appear in the print histories in a traditional 'rose of no man's land' role, which focuses on their more feminine qualities rather than their medical skill. Harper depicts nurses as 'excited at seeing the New Zealand soldiers' and worrying about 'our boys', and refers to soldiers experiencing 'the tender care of female nurses', who were 'cheerful' and 'very nice'.[1590] Harper does write that nurses 'use[d] their skills to save lives',[1591] which acknowledges the professional ability that was just as (if not more) important as how 'nice' they were and which the nurses struggled to be recognised for in their time. McGibbon and Harper list several nurses who served overseas[1592] and McGibbon highlights the small group of nurses (less than 50) who served on the Western Front – the only women in the NZEF to do so, and only for a year before being pulled out.[1593] Fenton's two-page plate titled 'Wounded in Action: Treatment' makes no mention of nurses at all, a serious exclusion that echoes that of the 1924 history.[1594] Nurses do appear in the plate over the page: 'New Zealand Women at War', which describes the New Zealand Army Nursing Service (NZANS), the sinking of the *Marquette*, and New Zealand's refusal to formally organise a voluntary service such as the VAD.[1595] Fenton writes that 'the government mobilised the Nursing Service on the outbreak of war', which, given that they did not join the NZEF in Egypt until 1915, is a little generous.[1596]

Rogers emphasises how nurses had to fight for inclusion during the war, writing that while male doctors who wanted to serve were 'accepted without question', nurses had 'a much harder job convincing the authorities that they should go overseas'.[1597] Loveridge and Watson describe how 'Allen took considerable time to bow to pressure' – in particular from the 'determined', 'redoubtable',[1598] and 'formidable'[1599] Hester Maclean.[1600] Even once they were allowed to serve, they were often not accepted; Rogers describes how 'gaining recognition of their rank and status proved difficult' as 'foolish discrimination' prevented men from respecting them as officers.[1601] McLean writes that the NZANS was 'dogged by questions of status', and criticises William Collins for 'denying nurses their officer status' and 'airily dismiss[ing]' their complaints.[1602] He describes how men resisted giving nurses the salutes they were entitled to and how the nurses were paid less than the men.[1603] McLean argues that the nurses aboard the hospital ships 'performed miracles while enduring discrimination by their male fellow officers' and 'a high gender barrier'.[1604] He illustrates

[1589] Rogers, *Though Hell*, p. 403.
[1590] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 408, 409, 562, 571.
[1591] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 82.
[1592] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 19; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 538; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 51, 164, 218.
[1593] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 224.
[1594] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 78-9.
[1595] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 80-81.
[1596] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 80.
[1597] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 16.
[1598] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 80.
[1599] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 80.
[1600] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 80.
[1601] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 22.
[1602] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 78, 80.
[1603] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 80-1.
[1604] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 60, 121.

this with two photographs of *Marama* personnel, one featuring only the '*male* officers' (emphasis McLean's) and the other including the nurses – 'also officers'.[1605]

Rogers and McLean both discuss how with rising U-boat threats, nurses were removed from the hospital ships, often to the disappointment and regret of both the women and the men they tended.[1606] Rogers writes that the orderlies were 'very sorry' to see the nurses go and quotes *Kai Tiaki*'s assertion that 'the sisters…do not shirk any danger' and that their place was 'where the sick and wounded are'.[1607] Rogers points out that the orderlies did the best they could – and benefited from having trained under the nurses – but that many patients missed the care of the trained nurses;[1608] McLean records that 'the ban was only temporary', as ships refused to depart without female nurses.[1609] Rogers and McLean's discussion of this narrative emphasises not only how important the nurses were, but how valued they were by their patients. Although they may not have been adequately respected as equals, they were sorely missed when they were gone.

Some authors also point out that women worked in medical roles other than nursing during the war. Rogers's chapter 'Women at War' is subtitled 'VADs, Doctors, Anaesthetists and the Volunteer Sisterhood'.[1610] Rogers and Harper both highlight several female doctors including Dr Elizabeth Gunn, 'who fought hard to serve her country', the 'pioneering' Dr Agnes Bennett, and 'a remarkable quartet' who worked with the Scottish Women's Hospitals (SWH).[1611] Both authors emphasise their contributions in a time when 'only some half-dozen New Zealand women had medical degrees'.[1612] Rogers writes that the contribution of women doctors is 'often unacknowledged, or unknown',[1613] and Harper agrees that it has 'long been overlooked'.[1614] In their time, like the nurses, they faced significant challenges, as 'perhaps inevitably, the male military hierarchy was not interested' and 'female doctors were no more welcomed by the New Zealand military than the nurses had initially been'.[1615] Rogers describes these doctors as 'highly competent' and 'indefatigable' and Harper writes that they 'performed outstanding service in unusual places', and yet they had to fight to be included and respected. Rogers writes that Dr Gunn was relegated to Trentham after one voyage despite her good work as a medical officer aboard the *Tahiti*, and that several New Zealand women had to turn to the SWH or Red Cross because the New Zealand officials would not have them.[1616] Rogers includes several large photographs of these women doctors,[1617] and Harper includes a full-page portrait of Dr Bennett;[1618] this helps to highlight these women within the narrative and ensure they do not continue to be 'overlooked'.

Rogers and Harper also discuss the contributions made by women as other medical specialists. Rogers highlights Edith Porteous's work as a dispenser, though she also points out that Porteous was an exception, as 'although several women were employed in hospital pharmacies in New Zealand during the war, hardly any managed to serve their country overseas'.[1619] Rogers also describes how an unnamed Auckland woman with six years' experience as a dispenser was repeatedly turned away,

[1605] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 130-1.
[1606] McLean, *White Ships*, pp. 132, 158-160; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 232.
[1607] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 232.
[1608] Rogers, *Though Hell*, p. 234.
[1609] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 160.
[1610] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 315.
[1611] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 19, 321-8; Harper, *King and other Countries*, pp. 93-4.
[1612] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 322.
[1613] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 321.
[1614] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 93.
[1615] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 322.
[1616] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 322, 326, 328; Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 16, 93.
[1617] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 323, 325, 326.
[1618] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 95.
[1619] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 313.

and 'to add patronising salt to the wound' she was told to work on getting eligible men to enlist.[1620] Nurses performed X-ray work, and Rogers highlights Cora Turnbull, who headed the X-ray department of No. 1 Australian Hospital at Heliopolis and received praise for her skill.[1621] Rogers also describes the work of several nurses who took on months of further specialised training as anaesthetists, demonstrating an aptitude for the work.[1622] Like other women medical staff, however, they faced gender-based discrimination; Rogers writes that despite the women's 'love' for the work and 'hard-won expertise', upon returning to New Zealand 'they could not break into a male domain' as anaesthetics had become 'a specialised area for doctors'.[1623] Rogers describes how for many of the women who were part of New Zealand's medical force, 'returning to civilian life was often hard' as they had to 'exchange the adventure and high emotion of wartime service for the yoke of family expectation or the much duller routine of non-military nursing'.[1624]The print histories make it clear that these women were fighting against gender-based discrimination to take part in the first place, and then had to return to a society that never fully valued their contribution.

For women who were not professionally trained, this discrimination could be even worse. Rogers describes how VADs were 'often patronised by men' and referred to as 'Very Adorable Darlings', despite the fact that they made 'a significant wartime contribution, often performing tasks as testing, and as skilled, as those done by the nurses'.[1625] They also faced scrutiny, 'unkindness and impatience' from nurses, who sometimes saw them 'as a challenge or a threat'.[1626] Rogers concludes that although there were some women who were not suited to the work and 'let the side down', for the most part they worked hard and 'proved their worth',[1627] while Harper writes that Elizabeth Marion Ernest's Royal Red Cross was 'undoubtedly well earned, and probably many more VADs should have received them'.[1628] Outside the wards, VADs also worked as cooks, dispensers, clerks and drivers, and Rogers highlights several women who drove and maintained ambulances even though 'females behind the wheel was still a novelty'.[1629] Fenton includes a photograph of a New Zealand ambulance and its unnamed female FANY driver, with the caption that although the New Zealand government 'refused to allow the formation of a women's auxiliary military force', they employed British women to assist the nurses and drive the vehicles at NZEF hospitals.[1630]

Fenton writes that 'despite offers – and pleas – from women all over the country', the New Zealand government never created an equivalent to the VAD.[1631] Several authors point out that though New Zealand officially had no equivalent to this system, untrained New Zealand women who wanted to help the war effort could work with Ettie Rout's organisation, the Volunteer Sisterhood.[1632] Although described by Harper as 'makeshift' and Rogers as 'lack[ing] ministerial approval', both authors emphasise the hard and necessary work the Volunteer Sisters performed under the guidance of Rout.[1633] Harper writes that the Sisterhood faced 'government hostility, harsh living conditions and little renumeration',[1634] while Rogers points out that like VADs they were treated with suspicion from

[1620] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 313.
[1621] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 368.
[1622] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 329-330.
[1623] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 330.
[1624] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 404-6.
[1625] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 317-8.
[1626] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 318.
[1627] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 317-8.
[1628] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 84.
[1629] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 319-321.
[1630] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 81.
[1631] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 80.
[1632] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 93; Fenton, *First World War*, p. 80; Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 330-1.
[1633] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 93; Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 330-1.
[1634] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 93.

trained nurses.[1635] Like VADs, however, the Sisterhood worked hard, providing food and recreation to the men at soldiers' clubs and YMCAs as well as performing unskilled tasks in hospitals that 'saved the nurses many little jobs' and got them through the strain of busy times.[1636] Throughout their discussions of the many ways in which women contributed to the medical efforts of the war, the print histories that do address this narrative emphasise that women always did so in the face of discrimination and exclusion, and that this exclusion has continued in historic scholarship. The efforts made by Rogers and Harper in particular to acknowledge the women nurses, doctors, and volunteers works to challenge this historical exclusion and give these women their rightful place in New Zealand's WWI narrative.

The print histories also highlight the work women did outside of the medical field, including contributions to other aspects of military service. Fenton writes that British women served in auxiliary branches of the army, navy and air force as clerks, drivers and cooks, but notes that New Zealand women were far more limited in their ability to contribute, which he ascribes to their distance from the war.[1637] Claasen and Moody describe how 'a small number of New Zealand women served with the WRAF', including dispatch rider Madeline Ranken, who 'tore around the country lanes of southern England on a motorcycle and sidecar', and Harriet Simeon, who was rejected for war service in New Zealand, made her own way to England, and ended the war as a deputy assistant commander in charge of 300 officers and over 5000 women.[1638] Claasen includes a full-page portrait of Simeon clad in her WRAF gear.[1639] Women also played more traditional roles in supporting the war effort: Harper discusses the New Zealand War Contingent Association (NZWCA), a volunteer organisation that provided comforts to New Zealand soldiers in England such as clothing, food, and cigarettes, as well as clubs to relax at, staffed largely by women.[1640] He also highlights the entertainment work done by women during the war, including violinist Ina Bosworth, who toured the Western Front doing three concerts a day including several encores; Thelma Peterson, who sang to troops in 'huts in pitch darkness' during the German Spring Offensive; and Rosemary Frances Rees, the superintendent of the NZWCA's Entertainments Committee who organised theatre performances for men on the Western Front.[1641] By including the contributions made by women across a number of fields – medical, volunteer, military and domestic – the print histories can demonstrate that they took traditionally 'masculine' roles such as doctors and drivers as well as more traditionally 'feminine' roles, making tea and playing the violin. By including all these women, the print histories can broaden the understanding of the role women played in the WWI narrative.

Although the narrative of wartime women entering the workforce to replace the men sent to the front is more typically associated with 'Rosie the Riveter'-style WWII-era factory work, the print histories show that women in New Zealand did step up into the gaps left by men – though it was not a dominant theme. Loveridge and Watson discuss this narrative in the most depth, writing that 'ideas of a dramatic rise in female employment and new uses of the female workforce became common' during the war, with 'some businesses and middle-class women…show[ing] enthusiasm for replacing male with female labour'.[1642] Loveridge and Watson and Bargas and Shoebridge describe how women became more involved in farm work – 'despite some arguing that they were unsuited to such labours'[1643] – as the National Efficiency Board 'encouraged women…to work in "suitable

[1635] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 331.
[1636] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 331.
[1637] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 80.
[1638] Claasen, *Fearless*, pp. 342-5, 420; Moody, 'Kiwis Rising', p. 208.
[1639] Claasen, *Fearless*, p. 344.
[1640] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 220.
[1641] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, pp. 223-5.
[1642] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 174.
[1643] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 175.

industries"'.[1644] Loveridge and Watson give 'accounts of women taking up the muscular and technical aspects of farming', including photographs of women workers in trousers clearing land and helping with harvests.[1645] As they did elsewhere, women faced gender-based challenges when moving into the workforce. McLean writes that stewardesses who applied to work aboard the hospital ships were refused, as 'nurses would be the only women allowed',[1646] and Loveridge and Watson describe how the National Efficiency Board faced 'scepticism and reluctance about mass utilisation of female labour'.[1647] Loveridge and Watson conclude that 'the enthusiasm of some women appears to have been met by official disinterest or reluctance',[1648] and that 'the movement of women into the workforce…was relatively modest', particularly for 'industrial jobs previously done by men'.[1649] Furthermore, when soldiers returned, 'a focus on "fighting men first" meant that women were encouraged and pressured to give up jobs'.[1650] They do, however, write that 'the war years somewhat eroded the male-breadwinner culture', with some businesses becoming more likely to employ women.[1651]

Although women appear in the print histories as skilled professionals or non-traditional workers, they are also shown doing traditionally feminine work, adhering to the gender roles that their society expected of them. Bargas and Shoebridge write that for women at home, their best contribution were 'their skills and time', which meant 'assembling parcels and making clothing' for the men overseas.[1652] They 'made use of existing sewing or knitting guilds and circles' and rallied to provide men at the training camps with 'activities and facilities'.[1653] They also 'played a key role in fundraising for patriotic organisations'.[1654] The print histories have many examples of women doing this kind of work: Bargas and Shoebridge describe the 'womanpower' used for street collections, selling handmade goods, and providing refreshments, sometimes by individual women but largely by patriotic organisations that they founded.[1655] Loveridge and Watson include photographs of women knitting socks, sorting donated clothes, and working in supply depots;[1656] they also mention 'Queen Carnivals', where women could use their femininity to fundraise in displays of 'elaborate patriotic pageantry'.[1657] Fenton writes that 'women and schoolchildren knitted and baked furiously to provide the men at the front with a few basic home comforts' and that they 'cooked and sewed for the menfolk';[1658] McLean describes donated items as labelled 'From ladies'.[1659] There is an acknowledgement that this was the expected role of women, with some authors being more critical of this than others. Fenton calls patriotic work 'the women's war' and writes that 'though rarely involved at the organisational level' they were the 'rank and file' of patriotic societies.[1660] Loveridge and Watson and Rogers are more critical; Loveridge and Watson write that the way that women contributed to the war effort 'rested on understandings of ideal gender roles' and 'many socially

[1644] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 162; Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 175, 277; also Fenton, *First World War*, p. 43.
[1645] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 278, 279.
[1646] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 122.
[1647] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 178, 277, 279.
[1648] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 174.
[1649] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 174-5.
[1650] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 435.
[1651] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 179.
[1652] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 129.
[1653] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 131.
[1654] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 129.
[1655] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, pp. 67, 129, 131.
[1656] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 85-6.
[1657] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 168.
[1658] Fenton, *First World War*, pp. 46, 47.
[1659] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 47.
[1660] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 47.

active women explicitly defined charity as the appropriate means for women to contribute',[1661] while Rogers points out that calls for contributions appealed separately to boys and girls as 'traditional gender roles should not be disturbed'.[1662]

The print histories work to show that women contributed to the war in many ways, sometimes outside of traditional gender roles, but the texts' depiction of women can fall into stereotypes. At various points, the print histories depict women as perfect wives and mothers, nagging gossips, moral guardians, designated mourners, and objects of men's sexual desire or disgust. Harper writes that a New Zealand nurse was worn down by the 'bitchiness' of the staff[1663] – a highly negative and gendered term that he certainly does not use to describe the male soldiers. Women in the print histories often exist primarily in relation to men; Loveridge and Watson highlight 'the traditional women's roles of reproduction, mothering and supporting men overseas by maintain a warm (yet faithful) hearth'.[1664] Women are shown grieving for 'their men',[1665] such as Loveridge and Watson's use of an image from the 1916 *Auckland Weekly News* of a grieving women holding the casualty list, her face hidden in grief.[1666] Soutar describes a Gisborne hui and tangi in 1919, where the East Coast iwi's 'sacrifice was evoked by the long-drawn-out laments of mothers for sons and wives for husbands'.[1667] Bargas and Shoebridge present a first-hand account of 'one woman' recalling her brother's death; she is unnamed, though her brother is identified as Eric, which leaves her as an anonymous vessel of mourning, with no identity other than Eric's grieving sister.[1668] Depicting the loss suffered by women at home is a vital part of the emotional narrative of the war, but it risks limiting women to the role of 'designated mourners'.

Women appear frequently in the print histories in the role of wives and mother – nurturing roles that revolve around their relationship to men. McGibbon briefly mentions that women could become 'war brides' as men in camps in Britain had a 'chance to become involved with women in nearby villages', then 'nurturing' the relationship by mail and 'head[ing] home to their wives' when on leave.[1669] Soutar has a section titled 'Love and Marriage' which features several photographs of brides and discusses how 'more than 5000 New Zealand soldiers…wed French and English women', who often had a 'culture shock' when they arrived in New Zealand as 'foreign brides'.[1670] This section also describes how women were put in a 'position' where soldiers did not '[follow] through on a promise of marriage', or being left as 'broken-hearted lasses' when the men went home.[1671] Harper writes at length about how men in England could form relationships 'that lasted a lifetime if luck was on their side'.[1672] He includes several first-hand accounts from men describing their love interests: 'a real dear little woman, of such good nature, such a sweet little face'; 'pure, and good, and beautiful'; 'I fully intend to have her as my wife'.[1673] No voices of the war brides themselves are included, and Harper even describes one woman as 'a local beauty', a condescending way to refer to 'the young Adelaide'.[1674] These patronising descriptions by soldiers of 'their' women contrast severely with the misogynistic language used for sex workers, as discussed later in this chapter.

[1661] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 84, 87.
[1662] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 222.
[1663] Harper, *King and Other Countries*, p. 88.
[1664] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, pp. 84, 190.
[1665] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 180.
[1666] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 181.
[1667] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 481.
[1668] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 123.
[1669] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 263.
[1670] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 464-6.
[1671] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 464, 466.
[1672] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 549-551.
[1673] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 550, 552.
[1674] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 550-1.

This narrative of women as objects of men's desire emerges at points in the print histories. Sometimes women are desirable as wives, though other times their perceived position as sexual objects is more pronounced. This heightens the dichotomy of women-as-nurturers versus women-as-sex objects, a 'Madonna and whore' narrative that does not belong in modern writing. Harper writes that 'attractive women…were to be found in abundance in the United Kingdom',[1675] while McGibbon describes 'silly creatures…who were prepared to have a fling'.[1676] French women in particular suffer from objectification in the print histories. McGibbon writes that 'the troops took a more than passing interest in the females, especially when they waved and blew kisses', and quotes one soldier calling them 'the lovely, sweet, dear little peasant girls of Provence'.[1677] Harper asserts that a 'big part of the experience' of Paris leave was 'French girls and sex'.[1678] The French women who worked in the estaminets frequented by soldiers exist in the print histories as providers of comforting food and drink, but also as passive objects of men's attention. Harper writes that food and drink 'wasn't the only attraction', quoting a soldier describing an estaminet owner as 'Marie 22 & very pretty'.[1679] Fenton writes that at estaminets men could 'flirt with the madame or mademoiselle who owned it' and could learn 'soldiers' French', which 'made flirting and joking with the proprietor and her staff much more fun';[1680] McGibbon claims 'most such amorous encounters were greeted with a twinkling "après la guerre"'.[1681] Harper includes lyrics from one 'extreme' version of 'the ubiquitous and enduring' *Mademoiselle from Armentières*, inspired by 'the BEF's interaction with the locals', which presents a violent rape fantasy. Harper claims the song was popular because it 'recreated the pleasant estaminet scene, often with sexual overtones' – certainly an understated way to assess the quoted lyrics, 'They fucked his wife until she was dead'.[1682] There is no acknowledgement from any of these male authors that the real mademoiselles from Armentières were anything more than 'attractive' objects for soldiers to flirt at.

Other unnecessarily dehumanising views of women are presented by Harper and McGibbon, such as a rifleman describing advancing on Messines as 'a slow stroll' like 'going around Oriental Bay with a bit of skirt on your arm',[1683] or a soldier recording a diary 'full of encounters with the "dirty little bitch cats" as he calls them'.[1684] Trevor Holmden, the soldier in question, may have referred to the women of Cairo's night life in such misogynistic terms, but that does not mean that Harper must unquestioningly repeat it. Both McGibbon and Harper quote an officer's justification for men 'fraternising' with German women during the occupation being that 'a stick of chocolate was said to be worth a German girl's virginity any time' – even those the men considered 'extraordinarily plain and even ugly'.[1685] McGibbon includes a padre's quote that blames the women of Cologne for being 'filthy, immoral, degraded, debauched' and 'playing havoc with our boys, who have not strength enough to stand up to the iniquity of it all'.[1686] McGibbon does not point out that this double standard, where women are temptresses and men are helpless to resist, is far from a fair assessment. These male authors make little attempt to acknowledge that though these may have been the attitudes of the time, this objectification of women is not acceptable. By including such quotes and accounts without this caveat and without any voices from the women who ran the

[1675] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 546.
[1676] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 210.
[1677] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 33.
[1678] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 389.
[1679] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 333.
[1680] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 70.
[1681] Any woman who has worked in customer service has had to give similar friendly sidesteps to men flirting with them while they're trying to work. McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 195.
[1682] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 292-3.
[1683] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 111.
[1684] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 155.
[1685] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 476; McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 355.
[1686] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 355.

estaminets or lived in Cairo or Cologne, the print histories are continuing to allow men to speak about and for the 'lovely, sweet, dear little peasant girls', who have no voice of their own.

The objectification and dehumanising of women is at its most prominent when authors discuss sex workers and the role they played in the WWI narrative. They are depicted as objects of desire and disgust, and as vectors of disease, but are never given their own voice and no authors consider their perspective. Some authors do point out how sex workers were viewed and written about at the time while distancing themselves from the moral judgements presented. Bargas and Shoebridge preface negative descriptions of sex workers (they 'lurked' and 'flooded' to where soldiers were) with 'the theory went', 'Potter warned', 'stories circulated', 'the *Evening Post* reported'[1687] – phrases that emphasise that these negative views are those of the time, not the authors, and were 'rumours' and 'stories' – not facts. Other authors are not so careful in their language when discussing sex workers. McGibbon emphasises 'the sheer availability of women' and Harper writes of their 'ready availability', phrases that turn women into commodities,[1688] while Fenton describes Cairo's sex workers as 'a tourist attraction'.[1689] McGibbon refers to sex workers as 'tarts', and describes them as being 'on the prowl',[1690] language that villainises the women. Harper includes a number of first-hand accounts from soldiers describing their encounters with sex workers in aggressively misogynistic terms – regardless of whether they desired them or were disgusted by them.[1691] Eric Hames, for example, was 'horrified' to be approached by sex workers in London and described them as 'The Scarlet Woman, the Whore of Babylon in person'.[1692] Harper's use of words such as 'horrified' and 'disgust' strengthen the negative depictions he is quoting from the soldiers, and so, unlike Bargas and Shoebridge's descriptions, there is no questioning of the men's portrayal of the women.

There are two depictions of sex workers within the print histories that break this trend. One is an account quoted by Harper, where a soldier overslept and nearly missed reveille after a night with 'his heart's desire'. The account's author recalls meeting this soldier's 'friend' who anxiously inquired of him: '"do tell me did [he] get back in time, do you know I have been so worried about him, I cannot think why I went to sleep like that". I reassured her all was well'.[1693] This account presents the woman as seemingly genuinely concerned about her client, a stark contrast to many of the accounts Harper includes that depict sex workers are preying on men and taking advantage of them. Loveridge and Watson and Bargas and Shoebridge both discuss Emily Thomas, a Wellington sex worker who ran a 'one-woman brothel' from her store.[1694] Loveridge and Watson only give a brief mention while Bargas and Shoebridge devote a sidebar to her, including a photograph of her and of her gravestone. They discuss how she went up against the courts to assert that she had the 'perfect right to conduct herself as she pleased' – and won – and was murdered by a sometimes-boyfriend – a sad and all-too-familiar narrative for sex workers, both historically and now.[1695] This is the most sympathetic depiction of sex work in the print histories and the only one that focuses on the woman rather than her male clients or her STI status.

The link between sex workers and sexually transmitted infections is a disproportionately large part of the women narrative in the print histories. Rogers points out in her discussion that there was a 'tendency to hold women responsible' for STIs,[1696] evident in the way the authorities tried to deal with infections: Rogers writes that 'the nationalities of women involved' were 'carefully listed' in a

[1687] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 79.
[1688] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 210; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 549.
[1689] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 16.
[1690] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 263.
[1691] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 154, 155-6, 546, 547.
[1692] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 156, 549.
[1693] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 153-4.
[1694] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 190; Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 78.
[1695] Bargas and Shoebridge, *Heritage*, p. 78.
[1696] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 45.

report on a venereal camp in 1915,[1697] and McGibbon records that 'action was taken against women identified as the source of a soldier's infection', as they were 'examined' and 'sent off'.[1698] At home, Loveridge and Watson record the passing of the Social Hygiene Bill, which allowed 'inspection' and detention of women known to be or suspected of engaging in sex work, which echoed the Contagious Diseases Act which had been overturned in 1910 amidst 'feminist activism'.[1699] This tendency to assign blame to the women also appears amongst some authors of the print histories. McGibbon writes that authorities sought to enforce legislation that 'imposed penalties on women who gave the disease to soldiers', and that 'in France it was easier to deal with infected women'.[1700] Soutar also writes that 'it had proved impossible to enforce legislation that imposed penalties on [women] if they infected soldiers';[1701] like McGibbon his wording emphasises that the women took the active role in infecting the men, rather than the men going to the women for sex. Harper writes early on in *Johnny Enzed* that 'British officials in Egypt' were 'annoyed that the bad behaviour of Anzac troops was being blamed on the workers in Cairo's brothel districts' and that 'the arriving soldiers had brought these diseases with them' rather than the sex workers being the source.[1702] Later on, however, like McGibbon and Soutar he writes of 'women infected with venereal disease [who] had regular sex with soldiers'.[1703] Rogers includes Bronwyn Dalley's rebuttal to this idea, though it is unfortunately hidden away in the notes: 'rather than acknowledge that the men may have made the conscious decision to visit brothels, military authorities, women's groups and the general public' – and occasionally the print histories – 'blamed women…for leading men astray'.[1704]

One inclusion that somewhat offsets the problematic aspects of the depiction of sex workers and STIs is the print histories' highlighting of Ettie Rout. She is described as 'redoubtable', 'enlightened', 'clear-thinking', 'courageous', a 'freethinker', and 'pioneering'[1705] by the print history authors, and Harper references her moniker as 'the guardian angel of the Anzacs'.[1706] The print histories argue that she worked 'tirelessly' and 'certainly…saved thousands of Anzac soldiers from the perils and shame' of STI infection despite being opposed by 'most of the military hierarchy'.[1707] McGibbon describes how she 'embarked on an unofficial campaign to protect soldiers by directing them to a brothel "run on hygienic lines"';[1708] Fenton includes a reproduction of a card for 'Madame Yvonne': 'English spoken…a fine and up to date place for Gentlemen visiting Paris'.[1709] Rogers points out that by 1917 the NZEF had made the prophylactic kit Rout designed freely available 'without crediting the hard work she had put into its creation'.[1710] This lack of recognition is highlighted by Fenton, who writes that she was considered 'permissive' and was treated with 'scorn and condemnation in New Zealand' even when 'her arguments proved influential with those in charge'.[1711] Fenton also points out that Rout was 'alienated' from the Volunteer Sisterhood because of her 'anti-VD campaign'.[1712] Rogers concludes her discussion of Rout's influence – and her chapter on 'Women at War' – by lamenting

[1697] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 45.
[1698] McGibbon, *Western Front*, pp. 210-1.
[1699] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 329.
[1700] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 210.
[1701] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 463.
[1702] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 151.
[1703] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 549.
[1704] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 421.
[1705] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 71; Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 151, 157; McLean, *White Ships*, p. 157; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 331.
[1706] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, p. 386.
[1707] Harper, *Johnny Enzed*, pp. 386, 389; Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 331.
[1708] McGibbon, *Western Front*, p. 211.
[1709] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 71.
[1710] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 333.
[1711] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 69.
[1712] Fenton, *First World War*, p. 81.

that though Rout was mentioned in dispatches and decorated by the French she was 'little supported at home',[1713] and then quotes a soldier's assertion that 'the mutterings of her critics were "drowned in a chorus of thankfulness from the men who know…[she] is as much entitled to a Royal Red Cross as any Army nurse"'.[1714]

If Māori are – in general – well represented by the print histories, and women are included despite some significant issues with their narratives, then what of Māori women? As a doubly marginalised group, it is sad but unsurprising that there is little discussion of wāhine Māori in the print histories; with no volume that focuses on women, it falls on Soutar to tell the story of wāhine Māori's contribution to the war. Rogers and McLean mention Māori women only to warn that there are none in their texts: Rogers writes that 'no Māori nurses have been identified',[1715] and McLean quotes Rogers's assertion that 'no Māori nurses [served] overseas in the First World War'.[1716] Loveridge and Watson touch on Māori women's contribution at home, writing that Miria Pōmare formed the Māori Soldiers' Fund (MSF) with Lady Liverpool, which drew 'upon the resources of Māori women's committees around the country to provide comforts to Māori soldiers' – though this is all that is said.[1717] Soutar also discusses the MSF, citing Lady Hēni Materoa (Te Huinga) Carroll's role in its creation and its 'extraordinary' success.[1718] Loveridge and Watson highlight Te Puea Hērangi, who they describe as 'a key figure of Waikato resistance when conscription was enacted'.[1719] Soutar also focuses heavily on Te Puea,[1720] with sections titled 'Te Puea embodies Waikato opposition to conscription'[1721] and 'Targeting the "Princess"'.[1722] Soutar emphasises her powerful charisma and mana and describes her moving orations, calling them 'rallying calls' that 'gave her people hope': 'I am simply pro-Māori'.[1723] Soutar's section 'Targeting the "Princess"' also points out that Te Puea 'never liked' the title of 'Princess Puea of Mercer', which was 'often used by Pakeha during this period'.[1724]

Soutar also discusses Māori women more generally, such as describing wāhine Māori who were told they could not go to war as 'indignant', especially given cultural traditions around Māori women accompanying their men to battle, and female relatives visiting Narrow Neck training camp and pleading for their sons and husbands not to go.[1725] These examples demonstrate the range of ways that Māori women did and did not conform to their expected gender roles. Soutar's sidebar on 'Stowaway wives' Katherine Pitt and Margaret Buck also demonstrates this dichotomy: the women were determined to be with their husbands – they were devoted wives (and mother-to-be, in Pitt's case) – but they were willing to ignore the rules and traditions that forbade them from the ship, with Pitt asking, 'Who is going to stop me?' – hardly the picture of demure femininity.[1726] Another figure that Soutar highlights, Alice Scott of Ngāpuhi descent, fits more traditional gender roles; she sang professionally and ran a boarding house for convalescing Māori soldiers with her husband.[1727] Although Māori women are not given a large role in the print histories – and much more could be written about their contribution – the ways in which they are portrayed do show them as having

[1713] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 333.
[1714] Rogers, *Through Hell*, p. 333.
[1715] Rogers, *Through Hell*, pp. 11, 22.
[1716] McLean, *White Ships*, p. 126.
[1717] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 88.
[1718] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 354-5.
[1719] Loveridge and Watson, *Home Front*, p. 368.
[1720] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 230, 248-9, 257, 258-9, 268-9.
[1721] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 248.
[1722] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 268.
[1723] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 248-9, 257, 269.
[1724] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 268.
[1725] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 47, 60.
[1726] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, p. 97.
[1727] Soutar, *Whitiki!*, pp. 349-350.

agency and sometimes challenging expected gender roles. Figures such as Te Puea make a strong impression in their limited coverage, and though this does not make up for the lack of inclusion of wāhine Māori in general, it does at least ensure that they are not completely forgotten.

The fact that the story of wāhine Māori is almost exclusively told by Soutar indicates that the plan of covering women throughout the print histories was not sufficient to ensure adequate inclusion. Māori are made a notable part of the print history narrative, while women largely make cameo appearances with no opportunity for a starring role. Comparing the depictions of Māori and women in the print histories demonstrates that a dedicated volume was the most effective way of including minorities, and the missed opportunity of a volume on women is made clear. Soutar, as a Māori author, produced a nuanced, wide-ranging volume, cemented in mātauranga Māori; Rogers, as a woman, had an emphasis on the women who have been historically excluded and avoided problematic depictions. This highlights the benefit that authors writing about their own groups can bring to the narrative. This value of minority voices was even more evident in the non-poppy material, where many creators from outside traditional historiography sought to tell stories that were not about male Pakeha soldiers.

SIX 'History's losers': Inclusion and exclusion of Māori and women

The non-poppy material

Who is included and who is left out of the narrative is both a simpler and more complex question when it comes to the non-poppy material. In one sense, without the guidelines that the print histories were published under, there is room for everyone amongst this material. Anna Mackenzie writes in the acknowledgements of *Evie's War* that the text 'aims to provide a voice for stories less frequently told',[1728] and many of the non-poppy authors appear to have had similar aims. Women, in particular, have a stronger presence in the non-poppy material than in the print histories, with more focus on female figures as well as more women authors. Māori are given a more diverse representation in the non-poppy material, with figures such as Brendaniel Weir's Tane and David Hair's Tamati going against many Māori masculine stereotypes, and Awa in *When We Go To War* offering a faceted portrayal of wāhine Māori. Queer voices also begin to appear in the non-poppy material, a notable difference from the print histories and war history in general. However, the question of inclusion and exclusion when discussing the non-poppy material is complicated by the fact that, unlike the print histories, which texts are examined in this analysis and which are not was a matter of selection. Just as some voices are heard and some are not, some texts are included while many – realistically, most of the myriad material produced in the centennial period – are not.

Unlike Monty Soutar's print history, none of the examined non-poppy texts are centred on the Māori experience of the war – though many feature Māori figures extensively, often in ways that defy stereotypes. It is worth noting that the *Kiwis at War* novel that focuses on the Pioneers (*1916: Dig for Victory*) has Scottish Southlander Leith as its main character, and focuses on the mixing of the Otago and Māori men. David Hair used his family's history to construct *1916*'s narrative, which perhaps indicates a lack of Māori authors (specifically for the *Kiwis at War* project) rather than a sidelining of Māori narratives. Some authors, such as Diana Menefy, Des Hunt and Anna Mackenzie, do not feature any Māori representation;[1729] Brian Falkner's one Māori character is a 'muscular Māori man' with one arm that Bob meets smoking outside the hospital and is never seen again, save for one instance where Bob remembers 'Manu with his rat-bitten arm'.[1730] Other texts feature more Māori figures, often those who are distinct in some way. The Great War Stories has segments on several Māori soldiers, including Hāmi Grace,[1731] who also appears in *25 April* as one of the 'interviewees', introducing himself as 'a Māori officer in the New Zealand army…now that was rare'.[1732] The Great War Stories segment on prominent Kīngitanga leader Te Puea Hērangi (who vehemently opposed Māori conscription) and politician Māui Pōmare (who supported it) points out that these two figures represent 'very different views of Māori involvement in the war',[1733] indicating the breadth of the Māori experience, which defies easy categorisation. Glenn Reddiex has a chapter entitled 'No te wai-pounamu (From the Island of Greenstone)' which focuses on the Māori experience of the war through cartoons and photographs printed on postcards.[1734] Reddiex does include postcards that

[1728] Anna Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, New Zealand: Longacre, 2015, p. 350.

[1729] Menefy and Mackenzie are focussed on their own sidelined group (women), though this does not excuse the lack of Māori representation.

[1730] Brian Falkner, *1917: Machines of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2017, pp. 27, 149.

[1731] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Rikihana Carkeek', aired 6/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/rikihana-carkeek-great-war-story; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Hāmi Grace', aired 18/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/hami-grace-great-war-story.

[1732] Leanne Pooley (dir.), *25 April*, General Film Corporation, 2015. https://ondemand.nzfilm.co.nz/film/25-april/.

[1733] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Te Puea, Māui Pōmare and conscription', aired 24/4/2018. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/te-puea-maui-pomare-and-conscription.

[1734] Glenn Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know I'm Still Alive*, Wellington: Grantham House Publishing, 2015, pp. 95-100.

depict cartoons of stereotypical 'Māori warrior' figures,[1735] but the ways in which Māori are portrayed in the fictional texts is largely as nuanced, fully rounded characters.

In *1916*, Leith's close friend Tamati is a main character and presents an interesting Māori voice. One of his early conversations with Leith is about Julius Caesar and the Phoenician Wars, demonstrating his classical knowledge.[1736] He is a runner, 'the smallest member of the Māori contingent' Leith has seen, a 'skinny little fellow' who is labelled 'soft'[1737] – decidedly not the image of a 'Māori warrior'. He is knowledgeable about Māori mythology, and is deeply spiritual, but has to 'apologise' for not speaking te Reo and having no connection to his whakapapa.[1738] Brendaniel Weir's titular character in *Tane's War* has a similar disconnect from his Māori culture, having been raised by his mother with no real knowledge of his father or his iwi.[1739] He is also gay; his main narrative is the love story with a British cavalry officer. The depiction of queer soldiers is unusual in itself; having a gay Māori man as one of his main characters allows Weir to reexamine both the stereotypical image of Māori warriors as well as the New Zealand soldier more generally.

Among the main Māori characters of the non-poppy texts,[1740] it is Manaaki of *When We Go To War* who is closest to the Māori warrior trope: he is a skilled sniper and decorated soldier, the 'best shot' in his unit.[1741] Unlike Tamati and Tane, he can speak te Reo and he knows his whakapapa, and he has some understanding of the injustices committed against Māori. This 'natural Māori warrior' is also the character who most verges into the territory of the 'native savage' narrative. While other (Pakeha) characters are shown punching men who have completely recovered by the next scene, when Manaaki hits Alonso in anger he kills him.[1742] This violent outburst, that comes only a few scenes after Cissy calls Manaaki a 'complete savage', would be a more problematic acceptance of negative stereotypes if Charles – the show's bastion of calm and rationality – did not also have a moment of violent anger, when he pulls a gun on Ellis.[1743] Manaaki is also depicted as a naturally gentle figure for the majority of the text. He begins the narrative as a Christian preacher who follows a 'Prophet' 'up north', vaguely reminiscent of Māori Christian leaders such as Rua Kēnana, and he questions the war since 'thou shalt not kill'.[1744] Later, he is shown stricken with remorse for his actions (and kills) at Gallipoli. He collapses in tears into Mrs Smith's arms, suffers flashbacks triggered by camera flashes, and wants to return to the front as he believes he no longer belongs in decent society.[1745] This adds further nuance to his character that ensures that he, like Tane and Tamati, is much more than a simple stereotype.

Pieces of tikanga Māori and te Reo are scattered throughout the non-poppy material, strengthening the Māori voices of the texts. Hair's focus on the Pioneers ensures that his novel features a great deal of Māori language and customs, and the way that Leith begins to embrace these represents the merging of the Pakeha and Māori Pioneers. Leith at first perceives being spoken to in te Reo as being 'blasted in [the] face' with a 'torrent of Māori',[1746] though later, when eating with new friend Tamati,

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[1735] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 45.
[1736] David Hair, *1916: Dig for Victory*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2016, p. 52.
[1737] Hair, *1916*, p. 113.
[1738] Hair, *1916*, pp. 32, 56, 73.
[1739] Brendaniel Weir, *Tane's War*, Auckland: Cloud Ink Press, 2018, p. 124.
[1740] Awa, Manaaki's sister and another lead character of *When We Go To War*, exists within the intersection of Māori and woman identities and will therefore be discussed in more depth later in this chapter.
Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 2, 'Manaaki's Letter', aired 26/4/2015. Blu-ray; Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 3, 'Harry's Letter', aired 3/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[1742] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'.
[1743] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 5, 'Charles's Letter', aired 17/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[1744] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'
[1745] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'
[1746] Hair, *1916*, p. 27.

he announces that the food is 'carp eye!' ('ka pai'), which makes Tamati laugh.[1747] Later in the book, Leith asks Tamati what the te Reo for 'friend' is, and then calls him 'e hoa', and as they say goodbye ('ka kite ahau') Leith initiates a hongi.[1748] Leith's use of te Reo and his participation in Māori customs marks him as a 'good guy' of the narrative and demonstrates an acceptance that modern readers expect. Other characters, both Māori and Pakeha, use te Reo throughout the non-poppy texts: in *Tane's War*, Wiremu calls Tane 'e hoa' when they first meet, and later asks him to 'swear an oath, a ki taurangi' to look after his family if anything should happen to him.[1749] Tane also speaks to his daughter in te Reo in the 1954 sections of the book.[1750] Peter Buck is mentioned translating speeches in *1916*,[1751] and Manaaki speaks te Reo in his first scene in *When We Go To War*.[1752] Charles is also later shown speaking it, establishing his progressive attitudes and, similar to Leith in *1916*, marking him as a 'good guy' for the audience to support.[1753]

Te Reo is shown as both a distinctly New Zealand experience and a source of comfort and strength. Characters pray and sing in te Reo before battle and as they work; [1754] examples include a Māori officer encouraging the men in their own language before Chunuk Bair in *When We Go To War*[1755] and C Company singing 'Pokarekare Ana' in 'deep, melodic voices' as they dig trenches in *1916*.[1756] In *Evie's War*, Evie asserts that, while New Zealand place names are mostly 'plain', the 'native Māori ones' are 'unique and serve to remind us of what went before'.[1757] Jane Tolerton has a chapter titled 'Tenakoe [sic], pakeha', a quote from an account of New Zealanders meeting each other overseas,[1758] indicating a sense of connection that was fostered by te Reo phrases that even Pakeha recognised. Reddiex includes postcards that feature te Reo, with simple phrases such as 'kia ora' and 'haeremai' [sic], as well as images of hei-tiki and tā moko.[1759] These pieces of te ao Māori seemed to serve as a marker of New Zealand identity and a comforting familiarity for the soldiers who sent and received the postcards, just as they can for modern readers. One of the most common forms for te Reo to appear in the non-poppy material is as a haka – particularly 'Ka Mate', likely the most recognisable for modern audiences. The haka appears throughout the non-poppy texts: performed on troopships, during troop sport matches, and while clearing enemy trenches,[1760] it is described as 'a fearsome new weapon' that Māori soldiers brought to the combat in Europe[1761] and a 'rousing war dance' which deemed 'likely to terrify any Enemy with whom they should meet'.[1762]

Māori customs and beliefs such as the haka are largely valued and admired in the texts. Protagonist figures are always receptive to tikanga Māori, while antagonists look down on it. Hair exemplifies this

[1747] Hair, *1916*, p. 61.
[1748] Hair, *1916*, pp. 167-8, 246, 275, 280.
[1749] Weir, *Tane's War*, pp. 123, 256.
[1750] The implication being that he learned his Reo after returning from the war. Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 42.
[1751] Hair, *1916*, p. 94.
[1752] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 1, 'Bea's Letter', aired 26/4/2015. Blu-ray.
[1753] Burger, 'Bea's Letter'.
[1754] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'The Harper Brothers', aired 20/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/harper-brothers-great-war-story; Susan Brocker, *1914: Riding into War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2014, p. 158; Hair, *1916*, pp. 73-4.
[1755] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[1756] Hair, *1916*, p. 182.
[1757] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 26.
[1758] Jane Tolerton, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand women overseas in World War One*, Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017, p. 63.
[1759] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 12, 44, 157.
[1760] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 63, 160; Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek', 'Te Puea, Māui Pōmare and conscription'; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ranji Wilson', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ranji-wilson-great-war-story; Pooley, *25 April*.
[1761] Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek'.
[1762] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 93.

split in *1916*: at the start of the novel the haka 'intimidates and insults' the Pakeha Otago soldiers who are resistant to merging with the Māori units,[1763] and Sergeant McCauley derides the idea of cooking meat 'the Māori way': 'we'll nae be having that!'.[1764] Conversely, Leith respects Tamati's intense connection to Māori spirituality, and asks thoughtful questions to understand his friend when Tamati discusses te ao Māori concepts such as taniwha and expresses a fear of dying 'far from the lands of our iwi', resulting in becoming 'kehua – ghosts'.[1765] Characters advocate for te ao Māori, such as in *Tane's War*, when Tane exclaims at the historical sites of England and Wiremu scolds him that there is 'plenty of history back home', telling him that he needs to learn about his tūpuna. When Tane responds that there are no statues in New Zealand, Wiremu corrects him: 'what do you think the koruru are?'[1766] Māori cultural items also appear in these texts: Alice sends Billy a piece of pāua in *1914*, writing in her letter that 'Māori believe pāua is a gift from Tangaroa, the god of the sea',[1767] and the Great War Stories segment on the HMS *New Zealand* discusses the gifting of tiki and piupiu to the ship.[1768] Hair describes the Pioneers going on raids wielding 'Māori clubs that the carpenters had…shaped into the familiar, smooth, tear-drop shape', and in the final confrontation scene, Tamati spins his rifle 'like a taiaha'.[1769] Tolerton describes Sybil Lee, who worked with Alice Scott in London, going 'out of her way to make sure the Māori men had the food they liked', including koura.[1770] 'Can you picture a Hangi in a London backyard?', Tolerton quotes, as Lee goes on to say the food was 'true to Māori custom', though the pigeons were not kererū.[1771]

The calibre of the Māori forces, despite their struggle to be included and recognised, is highlighted in several texts. Hair emphasises that 'those few Māori at Gallipoli had fought well' and describes Roger Dansey's charging of a Turkish trench.[1772] Authors point out a desire to continue as a fighting force after their performance at Gallipoli; Tolerton mentions 'Māori soldiers who wanted to be on the peninsula [being] put on garrison duty' at Malta.[1773] Hair depicts Dansey as doing all he can for the war effort despite not having a rifle: 'We are Te Hokowhitu a Tu! Dig for victory!', he calls to the Pioneers at one point in *1916.*[1774] Despite his desire to 'pick up a rifle, do a haka and charge', he takes pride in Pioneers' work. Reddiex describes how the Pioneers had much to be proud of, as they 'worked tirelessly as a labour force'; he highlights the digging of Turk Lane – 'well known…for having been quickly constructed' and therefore 'saving…many lives' – and the erection of 'miles of wire entanglements' near Hebuterne.[1775] The work of tunnellers with the Pioneers is discussed in the Great War Stories segment on Victor Low,[1776] and is mentioned by Falkner, who describes the 'Māori pioneers who had spent so many months tunnelling underground' to achieve the initial explosion at Messines ridge.[1777] In his 'historical note', Hair writes that the Pioneers, 'or Te Hokowhitu a Tu', were 'largely forgotten by the (Pakeha) public' despite their 'bravery and sterling work'; he notes that they were not sufficiently recognised during and after the war and that James Cowan and Christopher

[1763] Hair, *1916*, p. 23.
[1764] Hair, *1916*, p. 26.
[1765] Hair, *1916*, pp. 61, 85, 107.
[1766] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 206.
[1767] Brocker, *1914*, p. 89.
[1768] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'HMS *New Zealand*', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/hms-new-zealand-great-war-story.
[1769] Hair, *1916*, pp. 138, 263
[1770] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 88.
[1771] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 160.
[1772] Hair, *1916*, pp. 24, 57
[1773] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 78.
[1774] Hair, *1916*, p. 214.
[1775] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 95.
[1776] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Victor Low', aired 24/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/victor-low-great-war-story.
[1777] Falkner, *1917*, p. 149.

Pugsley's work has 'helped keep their memory alive'.[1778] Hair in particular makes an effort to continue this recognition in his text.

The dual narratives of Māori enthusiasm and resistance to the war are not as prominent in the non-poppy material as in the print histories. The Great War Stories quote Peter Buck's plea to 'give us a chance',[1779] and the desire to be involved in the war is examined in a conversation between Leith and Tamati in *1916*, when Leith asks Tamati why 'you Maoris [are] here': 'it isn't your war', he says, to which Tamati responds that New Zealand is at war and 'it's our country too'.[1780] When Leith, confused, exclaims that 'you were fightin' *agin* the British nae long ago!' Tamati simply replies that the Scots were doing the same.[1781] He also mentions the idea of Māori serving to see the world and in order to make political gain, citing 'Mister James Carroll and his friends in Wellington';[1782] Tamati believes in 'Major Buck's way' of fighting for redress through gaining political legitimacy.[1783] Historic injustice is cited as a key factor in Māori involvement by several texts. In *1916 S*ergeant Ihaka says that he 'joined up to learn the ways of modern war', thinking that 'it might help our people get our land back',[1784] while others see land confiscation as a reason for opposition. In *When We Go To War*, when Charles tries to encourage Manaaki to fight, he asserts that violence is justified when a country is invaded, to which Manaaki retorts, 'our lands were invaded'.[1785] In *1916* Hair writes that 'the Māori Land Wars…were ancient history but the mistrust lingered';[1786] the Great War Stories emphasises that conscription was applied only to Waikato and Maniapoto iwi, where the '1860s Land Wars [were] still raw'.[1787] The conscription of Māori is described as 'an affront to the Kīngitanga' in the Great War Stories,[1788] but overall the conscription narrative is mostly avoided in the non-poppy material; none of the texts are set within Māori communities on the home front and the main Māori characters are all volunteers. This is one of the most prominent gaps in the non-poppy material selected.

Hair's novel contains the most prominent depictions of racism towards Māori in the non-poppy texts, though other authors examine this theme. 'Here come the Maoris', Leith thinks apprehensively as the Pakeha and Māori Pioneers meet in Moascar for the first time;[1789] Hair writes that 'these men felt as alien to him as any Turk'.[1790] Even as Leith warms to Tamati, some of his comrades 'still felt threatened by dark faces' and refer to Māori as 'darkies', 'brownies', and 'savages', believing they would 'as soon as shoot an Englishman as a German' and 'are too lazy to dig'.[1791] In *When We Go To War*, Edith refers to Awa as 'the black bitch',[1792] Cissy calls Manaaki 'a complete savage', and later Violet asserts that 'he's not one of us' – despite the Smiths' acceptance of both Manaaki and Awa into the family.[1793] The Great War Stories describe how Ranji Wilson was not allowed to play rugby in South Africa or the United States because of his race,[1794] and at one point in *1916* Leith, Prof and

[1778] Hair, *1916*, pp. 290-1.
[1779] Cottrell, 'Rikihana Carkeek'.
[1780] Hair, *1916*, p. 54.
[1781] Hair, *1916*, p. 55.
[1782] Hair, *1916*, p. 55.
[1783] Hair, *1916*, p. 223.
[1784] Hair, *1916*, p. 221
[1785] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'.
[1786] Hair, *1916*, p. 16.
[1787] Cottrell, 'Te Puea, Māui Pōmare and conscription'.
[1788] Cottrell, 'Te Puea, Māui Pōmare and conscription'.
[1789] Hair, *1916*, p. 21.
[1790] Hair, *1916*, p. 23.
[1791] Hair, *1916*, pp. 16, 24, 25, 53, 66, 73, 113.
[1792] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 6, 'Cissy's Letter', aired 24/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[1793] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter', 'Charles's Letter'.
[1794] Cottrell, 'Ranji Wilson'.

Tamati have to find another pub as 'dark skins weren't welcome here'.[1795] Such examples demonstrate how racism in these texts often comes from outside New Zealand, with Pakeha men not engaging in such beliefs. Tolerton quotes a women who asserted that 'our boys are…most indignant if anyone disparages' Māori men, and that 'various Tommies have learnt in an extremely practical way that Maoris are not to be treated as N-----s'.[1796] This assertion that Māori faced racism, but were able to cope with it and challenge it, or were somehow 'exempt', is also seen in the print histories. The dominant narrative of racism – Hair's novel – does present a very 21st century, young adult story of change and acceptance. 'I think it's good that we have to mingle and learn about each other', Tamati writes in *1916*,[1797] and this is largely the central narrative theme of Hair's text, as the Māori and Pakeha Pioneers are forced to work and live together and gradually become 'whānau' because of this. 'These Māori blokes, they're good soldiers. Good men, too', Kidman – one of the proponents of racist violence at the start of the novel – tells Leith near the end of the book.[1798] 'They'd begun this year angry to be "held back" with the "brown boys"', Hair writes, 'but those were the feelings of six months and many lifetimes ago'.[1799]

The Pasifika experience of the war, particularly of the Niueans, is not a prominent narrative within the non-poppy material but is examined in some depth when it does appear. Reddiex mentions briefly that 'a diverse range of New Zealanders including our Maori and Pacific Islands nations…joined to form our Expeditionary Force',[1800] and discusses Private Ioveta Ngavaarua, a Cook Islands soldier from Rarotonga.[1801] Hair tells the story of the Niuean experience in the background, with characters commenting on the Niuean men of the Pioneer Battalion throughout the novel. Leith mentions 'some fellows from Niue assigned to the Battalion' who have 'mostly been sick since arriving', struggling 'real bad' with the cold of France as they 'grew up on a tropical beach'.[1802] Later the text mentions the decision to send them home, as 'most had been ill for their entire time in France'.[1803] Tolerton mentions Fanny Lawes, who Sybil Lee wrote to asking that she visit the Niuean men in the British hospitals who could not speak English or te Reo. Lee's quote also mentions the hospitals caring for Rarotongan men.[1804] The Great War Stories has a segment on 'Falaoa and the Niueans', where Falaoa's story is used as representative of the Pasifika experience of WWI. The segment details how the Niueans struggled with 'strange food, the climate, and a lack of English' as well as 'scratchy woollen uniforms and army boots [that] were like torture to men who'd never worn shoes'. 'It was disease, not bullets, that killed the Niueans in WWI', the segment asserts. Photographs and footage of Niuean men are shown, as well as clips of families investigating what happened to 'their sons'. Though the segment has some focus on white historians telling their story and discusses missionary Sarah Lawes, these aspects do allow Niuean voices to appear.[1805] Though the Pasifika experience mostly exists in the background of the non-poppy material, the inclusion of a dedicated Great War Stories segment allows audiences to be introduced to this lesser-known narrative, and the opportunity to seek out more specific texts if they want to deepen their knowledge.

[1795] Hair, *1916*, p. 209.
[1796] As a Pakeha/white person I have elected to censor this racial slur, which I am not comfortable reproducing. Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 87.
[1797] Hair, *1916*, p. 83.
[1798] Hair, *1916*, p. 239.
[1799] Hair, *1916*, p. 279.
[1800] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 24.
[1801] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 100.
[1802] Hair, *1916*, pp. 35, 72.
[1803] Hair, *1916*, p. 118.
[1804] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 187.
[1805] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Falaoa and the Niueans', aired 19/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/falaoa-and-niueans-great-war-story.

In an inverse of the print histories, the non-poppy material has much more of a focus on the experience of women than of Māori, including dedicated texts and more women authors. Jane Tolerton, Anna Mackenzie and Diana Menefy are all women writing about women,[1806] while Leanne Pooley and Anna Cottrell are the directors/writers of film content that focuses on the war more generally but do specifically include women.[1807] One segment of Cottrell's Great War Stories opens with the assertion that 'war stories from World War One have traditionally been told by men about men' and that 'not so well known are the women's stories at home and near the frontlines'.[1808] 'They are almost all by men and about men', Tolerton writes of New Zealand's war histories. She asserts that women who were neither NZANS nurses nor at home are 'left out of the picture', and she points out that the WW100 Programme's aims excluded them, as the Programme announced it would honour 'those who *fought* but will also tell the stories of…people who remained *at home*' [her italics].[1809] Tolerton extensively criticises the print histories' handling of women, such as McLean's text quoting VAD Kitty Mair out of context, without naming her and mislabelling her as a nurse, and Fenton writing that New Zealand women were 'far from the action' of the British women's auxiliary branches, even though New Zealander Enid Bell was the first member of the Women's Royal Naval Service.[1810] Tolerton writes that 'New Zealand's reluctance to open the door to women…for inclusion in our war history during the centenary period echoes the way they had to find alternative doors, and pay for the keys to open them themselves, a century ago'.[1811] Tolerton's acknowledgements highlight the 'half a dozen rejections' and the 'challenging' process of convincing backers that 'New Zealand needed a book on woman in the war'.[1812] The final section of her text laments that the print histories do not include a volume on women as it was assumed that texts on the home front and medical field would feature them – 'even though in both of these topics the doings of men would necessarily dominate the contents'.[1813] Rogers's medical volume does centre women, but Watson and Loveridge are certainly more interested in Massey and Ward than any women. However, with Tolerton's book focussing on women overseas, it is the women at home who are truly 'left out of the picture' across all the centenary material.

Nurses are a significant presence in the non-poppy material, appearing in most of the texts as well as being main characters in *1915*, *Evie's War*, *When We Go To War* and *25 April*. Tolerton argues that nurses are the most represented women of New Zealand's WWI history, which she credits in large part to Hester Maclean 'making sure that the nurses…got into the picture'[1814] – an interesting contrast to Anna Rogers's assertion that nurses had been sorely overlooked in the past, especially in official histories, which Tolerton writes that Maclean contributed to. However, at the end of her text Tolerton also writes that 'the nurses are "history's losers"' in modern historiography: 'the very women who have been most determinedly written into the historical record…have been disappeared and diminished during the centenary period'.[1815] This is certainly not the case in the non-poppy material, where there is a strong focus on nurses' capability and skill, as well as the struggles they faced, both physical and emotional. There is also an emphasis on the bonds that nurses formed, similar to Harper's emphasis on male 'mateship', which the print histories do not discuss.

[1806] *Make Her Praises Heard Afar*, *Evie's War* and *1915: Wounds of War* respectively.
[1807] *25 April* features a nurse as one of the 'interviewees', while the Great War Stories features several women and opens with Lady Liverpool.
[1808] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. '*Marquette*', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/marquette-great-war-story.
[1809] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 2.
[1810] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 123, 285.
[1811] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 356.
[1812] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. vi
[1813] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 356.
[1814] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 2.
[1815] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 355.

New Zealand nurses' struggle for inclusion and recognition is covered in several texts. When Harriet leaves for Egypt in *1915*, she writes that the nurses are 'finally off to war' 'after eight months of campaigning'[1816] and the Great War Stories segment on Lottie Le Gallais states that 'nurses signed up' before detailing the 'major battle at home to get nurses sent overseas'.[1817] Tolerton writes that six nurses were sent to Samoa, but as a rule 'women had nothing to join up to' at the outbreak of war as there was no military nursing services in New Zealand, and despite women signing up 'in their hundreds' the government '[did] nothing [about] giving Hester Maclean a service of which to be matron in chief'.[1818] Once they were allowed to go overseas, they were still dismissed and overlooked, often because of their gender. Tolerton writes that the nurses were 'the butt of jokes in soldiers' magazines',[1819] and in *When We Go To War* a doctor tells Bea that she is 'far too beautiful for a blue stocking' when she is fighting to be involved in any medical work.[1820] The Great War Stories includes a scene from *Anzac Girls* in which New Zealand nurse Hilda Steele has to ask to be allowed to work in the operating theatre,[1821] and Menefy depicts Harriet being ignored by a surgeon too busy to listen to her; when he finally does as she had asked, he acknowledges her role in saving a man's life by describing her as 'pestering' him.[1822] Later, Mel is told by the Lemnos Sisters that 'our Colonel didn't like having women this close to the battle front', thinking that 'orderlies could do the work and we were unnecessary'.[1823] 'The arrogance of some of those men was intolerable', Menefy writes of the medical officers (MOs).[1824] Tolerton quotes accounts of nurses feeling that MOs were 'not considerate' and 'look on the sisters as orderlies', sometimes 'refus[ing] to associate with the nurses on the terms of equality which their professional…status entitled them'.[1825]

In the face of this exclusion, the non-poppy nurses are shown as extremely capable medical staff. Tolerton describes how regulation and exams had given New Zealand nurses 'professional status', quoting Ida Willis, who believed that 'ours was a vocation'.[1826] Mel typifies this in *1915*, where her 'determined care and hourly treatment' allows a critically ill soldier to become well enough to transfer;[1827] when she cameos in *1918*, Hunt also depicts her skill and determination to save lives, as she helps perform Henry's blood transfusion – 'one of the first that we've done here' – and is even the one to supply the blood.[1828] The Great War Stories segment on Pickerill and Gillies emphasises that nurses not only played an important role in the surgical procedures, but were also 'crucial in helping men cope with the painful operations'.[1829] Nurses are shown going out of their way for their patients in both big and small ways: Tolerton mentions a women who 'was buying food for soldiers even though the nurses' rations had been cut by 25 per cent'.[1830] They also demonstrate professional composure; Menefy's author's note describes how the nurses had to 'hide any distaste…always presenting a calm, confident, friendly look so their patients would feel unembarrassed and

[1816] Diana Menefy, *1915: Wounds of War*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2015, p. 28.
[1817] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Lottie Le Gallais', aired 19/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/lottie-le-gallais-great-war-story.
[1818] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 13, 14, 30, 43.
[1819] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 268.
[1820] Burger, 'Bea's Letter'.
[1821] Cottrell, '*Marquette*'.
[1822] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 69-71.
[1823] Menefy, *1915*, p. 195.
[1824] Menefy, *1915*, p. 222.
[1825] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 103-4.
[1826] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 29.
[1827] Menefy, *1915*, p. 211.
[1828] Des Hunt, *1918: Broken Poppies*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2018, pp. 300-1.
[1829] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Pickerill and Gillies', aired 8/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media /video/pickerill-and-gillies-great-war-story.
[1830] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 230.

reassured'.[1831] Elisabeth in *1917* makes it quite clear that this requires significant inner strength: when Haig describes 'those of a delicate constitution', she retorts, 'I am a nurse. I served in France…I think my constitution will stand it'.[1832] Summing up these traits, New Zealand actress Antonia Prebble, who played real nurse Hilda Steele in Australian TV show *Anzac Girls* and is featured in the Great War Stories segment on the *Marquette*, says that Hilda was 'a woman of remarkable ability, strength, courage and endurance'.[1833]

The non-poppy material also uses 'fighting words' to describe the nurses, emphasising their importance and strength. Menefy writes in her author's note that they 'fought': 'a strange word to associate with nurses but [their] conflict was internal',[1834] she argues. 'Not everyone who fights uses a gun', Mel tells Leith in *1916*, when he complains about the Pioneers not having weapons. 'She didn't use guns either,' Leith thinks, 'she saves lives'.[1835] The Great War Stories describes Hester Maclean having to 'battle' to get NZANS women sent overseas,[1836] and descriptions of her as a 'fighter' are echoed in the depiction of Bea in *When We Go To War:* 'she is fearsome. Like a warrior', Manaaki says of Bea, as she exemplifies this same kind of redoubtable nurse figure.[1837] Tolerton quotes New Zealand writer Edith Lyttleton's reflection that 'the soldier behind the firing line occasionally wears skirts…[no] harder battle is fought in the trenches than nurses and women doctors fighting daily on operating-tables and beside those countless beds of pain. They are an army.'[1838] Tolerton compares the language of the 'fight' or 'battle' for suffrage to the experiences of women on the front line, involved in 'real-life battles'.[1839] All this language enforces the idea of nurses as capable and strong, linking their ability to push through their challenging work to the battles fought by the men they treated.

These struggles faced by the nurses included physical and mental stress and danger. Like the stretcher-bearers and surgeons discussed in the print histories, nurses are shown as working exhausting hours, and the non-poppy material depicts them often refusing to step away, feeling that they were needed too badly to rest. Mackenzie describes the sisters and nurses looking 'haggard', with Sister Duncan 'not having slept more than three hours in as many days' due to working in the theatre, which ran all day and night.[1840] Tolerton quotes Edith Lyttleton's account of how nurses 'give and give to the verge of exhaustion – and then continue giving'.[1841] While physically exhausted, they are shown as also in real wartime danger: photographs of nurses in gas masks are shown in the Great War Stories segment on the *Marquette*, which emphasises the dangers the nurses faced.[1842] Nursing conditions are described as tough, sometimes terrible, especially for the women nursing in Serbia with little equipment, who are nevertheless 'only too thankful to be doing even a little to help'.[1843] Tolerton writes about a nurse working near Arras who 'refused to leave the ward, although the hospital had been hit several times…[and] was only prevailed upon to leave when all the patients had been safely evacuated'.[1844] 'So many nurses…suffered alongside the soldiers', Richard Taylor says in the Great War Stories segment on Lottie Le Gallais; he continues that they did 'incredible work'

[1831] Menefy, *1915*, p. 284.
[1832] Falkner, *1917*, p. 203.
[1833] Cottrell, '*Marquette*'.
[1834] Menefy, *1915*, p. 284.
[1835] Hair, *1916*, p. 49.
[1836] Cottrell, 'Lottie Le Gallais'.
[1837] Burger, 'Bea's Letter'.
[1838] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 49.
[1839] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 9.
[1840] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 255.
[1841] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 49.
[1842] Cottrell, '*Marquette*'.
[1843] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 53.
[1844] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 224.

despite their 'broken hearts'.[1845] Mackenzie portrays Evie working until she physically cannot continue, and when an orderly congratulates her on 'copping a Blighty', she bursts into tears as she 'just feel[s] so *useless*'.[1846] 'Our wounded boys seldom complain and I must be the same', Bea writes in *When We Go To War*,[1847] demonstrating this determination to get the job done. Later in the narrative, however, she worries about this stoicism and what it means for her: 'When I first got here I used to cry about them but not anymore,' she says. 'I wonder if I'm going to stop feeling things altogether'.[1848] Her plotline of falling in love and marrying William demonstrates that this is in fact not the case. The nurses of the non-poppy texts still feel very deeply, but they are first and foremost dedicated to their patients and the difficult duties they feel they must perform.

This dedication is rewarded with the appreciation of the men. 'The patients don't think so', one nurse says in *1915* when an officer dares to suggest that the nurses are 'unnecessary'.[1849] In *When We Go To War*, Manaaki says that the wounded soldiers all love Bea: 'they think she's an angel'.[1850] The image of the nurse as an angelic feminine figure – 'the rose of no-man's-land' – is very traditional and is seen in the print histories, but the non-poppy material adds to it by depicting how the women themselves were buoyed up by how the men appreciated them and their work. The average soldier is depicted as much more appreciative of the nurses than officers or doctors, just as in the print histories, with several texts mentioning the impact that a friendly female face could have.[1851] At the very end of *1915*, a soldier approaches Harriet and thanks her: 'if it wasn't for you, I'd have carked it', and Harriet tells Mel that 'it's moments like this that make everything we do worthwhile'.[1852] Evie expresses a similar sentiment, writing that when she feels like a 'drudge', 'one of the men will ask for me by name or thank me for my help, and it feels worthwhile again'.[1853] With this narrative, authors such as Menefy and Mackenzie blend the traditional feminine – the caretaking, angelic nurse – with the strong, determined 'fighter' to create nuanced nurse characters.

On the whole, the non-poppy texts depict nurses struggling to be recognised, but also work hard to not repeat history's exclusions. However, there are exceptions: one notable instance is the Great War Stories not including the names of the ten nurses who died in the sinking of the *Marquette*, although it shows their photographs.[1854] In *When We Go To War*, Bea's wedding to William is also notable in that she is dressed in a wedding gown, rather than her uniform, which was common[1855] – Tolerton includes several photographs of nurses in their uniforms on their wedding days.[1856] Although a more 'romantic' image for modern viewers, putting Bea in this traditional ensemble rather than her uniform, which represents her skill and pride in her profession, does seem to take something away from her character right at the pinnacle of her narrative. These examples are exceptions rather than the rule, however, and on the whole the non-poppy material works hard to depict nurses as fully-rounded figures, fiercely dedicated to their professional roles as healers and caretakers.

Those who were not nurses 'paid their own way' and went unofficially; Tolerton writes that 'most of the New Zealand women who worked overseas in the war effort…paid their own passages or received help from family or friends, and worked for little or no pay'.[1857] These woman feature

[1845] Cottrell, 'Lottie Le Gallais'.
[1846] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 289.
[1847] Burger, 'Bea's Letter'.
[1848] Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, episode 4, 'Awa's Letter', aired 10/5/2015. Blu-ray.
[1849] Menefy, *1915*, p. 195.
[1850] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[1851] For example, Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 107, 316; Pooley, *25 April*; Menefy, *1915*, p. 74.
[1852] Menefy, *1915*, p. 274.
[1853] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 227.
[1854] Cottrell, '*Marquette*'.
[1855] Burger, 'Cissy's Letter'.
[1856] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 181, 267.
[1857] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 7, 99.

prominently in the non-poppy material, mostly in Tolerton's text but also across the fictional material. Tolerton describes women who worked as masseuses – the forerunner to physiotherapy – and anaesthetists;[1858] Mackenzie includes a minor character who tells Evie that she is completing an anaesthetics course, and Evie is offered a place in a school of massage.[1859] Tolerton discusses several women doctors, examining at least ten in some detail and writes that at least 25 New Zealand women doctors served overseas.[1860] In *Evie's War*, Mackenzie depicts Evie as happily shocked to learn that women doctors are working to establish hospitals 'staffed by women!';[1861] Evie considers 'those female Doctors who are contributing quite as much as their male counterparts' to be 'far more admirable'.[1862] Like the nurses, the woman doctors are shown to be devoted and determined: Tolerton quotes Dr Agnes Bennett's confession that she 'slept badly because not pleased with progress' and was 'disgusted we had not done more'.[1863] Tolerton describes how several of these New Zealand women had already had to struggle to find work and go offshore to pursue their careers, and most had to serve other nations, such as working with the Scottish Women's Hospital or in Serbia, sometimes without pay.[1864] She describes how Agnes Bennett was turned away by the New Zealand service and one woman doctor, possibly Emily Siedeburg, was rejected after paying her own way to England 'because male doctors would not work with women', and was told to 'go home and sit still!'.[1865] Tolerton does portray the exceptions, such as Dr Elizabeth Gunn, who was appointed captain in the Medical Corps and sent to Egypt – although after a round trip she was sent back to the Education Department.[1866]

Of all the roles women played in the war, ambulance driving is one of the most prominent in the non-poppy material, where the women drivers are highlighted significantly more than in the print histories. Tolerton includes many accounts of women ambulance drivers throughout her text, including photographs,[1867] and the Great War Stories series has a segment on Pixie Lang, who drove ambulances in Britain with 'glowing references'.[1868] Mackenzie makes driving a focus of her narrative: Evie thinks that her friend Winifred is 'very brave' for offering her service as a driver to the Belgian Red Cross and later does the same.[1869] Bravery is certainly depicted as crucial for ambulance drivers; Tolerton emphasised the physical and emotional strength needed by these woman, who drove without lights or power steering, in cars that kept stopping and were exhausting to start, on terrible roads, for 14 hour days with nothing but 'a few biscuits' – all while enduring the 'moaning and screaming of badly wounded men'.[1870] Mackenzie portrays Evie choosing to spend her rare off-duty hours with the mechanics learning about her car,[1871] and Tolerton depicts women sacrificing sleep to work on their cars.[1872] This level of dedication in such trying conditions takes a toll; Mackenzie describes Winifred as 'rather distant, with nothing of the sparkling energy and humour' when she returns from the front and Charles believes she is suffering shell shock.[1873] Despite this, drivers are shown as determined to do their bit no matter what: one quoted by Tolerton argues that 'we weren't

[1858] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 306, 332.
[1859] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 319, 343.
[1860] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 25, 41, 53, 64, 95, 100, 110, 149, 150, 303.
[1861] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 40.
[1862] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 144.
[1863] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 209.
[1864] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 41, 64, 68, 95, 329.
[1865] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 67, 69, 110, 139.
[1866] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 149.
[1867] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 47, 165, 187, 188, 231, 274, 275, 277.
[1868] Cottrell, 'Pixie Lang'.
[1869] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 71.
[1870] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 4.
[1871] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 252.
[1872] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 232.
[1873] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 189.

made of cotton wool'[1874] and in *Evie's War* Winifred is 'completely distraught at the thought of letting the side down' when she is hurt and cannot drive.[1875] Tolerton and Mackenzie both show the drivers as challenging male conceptions of what women 'should' be, as they were often 'daredevils' whose antics involved 'smuggled alcohol' and 'sexual daring'.[1876] Tolerton quotes a reporter who is shocked to encounter a 'grimy faced little girl…who was cleaning a dirty military motor car'; Tolerton writes that this driver was showing the 'pluck and endurance' that was required of these women[1877] – especially when the men around them referred to them so condescendingly as 'little girls'.

Tolerton points out the overlooking of women ambulance drivers in historiography, writing that the recognition they received at the time has not endured.[1878] She singles out a section in Fenton's text that discusses the use of British women to drive ambulances as the New Zealand government would not send New Zealand women: 'the New Zealand women', Tolerton asserts, 'did not need to be sent overseas by the government. They sent themselves'.[1879] Her text mostly focuses on these New Zealand women outside of the NZANS who had to send themselves. She mentions Agnes Pearce, an ambulance driver whose mother was a leader of the suffrage movement and has been mentioned 'in hundreds of books, theses and articles' – while Agnes 'may have been mentioned so far in no book except this one'.[1880] Tolerton argues that these women ambulance drivers are 'written out' of history 'by such statements as that British women drove our ambulances'.[1881] She also points out that some of the women sent by the British were in fact New Zealanders, such as Enid Bell.[1882] Towards the end of the text, she points out that the diminishing of New Zealand ambulance drivers began immediately, citing Gladys Henning and Agnes Pearce being told they 'had not belonged to the NZEF' in 1918 and again in the 1930s when Henning asked for her medals.[1883]

While doctors and drivers are presented as working in fields where women were still uncommon, the non-poppy material also emphasises the more traditionally feminine work of VADs and the Volunteer Sisterhood, while still highlighting the importance of their work. Tolerton and the Great War Stories describe how untrained women travelled to help at the own expense, citing 'hundreds of women who made their own way to Europe to help in whatever way they could'.[1884] Tolerton writes that most of the wide-ranging work of the New Zealand War Contingent Association (NZWCA), including running the New Zealand Soldiers Club in London, was done by 'New Zealand women working for free as volunteers' who went overseas at their own cost;[1885] she argues that the NZWCA 'made a great contribution to looking after our soldiers but is scarcely included in our histories'.[1886] Other women volunteers are shown helping wounded men eat, delivering food parcels, washing dishes, offering company and advice, doing odd jobs and repairs, and making and serving food, often out of their own pockets.[1887] Ettie Rout's Volunteer Sisterhood is discussed in some depth by Tolerton, who describes their work in Egypt as well as at Trentham Camp, where they worked in 13-hour shifts doing jobs that male orderlies had been doing.[1888] Tolerton writes that the concept of Rout's

[1874] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 234.
[1875] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 196, 249.
[1876] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 209; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 141.
[1877] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 289.
[1878] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 7.
[1879] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 7.
[1880] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 9.
[1881] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 9.
[1882] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 221.
[1883] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 340-1.
[1884] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 124; Cottrell, 'Pixie Lang'.
[1885] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 180, 190-1, 194, 195-6, 199.
[1886] The NZWCA in fact barely appears in the print histories. Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 11.
[1887] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 59, 76, 78-9, 80, 150, 169, 170, 181-3, 211-2, 217, 352; Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 126; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 156, 275.
[1888] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 64, 88-9.

Volunteer Sisterhood had 'powerful enemies'; Hester Maclean is described as 'annoyed' that the VS had been 'allowed' into Trentham.[1889] Despite these objections, Tolerton writes that upon their arrival at the New Zealand General Hospital, the 'women the government had said were not wanted in Egypt were welcomed by their compatriots'.[1890]

VADs were similarly welcomed; Tolerton quotes NZANS nurse Emma Harris, who thought them 'sensible and keen' and 'very useful' as they made beds, washed patients, and served food and drinks.[1891] The non-poppy material depicts these volunteer women in the same positive light as nurses: determined, dedicated and necessary. In *Evie's War*, Miss Bartlett's announcement that she has become a VAD inspires Evie to 'admire her gumption',[1892] and Tolerton portrays VADs as going above and beyond just as the nurses did.[1893] Mackenzie depicts Evie admiring the women in the VAD rest station as they offer comfort and hot drinks while 'relying heavily upon improvisation and "acquisitions"' and being 'subject to air raids fairly continuously', sometimes being wounded or killed by bombs.[1894] Tolerton points out that some New Zealand VADs received the Royal Red Cross, demonstrating their skill and dedication to caring for the men and their ability to step into a nurse's role when needed.[1895] Like the nurses, the women who volunteered their time and care are shown to be greatly appreciated by the men; Tolerton includes an account of one VAD being told 'of all I had done for them and would I accept a little present…I was so touched at their kind thought'.[1896] 'It makes up for a good deal of weariness', wrote another VAD quoted by Tolerton, 'to hear one say, "No one seems to make me as comfortable as you do"'.[1897]

Despite all this, the idea of VADs as merely 'very adorable darlings' still has to be refuted. Tolerton quotes Spencer Westmacott's account of Betty Calder as 'reflect[ing] the image of the VAD as a young woman with romantic notions about nursing'; he called her 'a pretty gentle little thing' and she was 'sent packing when more trained nurses arrived'.[1898] This reflects the tension between nurses and VADs described in the print histories. Tolerton writes that some British nursing historians have accused VADs of 'usurping' attention that 'should' be given to 'professional' nurses, but in New Zealand the NZANS 'dominates' and volunteers appear in 'some' books.[1899] Tolerton attributes some of this to Hester Maclean's influence, who was adamant that VADs were not nurses, but 'unqualified women' pretending to be;[1900] Tolerton concludes that New Zealand women volunteers had 'proven their worth in many roles'.[1901] The Great War Stories refers to VADs as 'volunteer nurses',[1902] a term Maclean would surely shudder at, but one that succinctly allows the general public to understand the kind of work that the women often ended up doing, fostering a greater appreciation for their contribution.

Women are shown in a much wider variety of roles in the non-poppy material than the print histories, with authors going beyond hospitals and convalescent homes. Reddiex focuses on those who volunteered at home, writing that that 'there were many individuals, communities and organisations throughout the country formed by women volunteering their support', though he

[1889] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 106, 124, 131.
[1890] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 152.
[1891] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 124, 201.
[1892] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 40-1.
[1893] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 116.
[1894] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 313, 323.
[1895] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 281, 334.
[1896] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 116.
[1897] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 214.
[1898] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 71-72.
[1899] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 72.
[1900] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 335.
[1901] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 335.
[1902] Cottrell, 'Pixie Lang'.

highlights traditional female roles and leaves out the women who entered the workforce: 'the Lady Liverpool Fund, queen carnivals, stage and screen actresses, singers, school teachers'.[1903] The other non-poppy texts focus more on the working women, who moved into spaces normally reserved for men: the Great War Stories mentions 'the ranks of women working in wartime London',[1904] and in *When We Go To War*, Cissy marvels at how things have changed for women entering the work force: 'Violet Penrose is working in a bank. Imagine that.'[1905] Brocker depicts a similar attitude, with Alice's mother 'wonder[ing] what the world is coming to when lasses can work in banks!'.[1906] The Great War Stories emphasise that Rout's typing work was 'not normally a woman's domain'[1907] and Mackenzie depicts Evie's friend Winifred signing on with the Women's Royal Naval Service, working in London driving 'a distinguished Colonel'.[1908]

Of course, Tolerton's book is the non-poppy text that has the most emphasis on working women; she highlights women who worked as pharmaceutical assistants, dentists, dispatch drivers, journalists, welfare officers and civil servants.[1909] She often incudes photographs of women doing their war work, even if she does not detail their lives in her text, such as Mabel Hughes, a groom in the Government Contractors' Stables, who is pictured at work in her trousers.[1910] Tolerton highlights unexpected STEM contributions, such as Blanche Butler's work calculating shell trajectories using her 'intricate calculations' and 'expert knowledge' of mathematics, and women graduates who did scientific demonstrations showing workers at the Woolwich Arsenal the functions of the shell parts they were making.[1911] She also depicts women engaged in entertainment work, who faced gruelling hours and dangerous conditions even in this more 'traditionally feminine' discipline. Violinist Ina Bosworth is cited as an example, as she performed three concerts a day on the Western Front, trudging through nine-inch snow to reach the draughty haylofts that served as venues.[1912] Tolerton also describes several women who during the war performed many different roles, moving between volunteer work, medical training, driving, and factory work;[1913] she details one New Zealand woman having 'worked in hospitals, as a land girl, in canteens and as a driver with the Women's Legion and the QMAAC [Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps]'.[1914] Tolerton suggests that for these women, portrayed as determined to help, a change was a substitute for a rest that they did not want to take. Tolerton asserts that disease and post-traumatic stress affected the women workers just as it affected the men, and that many women 'suffered the physical and mental consequences of hard work'.[1915] 'One knows it was hard for the men…but it was not easy for us either', Tolerton quotes one woman as saying.[1916] Despite this hardship, in Tolerton's text, women can do it all, and are depicted as able to step out of the domestic sphere in as many directions as they choose.

Two familiar women's war work narratives are seen more prominently in the non-poppy material than the print histories: factory and farm work. Tolerton writes of several New Zealand women who had foreman positions and includes a photograph of Annie Leahy in her munitions factory uniform,

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[1903] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 121.
[1904] Cottrell, 'Pixie Lang'.
[1905] Burger, 'Charles's Letter'.
[1906] Brocker, *1914*, p. 87.
[1907] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Ettie Rout', aired 21/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/ettie-rout-great-war-story.
[1908] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 272.
[1909] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 49, 100, 137, 169, 221, 237, 303.
[1910] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 254.
[1911] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 174.
[1912] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 240-1.
[1913] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 46, 56, 175, 274, 278, 293.
[1914] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 318.
[1915] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 328.
[1916] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 347.

emphasising that she was the only one of her family to go overseas in the war effort.[1917] Tolerton describes how these women showed 'skill, perseverance and intelligence'[1918] in spite of the challenges of the work; they were paid wages that only covered the hostel they lived in, endured 12-hour shifts during which they took their breaks standing at their machines, and suffered ill health from the chemicals, including jaundice.[1919] Mackenzie depicts Evie's friend Lettie having 'gone quite yellow' after working in a munitions factory.[1920] They also faced the threat of air raids; Tolerton quotes Woolwich welfare worker Daisy Stratford-Henniker's account that they would 'silently and bravely [stand] waiting until the raid was over' and then may 'go home to find their homes in ruins' – before returning to work the next day, 'silent and sad, but determined our men would have the shells, no matter what their sufferings were'.[1921]

The rural counterpart of factory women, the land girls, also make an appearance. Tolerton describes New Zealand women leading the land girl movement as organisers in Britain, as well as women who performed agricultural work at home – including as 'telegraph messengers, drovers and drivers of taxis, coaches and wool wagons' – and 'were hailed as "pioneers of female farm labour"' by local papers.[1922] In *Evie's War*, Mackenzie has some mentions of the land girls: when Evie's father laments food shortages and lack of men to aid production, Evie points out that the Women's National Land Service Corps have plenty of workers available,[1923] and her friend Lettie is mentioned to be in the Women's Auxiliary Corps 'milking cows near York'.[1924] Evie's little sister Eugenie is depicted as something of a junior land girl, not old enough to work officially but getting involved at home. Eugenie loves to garden and grows vegetables 'to feed the hungry children of London'; she ends up with 'all the lawn torn up and turned into gardens' and with a 'population of hens and pigs', which she has 'quite abandoned schoolwork' to care for.[1925] Similarly, in *1914* Brocker depicts Alice leaving school in order to help her father on the farm;[1926] characters like Alice and Eugenie reinforce Tolerton's image of women (or girls) who put themselves to work without the need for any official channels.

One significant aspect covered by the non-poppy material that is not seen in the print histories is the bond that formed between the women. The female friendships in *Evie's War* and *1915* are key elements of the texts; at one point in *1915* Harriet tells Jean, who does not have a close family, 'never mind, you've got us. We'll be your family. Our experience here will always be a bond'.[1927] Unlike Harper's 'bitchy' women who gossip and compete, women in the non-poppy texts help each other: Tolerton describes Enid Bell choosing to help another women driver with her car instead of getting some much-needed sleep.[1928] This echoes the way that male authors such as Harper depict the mateship experience of the soldiers. Like the soldiers, the nurses can support each other through the struggles of their war experiences. When Harriet loses her brother, Flo and Mel care for her and allow her space to grieve;[1929] Tolerton gives a real life example of this, describing the support offered to Deborah Taylor by fellow ambulance drivers when her brother died: 'I valued [Agnes Pearce's]

[1917] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 100, 135, 162-3, 239, 301.
[1918] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 135.
[1919] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 55, 174, 175.
[1920] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 275.
[1921] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 248.
[1922] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 175, 235.
[1923] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 184.
[1924] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 246.
[1925] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 221, 301.
[1926] Brocker, *1914*, p. 87.
[1927] Menefy, *1915*, p. 107.
[1928] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 232.
[1929] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 165, 178.

sympathy most…as she has just been through all this…oh how grateful I am to have Grace'.[1930] Tolerton writes in her final chapter that this comradeship 'stood out as a saving grace of the experience' for the women who did war work overseas, much as it did for the soldiers. She quotes one woman's description of the female friendships forged during war work as 'islands of security' amidst the chaos of conflict, and another who 'missed the companionship that nursing carries' after the war, just as soldiers did.[1931]

Amidst the focus on women working in the non-poppy material, the more traditional or home-based activities that they did during the war is still very much present. The very first Great War Stories segment focusses on traditional activities like knitting and fundraising,[1932] giving credence to Tolerton's assertion that women at home 'feature in the national portrait' of New Zealand's war historiography, 'knitting, fundraising and packing parcels of "comforts for soldiers"'.[1933] Most women, she asserts, '*were* in the home and caring for children'.[1934] Plenty of women in the non-poppy material are in the home: Tolerton describes how women 'sewed and knitted to equip the Main Body'[1935] and the Great War Stories explains how women were 'urged…to sew shirts, pyjamas, and cholera belts and to knit socks and scarves'.[1936] Reddiex mentions 'baking, knitting and sewing'; he includes a postcard that depicts women sewing with the slogan 'making love's armour for brave lads to wear' and the lyrics to 'The Knitting Song', which also refer to this idea of an act of love.[1937] Baking is mentioned by Brocker, who describes the 'ladies of the newly set up Patriotic Fund' baking sponges and pikelets.[1938] Fundraising is also prominent, with Reddiex including many postcards featuring images of the participants of the Queen Carnivals.[1939] Mackenzie portrays Evie's little sister Millie gathering 'clothing, toys, blankets and other necessities' for war orphans with 'zeal',[1940] a small scale version of the kind of work Tolerton describes women doing: she writes that one woman 'collected donations, organised sewing bees…held cake stalls and persuaded local dairy companies to send huge cheeses'.[1941] Tolerton describes the Lady Liverpool Fund as 'a focus for women's collecting',[1942] and the Great War Stories segment on Lady Liverpool describes this patriotic women's organisation and several others.[1943] In *When We Go To War*, the character of Cissy is used to portray the narrative of women fundraising at home; she runs for Carnival Queen and then collects money on the street, with a sign saying 'a kiss for the boys' as she gives kisses for donations.[1944] Mackenzie describes a Women's Social and Political Union meeting attended by Evie where the women decide to put all efforts into fundraising, partly because it will aid their quest for suffrage.[1945] Both of these examples portray a less 'traditional' version of the women fundraising narrative.

This slight subversion of expected traditional roles is more prominent in the non-poppy material's portrayal of knitting, which is sidelined in these texts. Tolerton argues that knitting had in fact not

[1930] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 275.
[1931] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 328, 332.
[1932] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Lady Liverpool', aired 4/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/lady-liverpool-great-war-story.
[1933] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 2, 355.
[1934] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 174.
[1935] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 13, 25, 27, 86.
[1936] Cottrell, 'Lady Liverpool'.
[1937] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 67, 120, 121.
[1938] Brocker, *1914*, p. 18.
[1939] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 67, 120, 122.
[1940] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 306.
[1941] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 82.
[1942] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 13.
[1943] Cottrell, 'Lady Liverpool'.
[1944] Burger, 'Harry's Letter'.
[1945] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 35.

been popular and many women had to learn in order to contribute,[1946] though depictions of women knitting socks, scarves and body-belts 'for the boys' appear throughout her text.[1947] Mackenzie describes Evie knitting socks which she 'hope[s] do not prove too lumpy and misshapen!',[1948] and many texts show women struggling with this traditional feminine activity. In *When We Go To War* Awa jokes that she pities 'the poor bugger who has to wear anything I've made', and Alice in *1914* writes to Billy that 'hopefully you won't get anything I've knitted…I knit about as well as you can dance'.[1949] When Evie tries to offload her knitting onto her little sister, Millie asks if there is a '"proper" way she can contribute' as 'like me, she does not much care for knitting socks'.[1950] None of the main female characters of the non-poppy material are shown as confident knitters; the drive to portray them as 'strong female characters' may be behind this, as authors want to separate their women protagonists from stereotypical images of domestic wives with their needles clicking. Characters like Evie, Mel, Awa and Alice are all too busy saving lives, wearing trousers and forging their own paths to 'wait at home – and knit'.

Despite the many ways in which the non-poppy material shows women challenging traditional narratives, the image of women as wives and mothers – nurturing caregivers whose existence revolves around men – is still prominent. If the female authors Tolerton, Mackenzie and Menefy (and their women protagonists) are excluded, wives and mothers – usually grieving – become the dominant female presence of the examined non-poppy material. One of Reddiex's chapters is titled 'Sweethearts, wives and war workers', the order of which unfortunately places women as 'sweethearts' first and foremost; he refers to women as 'beautiful' and 'somebody's sweetheart!' in his text.[1951] The Great War Stories segment on Peter Howden features wedding photos and his description of wife Rhoda as 'the sweetest and best wife there ever was',[1952] and romance plotlines are prominent throughout the texts – including for strong women protagonists like Mackenzie's Evie and Bea in *When We Go To War*. The narrative of women, particularly nurses, marrying soldiers is referenced occasionally,[1953] though Tolerton often emphasises that they kept working after their marriage.[1954] In *Evie's War*, Evie is at first hesitant to set a date for her wedding to Charles as she does not want to give up her hospital work because she would feel she was 'shirking'; he tells her he is happy for her keep working after they are married.[1955] Tolerton mentions English war brides very briefly to point out that they had often worked hard and suffered greatly before coming to New Zealand;[1956] Reddiex has a caption of a postcard depicting 'a soldier and his new bride' that describes the number of women who came to New Zealand having married soldiers but does not depict them as anything other than statistics.[1957]

Tolerton does include plenty of wives, mothers, and sisters in her text, but they are often taking a more 'active' role in the narrative. She is scathing of histories that erase any of the soldier's women, pointing out that Spencer Westmacott, one of the Te Papa Gallipoli exhibit's large figures, is described on the exhibition's website as marrying 'Jean' – 'with no surname and no details, including

[1946] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 28.
[1947] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 36, 37, 86.
[1948] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 46, 56.
[1949] Burger, 'Awa's Letter'; Brocker, *1914*, p. 41.
[1950] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 102.
[1951] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 121, 122, 123.
[1952] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Peter Howden', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/peter-howden-great-war-story.
[1953] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 108, 123, 181, 330; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 282; Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Thomas Blake', aired 20/4/2017. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/thomas-blake-great-war-story.
[1954] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 330.
[1955] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 219, 221.
[1956] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 346-7.
[1957] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 123.

no indication that she was a New Zealander'.[1958] Tolerton points out that women have often been presented only 'in relation to soldiers, as mothers, wives and sisters'.[1959] She is therefore more interested in women who followed their husbands or family overseas, such as Louisa Godley, Kitty Pitt, and Margaret Buck,[1960] and what they did when they arrived, often independent of their relationship, such as Godley's work with the convalescent home.[1961] 'Wives, whether trained nurses or not, did much of the work in rehabilitating men post-war', Tolerton writes,[1962] adding another facet to the narrative, demonstrating that even 'wives' were not *just* wives. Tolerton's 'wives and mothers' are always also workers and contributors, striving for their own purposes within their relationships with their men.

The image of the 'designated mourner' is the narrative that most strongly ties women to 'their' men. In some texts, being grief-stricken is simply one of many facets of well-rounded women: the Great War Stories segment on Leslie Beauchamp, Katherine Mansfield's brother, highlights her grief for him but also emphasises the effect it had on her writing and success,[1963] which allows her to be more than 'just' a grieving sister. Some figures subvert this role; Mackenzie includes a friend of Evie's who 'is engaged again' but dismisses it as 'he is due to go to the Front in a month, so there is little point really, but he did so want me to say yes'.[1964] Elisabeth in *1917*, whose fiancé was killed, has a similar attitude, telling Bob, 'I won't feel anything for you…and if you die, it'll mean nothing to me'.[1965] In another subversion, it is Elisabeth, not Bob, who dies, leaving him to mourn her.[1966] Tolerton's depictions of grieving women are generally in the context of women who were working to overcome their grief.[1967] 'Broken hearted but still ambulance driving', she quotes one woman.[1968] Keeping busy in this way is depicted as a method to deal with war trauma, such as the loss of a husband.[1969] 'The only way forward is to throw oneself into work', Mackenzie has Evie write in her diary.[1970] Evie deals with plenty of grief, as her fiancé is killed and her brother badly wounded, and in *1915* Menefy makes Harriet the 'designated mourner' of the novel when her brother Frank is killed and she struggles to keep going.[1971]

Though Harriet and Evie certainly exist as independent characters outside their grief, other texts struggle to include women beyond this narrative. Reddiex includes postcards that depict classic images of mourning, with women draped over pictures of their dead soldiers,[1972] and the Great War Stories segment on William Malone briefly includes his wife for just long enough to show her portrait and describe her as 'broken-hearted'.[1973] Lottie Le Gallais, the nurse (and only woman) who is depicted in the Te Papa Gallipoli exhibit, has a Great War Stories segment which presents her primarily as a mourner for her brother; the figure of her in the exhibit shows her crying over a letter

[1958] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 356.
[1959] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 2.
[1960] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 14, 104. Kitty and Margaret are described in the print histories as outliers for their determination to follow their husbands – Soutar calls them 'stowaway wives'.
[1961] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 91.
[1962] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 349.
[1963] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Leslie Beauchamp', aired April 2016. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/leslie-beauchamp-great-war-story.
[1964] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 275.
[1965] Falkner, *1917*, pp. 191, 222.
[1966] Falkner, *1917*, p. 318.
[1967] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 213, 276, 340.
[1968] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 289.
[1969] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 213.
[1970] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 117.
[1971] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 158-165, 267; Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, pp. 239, 240.
[1972] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, pp. 21, 84.
[1973] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'William Malone', aired 23/4/2015. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/william-malone-great-war-story.

and the segment features Richard Taylor explaining that 'in this moment [she] represents so many woman who lost loved ones'. Being 'grief-stricken' for her brother is the focus of the segment and there is little to no discussion of what her work as a nurse entailed.[1974] In both this section and the exhibit, her existence revolves around her brother. She is a mourner wearing a nurse uniform – not a nurse.

Mothers are the figures most likely to suffer this designation, even in the non-poppy material that portrays young women as independent and nuanced. The drive to present women as mothers who sacrifice their sons is so strong that the Great War Stories describes a woman who had no sons, so instead offered to send her horse to war.[1975] Throughout *Evie's War* the titular character's nameless mother is depicted as constantly worrying for her children's safety, with little of her own character.[1976] Mrs Smith in *When We Go To War* fills a highly traditional role compared to figures like Bea and Awa, as she refuses to get out of bed when her son Harry dies, asking for more sherry as she reads his letters. 'Tears don't grow any kumara', Awa tells her at one point, forcing her up and encouraging her to find a way forward. Her later devotion to fighting conscription offers a satisfying arc to her character that prevents her from being nothing but a designated mourner.[1977] In *25 April*, images of mothers are shown as the men ruminate on how their families would cope if they died;[1978] the presence of the nurse as an 'interviewee' ensures that this is not the only representation of women in the text. Other texts are not so generous. Glyn Harper and Jenny Cooper present a grieving, nameless mother in *Jim's Letters*, describing Jim and Tom's mother 'wiping her eyes' and showing her hugging their father in tears.[1979] In *The Red Poppy*, Jim thinks of his unnamed mother when he is injured and illustrator Fifi Colston depicts her in funeral clothes holding flowers;[1980] her and the wife and daughters in Karl's photograph are the only women in the text and they do not even appear in person, existing only in the memories of the men. Given that the odds are that it is mothers who will be reading these picture books to children, the presentation of women as nameless figures of grief is particularly grating.

Though there are plenty of women in traditional roles in the non-poppy material, there is also a significant number of women who actively fight against such a designations, something not really seen in the print histories. 'Danger makes you feel well', Tolerton quotes Lorna Monckton, a WAAC clerk who was 'less ladylike' than her sisters.[1981] The cover of *Evie's War* features the tagline 'they say women should "stay home and sit still" – but how can I?', suggesting the kind of character Evie is; she is a good representative of many of the female characters seen throughout the non-poppy material. Alice in *1914* is shown as not fitting into the traditional role expected of her; she calls the sewing groups 'silly' and tells Billy to 'imagine if I could enlist with [her horse] Molly instead of staying home knitting socks'. [1982] Billy thinks that he could imagine her 'galloping into battle' as 'she sure had the spunk for it'.[1983] Bobby in *1917* gets a shock when he realises Elisabeth is a similar kind of character, an 'activist' and a 'troublemaker' who declares herself a proud suffragette.[1984] 'Many of the women were quiet, subservient,' Bobby says, 'Elisabeth, I quickly found out, was not one of those'.[1985]

[1974] Cottrell, 'Lottle Le Gallais'.
[1975] Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. 'Bess the horse', aired 10/8/2014. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/bess-horse-great-war-story.
[1976] Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, p. 312.
[1977] Burger, 'Harry's Letter', 'Awa's Letter', 'Charles's Letter'.
[1978] Pooley, *25 April*.
[1979] Glyn Harper & Jenny Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, Auckland: Puffin Books, 2014, pp. 22, 25.
[1980] David Hill & Fifi Colston, *The Red Poppy*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2013, p. 18.
[1981] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 93.
[1982] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 20, 40.
[1983] Brocker, *1914*, p. 21.
[1984] Falkner, *1917*, p. 207
[1985] Falkner, *1917*, p. 202.

When We Go To War presents three different women who chafe against their traditional feminine roles. Bea fills the familiar role of nurse, but she is depicted as far less traditional than may be expected: she is actually training to be a doctor, and she is described as a 'radical' whose 'beliefs differ' from those around her. At one point she says she does not want to start crying as it 'will make me look like a weak woman'.[1986] Awa refuses to go home with her brother as she states it will mean being married off to have children to a man who 'already has four wives',[1987] and she is willing to be an outcast and suffer judgement in order to live her own life. Bea and Awa are both shown fighting to have their own lives as the men around them attempt to control them, while Cissy does not escape so easily. When she falls pregnant (out of wedlock) to Arthur – who leaves for America to avoid conscription – she is shamed and controlled by her father and brother and at one point is seen pulling bleach out of the cabinet. Just as Awa corrals Mrs Smith out of bed, she is the one who stops Cissy, telling her to buy a curtain ring and 'be a war widow'.[1988] Cissy's father and brother 'still refuse to speak to [her]' by the end of the show, but she has achieved some level of happiness thanks to Awa's help. Nevertheless, the shadow of how men can treat women hangs over all the main female characters of the show and threatens the happiness of many of the women across the non-poppy material.

Dehumanising and misogynistic attitudes towards women are acknowledged in the non-poppy material but are challenged significantly more than in the print histories. *Mademoiselle from Armentières* makes an appearance in *1916*, though in this version, she's winning the Croix de Guerre 'for washing soldiers' underwear',[1989] which is not sexually violent like the version Harper quotes but still presents her as a figure of sexualised servitude. Women are shown having to put up with being seen in this way; Tolerton discusses how Joseph Ward 'flirted publicly' with music hall artist Ada Reeve and describes his 'innuendo' about 'what [he] and the saucy star might get up to'.[1990] Hair repeatedly describes women by how attractive they are: 'bright-eyed', 'pretty' even when dressed in black and unsmiling[1991] – these female characters cannot even mourn in peace. Hair also depicts both Tamati and Leith putting women on pedestals with little regard for their actual feelings or own existence. Tamati falls for Vanessa, described in her various appearances as 'beautiful' and 'completely stunning', a 'prize yearling at the sales' who draws the attention of all the men who 'inadvertently fell in love'.[1992] Vanessa turns out to be a spy for the Germans, having used her beauty to charm information from the men; Hair ends up making her another female stereotype, the femme fatale.[1993] Near the start of *1916*, Leith dances with Mel from *1915*, which begins a fixation for the rest of the book. Hair describes her as 'a fine dancer' with 'a pretty face' – 'probably the prettiest girl in Cairo'.[1994] 'Two dances doesn't mean anything,' Menefy has Mel saying in *1915* after dancing with Leith, 'he'll have forgotten my name by tomorrow'.[1995] Hair shows, however, that two dances is enough for Leith to fantasise about a life with her and to 'break down' when she later does not recognise him. [1996] It is lucky that Menefy presents Mel as a fully developed character, because in Hair's text she exists only as a ideal for Leith to dream about.

Most of the non-poppy texts, like Menefy, allow women a voice that they are denied in the print histories. 'Men! Even when they're mere boys they think they can make all our decisions for us',

[1986] Burger, 'Bea's Letter'.
[1987] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'.
[1988] Burger, Cissy's Letter'.
[1989] Hair, *1916*, p. 108.
[1990] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 256.
[1991] Hair, *1916*, pp. 43, 70.
[1992] Hair, *1916*, pp. 109, 123, 125, 127, 166, 210, 255.
[1993] Hair, *1916*, p. 260.
[1994] Hair, *1916*, pp. 45, 48.
[1995] Menefy, *1915*, p. 263.
[1996] Hair, *1916*, pp. 105, 168, 268-9, 270.

Harriet scolds Billy in *1914*.[1997] Menefy and Mackenzie allow their women characters to admire men and have their own romantic desires,[1998] which balances interactions they have with the occasional soldier who 'thinks he's a lady's man', such as Mel being called a 'pretty face'.[1999] In *1918*, Hunt allows Mel to have agency when she asks Henry on a date and jokes that he 'owes her' for the blood donation.[2000] Brocker – another woman author – depicts Alice as the object of Billy's desire, but also shows that she has her own wants: Alice approaches Billy at the dance at the start of the book, telling him 'you're meant to come over and ask me to dance' before 'dragging' him onto the dancefloor.[2001] The women of *When We Go To War* are shown to be affected by patriarchy but thriving in spite of it: one of the very first scenes of the show depicts Bea enduring casual sexual harassment during her training, followed by her competence being belittled and the men around her focusing on her appearance rather than her medical skill.[2002] She still becomes a highly competent nurse who saves lives despite the men around her trying to hold her back. While Bea fights against men's misogyny, Awa uses it to her advantage: Manaaki may accuse her of being 'a white man's whore' and Alonso screams misogynistic slurs at her, but Awa is unfazed and uses her sexuality for her own gain, even using her own victimisation as a weapon to manipulate her brother. 'He wants what all men want,' she later says of Alonso, 'I'll string him along'.[2003] She seduces Richard – who is portrayed negatively, as a profiteer – to get money from him and happily announces that 'God helps those who help themselves'. The narrative never condemns Awa for her actions and instead allows her to triumph, even as other characters – those the audience have been primed to dislike – call her sexist names.

One of the most notable differences between the print histories and the non-poppy material is the appearance of sex workers. In the print histories, for the most part they are depicted as preying on the men and infecting them with STIs, while in the non-poppy material, they are almost non-existent. The only prominent appearance of sex workers is in *Tane's War*, where Weir portrays Tane's mother as a prostitute working to support her and her son, and trying to procure the best life possible for Tane (although he struggles to understand this).[2004] The male characters of the fictional non-poppy material are all depicted as having crushes on 'respectable' women rather than frequenting sex workers; the only mention of them is in *1916* when Hair writes that the estaminets around the town square 'were full of women whose company was available for a price', before specifying that 'Leith had been avoiding the square and so had Tamati'.[2005] Tolerton quotes one soldier who mentions the 'harpies' who 'hang about the stations looking for forlorn colonial soldier to bleed' and describes commissions into the 1920s blaming 'loose women' for increased STI rates.[2006] *When We Go To War* has a discussion of STIs that does not mention sex workers at all, focusing instead on Bea insisting that abstinence is 'unrealistic' in treating 'vice and its consequences' and being yelled at for explaining to her fellow nurses what prophylactics are; the show puts her in an Ettie Rout-esque role. Other than these brief discussions, the issue of STIs is really only mentioned in the context of discussing Ettie Rout, which Tolerton and the Great War Stories both do in some depth. Sex workers have almost completely been erased from the narrative in the non-poppy material, as the characters of the fictional texts are 'good' and stay away from such vices, while the non-fiction texts focus on Rout.

[1997] Brocker, *1914*, pp. 187-8.
[1998] Menefy, *1915*, p. 51.
[1999] Menefy, *1915*, pp. 171, 247-9.
[2000] Hunt, *1918,* p. 320.
[2001] Brocker, *1914*, p. 19.
[2002] Burger, 'Bea's Letter'.
[2003] Burger, 'Manaaki's Letter'.
[2004] Weir, *Tane's War*, p. 55.
[2005] Hair, *1916*, p. 110
[2006] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 191, 310, 343.

The Great War Stories has a segment on Ettie Rout, describing her as a 'pioneering health educator' who 'saved many lives' and worked 'in spite of government opposition'. The segment describes the 'vitriolic' response to her work but also the praise she received from soldiers, and quotes her assertion that 'telling lies about sex' will never halt the spread of STIs. The segment shows photographs of pieces of her prophylactic kit, including a WWI-era condom, and emphasises that she never received credit when these kits were eventually issued. It ends with the statement that 'tragically she was to take her own life'.[2007] This depiction is largely in line with that of the print histories: a bold 'pioneer' who suffered scorn and was never recognised in her own time, except by the soldiers she helped. Tolerton has a great deal to say about Rout and the way histories have depicted her. Tolerton describes her work and the opposition to it in detail and points out that prominent figures such as Louisa Godley and Thomas Mackenzie supported her, and describes the respect she earned from soldiers, writing that men would offer her 'salutes which they would have denied to brigadiers'. [2008] Tolerton also takes issue with the ways that Rout has been depicted in past narratives, including a number of misconceptions around her 'brothel inspections' and lack of recognition.[2009] Tolerton laments that centenary historiography has painted her as 'one of history's losers', which Tolerton argues she 'demonstrably' is not,[2010] and Tolerton ends by pointing out that centennial material has shown her in scarlet and pink when 'there is no evidence she wore anything but khaki'.[2011] She is, according to Tolerton, an example of women being 'disappeared and diminished during the centenary period'.[2012] The print histories do not 'disappear' Rout, but Tolerton's criticism that she is depicted as one of 'history's losers' could be levelled at the way the print history authors emphasise how 'she was not mentioned while alive, but was vaunted once she had committed suicide'.[2013]

At the intersection of the two identities discussed in this chapter are wāhine Māori, the representation of which – like in the print histories – is largely restricted to a select few prominent figures such as Te Puea. The Great War Stories discuss Te Puea, but do not even allow her an individual segment, instead wedging her story into a segment that also covers Māui Pōmare and the whole narrative of Māori conscription in a four-minute video. The segment does emphasise her 'eloquent' and personal leadership, ending with the assertion that her 'courageous stand against the Crown will long be remembered'.[2014] Tolerton's focus on 'women overseas' means that Te Puea is not featured in her text, though she does include a photograph of her.[2015] Other wāhine familiar from the print histories appear in the non-poppy texts, such as Alice Scott of Ngāpuhi with her boarding house for Māori soldiers; Tolerton writes that she likely used Māori healing practices on the men who stayed with her.[2016] Tolerton tells the same story of Kitty Pitt and Margaret Buck following their husbands to Egypt that Soutar does,[2017] and includes a photograph of Maggie (Makereti) Papakura and a description of her opening her home to convalescents.[2018] Reddiex similarly has a page-long account of Papakura, describing how she welcomed New Zealand soldiers to her home in Oxford and including a photographic postcard of her during her time as a tour guide.[2019] There are also more

[2007] Cottrell, 'Ettie Rout'.
[2008] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 131, 171-2, 212, 243-4, 263, 291-2, 310, 335, 342, 354.
[2009] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 291, 342.
[2010] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 354-5.
[2011] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 355.
[2012] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 355.
[2013] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 354.
[2014] Cottrell, 'Te Puea, Māui Pōmare and conscription'.
[2015] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 105. Tolerton does in fact discuss women in New Zealand quite often throughout her text, which makes the almost complete exclusion of Te Puea noticeable.
[2016] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 7, 86, 160.
[2017] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 104.
[2018] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, pp. 94-5, 129.
[2019] Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 97.

general discussions of Māori women during wartime, such as their 'disgust' that they were not allowed to accompany the men. Tolerton quotes a newspaper article that described 'contempt for the folly of letting warriors go forth without women'.[2020] Wāhine Māori are scarce in the fictional material; the closest figure is Hair's character Vanessa, who is Tahitian. Tamati at one point imagines that she had to 'struggle' like him as 'a dark-skinned orphan in a white man's world', and that 'given her gender, the struggle had been worse'.[2021] There are no Māori women at all across the fictional texts, an extremely notable exclusion with little that could justify it.

Though there are few Māori in her text, at one point Tolerton features a photograph of an unnamed Māori woman ambulance driver.[2022] That her name is not known is a loss, one all too common for those typically excluded from mainstream histories. Whoever she was, she represents a very different image from the most common figure of New Zealand's WWI history: she is not a soldier, she is not a man, and she is not white. She, like all the other Māori and women discussed in this chapter, deserves her place in the centenary narratives as much as the Pakeha Johnny Enzed. In the non-poppy material, women as a whole are represented well, with nuance and their own voices – though some authors do a better job than others. Māori, on the other hand, are much less prominent in the non-poppy material; even *1916*, the text that focuses on the Pioneers, ostensibly has Pakeha Leith as the main character. However, characters like Tamati, Tane, Awa and Manaaki are all fully rounded figures who are not confined to stereotypes. Overall, the non-poppy material is the inverse of the print histories, where a dedicated volume on Māori ensures their inclusion while women are left out in the cold.

[2020] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 104.
[2021] Hair, *1916*, p. 164.
[2022] Tolerton, *Make Her Praises*, p. 313.

Conclusion

'We must do more than remember': this was the challenge laid down for the centenary period by prominent historians such as Hew Strachan and Glyn Harper.[2023] The WW100 Programme certainly aimed to 'move beyond remembrance' to 'deepen understanding' by 'telling and preserving stories'[2024] – but did it succeed, and how did texts produced outside this poppy-branded programme compare? This research examined some of the key narrative themes that emerged during the centenary period, both in the Programme's print histories and in texts from across New Zealand's popular culture. These five key narratives are the New Zealand soldier, mateship and relationships, suffering and sacrifice, audience connections, and the inclusion/exclusion of Māori and women. This thesis analysed material produced under the auspices of the WW100 Programme in the form of the print history series, and compared and contrasted them with texts from outside of this 'official' history. This analysis sought to answer three key research questions:

1. How were the five key themes of the New Zealand soldier, mateship and relationships, suffering and sacrifice, audience connections and the inclusion/exclusion of Māori and women depicted by both the WW100 Programme's print histories and other material?
2. In what ways did the narratives of the print histories and the wider material differ or agree, and to what extent is there a gap between historiography and popular culture's understandings of WWI in New Zealand?
3. To what extent did the material produced during the centenary period achieve the aims and objectives set out by the WW100 Programme?

By answering these three questions, this thesis has explored the extent to which the centenary period 2014-2019 produced narratives and content that moved beyond remembrance towards a deeper, more critical understanding of New Zealand's WWI experience.

The print histories produced by the WW100 Programme formed one half of the material analysed for this thesis. These 11 volumes represent the subjects and authors chosen by the Programme, and though they are not 'official' histories – such as the government-sanctioned WWII official histories – the WW100 poppy logo they bear and their link to the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH), the NZDF, the RSA and Massey University means that these texts bear a certain level of authority and mana. Though they are not 'official', to the general public they appear as such, and they represent the subjects and narratives deemed most important to the WW100 Programme. In comparison, the other texts selected for analysis – the 'non-poppy material'[2025] – are not a concrete canon and reflect a more diverse range of voices and priorities. The reasons for these texts' inclusion vary. For example, Jane Tolerton's book was selected to reflect the lack of a women's history in the print volumes, and *When We Go To War* was chosen due to its primetime television audience.

The significance of this research and its findings relate to its timeliness and scope. This research was

[2023] Hew Strachan, 'First World War anniversary: we must do more than remember', 11/1/2013, retrieved from www.telegraph.co.uk/history/9795881/First-World-War-anniversary-we-must-do-more-than-remember.html on 19/2/2019; Glyn Harper, 'WWI centenary is chance for NZ education legacy', 25/4/2013, retrieved from www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/comment/8594754/WWI-centenary-is-a-chance-for-NZ-educational-legacy on 13/2/2019.
[2024] 'Mission and Objectives', www.ww100.govt.nz/mission-and-objectives, retrieved 12/2/2019.
[2025] A term chosen to reflect the lack of the 'authoritative' WW100 Programme poppy logo; 'non-official' was unsuitable as the print histories are not 'official' and 'popular culture' also does not fit as texts like Tolerton's are no more 'pop culture' than any of the print histories.

begun in 2019, still within the timeframe of the centenary period.[2026] Assessments of the centenary commemorations are still emerging as WW100 has barely retreated into the past. This thesis therefore forms a foundation on which future study can build, alongside the work of other researchers who have also begun to examine the output of the centenary period. The print histories are one of the period's most significant set of texts, and when taken together the eleven volumes form a sizeable contribution to New Zealand's recent WWI historiography. As a project supported by the MCH, NZDF, RSA and Massey University, it is crucial that they are examined and analysed as key texts that have, and will continue to have, significant influence. While the books have previously been reviewed as individual texts, this thesis is the first analysis of this material as a whole and the first examination of all eleven books from cover to cover, a feat of close analysis that covered several thousand pages. There is still more to be said about the print histories, but this thesis provides an overview of the themes and narratives of these texts and is the first, and so far only, research to do so. This thesis therefore forms an original and important contribution to the understanding of New Zealand's WWI historiography.

The scope of this thesis also included material that is commonly excluded from academic analysis, with the examination of the 'non-poppy' texts that covered a range of popular culture sources. Outside of niche intersections of media or literature studies and historiography, texts such as television shows or young adult novels are rarely acknowledged by historians, despite their usefulness as an indication of cultural understandings of history. These texts can reflect social interpretations of history as well as which narratives are most prominent in the public consciousness. By utilising these texts in this thesis, the thematic analysis can more broadly reflect New Zealanders' understanding of the war in a way not limited to academic historiographical circles. This thesis will hopefully encourage other historians to consider texts from outside the traditional historiography as valuable sources and encourage a greater engagement with writers and creators who are outside academia.

This thesis focuses on secondary publications, the texts produced at the end of a long process of examining primary materials. By making the secondary texts the primary sources, it is possible to get a summary of New Zealand's centennial WWI historiography – a vital step in the process of writing history. The review and analysis of historiography generates accountability and integrity, allowing historians to reflect on where they stand and where they are going. Analysing the historiography reveals what stories are being told and how, and what stories are underrepresented, misrepresented, or not represented at all. By examining a broad range of texts from across the community, this thesis encourages a reflection of how historians are writing WWI, as well as what those outside the academic communities are doing. It also considers the ways in which such non-academic texts and creators can offer valuable insights and more diverse perspectives. The findings of this research indicate an overall accordance between the print histories and the non-poppy material, though there are aspects where the non-poppy texts repeat old narratives of the 'Anzac myth' and ways in which the print histories lack diverse perspectives. The findings of this thesis therefore indicate that greater collaboration and connection between historiography and popular culture would benefit both sides.

Assessing the true 'success' of the WW100 Programme, the print histories, and the non-poppy texts would be another investigation altogether, requiring sales figures, reviews, and more in-depth public questioning beyond the Programme's concluding survey. But when measuring the texts assessed for this research against the Programme's aims and objectives,[2027] it becomes clear that there were

[2026] Delayed print histories are still unpublished, unfortunately putting them well beyond the scope of this research.

[2027] Commemorate New Zealanders' service and sacrifice in the First World War; explore how New Zealanders' war experiences helped to shape our distinct and evolving national identity and aspirations; highlight New Zealand's enduring commitment to peace, global security and international cooperation; strengthen New

varying degrees of fulfilment. The objectives that focussed on present-day global security and international relations are less pertinent to media texts than, say, the Ngā Tapuwae trails, but the print histories, as part of the Programme, were ostensibly working towards these objectives as a whole, and many non-poppy creators echoed similar concepts in author's notes or within their texts.[2028] The texts did 'tell and preserve stories' of New Zealanders 'at home and abroad', and their 'service and sacrifice' were 'commemorated' – though 'sacrifice' as a narrative concept was investigated more thoroughly than these broad aims would first suggest. 'Our distinct and evolving identity' was prominent in the majority of the texts, as the distinctive New Zealand soldier took his place as the narrative's main character and many creators sought to include recognisably Kiwi elements in their texts – particularly tikanga Māori and te Reo. The Programme's aims refer to a 'living legacy' – a phrase that is evocative, though not specific; it could be argued that the concerted effort by many of the texts to bring the war 'to life' through techniques that connected with audiences reflect this objective. The aims that were the most pertinent to this thesis referred to 'deepening understanding' and making people 'more informed'. The examined texts all evidently aimed, to some extent, to foster a deeper understanding of New Zealand's WWI experience, whether through presenting historical fact or immersing audiences in evocative fiction. The extent to which these texts did 'deepen understanding' – questioned popular conceptions, added nuance, included previously underrepresented narratives – varies across the main themes, with some handled better than others. There are also differences between the print histories and the non-poppy material in how these themes were depicted.

The depiction of the New Zealand soldier is relatively consistent across all the material studied. He is the main character of the centenary, and is in many ways presented as a familiar, relatable figure who represents popular conceptions of the New Zealand identity. Most importantly, he is brave, determined and adaptable, with a strong sense of equality (that does not always extend to women) and an often-dark sense of humour to cope. The resourceful adaptability of New Zealand 'no.8 wire thinking' is never questioned in the material; it is an inherent part of popular notions of New Zealand masculinity and the narrative of Anzacs. Both print and non-poppy authors emphasise that New Zealand soldiers are clever and practical, armed with jam tin bombs and improvised equipment. Bravery is the most prominent trait in all the material, though it is more complicated than resourcefulness. Men are largely depicted as determined to 'soldier on' in the print histories, even when scared. In the non-poppy material, being brave when wounded is most important, though several authors interrogate the line between bravery and an inability to admit to fear due to the rigidly enforced ideals of toxic masculinity. Men feel afraid in all the texts, but in the print histories the main narrative is that they can push through it and still be good, brave soldiers; the non-poppy material is more interested in the interiority of these men and the way they grapple with this fear. The non-poppy authors, often writing fiction, are able to depict the interior lives of their characters in a way that the print authors cannot, due to the limits of working with primary sources that often lack written reflections by real soldiers on their own emotions. This explains to some extent the greater focus on mental stress, fear, and the complexities of masculine expectation, but these authors could just as easily have portrayed inner lives more in adherence to traditional ideas of bravery and determination. The non-poppy material seems to lean more towards an emotional, sensitive New Zealand soldier, while the print histories present a figure more in line with traditional New Zealand masculinity. Both sets of material acknowledge that sometimes men were overcome by

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Zealand's bilateral relationships with Australia and all other participants in the First World War; deepen understanding of the First World War by telling and preserving stories about New Zealanders' war experiences at home and abroad; provide a living legacy of the war's impacts and on-going significance, so current and future generations are more informed.

[2028] For example, *When We Go To War* ends with lines about the stories told to grandchildren, and Glenn Reddiex mentions how his publishing postcards 'form[s] a lasting memory of those New Zealanders who served'. Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know*, p. 173.

the fear and stress they were made to endure, and depictions of self-injury and suicide are present in several of the texts. Yet discussions of this topic are rare, and often wrapped up in either the contemporary arguments around shirking and cowardice (the print histories), or modern narratives around mental health (the non-poppy texts). That both sets of material and several different authors are willing to discuss this narrative at all is a positive acknowledgement that many New Zealand soldiers could not simply 'soldier on', and reflects a desire to move beyond the tired and potentially harmful stereotype of the stoic, 'she'll be right' Kiwi bloke.

Above all else, across the material, the New Zealand soldier is depicted as a good soldier. In the non-poppy material, this is a natural trait born of a colonial background, while the print histories are more critical of the 'natural soldier' narrative, favouring instead the portrayal of strength and prowess built up through training. The material universally presents New Zealanders as bigger and stronger than their British counterparts, though in the print histories this is the training at work after the men are 'whipped into shape', while the non-poppy material presents the opposite, with naturally strong men withering away as the war wears them down. Māori in particular are the focus of this 'natural warrior' narrative, though authors like Monty Soutar and characters like Tamati in *1916* question this harmful, othering stereotype. In the print histories, some men enjoy the fighting, though this is uncommon and not readily admitted, while the non-poppy texts depict men being excited at the idea of fighting but not the reality. In the non-poppy material, the 'heroes' do not like violence, and characters who kill are depicted as emotionally damaged by it. Nevertheless, although the New Zealand soldier largely does not enjoy killing, he is shown as good at it: a formidable and well-earned reputation is a key part of the narrative of both sets of material, especially when it comes to mobile or irregular warfare and the Pioneers.

One notable aspect of the depiction of the New Zealand soldier is the attempt to portray a more well-rounded image that encapsulates the unsoldierly behaviours that have been previously overlooked to preserve Johnny Enzed's image. In this material, such 'bad behaviour' is included, but never seriously challenges the narrative of New Zealanders as 'good soldiers'. The print histories emphasise drinking and sex, usually as harmless fun but sometimes more serious problems. The acknowledgement of the huge issue of STIs among the soldiers is prominent, though often it is still accompanied by unfair and inappropriate blaming of the women sex workers. The non-poppy material, on the other hand, almost completely ignores the fact that New Zealand soldiers hired sex workers; the protagonist figures of the non-poppy texts are 'good boys' who avoid such temptation. Across the material authors portray classic Kiwi larrikins, whose drinking and stealing is charmingly roguish and never harms their friends or impedes their performance on the battlefield. More serious crimes perpetrated by New Zealand soldiers are acknowledged, but still minimised; Wasa'a and Surafend are mentioned only briefly, and racism is deemed 'of its time'. In the print histories, bad behaviour is depicted but never tarnishes the New Zealand soldier's heroic nature, while in the non-poppy material it largely does not exist. Across all the material, the dominant narrative is of the good soldier: even if he has flaws, feels fear, or acts poorly, the New Zealand soldier of the centenary narratives always fights well for his mates.

Crucially, the New Zealand soldier does not exist in isolation, and the relationships he forms are another key narrative thread of the centennial material. The vital importance of male bonds is emphasised across the material, and mateship is depicted as one of the most fundamental parts of the New Zealand soldier's existence. These bonds are shown to be forged through shared suffering, and they allow the men to go above and beyond what they would otherwise be capable of in order to help a mate, no matter the risk. Mateship is portrayed as a lifeline that saves the men and pulls them through the darkest struggles. In the non-poppy material, this extends to emotional support as well, with male characters able to innately understand each other and meet each other's needs without having to be too vulnerable. Men can be emotionally vulnerable when it comes to the animals around them, with the bond formed between men and their horses emerging as a surprising but prominent theme throughout the texts; in the non-poppy material this also extends to dogs.

One of the most notable aspects of the narrative of mateship is the pain of losing mates; grief is the most overt emotion displayed by the men and the texts use the death of friends to communicate the horrors of war in a more comprehensible, tangible way. The non-poppy material in particular often uses the death of one close friend to portray the destruction of the whole war. Grief is also expressed in more nuanced ways in the non-poppy material, where authors can invent fictional scenes rather than relying on what men were willing to disclose in letters or journals. The idea that friendships on the front were fleeting or shallow is thoroughly dismissed by these texts, with the non-poppy material depicting men who closed themselves off as trying to protect themselves from the inevitable devastation of losing friends, and the print histories arguing that men could only stay detached for so long and inevitably had to turn to the bonds of mateship to survive.

Grief is also a driving factor in how the texts depict the men's relationship to the enemy. Hatred or the desire to enact violence is attributed to the grief of loss, with men wanting revenge for the deaths of friends; though there is also a strong narrative of respect for a skilled enemy who are generally depicted (when they appear at all) as real people, with families and lives, who want to be in the trenches as little as the New Zealanders do. The main differences between the print and non-poppy texts in the depiction of relationships are the levels of antagonism shown between the New Zealand men. The print histories include the occasional instance of discord, but largely emphasises the ways that men had to work and live together regardless of issues. Officers are also mostly portrayed as paternal and respected, a strong contrast to old narratives of bumbling or cold commanders. In the non-poppy material, however, many officers are depicted as uncaring or cruel, often representing a callous indifference to life, or war in general. Conflict between men is also prominent in the non-poppy texts, as authors use antagonism within units to drive narrative conflict. In the print histories, the relationships between the New Zealand men are almost idealistic, with mateship being a driving factor in men's survival and the main, sometimes only, source of expressed emotion. The non-poppy material may have more conflict between the men, but the relationships between friends is similarly sacrosanct. Mateship is a dominant and largely untouchable theme throughout the centennial material, and is the emotional core of the narratives.

The other dominant emotional theme of the material is suffering. The line between accurately portraying the experiences of war and wallowing in the gore and misery is a fine one, and the need to create tonally 'appropriate' texts that neither glorified nor sanitised the violence of war means that the depiction of suffering was a prominent theme throughout the material. Dead bodies, dismembered parts, and brutal wounds are highly visible across the texts, from the academic material through to picture books. Gore is described in detail in verbal texts, and often shown graphically in visual content – though the visual material almost universally shies away from depicting the corpses of dead New Zealanders. Several factors limit the 'torture porn' potential of accurately portraying war's violence: the non-graphic nature of written text, the limits of WWI-era photography and its grainy, black-and-white images, and the need for film texts – the most potentially disturbing – to work within national broadcasting standards. The material also largely depicts suffering done to bodies – in close ups, without names, en masse – rather than individual people; isolated imagery of wounds and blood rather than violence being inflicted on the men-as-characters.

The sufferings of death immersion – living amongst corpses and existing in the limbo of no-man's-land while wounded – are common themes in the material, as are the disgusting parts of war: stink, flies, lice, and mud, all causing disease. The print histories also emphasise the terrible food, while the non-poppy material has more focus on rats; these slight differences do not affect the fact that these most well-known aspects of the war are highly prominent. Exhaustion and emotional suffering – both on the front and at home – are also prominent facets of the suffering narrative. The depictions of some elements are surprising: gas, a misery iconic of and largely limited to this war, is downplayed, with the print histories emphasising that it was not particularly deadly (though it was psychologically damaging), and the non-poppy material not focusing on it. Critics have accused war

history of shying away from acknowledging violence done *by* New Zealanders,[2029] but the print histories do not avoid depictions of close quarters fighting and the killing of prisoners. However, such actions are largely portrayed in the print histories as being done by Māori men – reflecting negative 'native savage' stereotypes – and the non-poppy material omits such content. It is notable that highly emotive language appears across the texts, with familiar phrases like the 'hell' and 'horror' of war particularly prominent. Creators also use copious dehumanisation imagery that links soldiers to insects and machines. As a whole, these aspects of the narrative of suffering are largely familiar to audiences. Corpses and mud are inherent parts of the landscape of WWI narratives, and have been for a century. These centennial texts largely present what is expected, a graphic level of violence and suffering that is acceptable within the context of a war narrative – as long as it never goes 'too far'.

The justification of this suffering – the narrative of sacrifice – is more complex. Characters in the fictional texts engage with the idea of meaningful sacrifice for a cause, but often question its validity, and throughout the texts the concept of sacrifice is often referenced in headings, dedications and endings due to its emotive, attention-grabbing power. The popular notion of WWI as pointless, arbitrary and costly is more dominant, especially within the non-poppy material, which largely embraces the 20th century narrative of a generation thrown away. The print histories examine the idea that sacrifice towards a greater cause was a necessary narrative for coping and are less willing to wholly embrace the concept of the war as pointless suffering, but the war's costliness is certainly one of the most prominent themes. Across the texts, the dominant focus is on commemoration: regardless of whether the men sacrificed their lives for a greater cause or were killed at random for no reason, the texts emphasise that they and their deaths must be remembered.

Deepening connections through telling stories was one of the specific aims of the WW100 Programme, and in an era where history has moved away from top-down, impersonal narratives, a more people-focused approach was evident across the material. There is a strong emphasis on individuals, with authors making considerable effort to include the names and photographs of as many people as possible and almost all the texts – particularly the non-poppy material – telling the stories of personal experiences. Creators work to make their subjects real people rather than statistics, using their first-hand accounts and allowing the narratives of the war to be conveyed through specific examples rather than generalised descriptions. The non-poppy material in particular often features the words of real figures read by descendants or actors to bring the narratives to life, and gives details of characters' lives before and after the war to flesh out their stories. Texts often feature recognisable, notable or interesting figures – from famous people and soldiers with unique experiences to modern New Zealand celebrities and recurring fictional characters – to draw audiences in and create a strong focal point of connection from which to deliver the narrative. There is also a significant interest in families, including descendants and the creators' own personal connections, which links to a strong emotive factor and the potential to harness audience's own interest in their family histories.

Different techniques to 'make it real' are used by the material based on the medium, with books emphasising reproductions of ephemera – both photographs and tactile elements that allow the immediacy of encountering the 'real history' of a museum exhibit. Fictional texts adopt the power of ephemera with faux examples that emulate the handwriting or bent pages of real letters, creating a greater realism to heighten the impact of their narratives. Film texts use POV shots and disorientation techniques to place the viewer in the mind of the characters, drawing audiences into the narrative by placing them 'within' the experience. These various techniques all aim to make the war more 'real' to audiences, allowing a more effective delivery through creating greater investment. The non-poppy texts work to appeal to a more general audience than the print histories, with texts aimed at children and often more modernised narratives, such as the soapy aspects of *When We Go*

[2029] For example, Aaron Fox argued that the Te Papa Gallipoli exhibit avoided 'the business of killing'. Aaron Fox, 'Commemorating the First World War', *New Zealand Journal of History* 53:1 (2019), pp. 77-89.

To War. The more that authors incorporate visual, tactile or modern elements, the broader their texts' potential appeal – such as Damien Fenton's extensive use of full colour, image-heavy spreads in a text aimed at the widest possible audience. The quest to make texts as accessible and immersive as possible has risks and potential pitfalls, as pointed out by some authors. In the print histories, there is some acknowledgement that using specific individuals to tell general war narratives can be problematic given the subjective nature of one person's experience and the likelihood of conflicting accounts. The non-poppy texts often face the problems of historical fiction: putting words into real people's mouths, adjusting facts for a better story, and fictionalising historical figures to make them into full characters, with personalities that may not be accurate. The authors of all these texts had to balance communicating accurate historical narratives with creating interesting, immersive stories – there is no point in trying to deepen historical understanding with dry, boring texts that no one will consume. On the whole, authors favour an interesting narrative and techniques that made their texts appealing, while acknowledging the nuances of doing so. Underlying all of this is the fact that, when emphasising individuals and their stories, as these texts do, it is inevitable that someone must decide whose stories are told.

Inclusion and exclusion are a key theme across the material, and though many different groups could be examined in this context, Māori and women were the dominant minorities that stood out. The print histories work hard to bring Māori to the forefront of the narrative, with Monty Soutar's volume on the Māori war experience – at home and overseas – presenting an accessible, encompassing text, while other authors endeavour to include Māori throughout their own narratives. Te Reo and tikanga Māori are an intrinsic part of Soutar's text, and the other authors also include these elements to appeal not just to Māori readers, but also the general public for whom they are a familiar and unique part of New Zealand's cultural identity. The print histories work to portray a wide range of Māori experiences, from the accomplishments of the Pioneers to the battle over conscription for Waikato iwi. There is a strong sense that there is not one unified Māori experience and there is a clear attempt to include as many Māori voices and stories as possible to demonstrate this, and to make up for the historic overlooking of the part that Māori played in the New Zealand WWI narrative. There is also a highlighting of the Pasifika experience, particularly the struggles faced by Niuean soldiers.

Much of this is also reflected in the non-poppy material. Māori main characters such as Tane, Manaaki and Tamati have vastly different war experiences and break stereotypes in various ways; even Manaaki, depicted as an elite and natural Māori warrior, is also capable of deep emotion and vulnerability. The depth and nuance of the Māori characters can to some extent compensate for the fact that Māori overall are less represented across the non-poppy texts. Familiar pieces of Māori culture are even more prominent in these texts, with the haka being used throughout – 'Ka Mate' in particular, the most well-known haka to modern New Zealanders. There is much less examination of the experience of Māori at home, and very little discussion of conscription, though Māori opposition to the war based on past grievances against the British is alluded to in several texts. Like in the print histories, there is some discussion of racism faced by Māori and there is a suggestion that the war helped to ameliorate this through the respect gained by the Pioneers' performance and the 'mateship' forged between Māori and Pakeha soldiers. Across the material, both print histories and non-poppy, the presence of Māori voices is strong, with an emphasis on the vast array of experiences that Māori had during the war, as opposed to one narrative shared by all Māori.

The representation of women in the material, on the other hand, is vastly different depending on the text. The print histories did not include a volume dedicated to women, and there is a significant disparity between male and female authors, with Anna Rogers being the only woman to author a text alone. The print histories aimed to include women throughout the texts in lieu of a specific volume; as a whole the authors make varying degrees of effort to include the experiences of women but men always come first (with the possible exception of Rogers's medical volume). Nurses are prominent, and there is some acknowledgement of the other working roles that New Zealand

women played, such as doctors, drivers and volunteers. This is the most positive inclusion of women in the print histories, especially given the historic erasure of the nurses. There is some discussion of women stepping into farming or factory roles, though more prominent are the traditionally feminine roles women played, knitting and fundraising at home. The narrative of 'designated mourners' is raised by some texts, though for the most part women are not prominent enough figures for it to be thoroughly analysed.

More notable is the presentation of women as sexual objects or vectors of disease. Language of sexual objectification permeates some of the print histories, and sex workers are overwhelmingly portrayed in negative terms as actively infecting soldiers. The highlighting of Ettie Rout in many texts is heartening, giving her recognition for her achievements and touting modern attitudes towards sex. But lauding Rout's safe-sex campaigning does not justify the unquestioning inclusion of misogynistic slurs used by the men, or the quoting of a version of *Mademoiselle from Armentières* in which 'they fucked his wife until she was dead' and essentially dismissing it as 'locker room talk'. In the print histories, there is some tendency to depict women as either 'nice' nurses, dedicated wives, or 'dirty' sexual objects. Women are included, but almost always in the context of their relationship to men, and the lack of many women authors or a women's volume – as well as the objectification of women by some authors – undermines much of the good work done by others. Despite the acknowledgements that women had to fight to be included and recognised during the war, the minimising of their presence in the print histories continues this narrative of erasure.

The non-poppy material contains a great deal more women, with a great deal more nuance. This is partly thanks to Jane Tolerton's text, which asserts itself as a direct response to the exclusion of women from the print histories. Tolerton covers a wide variety of women and their varied experiences, though her focus is on women overseas and so those who stayed at home are (mostly) not included – an issue that particularly affects wāhine Māori. Other texts, such as *When We Go To War*, do feature the women at home, though the majority of the non-poppy women are nurses, as in the print histories. They almost always exist as their own people, their place in the narrative not dependant on their relationship to a man, though the narrative of women as wives and mothers whose role is to mourn is present throughout several of the texts. Female figures of the non-poppy material are notably never objectified; when women are love interests, they are presented as fully rounded characters in their own right, and many authors portray the women themselves as having their own romantic desires, or even going against expected gender roles in various ways. The fact that the non-poppy texts contain significantly more women writing about women is likely a main factor in this difference between the two sets of material – though male authors throughout the texts do show themselves capable of writing about women in nuanced ways. It is sex workers who are given the short straw in the non-poppy material; instead of being dirty vectors of disease, here they simply do not exist. Historically shamed and marginalised, it is little wonder that their words either did not survive or were never recorded. It is these kinds of figures – those on the very edges of recorded history – who most benefit from historical fiction. Gay soldiers like Tane or independent, pragmatic Māori women like Awa certainly existed, and though they may never have left enough trace to find a place in historiography – though historians could certainly look harder for them – they can be represented by fiction.

By analysing these key narrative themes, several key observations can be made about culture in New Zealand in the centennial period. There is an increased focus on inclusivity and diversity, especially with regards to Māori – the significant attention paid to the Māori experience demonstrates the greater awareness of matauranga Māori in New Zealand society, especially given the renaissance of te Reo and a revitalised interest in te Ao Māori. There are the beginnings of queer voices in these texts – most notably by Brendaniel Weir, but there are also mentions by Gavin McLean and within *When We Go To War*. The presence of queer voices is still very small, but authors such as Weir are working to create inclusion of a queer narrative, one that is hard to discern when relying on first-hand accounts: this demonstrates the value fiction can offer. The greater inclusion reflects an

increased diversity with New Zealand society when it comes to the LGBT+/takatāpui community, and though it still lags behind the inclusion of Māori or women, further research that builds on what is beginning to develop will be another important future step. When it comes to the treatment of women in this material, the problems of inclusion may reflect an enduring struggle within feminism and women's rights, where official channels are content that the work has been done and enough progress has been made that women's voices do not need continued nurturing, though there is still a public desire for more women's voices. Given the exclusions of the print histories, it seems that rather than relying on official channels to champion women, these desired women's voices may have to continue to come from grassroots origins, from within communities, and from women historians venturing out from the safety of academic feminist journals.

Despite not being a theme examined in this thesis, the dominance of Anzac, nation-making and Gallipoli is still evident. Even when very few of these texts directly address the Gallipoli campaign, these concepts remain highly present throughout the material, demonstrating the enduring influence of the Anzac narrative. Involvement in war is still seen as a central part of New Zealand's identity, and there is still a massive interest in WWI – New Zealanders are clearly still invested in this story, and it is still seen as significant. The way that the public wish to engage with this history is focused on the personal connection: New Zealanders are also particularly interested in family histories and personal stories, with a focus on the everyday and the relatable. The impact of non-words – images, film, ephemera – can be significant in a social media age of immediacy, where the most effective ways of communicating history are those that are personal, tangible and immersive. This also speaks to the rise of genealogy and its impact on historiography, as people gain more access to their familial pasts and no longer need to rely on historians – which raises the question, how can history keep up with this and continue to be relevant to New Zealanders?

It is clear from this research that narratives that emerge outside of ordained spheres are extremely valuable in the presentation of historical knowledge. Though the red poppy logo printed on the covers of the print histories grant them historiographical mana, the reach and influence of the non-poppy texts make them just as important in the deepening of understanding. Media not usually considered academically significant, such as fiction (especially film), and voices less often heard in historiographical spaces, such as women or queer authors, can provide viewpoints and ideas that bring fresh perspectives to familiar war narratives. They can, in short, 'deepen understanding' – especially to the general public. 'It has greater reach', Soutar argued after publishing his first novel, a work of historical fiction. 'People don't read [military history] but they do read fiction'.[2030] It is highly likely that a New Zealander who saw a Great War Stories segment on the news, or enjoyed *When We Go To War*, or read their child *Jim's Letters*, or could relate to women like Mel or Evie or Bea, may be drawn in by these more accessible texts and seek out *Johnny Enzed* or *With Them Through Hell* or any of the other print histories that offered more information on the narrative that interested them. As the WWII and te Tiriti o Waitangi centenaries loom, the value of minority voices, of fiction, of film and new media, cannot be ignored. In order to deepen understanding, historians must trust those outside their academic sphere – both creators and audiences – to join them on the narrative journey. With any luck, one of the teenage girls who read *Evie's War* in 2019 will be at the forefront of this journey when 2039 comes around.

[2030] Monty Soutar as told to Liam Rātana, 'Dr Monty Soutar writes fiction to teach young Māori about the facts of their history', Stuff.co.nz, 10/9/2022, retrieved from https://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/129819151/dr-monty-soutar-writes-fiction-to-teach-young-mori-about-the-facts-of-their-history on 8/7/2024.

Appendix of primary sources

The print histories

Imelda Bargas and Tim Shoebridge, *New Zealand's First World War Heritage*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015.
Examines sites around New Zealand in their historical context and uses these heritage places to tell the story of New Zealand's home front experience.

Adam Claasen, *Fearless: The extraordinary untold story of New Zealand's Great War airmen*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017.
Describes the experiences of New Zealand pilots, mechanics, and others involved in the air war.

John Crawford, David Littlewood, and James Watson (eds.), *Experience of a Lifetime: People, Personalities and Leaders in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2016.
A collection of chapters by various authors, each of which examines an individual or very small group, most (but not all) of which are connected to New Zealand.

Damien Fenton, *New Zealand and the First World War 1914-1919*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2013.
A book comprised of 50 two-page spreads, each on a different topic related to New Zealand's WWI experience, arranged largely chronologically. The book features a large number of pockets and foldouts and is dominated by colour photographs.

Glyn Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2015.
Describes the experiences of the 'average' New Zealand soldier, including those in unusual positions such as tunnellers and cyclists. Relies heavily on first-hand accounts.

Glyn Harper, *For King and Other Countries: The New Zealanders who fought in other services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019.
Describes the experiences of New Zealanders who were connected to other nations during the war, mostly Britain and Australia. Includes non-combatants and some women. Includes a lengthy honour roll of every New Zealander who served in another nation's force.

Steven Loveridge and James Watson, *The Home Front: New Zealand Society and the War Effort*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2019.
Covers the home front experience, focussing on political and economic factors.

Ian McGibbon, *New Zealand's Western Front Campaign*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2016.
Examines the Western Front experience, including military accounts of battles as well as everyday experiences of the men.

Gavin McLean, *The White Ships: New Zealand's First World War Hospital Ships*, Wellington: New Zealand Ship & Marine Society, 2013.
Details the *Marama* and the *Maheno*, New Zealand's two hospital ships, and those who worked on them. Describes the journeys the ships took and how they were outfitted and kept running.

Anna Rogers, *With Them Through Hell: New Zealand Medical Services in the First World War*, Auckland: Massey University Press, 2018.
Describes the New Zealanders who served in any medical capacity, including nurses, doctors, stretcher-bearers, convalescent workers, vets, chaplains and dentists (among others).

Soutar, Monty, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Maori in the First World War*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd, 2019.
Describes the Māori experience of the war, focussing on the Pioneer battalion but also including two

chapters on Māori support, resistance and conscription at home. Includes honour rolls after each chapter.

The non-poppy texts

The non-poppy texts were selected to cover a large number of genres. The ten different categories reflect the 11 volumes of the print histories, creating a roughly equal body of material.

Young adult series: The *Kiwis at War* Series. Susan Brocker, *1914: Riding into War*, Brian Falkner, *1917: Machines of War*, David Hair, *1916: Dig for Victory*, Des Hunt, *1918: Broken Poppies*, Diana Menefy, *1915: Wounds of War*. All published by Scholastic, 2014-2018.
Each of these novels focuses on one year of New Zealand's war experience, and characters appear in multiple texts though the books stand alone. *1914* follows Billy and his cousin Jack, who go to war with their horses as mounted rifles but fight at Gallipoli as infantry. In *1915* Mel and her cousin Harriet work as nurses aboard the *Maheno*. *1916* follows Leith and Tamati, members of the Pioneer Battalion, who deal with antagonism from their sergeant and foil a German spy plot. *1917* focusses on Bob, who at 17 years old takes his deceased brother's place in the Royal Flying Corps and becomes an ace, fighting against the Red Baron's Jasta 11. In *1918* Henry finds a fox terrier in a French town and vows to return 'Poppy' to her owners, which he eventually does, as she accompanies him across the Western Front and through post-war France.

Television drama: Peter Burger (dir.), *When We Go To War*, six episodes, aired April-May 2015 on TV1.
A primetime drama series commissioned by TVNZ which aired in the prime Sunday evening slot. Follows the Smith family including sons Charles and Harry and daughters Bea and Cissy, as well as Māori siblings Awa and Manaaki, who are close to the Smiths, and German neighbours the Muellers. Harry, Charles and Manaaki serve at Gallipoli, Bea works as a nurse, and Cissy fundraises at home.

Film: Peter Burger (dir.), *Field Punishment No. 1*, Lippy Pictures, 2014. DVD.
A biographical film about Archibald Baxter and the other conscientious objectors, such as Mark Briggs, who were sent to the front and suffered imprisonment and field punishment no. 1.

TV shorts: Anna Cottrell (dir./prod.), *Great War Stories*. Aired August 2014, April 2015, April 2016, April 2017, April 2018.
These 35 four-minute shorts were aired during the TV3 6pm news for one week a year from 2014-2018. Presented and narrated by Hilary Barry and Mike McRoberts, each segment focused on one aspect of New Zealand's WWI experience – mostly individuals or small groups. Descendants and school children were prominent and there was heavy emphasis on remembrance.

Children's picture books: Glyn Harper and Jenny Cooper, *Jim's Letters*, Auckland: Puffin Books, 2014; David Hill and Fifi Colston, *The Red Poppy*, Auckland: Scholastic, 2013.
Jim's Letters follows Jim and his soldier brother, who write back and forth until Jim's letter is returned unopened. The letters are included, some of which fold out for readers to look at. Harper has written several war books for children as well as being a print history author. *The Red Poppy* is by one of New Zealand's preeminent children's authors and tells the story of New Zealand soldier Jim being injured and sharing a shell hole with a similarly injured German soldier. They talk about their lives back home until Jim's ratting dog Nipper finds them and leads stretcher-bearers to them.

Young adult fiction: Anna Mackenzie, *Evie's War*, New Zealand: Longacre, 2015.
Evie's family have just moved to England from New Zealand when war breaks out, and Evie volunteers with her first aid experience. She works in convalescent homes and then in hospitals in a VAD/nursing role (the text does not specify) in London before heading to France to take her injured friend Winifred's place as an ambulance driver. She also falls in love with an officer, who is killed. The book is written in the form of Evie's diary.

Animation: Leanne Pooley (dir.), *25 April*, General Film Corporation, 2015. https://ondemand.nzfilm.co.nz/film/25-april/.
The feature-length film follows a handful of real people at Gallipoli, covering the eight months between the landing and the retreat. The main figures are presented as if they are being interviewed, telling their stories to the 'camera' and narrating the action. The animation allows for heavy use of symbolism and visual metaphor.

Ephemera book: Glenn Reddiex, *Just to Let You Know I'm Still Alive*, Wellington: Grantham House Publishing, 2015.
This text uses postcards sent to and from New Zealand soldiers to tell the story of New Zealand's WWI experience. The chapters focus on different themes that the postcards featured (New Zealand connections, horses, weapons, France) and use both the images on the front and the messages on the back to tell stories about the individuals who sent and received them. Many are from Reddiex's personal collection.

Non-fiction book: Jane Tolerton, *Make Her Praises Heard Afar: New Zealand women overseas in World War One*, Wellington: Booklovers Books, 2017.
Tolerton presents her text as a response to the print histories' lack of a volume on women. The book focuses on women overseas, though does also discuss some women at home in New Zealand. The text uses first-hand accounts to tell the overall chronological narrative of the war, though the focus is far more on the individual women and their words and experiences than the war narrative.

Contemporary adult fiction: Brendaniel Weir, *Tane's War*, Auckland: Cloud Ink Press, 2018.
The novel focuses on Tane, a farm manager in the 1950s who fought in Europe as a teenager after running away from his struggling single mother. The narrative jumps between the 1950s story (which has a separate narrative focussing on the farmhands Tane manages) and Tane's wartime experience, where he befriends a fellow private named Wiremu and falls in love with British cavalry officer Zach.

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