Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

REMEMBERING SEAFARERS

The (Missing) History of New Zealanders employed in the Mercantile Marine during World War 1

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in History

at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

Philip R. Lascelles 2014

ABSTRACT

The story of the New Zealand men and women who were employed in the Mercantile Marine during World War 1 is absent from the historiography. This thesis contends that this workforce of New Zealanders existed, was substantial in number and that their human stories are missing from historiography despite there being extensive wartime stories to tell.

A workforce of New Zealand merchant seafarers existed during World War 1 and is definable and recognisable as a group. Each individual within this group is not easily identifiable because detailed and completed records of their identity and service were never centrally maintained.

New Zealand maritime and World War 1 histories have not addressed the seafarers' intimate human stories and have instead focus on either Naval or industry stakeholder's organisational history of the war period. This is clearly evident from a detailed review of relevant material published during the century since the declaration of World War 1 in 1914.

The crew employed on the Union Steam Ship Company's twin screw steamship *Aparima* provide a small but enlightening example of the human stories that are absent. Their individual stories encompass many aspects of everyday experiences such as the ever present danger of enemy attack and the impact of the war on the crew and their families and loved ones. A microhistory of New Zealanders employed on *Aparima* refutes by example, the argument that World War 1 New Zealand merchant seafarers did not have a unique story to tell and therefore they are absent from historiography.

The history of New Zealand maritime and World War 1 historiography provides possible reasons for the missing history, as does the demographics of this workforce. The primary rationale identified include government and military editorial influence, a sense that merchant seafarers belonged to the British rather than New Zealand Mercantile Marine, and a belief that they did not fit alongside the ANZAC legend of the heroic soldier sacrificing all for King and Country.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, my sincere thanks go to my supervisor Dr Kerry Taylor for his input throughout this project. Undertaking this thesis remotely has been challenging and I am therefore especially thankful to Kerry for being readily accessible to provide support, advice and guidance when needed, often by email and remote meetings.

Dr Gavin McLean of Ministry for Culture and Heritage has a longstanding interest in the history of the Mercantile Marine and the Union Steam Ship Company. I am very grateful for the time he provided to share suggestions and observations regarding my thesis proposal. His generosity is much appreciated.

Writing a thesis on a history that is missing has required searching a significant amount of primary material. I am particularly appreciative to the team at Wellington City Archives for their efforts in guiding me through the Union Steam Ship Company Archives. I especially wish to thank Team Leader Adrian Humphris for his, guidance and search effort, and archivists Avon MacDonald, Rachael Manson and Anna Monson for making requested material available to me, often at short notice.

Christina Tuitubou, Dr Gabrielle Fortune, John A. Ross (WW2 Merchant Navy & Royal Navy veteran) and Paul Hobbs in the Armoury Information Centre at Auckland War Memorial Museum have provided ongoing support and encouragement and have assisted with the location of troopship magazines and other material on individual seafarers. Thank you for your help and your friendship.

I contacted many descendents of *Aparima*'s final crew and am very grateful to those who generously replied with information and their time. I am especially grateful to Roger Wilson of Wellington (Captain G.J.S. Doorly), and also Keith Mackie of South Africa (Chief Steward James Mackie), Elaine Hunter of Melbourne (Cadet Sydney Newton); Paulin Voice of Auckland (Cadet William Millward), Marjorie Harris of Canada (Cadet Oswald Every-Clayton) and Nils Enrum of Denmark (Cadet William Cadwallader) for sharing what they knew of their ancestor with me.

Most importantly, I am extremely grateful to my dearest Wendi for everything. Thank you for listening, understanding, supporting, sacrificing, proof-reading and the innumerable other kindness you have generously given.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Abstracti |
|--|
| Acknowledgementsiii |
| Table of Contentsv |
| List of Figures |
| List of Illustrationsix |
| Glossaryxi |
| Abbreviationsxiii |
| |
| Introduction1 |
| Chapter 1. Historiographical Review11 |
| Chapter 2. Counting Seafarers |
| Chapter 3. TSS Aparima - A Microhistory 61 |
| Chapter 4. Workforce Demographics115 |
| Chapter 5. Conclusion |
| Bibliography133 |
| Appendix A: Ship's Company on Final Voyage of <i>Aparima</i> 155 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| 1. | Departmental Structure of a Steam-Powered Foreign-Going Ship43 |
|-----|--|
| 2. | Ownership and Trade of non-coastal ships departing Waitemata Harbour between 1 April-30 June 191644 |
| 3. | Crew and Masters of Registered Vessels of the Dominion of New Zealand employed wholly in the Home Trade, partly in the Home and partly in the Foreign Trade, and wholly in the Foreign Trade |
| 4. | New Zealand Seafarer Industrial Unions Membership for 1914-191849 |
| 5. | Distribution of Crew and Masters of New Zealand Registered Vessels which were employed partly in the Home and partly in the Foreign Trade, and only in the Foreign Trade |
| 6. | Quantification of New Zealand Mercantile Marine Ribbon and or Medal applicants51 |
| 7. | Sample of Qualifying Ship Crew's who applied for the Mercantile Marine Medal in New Zealand |
| 8. | 1916 & 1917 Reserves with Probable or Possible Seafarer Occupations |
| 9. | New Zealand Expeditionary Force up to 28 Reinforcement embarked who were Probable Seafarers |
| 10. | Seafarers employed (including Master) per 100 Tons of Registered Vessels of the Dominion of N.Z |
| 11. | Summary of Quantification Models59 |
| 12. | German U-boat and Merchant Raider activity coinciding with Aparima's wartime voyages79 |
| 13. | Ethnic and Departmental Composition of Aparima's Casualties and Survivors |
| 14. | Example of Compensation Entitlement for a childless widow110 |
| 15. | Age distribution of WWI Allied Mercantile Marine casualties compared to successful New Zealand Mercantile Marine War Medal applicants |

| 16. | Age distribution of successful New Zealand Mercantile Marine War Medal applicants compared to the New Zealand Population at 1916 Census |
|-----|---|
| 17. | Place of Birth of successful New Zealand Mercantile Marine War Medal applicants compared to the New Zealand Population at 1916 Census |
| | |
| 18. | Place of Birth distribution of Mercantile Marine War Medal New |
| | Zealand applicants compared to the New Zealand Male Population at |
| | 1916 Census of New Zealand born seafarers123 |
| 19. | Table showing the number and tonnage of the Registered Vessels which belong to each of the Ports of New Zealand on 3 December 1915 |
| | |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| 1. | Certificate of Discharge (Dis I version) issued to Walter Findlater who was employed on His Majesty's N.Z. Hospital Ship <i>Maheno</i> as a ship's painter from 11 January to 10 May 1917 |
|-----|---|
| 2. | Caricatures of masters, officers and senior ratings of N.Z. Troopships 13 |
| 3. | K T Roussell, Sinking of <i>Otaki</i> by the German Raider <i>Möewe</i> 24 |
| 4. | Advertisement promoting the movie <i>The Spy System</i> 26 |
| 5. | <i>Aparima</i> as <i>HMNZT4</i> 662 |
| 6. | Aparima Cadets at Study68 |
| 7. | Cadet Ernest Sutherland69 |
| 8. | Officers of Aparima |
| 9. | Aboard HMNZT Aparima. 4inch Gun shipped at Dakar, West Africa82 |
| 10. | Captain James Gerald Stokely Doorly RNR86 |
| 11. | Cadet Sydney Allison Newton 102 |
| 12. | Chief Steward James Mackie 105 |
| 13. | Acknowledgement from mother and family of Walter James |
| | Bannatyne107 |

GLOSSARY

| Allies / Allied | Countries that fought against the Central Powers in WWI. |
|--------------------|---|
| Bark or barque | Type of sailing vessel with three or more masts. |
| Bhandary | Cook. |
| Black Gang | Trimmers, Stokers and Firemen work in the engine room. They were called 'black' because of soot and coal dust in the engine room made everything black. |
| Bosun (Boatswain) | Oversees maintenance and deck activity over the entire ship. |
| Butler | Saloon Second Class Steward. |
| Cassab or Kussab | Lamp trimmer. |
| Deck Serang | Deck Bosun. |
| Deck Tindal | Bosun's Mate. |
| Donkeyman | Oversaw the operation and maintenance of any and all assorted machinery and assisted with the maintenance of ship's main engines. |
| Engine Room Serang | Engine Room Donkeyman. |
| Engine Room Tindal | Donkeyman's Mate. |
| Fireman | Boiler Stoker. |
| Greaser | Monitoring and lubricating the engines. |
| Lamp trimmer | Leading hand on deck under the Boatswain. |
| Military Age | Males not less than twenty years and under forty-six years of age who were unmarried were mandated under the National Registration Act, 1915 and the Military Service Act, 1916 to enrol for Military Service. |
| Officer Commanding | Commander of the army formation. |
| Commanding Officer | In the merchant service, this is the ship's master or captain. |
| Prize Crew | A group of men placed aboard a captured vessel in order for it to be sailed to a friendly port. |
| Prize | A captured merchant ship that was captured and taken to a friendly port for sale, rather than destroyed. Prize money obtained from the sale was distributed amongst those involved in its capture and return. |

| Punkha Boy | Fan Cord Puller Boy. |
|-------------------|---|
| Rating | An articled member of a ship's crew but not an officer. |
| Red Duster | Ensign flown specifically by British Merchant Seamen. |
| Stern | Rear or aft-most part of a ship. |
| Stem | Most forward part of a boat or ship's bow. |
| Stokehold Grating | Exhaust ventilation from the engine room stokehold. |
| Topas | Sweeper, cleansed the "heads" (on board lavatories), washed utensils, scrubbed the decks. |
| Trimmer | Supplies the coal from the bunkers to the stokers. |
| War Grave | Burial place for members of the armed forces or civilians who died during military campaigns or operations. They are provided by the Commonwealth nation-state and maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. |

ABBREVIATIONS

| AD | Army Department, New Zealand |
|--------|---|
| AJHR | Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives |
| ANZ | Archives New Zealand, Wellington |
| ATL | Alexander Turnbull Library |
| AWA | Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) Limited |
| AWMM | Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland |
| BT | Board of Trade, United Kingdom |
| CWGC | Commonwealth War Graves Commission |
| HMNZHS | His Majesty's New Zealand Hospital Ship |
| HMNZT | His Majesty's New Zealand Troopship |
| IWW | Industrial Workers of the World, also called Wobblies |
| NA | The National Archives (of United Kingdom), London |
| NFSA | National Film & Sound Archive (of Australia) |
| nhp | Nominal horsepower |
| NLNZ | National Library of New Zealand, Wellington |
| NZDF | New Zealand Defence Force |
| NZEF | New Zealand Expeditionary Force |
| P&O | Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company |
| RN | Royal Navy |
| RNR | Royal Naval Reserve |
| SS | Steam Ship |
| SY | Steam Yacht |
| TSS | Twin Screw Steamer |
| USSCo | Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand Limited |
| WCA | Wellington City Archives, Wellington |
| WWI | World War 1 |